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Power, influence and ideology: a poststructural analysis of CPD policy for teachers in Scotland

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ABSTRACT

Continuing professional development (CPD) for teachers is a topical issue in Scotland, and beyond, where recent policy developments have pointed towards the desirability of more structured approaches to post-initial teacher education. In the period between the Sutherland Report into teacher education in Scotland (Sutherland, 1997) and the completion of this study in 2005, Scotland has seen the introduction of a CPD framework. While aspects of the framework have been evaluated in terms of the success of their implementation, there has been no real analysis of the policy as a whole, or of the policy development process. This study therefore sought to investigate and articulate issues of power, influence and ideology in the development of CPD policy in Scotland.

A poststructuralist approach has been adopted in an attempt to take the analysis beyond issues of content and implementation, to explore the underpinning philosophies and the power relationships that have contributed to the current policy position. This approach has involved the critical discourse analysis of a range of publicly available documents as well as the analysis of interviews with sixteen of the educational elite in Scotland.

The study deduces that the CPD framework has been shaped from the outset by the promotion of a standards-based approach. The power of this discourse, with its emphasis on targets, efficiency, competence and compliance, has served to limit the need for teachers and other stakeholders to conceive of alternative conceptions of teaching. This discourse is contrasted with a more democratic conception, in which CPD has the power to support transformative practice.

It is concluded that CPD policy provides a powerful channel through which particular conceptions of professionalism and of teaching are promoted, and that this discourse needs to be more effectively interrogated and challenged.

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

The study presented in this thesis analyses continuing professional development (CPD) policy for teachers in Scotland, using a poststructuralist approach. Data drawn from a series of interviews with elite figures in Scottish education were analysed together with documentary evidence relating to contemporary CPD policy. However, while the focus of the study was on developments in Scottish CPD policy, it is hoped that the analysis of this particular context will also be relevant in relation to the analysis of other aspects of social policy in Scotland, as well as having wider international relevance.

This chapter provides a rationale for the study; states the overall aim and the nature of the chosen approach; and outlines the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Rationale for the study

CPD for teachers is a topical issue in Scotland where a number of recent policy developments have pointed towards the desirability of a more structured approach to post-initial teacher education. These developments, however, are not peculiar to Scotland: CPD for teachers, and in other professions, has become a prominent issue in more global terms, particularly in many other European countries as well as in the USA, Australia, New Zealand and China. While the details of CPD developments in particular countries may vary, this growing global focus is of relevance and interest to educators and students both within and beyond Scotland. The underpinning reasons for this growing emphasis on CPD require exploration.

While it is acknowledged that CPD policy does not exist in a vacuum, the detailed analysis of this particular policy area allows for more meaningful comment to be made relating to social policy as a whole. Thrupp (2002) asserts that 'exploring multiple dimensions of policy will always be more feasible in the analysis of some specific initiative' (p. 322), so focusing on CPD policy should allow a more detailed range of policy considerations than a more general examination of social policy, or even Scottish education policy, would allow. It is therefore contended that the

analysis of this particular policy development will also serve to illustrate patterns of policy development that might usefully assist in the analysis of other aspects of social policy.

However, while the analysis of a specific policy is being used to provide illustration of processes which might arguably be generalisable, that is not to take away from the significance of CPD policy in particular. A number of developments, most notably the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001), have led to Scotland developing a structured framework for CPD based on a series of standards. Chapter 3 presents a detailed discussion of the various developments contributing to this framework, but it is important to acknowledge at the outset that the standards-based approach to this development has not at any point been subject to public debate or critique – rather it has become simply accepted as the norm. Indeed, while there is a considerable amount of information publicly available on the structure and content of the CPD framework in Scotland, there is very little pertaining to the development process of the policy. This study therefore seeks to help address this imbalance through a poststructural analysis of policy developments in relation to CPD.

1.2 Description and outline of the study

The overall aim of the study was to investigate and articulate issues of power, influence and ideology through a poststructural analysis of CPD policy. In adopting a poststructuralist approach the study sought to question and challenge commonly-held assumptions, and to open up new issues for debate. Such an approach challenges the traditional positivist view of research and ultimately seeks to expose and question the dominance of particular ideologies which have become normalised through dominant discourse.

Given that this PhD study was not limited by parameters often imposed through funded research, there was more flexibility in the choice of research approach, ultimately allowing for a more enlightened, social reconstructionist approach than might otherwise have been the case. This approach explores the ways in which power has been exercised, both explicitly and implicitly, through critical analysis of

discourse: both spoken (through interviews) and written (through publicly available documentation).

The thesis begins with an introduction to the background of CPD developments, moving on to discuss policy research and post-devolution policy development in Scotland. There then follows a review of literature relating to conceptions of teaching, professionalism and models of CPD. Thereafter, a justification of the poststructuralist approach is presented, followed by detailed discussion and description of the particular methodologies used: elite interviews and critical discourse analysis of documentary evidence. The data from each of the two main sources, interviews and documentary evidence, are then presented and discussed together with a chapter which explores the power dynamics of the interview process itself. Following this, Chapter 10 provides a general discussion of themes running across the data chapters, before concluding, in Chapter 11, with a discussion of the implications arising from the study.

2 THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY CPD POLICY IN SCOTLAND

This chapter sets the context for the study by outlining contemporary developments in CPD for teachers in Scotland. It should be noted, however, that developments have been neither simple nor linear. This chapter has not, therefore, adopted a purely chronological approach. However, key events are also summarised in the 'Chronological Record of CPD Developments' in Appendix 1.

A national framework of continuing professional development for teachers in Scotland has been under consideration for some time: highlighted as a recommendation in the Sutherland Report (1997) with a national consultation taking place shortly thereafter (SOEID, 1998a). However, 2000 proved to be a particularly significant year in terms of CPD for teachers. In July 2000, the first Education Bill to pass through the Scottish Parliament - Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act 2000 - was given royal assent. The Act made statutory provision for the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS) to expand its remit to consider 'career development'. While this historically significant and wide-ranging Act was being debated and developed, the teaching profession was campaigning for changes to pay and conditions. This campaign led to the establishment, in September 1999, of the Independent Committee of Inquiry into Professional Conditions of Service for Teachers, chaired by Professor Gavin McCrone. The Committee's recommendations (the McCrone Report) were published in 2000, with subsequent agreement (the McCrone Agreement) reached in 2001.

2.1 Professional development redefined: The McCrone Agreement

The McCrone Report (SEED, 2000), and the subsequent Agreement (SEED, 2001) addressed issues under several sub-headings, one of which was 'professional development'. Improved opportunities for career-long professional development were to be seen as part of a package of measures designed to enhance the teaching profession, both in terms of its own esteem and capabilities and its public perception. In keeping with the emphasis on career-long professional development the

recommendations began with initial teacher education (ITE), where it was suggested that greater emphasis be placed on certain practical skills; staff in teacher education institutions (TEIs) should 'update their experience' (SEED, 2000, p. 63); and consideration should be given to greater quality assurance in school placements. Of all the recommendations in the final Agreement, the ones relating to ITE were seen as having least credibility, in the main due to the lack of clear evidence upon which they were based. However, the recommendations led to the Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) commissioning a two-stage review of ITE.

The induction of new teachers was an area in which the McCrone Report used some of its most emotive language, stating categorically that the current situation, where new entrants to the profession typically experienced fragmented periods of employment with no guarantee of support, was 'little short of scandalous' (SEED, 2000, p. 7). The resulting Agreement (SEED, 2001) guaranteed new teachers a one-year training contract with a maximum class commitment of 0.7 FTE; the remaining time to be used for professional development. Significantly, it also made provision for support and mentoring time.

Under the McCrone Agreement all teachers are required to undertake an additional 35 hours of CPD per year, and CPD is to be seen as a condition of service which should be 'applicable and accessible' to everyone (SEED, 2001, p. 16). Teachers are also required to have an annual professional review, resulting in an individual CPD plan. They are expected to maintain a CPD portfolio, which is a prerequisite for entry to the Chartered Teacher Programme. The Chartered Teacher Programme, part of the McCrone Agreement, is designed to recognise and reward good classroom practice, and to ensure that such teachers can develop their careers without leaving the classroom. After embarking upon the programme, progression through the chartered teacher scale is by qualification. However, the Agreement acknowledged that transition arrangements were necessary to deal with the potentially substantial number of teachers who would already believe themselves to be meeting, or near to meeting, the standard required for the award of chartered teacher.

2.2 The developing CPD 'framework'

There are various components of what is increasingly commonly referred to as 'the CPD framework': sets of standards and procedures covering initial teacher education, induction, chartered teacher and headship as well as arrangements for ongoing staff development and review. The extent to which these various components are actually, or indeed should be, classed as a framework is debateable.

In November 1999, in the wake of the national consultation on CPD, SEED announced that it was going to create a new framework for the continuing professional development of teachers, and that a Ministerial Strategy Committee (MSC) for CPD would be established to oversee the development and implementation of a national strategy. The Committee drew its membership from a variety of stakeholders in education and business, and had a number of sub-groups charged with particular responsibilities, including: the development of the chartered teacher programme; professional review and development; education inclusion; and leadership and management. However, while the MSC adopted a role in overseeing the development of the CPD strategy, it should be noted that many of the constituent parts were well underway prior to its establishment.

One such example was the development and implementation of the new benchmarks for ITE, which in turn impacted on other developments. While university courses leading to teaching qualifications have always been subject to quality assurance by the GTCS, changing quality assurance arrangements in the university sector as a whole led to the need for new Quality Assurance Agency benchmark statements to be developed (see Christie, 2003). These benchmark statements, known as 'the Standard for ITE', were published in 2000, having been developed by the Standing Committee on Quality Assurance in Initial Teacher Education (SCQAITE) which comprised representatives of key stakeholder groups. Student teachers are required to meet the Standard for ITE in order to gain a teaching qualification and provisional registration with the GTCS.

The next stage in a teacher's career is induction, an area which, as outlined earlier in this chapter, had been acknowledged as long overdue for review. The new Standard for Full Registration (SFR) was officially launched in June 2002, with guidance about the implementation of the induction year being issued by the GTCS shortly thereafter. However, work on the development of a Standard for Full Registration and a new framework for induction had begun in 1998. The Teacher Induction Project, funded jointly by the GTCS and SEED, initially envisioned a standard based on the *Guidelines for Initial Teacher Education Courses in Scotland* (SOEID, 1998b). As it became evident that there would be a new Standard for ITE, the remit of the teacher induction project changed to accommodate this, the justification being that the profession would expect coherence, and that the SFR would need to be based on the equivalent ITE standard. It is interesting to note that there was no explicit public discussion or debate on this change – which in effect served to confirm the standards-based approach as the basis on which the 'framework' would be built.

Interestingly, however, the process by which the Standard for Chartered Teacher (SCT) was developed proved to be quite different, although the outcome was still standards-based. Rather than employing a development officer, answerable to individual officers in the employing bodies (SEED and the GTCS in the case of the development of the SFR), the Chartered Teacher Project was put out to tender. The tender was awarded to a consortium from the Universities of Edinburgh and Strathclyde together with Arthur Andersen consultants; the project team being directly responsible to the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD. The brief in developing the Standard for Chartered Teacher was to start with the identification of the qualities and characteristics of the accomplished teacher and to develop a standard based on this evidence. This approach contrasts markedly with the equivalent brief in the induction phase where the key focus was to build on an existing standard. Indeed, not only have the approaches to developing standards for full registration and for chartered teacher been quite different, but the processes used to develop the related programmes have also been contrasting. The development of the Chartered Teacher Programme has been based on a thorough empirical exercise which was then subject to wide and varied consultation by the project team and has

been debated widely in the educational press. In marked contrast, the framework for the implementation of the new induction requirements was developed by the GTCS, and was put out to schools and employers as a fait accompli.

The development of what is now known as the Chartered Teacher Programme, however, is not entirely straightforward. Its origins can be tracked back to questions in the 1998 consultation on CPD surrounding issues of 'standards to give recognition to very good classroom teachers' (SOEID, 1998a, p. 13), which became labelled as 'the expert teacher'. In early 2000, the Arthur Andersen consortium was awarded the tender, the main brief of which was to develop a standard and associated programme for the award of 'expert teacher'. However, with the publication of the McCrone Report in May 2000, and the subsequent McCrone Agreement in 2001, the brief of the project team changed, and 'chartered teacher' developed a specific definition of its own, allied not only to CPD, but also to salary and conditions: chartered teacher status commands a salary of £6000 more than the top of the main grade scale.

This complex nature of chartered teacher status, in terms of CPD, pay and conditions, has led to significant debate about the role, purpose and rewards attributable to such teachers. One of the more public debates has concerned the nature of the chartered teacher programme itself. Many of the significant players in contemporary Scottish education have raised their heads above the parapet (for example, 'Rift over chartered status', *Times Educational Supplement Scotland*, 15 March 2002) to declare allegiance to either the 'professional' or the 'academic' route to chartered teacher status – particularly in relation to the transition phase where many serving teachers are making claim for having already met the Standard. Significant debate has been generated on whether this claim for full chartered teacher status should be made on the basis of academic qualifications such as the postgraduate diploma, MSc and MEd, or on verification or evidence of good classroom practice. The very fact that this debate has surfaced indicates the confusion that exists over what can, or should, be considered to constitute professional development, and ultimately what its purpose is.

The Ministerial Strategy Committee recognised that while chartered teacher status would be attractive to many teachers who wish to remain in the classroom and be recognised and awarded accordingly, there are others who aspire to management roles in schools. It therefore established the Leadership and Management Pathways Sub-Group (LAMPS) to look at a parallel route of CPD for such teachers. It is interesting to note, however, that there is no directly corresponding recognition in terms of pay and conditions for teachers following this route – other than the enhanced likelihood of eventually securing a management position with its related rewards. This route will ultimately lead to the Standard for Headship; for which the Scottish Qualification for Headship (SQH) is currently the only route. While the SQH has established itself fairly successfully, it is now recognised as being at variance with the rest of the CPD framework, not least because the Chartered Teacher Programme is based on the modular masters system of SCOTCAT accreditation (see Menmuir, 2003), with full chartered teacher status being equivalent to a Masters degree, whereas the SQH is currently the equivalent of a postgraduate diploma. With the Standard for Headship we see yet again variance in the status of the constituent components of the CPD framework in terms of obligation and/or entitlement. In December 2001 it was announced that the Standard for Headship would become mandatory for all head teachers by 2005. Routes to achieving the Standard, though, will be flexible and not restricted to the SQH.

While the above stages mark significant components of a teacher's career it is recognised that not all teachers will seek promoted positions after attaining full registration, and others, while perhaps aspiring to chartered teacher status or headship at some point in the future, will be happy to teach as a main grade teacher. These teachers make up a significant percentage of the teaching workforce, and if the philosophy of CPD as a commitment to lifelong learning was to be truly meaningful, then it was acknowledged that these teachers must also be considered within the framework. The MSC considered this aspect within its remit, resulting in the updating of existing 'Staff Development and Review' guidelines which created the new 'Professional Review and Development' document (SEED, 2002a) which takes account of the McCrone Agreement.

2.3 SEED priorities in CPD

The rhetoric evident in most documents relating to the CPD framework promotes flexibility and local adaptation to suit particular circumstances. Nonetheless, expectations are also evident that Government priorities such as ICT training for teachers and the meeting of the National Priorities [The Education (National Priorities) (Scotland) Order 2000] should be achieved through the CPD framework. Indeed, the definition of National Priority 2, 'Framework for learning' (see http://www.scotland.gov.uk/education/nationalpriorities/priorities.asp), includes the intention 'to support and develop the skills of teachers'. It is intended that a performance measure will be developed to monitor progress in teachers' continuing professional development, possibly including the measurement of quality of formal provision, access to CPD, impact of CPD, or completion of the additional contractual 35 hours. Schools and local authorities are obliged to produce evidence of their progress in meeting the National Priorities; it is therefore vital that any 'performance measure' is considered carefully in terms of its validity.

In contrast to the visible, published priorities there are also policy agenda priorities which can be detected through examination of the policy development process, but which are not necessarily publicly acknowledged as such. Most prominent in the field of teachers' CPD is the way in which a standards-based framework has been embraced, relying principally on a competence-based approach to measuring the (sometimes immeasurable) quality of learning and teaching in schools. This agenda takes as its foundation a business approach to education where performance management and target setting dominate, and where the ultimate goal of education could crudely be described as producing citizens for tomorrow who will have the knowledge and skills to help the country to compete in the global economy. While it cannot be said that economic prosperity is not important for a country, the exclusion of other educational aims is of concern. This policy trend can be tracked beyond CPD issues, but it is particularly visible here in the terminology used: standards, competence, benchmarks, attainment, target setting, quality indicators and so on. Yet as Humes (2001) claims, as with any dominant discourse, this approach has now

been more or less accepted as the norm, and is therefore rarely challenged at a fundamental level.

2.4 Current CPD practice in local authorities and teacher education institutions

Local government reorganisation in 1996 had a significant impact on the range of professional development opportunities available to teachers, with the smaller local authorities being particularly disadvantaged due to their inability to maintain an extensive educational support service. However, more recently the effects of devolved management of resources to schools and the introduction of specific funding streams under the Excellence Fund (since session 1999/2000) and additional SEED funds for CPD have allowed schools to consider a wider range of opportunities for staff, which relate closely to school priorities as well as to National Priorities. There is a growing trend in using a wide variety of course providers including local authorities, universities, private consultants and commercial companies. However, the emphasis is still very much on courses as opposed to other forms of professional development – a situation that raises concerns over the diversity of professional development opportunities currently undertaken by teachers. Interestingly there is also growing demand from local authorities for accreditation for courses they deliver to their teachers: particularly for probationers and in relation to potential claims for accreditation of prior learning towards chartered teacher status. This has implications for partnerships between local authorities and higher education institutions. Such partnerships have always existed to some degree, particularly in relation to initial teacher education, but are now being looked at afresh in relation to CPD. However, there is a certain ambiguity surrounding the role of TEIs in teachers' CPD: while they undoubtedly have (at least for the time being) a key role to play in initial teacher education, the role beyond that has not really been explored or articulated in any significant way.

The Sutherland Report (1997) recommended that a more coherent and transparent national system of CPD for teachers be developed, and that higher education should play a significant part in this, given that it already had a structure in place which

could be developed to accommodate teachers' CPD. Sutherland was even more specific about the need for higher education, in partnership with the GTCS, to 'consider the practicality, and implications, of developing a national programme of induction' (p. 37). While this recommendation has been taken forward in part, the partnership has essentially been between the GTCS and local authorities, rather than between the GTCS and higher education.

In the intervening years between the Sutherland Report being published in 1997 and the writing of this thesis, there has been no formal agreement or articulation of a role for TEIs in teachers' CPD beyond the ITE phase. That is not to say that TEIs are not involved, as individual institutions and their neighbouring local authorities are currently developing CPD relationships which will be of benefit to both parties, particularly in relation to the chartered teacher programme. However, as this is taking place at local level, between existing players, with no particular overall strategy in mind, the danger is that the traditional way of doing things - local authorities commissioning TEIs to deliver in-service courses on particular themes - will continue to dominate to the exclusion of more innovative, and potentially more effective ways of working. There currently exist unique opportunities for CPD partnerships which would go some way to bridging the often bemoaned theory/practice divide. Teachers in schools could access a wider variety of opportunities such as mentoring, action research, working with students and staff in TEIs, whereas greater and more diverse opportunities for TEI staff to work with schools and employers would go some way towards counteracting the claims asserted in the McCrone report that many TEI staff are out of touch. It is unlikely, however, that such partnership will become widespread if it continues to be planned on an ad-hoc basis, without intellectual or financial investment. Financial restraints, not helped by the lack of surety from year to year regarding intake numbers to ITE courses, help to perpetuate a situation which limits the longer-term strategic planning and investment necessary for the higher education sector to be innovative in CPD involvement.

2.5 Increasing coherence and limiting diversity

As the individual component parts of the framework have developed, there have been signs of increasing coherence in terms of language and structure. The argument for coherence, while on the surface appearing to be a sensible justification, has in reality served to limit diversity and quell the need for teachers to think about and articulate their own conceptions of teaching (Purdon, 2003).

Added to this, the complexities of the developments outlined in this chapter, their origins and their individual purposes, make any commentary on 'the framework' as one homogeneous development, somewhat difficult – a factor which is particularly evident in the elite interview data discussed later in this thesis.

3 POLICY RESEARCH AND THE SCOTTISH CONTEXT

At the outset, this chapter sets down a series of observations about the concept of 'policy', stressing its dynamic and ideological nature. Thereafter, the chapter is presented in two sections: the first section considers the role of policy analysis as a social science discipline, examining issues of power and control; the second section considers the Scottish policy context by exploring the impact of devolution on policy development processes in general, and the development of CPD policy in particular.

3.1 Policy: a complex notion

'Policy' is often thought of as a statement of principles or intentions; something that can be written down and implemented. However, Trowler (1998) argues that this is a somewhat narrow conception, contending that policy is a process rather than a product, and as such is dynamic. Ball (1994) reinforces this when he asserts that 'policy is both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended' (p. 10), while Olssen et al. (2004) argue for 'a conception of policy as a politically, socially and historically contextualized practice or set of practices' (p. 3).

Part of the complexity of policy is the range of influences which serve to shape not only individual policies, but which policy imperatives are actually put on the agenda and which are not. Trowler (1998) claims that in education policy, two key ideological forces are prominent: political ideology and educational ideology (ibid., p. 55). Within these two broad ideological fields there is a range of different ideological stances, some complementary, others conflicting. Interestingly, Trowler (ibid.) suggests that while social reconstructionism is a prominent educational ideology (a point particularly evident in Chapter 4 of this thesis), it finds political support in Marxist and feminist political ideologies, neither of which is particularly dominant in the UK political scene at present. However, Trowler (ibid.) goes on to acknowledge that the ideology-policy link is not always clear, and that 'policy is sometimes made almost accidentally or as a result of political necessity' (p. 61). Whether policy development, be it 'accidental' or not, can ever be seen as not being

influenced by political or educational ideologies is debateable, but it does highlight the point that not all policy development is strategic.

To add to the complexity of the notion of policy it is vital to recognise that national policy developments, such as CPD policy in Scotland, are influenced by global as well as local imperatives. However, Bottery (2000) warns that:

> these global forces are having damaging effects upon rich, humane conceptions of education, because they are being used to produce policy initiatives which see education largely as part of a project concerned with human resource development and economic competitiveness, underpinned by business management practice. (p. 2)

The effect of nation states seeking to be competitive in a global economy has resulted in increased central control (Bottery, 2000), the effect of which 'is to limit the ability of citizens to think in terms other than those which policy-makers wish to prioritise' (ibid., p. 59). Any analysis of national policy cannot therefore ignore the wider influences impacting not only on education policy, but on social policy more generally.

3.2 Policy research as a social science discipline

In 1997, Humes argued that policy analysis was a relatively new field within educational studies, claiming that prior to the mid-1980s discussion of policy had focused on issues of content and implementation rather than the policy development process or the relative power of those involved in its development. Critical to the recognition of policy analysis as a specific discipline within the Scottish context were two particular books: 'The Leadership Class in Education' (Humes, 1986) and 'Governing Education' (McPherson and Raab, 1988). These two books focused on particular policy developments and the key groups and individuals involved in them, exposing issues of power and 'patronage' (Humes, 1986) in an explicit manner.

Elsewhere, writers such as Kogan (1975) and Young and Mills (1978) had also published work on the policy development process, with Young and Mills coining the phrase 'assumptive worlds' which is often used to convey the embedded power of the shared, implicit discourse that policy communities engage in.

Such works identified the value of researching the roles and perceptions of key players in policy communities, and in engaging in the critical discourse analysis of official and unofficial documentation. However, in order to make sense of such data, and to lend much needed credibility to the research methodology of policy analysis, the need for explicit conceptual frameworks was acknowledged.

Trowler (1998) contributes to the range of conceptual frameworks available to policy analysts by contrasting 'engineering' and 'enlightenment' models of research, and their application to policy analysis. The engineering model focuses principally on quantitative methods of research which enable the researcher to identify 'facts' which can be used by policy-makers or to identify solutions to pre-defined 'problems'. In contrast, the enlightenment model tends towards qualitative research methods and considers reality to be socially constructed and therefore open to interpretation. Such interpretation can be used to 'enlighten' policy-makers or to challenge accepted wisdom about what is 'problematic' in education. While this bi-polar model is helpful in understanding different ends of the spectrum, it perhaps belies the complexities of the range of interacting ideologies and agendas which contribute to any piece of policy development or policy research.

Ball (1994), on the other hand, suggests that 'what we need in policy analysis is a toolbox of diverse concepts and theories – an applied sociology rather than a pure one' (p. 14), a point also highlighted by Humes (1997) who advises that 'the researcher should not feel obliged to become fully committed to one methodological stance or be over-concerned about accusations of theoretical eclecticism' (p. 24).

Ball (ibid.) goes on to suggest three principal ways of interpreting policy data, namely:

- the 'how' of policy, which provides a descriptive account of what happened;
- the 'why' of policy, which refers to the dominant discourse which permits some conceptualisations and philosophies and omits others; and
- the 'because' of policy, which considers the wider structural and social context in which policy development takes place.

These, and other, conceptual frameworks provide not only a theoretical context for policy analysis, but also serve to validate the discipline of policy analysis as a legitimate research methodology.

The interface between researchers and policy-makers

Trowler (1998) argues that the links between researchers and policy-makers are poor, claiming that not only do researchers often speak an inaccessible language, but that they also fail to take responsibility for disseminating their results to policy-makers.

These observations should be set against the quest for 'evidence-based policy development' which is apparent in contemporary educational discourse in Scotland and beyond. However, and this is where Trowler's (1998) contrast between engineering and enlightenment models of policy research is pertinent, much of the 'evidence' demanded by policy–makers is either 'factual' or is restricted to pre-defined 'problems'. Both of these evidence requirements fall quite clearly within Trowler's definition of the engineering model of research, leaving little requirement on the behalf of policy-makers for the kind of research which would be produced by the enlightenment model, which eschews the notion of 'truth' and challenges the origins of pre-defined educational 'problems'. This situation is problematic in many regards, not least in relation to funding for policy research – most of which is controlled, distributed and defined by government and other policy-makers. This, warns Nisbet (cited in Humes and Bryce, 2001, p. 331), places academics in a difficult partnership where 'ownership is negotiated' with funders and independence is therefore compromised.

Social science research in general, and policy analysis in particular, have been subject to much criticism by those viewing research in narrow scientific, positivist terms. In the Scottish context, for example, Sam Galbraith, Minister for Children and Education from May 1999 to October 2000, and a surgeon by profession, was publicly critical of the quality of education research when he took up his ministerial post. In an interview in 'The Scotsman' (22 March 2000) he claimed to have reviewed many education research papers, of which he was 'singularly unimpressed', and concluded that 'My message to researchers is to sharpen up on the scientific methods that they use and to make sure that they drop the value judgements within them'. The clear message from Sam Galbraith was that the kind of research that he as Minister for Children and Education wanted was scientific, replicable and conclusive – not the kind of research required to explore something as complicated and dynamic as the policy process itself. This illustrates perfectly, the argument put forward by Olssen et al. (2004):

> The development of the policy sciences, which sought to derive so-called 'objective' value-free methods for the writing and reading of policy, represent an attempt to give technical and scientific sophistication to the policy process in order to buttress its intellectual legitimacy. Such approaches to policy-making and policy analysis, in our view, serve to legitimate forms of liberal and neoliberal state hegemony. (p. 2)

This conflict between the perceived purposes of policy research means that challenges to the dominant discourse can easily be dismissed as being 'value judgements'. Policy analysis, then, requires not only rigorous justification of methodological and conceptual frameworks adopted, but also an explicit political conviction. Humes and Bryce (2001) consider this when they ask the question 'If researchers buy into an 'evidence-informed' definition of their work, will it imply a restriction of their role, especially that part of their role which has hitherto involved criticism and interrogation?' (p. 343).

Although policy analysis can be viewed as a relatively modern social science discipline (Humes, 1997), there is now a wealth of literature both addressing and adopting such an approach. The range of sub-disciplines under the broad label of policy analysis is vast; reflecting the complexities of the policy process itself. Thrupp (2002) provides a useful matrix for categorising the foci of different types of policy research. He suggests that researchers must make considered judgements about the relative weight they devote to 'global' and 'local' considerations, namely the respective focus on 'generic, international policy trends' and 'national and intra-national contexts', and also the relative weight devoted to the related focus on 'the bigger picture' and 'the detail': 'the macro level of the state... compared with the micro-level of messy policy making, dissemination and contestation' (pp. 321 – 322). Thrupp goes on to assert the criticism that many accounts of policy analysis focus on structural issues at the expense of the role of the individuals involved in their creation. He concludes that 'the most compelling critical accounts of education policy will illustrate connections to the wider social and political context in which they play out but also allow for a sense of individual agency and policy messiness or incoherence' (p. 322).

Humes and Bryce (2003) address this dilemma head on, warning that while policy-makers and policy researchers may subscribe to different philosophical and pragmatic views of policy research, there is nonetheless a need for more effective links. They lay down a challenge to poststructuralist policy analysts, who rather than coming to conclusions about policy issues 'prefer to offer further interrogation and critique' (p. 186). This, claim Humes and Bryce 'can never be a satisfactory stance. Inevitably there comes a point of closure and to refuse to take part in the policy debate is to allow decisions to be taken by others' (ibid.).

The ever-increasing range of literature on policy analysis has undoubtedly opened up this area to considerable debate, and in so doing has made explicit the tensions inherent in policy development and analysis. Rather than being swept under the carpet, these tensions must be acknowledged explicitly as part of any piece of policy analysis.

3.3 The Scottish context of education policy

The impact of devolution on the development of education policy in Scotland

In July 1999 the first Scottish parliament in over 300 years was established, and was charged with a series of devolved responsibilities, including education. This function is carried out through a series of parliamentary committees, all of which, unlike in Westminster, have the power to shape legislation.

Significantly, the first major piece of legislation to be passed through the new Scottish Parliament was the Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act (2000). Although education legislation for Scotland had previously been passed separately under the UK parliament, the significance of legislation actually being developed and passed in Scotland was seen to be paramount – not least because it would provide a national focus for civic debate.

Much had been written pre-devolution, (for example, Humes, 1986; McPherson and Raab, 1988) about the control of education policy-making in Scotland. It had been viewed as being 'centralized, consensual, and orthodox. [Where] Dissenting voices are marginalized and strategies of containment limit the flow of information and create a conformist ideology in which discussion is restricted to procedural matters' (Allan, 2003, p. 290). However, this centralised control was acknowledged as being led essentially by key figures in the education community, for example, members of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) and local authority directors of education, and not by Ministers (McPherson and Raab, 1988). Humes (1986) contends that this control by 'the leadership class' was not a conspiracy theory, but rather was 'the profoundly damaging consequences of certain forms of bureaucratic and professional socialisation, backed by a misleading and self-serving ideology' (p. 203). He goes on to offer some explanation for this position, suggesting that:

> The members of Scotland's educational leadership class have progressively allowed themselves to be locked into a system of bureaucratic constraints of a kind that subvert the real purposes of education. Often they are not fully conscious of the processes at work and

> happily succumb to the conventions into which they have been initiated in the mistaken belief that they serve the public, not just their own, interest. (ibid., p. 203)

Against this background, in the run up to the (re)establishment of the Scottish Parliament, there were many expressions of hope surrounding the potential changes which might transpire under this new level of governance: the existing education system having been viewed as being 'insufficiently radical' (Allan, 2003, p. 291). The new Scottish Parliament was therefore charged with the task of implementing the distinctively Scottish education tradition which promotes and values egalitarianism (McCrone, 2003), espousing values of social justice and state welfare to be central.

Paterson et al. (2001) note that education had figured as one of the highest priorities with voters in the 1999 Scottish parliamentary elections. They suggest that the prominence given to education within the political debate at that time should not be surprising, as historically, education has been a central focus for nationalist movements elsewhere, and is tied up with the notion of Scottish culture and identity, where education is viewed 'as a publicly-funded resource for the community, commanding public respect and including incomers into the community' (ibid., p. 159). Indeed, the influence of this historical view is reported by Menter et al. (2004) in a contemporary comparative study of two particular aspects of CPD policy development in England and Scotland, where they conclude that 'the differences in the policies reflect both the different cultural positioning of education – including fundamentally different educational ideologies – and more particularly different forms of governance' (p. 211).

However, Paterson (2000) cautions that some of the pre-devolution consensus in Scottish politics and policy making was more the result of anti-Conservative and pro-devolution feeling than it was rational, informed and genuine consensus. This, Paterson warns, could result in tensions and division within Scotland being much more apparent post-devolution than pre-devolution.

The suggestion has also been made that one of the attractions of a devolved Scottish Parliament was that it would create a more focused point for debate by all those involved in Scottish affairs. Indeed, Paterson (1998) reiterated Humes' (1986) argument about the existence of 'the leadership class', contending that Scottish education policy development pre-devolution was principally controlled by an 'unknown elite' (p. 273) including Scottish Office administrators, HMI, the GTCS and local authority directors of education. Therefore, argued Paterson, a Scottish Parliament would serve to provide a focus for decision-making which would draw all of these groups together alongside Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs). This view accords with Bryce and Humes' (1999) proposal in a briefing paper to new MSPs that 'educationists and politicians have a joint responsibility to resolve the growing conflict between uniformity of educational provision and the need to allow for diverse solutions to diverse problems' (p. 5).

However, Gillies' (2001) study of the effect of the new Scottish Parliament on educational policy making, with particular reference to the development of the Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act (2000), concludes that 'the process as a whole would lead an observer to describe it as "enlightened elitist" policy-making, at best' (p. 44). Indeed, Gillies claims that while parts of the process appeared to be more open and participative than had been the case hitherto, ultimate control was still held largely by Ministers and civil servants, with some of the claimed 'participative' engagement being little more than a public relations exercise. He concludes by warning that 'unless the culture of openness can be allowed to flourish, the likelihood is that a form of close, centralist control will emerge, merely dressed in "inclusive" rhetoric' (ibid., p. 45).

Allan (2003) appears to present a slightly different view of the activities of the Sport, Education and Culture Committee, to which she had acted as adviser. She claims that 'my experience as adviser suggests that the Inquiry genre has provided a new productive space for policymaking which disrupts the usual forms of closure' (p. 289). These two views are not perhaps as different as they might initially seem. While Allan explores the workings of the particular parliamentary committee with

responsibility for education matters, Gillies is exploring the wider context within which this committee is set. In other words, Gillies claims that control is centralised and exercised principally by Ministers and civil servants, while Allan makes observations about the manner in which those 'elite' identified by Gillies go about their business. The real debate, therefore, is perhaps more about the extent to which Ministers and civil servants involve other stakeholders in policy debate and decision-making.

Gillies (ibid.) does, however, acknowledge that the process of passing legislation is only one aspect of policy-making; one which inevitably involves MSPs to a significant extent. The establishment of the Scottish Parliament has had a much wider reaching effect on policy development and debate than the mere passing of legislation – not least of which is the duty of parliamentary committees to hold inquiries, such as that reported by Allan (2003), into aspects of public life. The relationship of education policy to other social policy must also be seen as important, with Bryce and Humes (1999) arguing that 'schooling alone cannot solve all society's ills. It has to be seen in relation to a range of other social policies – on housing, employment, poverty and health' (p. 4). They go on to caution that the Scottish Parliament would have to find ways of exploring the interconnections between these policies in 'an innovative and co-ordinated way' (ibid., p. 4).

The development of CPD policy in Scotland

The starting point for the development of contemporary CPD policy in Scotland is commonly acknowledged as being the Sutherland Report (1997). From this point, a number of connected developments and events precipitated action related to CPD policy, principally: the McCrone Report (2000) and subsequent Agreement (SEED, 2001); and the Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act (2000). Alongside these formal policies were a number of other influential factors: the contribution of Sam Galbraith to the debate on CPD across professions; the existence of development work in the Scottish Qualification for Headship; and the work of the Teacher Induction Development Project. This mixture of legislative and non-legislative policy development, being undertaken by a number of different stakeholder groups,

means that the development of CPD policy has been complex and non-linear, being influenced by a number of different agendas.

Nonetheless, a significant focus for the development of Scottish CPD policy was undoubtedly the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD (MSC). This committee, despite its name, was not constituted at the beginning of the recent CPD developments; rather it was formed in October 2000, after the McCrone Report was published in May 2000, and in anticipation of the resulting McCrone Agreement. However, plans to convene the committee were underway well before the McCrone Report was published. On 9 February 2000, the Minister for Children and Education, in response to parliamentary question from Nicola Sturgeon (Scottish National Party Member for Glasgow), announced that the remit of the MSC would be:

- To oversee the development and implementation of a national strategy for teachers' continuing professional development;
- To ensure that the strategy reflects national priorities for school education, in particular the raising of standards and improvement of levels of attainment;
- To ensure the effective promotion and marketing of CPD to teachers, parents, policy makers and other stakeholders;
- To ensure the strategy, and the standards and programmes forming part of the strategy, address future as well as current requirements of school and teachers;
- To consider any other strategic issues relating to teachers' professional development.

http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/business/pqa/wa-00/wa0209.htm

Clearly these aims provided a broad scope for the MSC, enabling it not only to influence the implementation of the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001), but also to shape existing CPD policy and practice within an overarching framework. The constitution of this committee is also of considerable significance: an issue that is explored further later in the thesis.

Scotland's size, in both geographical and population terms, is also relevant to the policy development process, as it means that the policy community is more tight-knit than might otherwise have been the case in a larger country. This is highlighted by one of the interviewees in the study carried out by Menter et al. (2004) which compares Performance Threshold Assessment in England with Chartered Teacher in Scotland: two different policies aimed at mid-career teachers. The interviewee, categorised as a Scottish 'policy analyst', explained that:

> ... people know each other. People have long histories. The people in the Inspectorate were students with lots of the people who are headteachers you know. It's a much smaller set up [than England] and people know each other and how the system works. (ibid., p. 197)

This clearly has significance for how policy in general is developed as well as for how CPD policy in particular has been developed. Comparison with the policy development position in England is often used to highlight the positive side of Scottish education policy-making. As Menter et al. (ibid.) describe it: 'in Scotland there is a view that the policy community has been able to flourish and develop its consensual, harmonious mode of working without constantly looking over its shoulder' (p. 197). However, while there might be some truth in the analysis that central government control is not as tight in Scotland as it is in England, this does not necessarily mean that the process is entirely democratic, rather it suggests that there might be a different pattern of control. This would concur with Humes' (1986) analysis of the 'policy community', with its multiple membership, and relative control over policy development.

Undoubtedly, the exploration of relationships between those individuals and groups involved in the policy development process is fundamental to any analysis of policy.

3.4 Summary

This chapter began by stressing that policy is a dynamic process which is influenced by both political and educational ideologies. It is also subject to influence at both

local and global levels. The recognition of the complexity of the policy process precipitates a need for effective conceptual frameworks to be employed in its analysis. In addition to providing a theoretical basis for any analysis, the explicit adoption of appropriate conceptual frameworks helps to validate policy analysis as a research methodology.

The relationship of policy researchers and policy-makers was also discussed; acknowledging the communication barriers that exist and the sometimes very different views of the purpose of policy research as either instrumental or as contributing to the construction of social reality. These tensions, together with the range of different policy foci – macro/micro, global/local – need to be acknowledged explicitly in any attempt at policy analysis.

The final part of the chapter focused specifically on education policy development in Scotland, setting the context through a discussion of the implications of the devolved Scottish Parliament. Germane to this was the idea of the egalitarian Scottish education tradition and the importance of education to the Scottish electorate.

The chapter presented differing interpretations, both historical and contemporary, of the ways in which policy power was, and is, exercised, highlighting the debate over the balance of power between politicians and other members of the educational community. Central to this debate is the influence of views presented through comparative research, particularly in relation to the English context.

Finally, some of the key influences on the development of CPD policy were considered in relation to the foregoing discussion on policy analysis, concluding that the exploration of relationships between individuals and groups is fundamental to policy analysis in general, and to this study in particular.

4 TEACHERS AND TEACHING

Underpinning any policy that impacts on what teachers do must be some notion of what it is that teachers should be doing or might be doing. This chapter considers this assumption in relation to two particular aspects: conceptions of teaching; and conceptions of professionalism, arguing that dominant assumptions about each have the power to influence CPD policy.

4.1 Conceptions of teaching

Continuing professional development, by its very name, implies continuation, and perhaps enhancement, of professional action. In order to understand fully what is meant by CPD it is necessary to identify what the professional action is that is being developed, i.e. the teaching. To assume that there is a shared and common understanding of what teaching is/is for would be unwise; in seeking to understand stakeholders' perspectives on the purpose of CPD, it is therefore crucial to examine their conception(s) of teaching.

It would seem reasonable to assume that there is a causal relationship between models of CPD and their impact on professional action. In other words, a particular conception of the purpose of teaching would suggest a particular model of CPD, which would cause a particular effect on professional action. However, the fact that there is no one agreed conception of teaching underpinning the Scottish CPD framework makes it unlikely that the chosen model will facilitate enhancement of the full range of conceptions of teaching. Examining a range of theoretical conceptions of teaching should help to analyse the responses of stakeholders in this study.

Conceptions of teaching flow from basic understandings about the purpose of education, and in particular, the purpose of schooling. Traditionally, education has been viewed as serving three main purposes, namely: cultural transmission, the economic prosperity of the nation and the creativity, expression and emotional well-being of individual pupils. However, Porter (1998) argues that as a result of globalisation, the balance of these three elements has shifted in recent years to focus more keenly on schooling as a means of ensuring economic prosperity in a globally

competitive marketplace. This fundamental shift in the purpose of education and schooling clearly influences the conceptions of teaching that underpin a nation's approach to the organisation of its schools and teacher education.

Initial teacher education

It could be argued that ITE, perhaps more than CPD, sets the parameters of the accepted conception(s) of teaching in any nation. Indeed, ITE in Scotland is governed by standards and rules laid down not only by the professional body (the General Teaching Council for Scotland), but also in primary legislation. For example, the First Minister's approval is required for any university to offer a recognised teaching qualification; a necessary prerequisite for teaching in a state-funded school in Scotland. This, together with the rigorous requirements of the annual *Memorandum of Entry Requirements to Courses of Teacher Education in Scotland* (SEED) is commonly viewed as contributing to the enhancement of teaching standards in Scotland, but could also be seen to limit diversity through increasing government control of education. It is interesting to note that Scotland regulates both content and providers of ITE, whereas there have been moves in other countries to regulate content but to de-regulate providers (Hartley, 2002). The ITE experience of any teacher qualifying in Scotland will therefore have been highly regulated and located primarily within one dominant conception of teaching.

Further, Patrick et al. (2003) contend that CPD 'tends to be viewed as further development of skills adduced from ITE/T [initial teacher education/training] competences and standards for full registration' (p. 238), thereby supporting the notion that the dominant conception of teaching influencing ITE also influences CPD.

Frameworks of understanding

A number of frameworks exist which might usefully be employed in exploring the particular conception of teaching dominant in contemporary Scottish teacher education. Most commonly, however, such frameworks pertain principally to analyses of initial teacher education. For example, Zeichner (1993) outlines four

traditions of teaching evident in his analysis of a number of initial teacher education programmes in the US: (1) the academic tradition which emphasises teachers' own subject knowledge and general education; (2) the social efficiency tradition which relies on 'scientific' evidence about the nature of teaching, and sits comfortably with a standards-based approach; (3) the developmentalist tradition, based on a constructivist approach to both teacher and pupil learning; and (4) the social reconstructionist tradition which embraces social and political dimensions of teaching and focuses on preparing pupils to be critically aware participants in a democratic society, with the ultimate aim of promoting greater social justice.

These traditions, while deriving from analyses of initial teacher education programmes, serve as a useful framework for considering the underlying philosophies behind approaches to CPD. For example, in considering initial teacher education in Scotland within the context of this framework, the highly regulated nature of its structure and content, while clearly not falling entirely within any one of Zeichner's traditions, is located principally within the academic and social efficiency traditions. In fact, the existence of the General Teaching Council for Scotland accreditation and review procedures and the annual publication of the *Memorandum of Entry Requirements to Courses of Teacher Education in Scotland* (SEED), highlights a clear alignment with the academic tradition in which a teacher's own academic achievement is a fundamental prerequisite for entry to the teaching profession in Scotland. While the origins of the academic tradition can be traced back many years in Scottish teacher education, the social efficiency tradition, with its emphasis on accountability through competence and standards-based systems, is a much more recent, but nonetheless influential one.

Analysing ITE using Zeichner's traditions helps to highlight the uniformity of provision in teacher education across Scotland, but it could be claimed that continuing teacher education, as encompassed by the CPD framework, allows for more diversity. However, as long as teachers align to a particular philosophy of teaching promulgated through ITE, the power of this diversity will be limited. This is particularly the case where new teachers are subject to the views of more

experienced members of staff in the school setting, where dominant staffroom voices have the power to shape the school's culture (Nias, 1989).

Another useful conceptualisation of differing orientations in teaching comes from Bottery and Wright (2000a) who argue that recent government policy in England has encouraged a technical-rationalist approach to teaching at the expense of public and ecological orientations. The 'public' orientation of a teacher's role, argue Bottery and Wright, relates to the responsibility inherent in public service, with a particular emphasis in this case on the development of a participative democracy in schools, while the 'ecological' orientation concerns itself with teachers' awareness of the global position in which the nation state is situated and the concomitant pressures that flow from this (p. 482). This critique, while pertaining to England, could also be seen to reflect current trends in Scottish teacher education.

Analysis of conceptions of teaching is aided by the use of frameworks such as those of Zeichner and Bottery and Wright, but should not be constrained by them, as they too could be charged with promoting particular conceptual views on the relevance of certain aspects of teaching. For example, while Zeichner's framework derives from an analysis of the structure and focus of ITE programmes, Bottery and Wright attempt to categorise the forces which influence the design of such structures. The two frameworks do not merely use different categories to describe the same aspects; they indicate different ways of conceptualising and prioritising aspects of teaching. Indeed, Bottery and Wright's public and ecological orientations could both be seen to fit within Zeichner's social reconstructionist tradition, yet Bottery and Wright make clear distinctions between them. Their technical rationalist orientation would fall broadly within Zeichner's social efficiency tradition, but is only a small part of what that tradition implies. There is, however, no direct match between the various categories, and both frameworks can therefore usefully be deployed in assisting the analysis of conceptions of teaching.

Globalisation and standardisation

A particular influence on current conceptions of teaching in Scotland and further afield is that of globalisation (Apple, 2001; Hartley, 2002), whereby the need for nation states to produce suitably skilled workers to allow them to compete in a global market place has had a significant influence on the focus of schooling. In contrast to the widely-held assumption that standardisation and central quality assurance will aid this, Hartley (2002) argues that to service this new knowledge economy, it is not necessarily the short-term effects of standardisation that are required, but rather long-term investment in education which ultimately will help citizens to work creatively and collaboratively and to be self-managing.

However, the dominant approach to teacher education in Scotland, as elsewhere in the UK and beyond, is becoming increasingly standards-based. Initially confined to ITE, this approach has now become firmly embedded in CPD. We now not only have benchmarks for ITE, but also the Standard for Full Registration (SFR) and the Standard for Chartered Teacher (SCT), both of which were published in 2002, and the Standard for Headship, originally published in 1998. Indeed, a CPD guidance booklet published by SEED in November 2002 confirmed that 'the CPD framework will be based around three Standards' (SEED, 2002b, p. 9), thereby acknowledging the central importance of the standards, and implicitly, the measurement of individuals against these standards.

The standards-based approach is being sold in Scotland as a more flexible alternative to the competence-based approach. For example, the SFR includes 'holistic quality indicators' which are to be viewed as 'a useful way of supporting judgements' but 'are not a formal part of the SFR' (GTCS, 2002a, p. 9), and the 'illustrations of practice should not be used as a checklist' (GTCS, 2002b, p. 19), yet it is also described as 'a professional standard against which reliable and consistent decisions can be made on the fitness of new teachers for full registration' (GTCS, 2002b, p. 2). So clearly while the rhetoric is suggesting an element of flexibility, the expectation is that the implementation of the Standard will be consistent.

Standardisation, by its very nature, limits diversity of both action and thought. Fullan (1993) cautions against a move in this direction in that it does not allow educators to drive, or indeed cope with, change. So, while the rationale for a standards-based approach to teacher education is that it is a useful tool for raising attainment, the attainment that is raised will not necessarily allow future citizens to succeed in an ever-changing society. Rather its focus is on technical competence and compliance.

Standards-based and competence-based approaches to teacher education suggest the pursuit of a scientific solution to the replication of good teaching, which will result in increased pupil learning. It is, however, devoid of attention to the social, cultural, political and philosophical aspects of schools and schooling. Scotland, however, is not alone in following this pathway. Beyer (2002), writing about the manifestation of the standards movement in the US, suggests that 'teaching and the preparation of teachers is again being positioned as something like a science' (p. 240). If this is indeed a growing and global phenomenon, then we must explore why this is so. If, as is frequently postulated, (Porter, 1999; Apple, 2001; Wolf, 2002) the principal reason is economic benefit, then it could be suggested that in adopting a standards-based approach to the development of the Scottish CPD framework, its raison d'être is to fulfil economic ideals.

Hartley (2002) also argues that the increasing emphasis on standards-based approaches is driven by an economic imperative, but instead of focusing on nation states' ability to compete in the global market-place, he suggests that increasing regulation and standardisation is an economy-drive, i.e. cheaper and therefore better value for the public purse (pp. 252 – 253). He goes on to caution that while it might be financially attractive in the short term, it leads to less motivated teachers and to a dearth of social capital.

Alternatives to a standards-based approach

While there is increasing evidence of a worldwide growth in standards-based approaches to teacher education, and some understanding of the influences behind this growth, it would be unfair to criticise this model without exploring alternatives.

Atkinson and Claxton (2000) attempt to do this in their edited collection of chapters on 'the intuitive practitioner' where they 'take issue with the dominant tradition which sees rational, explicit, articulate understanding as the central ingredient in both practice and development [of teaching], and which, in consequence, stigmatizes or ignores other ways of knowing' (p. 1). However, in his critical overview of the book, Eraut (2000) concludes that 'both the assessment of students and the evaluation of teaching need to integrate several different kinds of evidence, some gained intuitively and some gained systematically and rationally' (p. 265). Essentially, while recognising a need for greater account to be taken of the place of intuition in the practice and evaluation of teaching, Eraut does not advocate that it should become a wholesale replacement for other more traditional methods.

Hoban (2002) also suggests that there is a need to develop more theoretically complex and dynamic frameworks for understanding, and presumably, therefore, for evaluating, teacher learning. He contends that the current dichotomy between cognitive conceptions and socially-situated conceptions of teacher learning has 'resulted in the inability to develop a coherent theoretical framework to guide long-term teacher learning and neglects the richness gained from fostering interplay between different learning conditions' (p. 65). He therefore proposes a 'systems thinking approach' to teacher learning which would combine aspects of different approaches, attributing value to each.

Hoban goes on to argue that 'professional development' should be reconceptualised as 'professional learning', contending that development implies a linear process whereas learning is a non-linear process. He proposes a framework which acknowledges a number of co-requisite conditions which are needed if professional learning is to take place:

- A conception of teaching as an art or profession;
- Reflection on patterns of change resulting from dynamic relationships;
- An awareness of the purpose of learning;
- An acknowledgement of the timeframe as long-term;

- A sense of community;
- A willingness to experiment and test new ideas in the classroom;
- Conceptual inputs for learners based on a variety of knowledge sources; and
- The centrality of student feedback on what is being tried out in the classroom.

(ibid., p. 69)

Key to this framework is the importance placed on relationships and the value placed on feedback from others involved in the education process.

The need for schools to go beyond their doors and engage with their communities is a theme developed by Hargreaves and Fullan (1998), who suggest that in order to thrive in a world of increasing complexity and rapid change, schools and teachers need to go 'wider' by forging effective links with their communities, and 'deeper' by rediscovering the 'passion and moral purpose that makes teaching and learning exciting and effective' (p. xii). They do acknowledge a need for standards to be defined (p. 133), but suggest that the development and the meeting of these standards should involve collaboration and capacity-building which will allow teachers to respond to change without have responses prescribed for them.

It would seem then, that criticisms of standards-based approaches to teaching are based principally on their exclusivity and narrow definition. Objections raised above have been more firmly focused on the dominance of narrowly defined standards-based approaches than their existence per se. The writers cited above have all, in their various different ways, suggested that a variety of complementary approaches to teaching and teacher learning are more likely to result in sustainable development and effective learning than any one approach on its own.

The relationship between teaching and learning

The assumption implicit in the promotion of a standards-based approach to teacher education is that meeting 'standards' in teaching has a direct impact on pupil learning, yet there is a paucity of research to back this up. Fenstermacher (quoted in Beyer, 2002) attacks this assumption with the contention that '[While] there is a very

tight connection between teaching and learning,... it is not the kind of connection that supports the claim that there can be no teaching without learning' (p. 243). In other words, while there is a fair chance that good teaching will lead to pupil learning, good teaching alone is not the cause of all pupil learning. Beyer (2002) asserts that it is misguided to assume that teaching is the most crucial part of successful learning, and argues that 'for many children the more equitable distribution of resources and opportunities may well be the most important element of successful learning' (p. 243). This notion is in direct conflict with the principle of standardisation in teaching, as different pupils have different needs.

That such a pervading approach to teacher education can be allowed to flourish without being founded on a firm evidential basis, suggests that teacher education programmes, whether at the initial or continuing stages, are often based on assumptions and beliefs rather than evidence (Delandshere & Arens, 2001). This therefore nullifies the principle on which the standards movement relies; that it is based on 'scientific' evidence of what constitutes good teaching. Delandshere & Arens (ibid.) query the evidential base on which standardisation and uniformity in teacher education is based, pointing to the fact that there is little, if any, evidence that uniformity improves learning, education or society. They go on to suggest that in the cases they analysed 'in many instances foundational stances appear absent from teaching standards'. An analysis of the origins and development of the current standards in the Scottish CPD framework also fails to reveal an evidence-based foundation (Purdon, 2003). Indeed, it could be argued that this lack of evidence-based development points more clearly to political or ideological influences being central to the development of the CPD framework as opposed to an evidence-based rationale.

The political dimension

The political dimension of teaching and teacher education is a contested area; indeed, the extent to which teaching should be deemed a 'political' endeavour is a contentious area of debate. Ginsburg and Lindsay (1995) contend that there is disproportionate focus on academic, professional and technical aspects of teacher

education at the expense of 'socialization for the political roles that teachers play' (p. 8). They go on to highlight the emphasis of much recent research in the area of political socialisation on a passive acceptance of dominant ideological concepts. However, they argue that the process of political socialisation is much more complex, pointing to a contrasting body of research which takes as its premise the notion that political socialisation can be transforming in that it contributes to both the 'reproduction and the transformation of the structural and ideological context' (p. 9). While theoretically this contention sounds perfectly valid, what is missing from Ginsburg and Lindsay's account is acknowledgement of the fact that that teachers as individuals or as a professional grouping will not always have equal opportunity to both reproduce and to transform; there are limiting and enabling factors outwith an individual's control which impinge on their ability to experience a balanced political socialisation.

The notion that teachers' political socialisation impacts on their practice is inherent in Sachs' (2001) representation of professional identities. At a basic level, parallels can be drawn between Sachs' 'entrepreneurial identity' and the above notion of political socialisation as ideological reproduction, whereas the 'activist identity' relates closely to the idea that political socialisation can lead to reform and transformation. Sachs outlines the conditions necessary to develop each identity, contending that the entrepreneurial identity is individualistic; competitive; controlling and regulative; and externally defined, whereas the activist identity is primarily concerned to 'reduce or eliminate exploitation, inequality and oppression' (p. 157). The former demands compliance while the latter advocates a principled and proactive stance. It is easy to see, then, why governments might be tempted to support and nurture the entrepreneurial identity at the expense of the activist identity.

Power and influence in shaping dominant conceptions of teaching

Zeichner (1993) claims that little has been learned in the USA from past reform in teacher education, particularly 'with regard to the theoretical and political commitments underlying specific reform proposals' (p. 1). However, there may be several different explanations for this. Bottery and Wright (2000a) refer to research

carried out by Bottery in 1998, where teachers were interviewed about their reactions to the proposals contained in a Green Paper on teacher reform (DfEE, 1998). A number of explanations were uncovered for the perceived disinterest, including: overwork; pressure to implement other initiatives taking priority and therefore energy; a feeling of powerless in the policy development process; and a sense of demoralisation at the portrayal of teachers by politicians and the media.

The power of discourse to shape dominant conceptions is discussed in detail in Chapter 6, but it is also worth highlighting here. In particular, the development of a series of standards for teachers' professional development, while allowing them to share a common language, can result in alternative conceptions not being considered, therefore maintaining the status quo without critique or debate.

However, it is not only what is written that serves to shape dominant discourse, but also what is not written. Bottery and Wright (2000a) discuss this point when they point out that not only is what is written in government policy papers significant, but so too is what is omitted, as omissions serve to limit diversity and to define a singular conception of teaching acceptable to government (p. 480).

Analysing current buzzwords in education provides a useful way of exploring the conceptions of teaching implicit in the development of the CPD framework. Words such as reflective practitioner; standards; competence; accountability; and of course professionalism are all used to convey particular notions of what teaching is. Indeed, none of these words individually is value free, but used together they provide an even stronger basis on which to advocate a particular conception of teaching.

4.2 Professionalism and professional identity

The foregoing section discussed conceptions of teaching, concluding that personal and organisational constructs of the purpose of teaching have a powerful influence on the nature of teacher education, both at the initial stages and through continuing professional development. This section takes that argument further, suggesting that conceptions of teaching, and therefore of teacher education and professional

development, are themselves influenced by constructs of professionalism and professional identity.

The concept of professionalism is a difficult one to define. After all, it is used in many different capacities. For example, it is in common usage in everyday language, often to mean an occupation/activity for which one is paid as opposed to doing voluntarily, for example, a 'professional footballer'. The term is also used to classify the respective status of an occupational group. However, increasingly the term professionalism is used to empower or to control teachers. The nature of the debate over professionalism in general, and teacher professionalism in particular, has developed significantly over the years from being principally a means of sociological classification to an instrument of political control.

The term 'new professionalism' is used by Sachs (2003) to distinguish between 'old' forms of professionalism which debate characteristics of professions and the extent to which occupational groups might be acknowledged as professions, and 'new' forms which, claims Sachs, assume a 'changed analytical perspective' and are seen to be more 'positive, principled and post-modern' (p. 7). The distinction between old and new forms of professionalism is useful, although the notion that new forms of professionalism are necessarily 'positive' and 'principled' should be considered with caution, as there is also evidence of a less 'principled' discourse in action.

This section of the thesis focuses primarily on the contemporary debate on teacher professionalism, or 'new professionalism', but also acknowledges, briefly, the importance of traditional sociological conceptions, the impact of which is still evident. This review of professionalism will build on the issues considered in section 4.1 in highlighting the way(s) in which conceptions of teaching and of teacher professionalism influence, or are influenced by, notions of the purpose of CPD.

Traditional sociological analyses of professions

Traditional concepts of professionalism centre on the classification, organisation and role of professions – an aspect of sociology considered in most general sociological

texts (see for example, Haralambos and Holborn, 2000). The notion of classifying certain occupational groups as professions is, however, a contested one, and there is certainly no one agreed definition of what constitutes a 'profession'. Indeed, Day (1999) claims that 'professions are more easy to instance than define' (p. 1), but nonetheless many attempts have been made to list characteristics of professions (for example, Downie, 1990). These lists are generally based on characteristics apparent in traditional and elite professions such as medicine and law. While there is no overall agreement as to exactly what constitutes a profession, there are certain key aspects which are commonly cited as being likely to pertain to an occupational group seeking claim to professional status. These generally include reference to specialist knowledge, autonomy and responsibility (Hoyle and John, 1995). Professionalism, therefore, implies that such characteristics are evident in an individual's work.

In addition to debates surrounding the definition and characteristics of professions, sociologists are also keen to explore and debate the ideological considerations which perpetuate the existence of professions. Two principal ideological perspectives are commonly identified: the functionalist and the Weberian. These perspectives focus on the perceived reasons for the rewards accruing to members of the professional group in terms of status and salary.

Under a functionalist perspective of professionalism, the key principle is that the profession is trusted to carry out a service to society. This trust is evident through the deployment of professional self-regulation as a quality assurance mechanism. It is argued that the accompanying rewards to members of the professional group reflect society's appreciation of the trust that it has in the profession to carry out the particular service (Barber, 1963). The motivation for carrying out the professional service is essentially altruistic, and the accompanying rewards acknowledge that contribution.

In contrast, a Weberian perspective would focus primarily on the rewards reaped by the professionals as opposed to the service provided by them, and would argue that professional status serves to increase the exclusiveness of the occupational group,

thereby increasing the rewards that can be claimed. The central focus here is on the acquisition and maintenance of power through exclusivity (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000), and the rewards that can be commanded by this exclusive status. These two perspectives reflect what might essentially be termed as either altruism or self-interest as the key motivators.

Using traditional sociological frameworks, it is possible to analyse teaching in terms of its claim to professional status. However, given that the majority of sociological analyses originate from the elite professions, then this exercise could arguably be portrayed as little more than a crude comparison of teaching against traditional, elite professions. Nonetheless, the origins of the debate on professionalism are relevant to contemporary debate, particularly in relation to the motivations for the perpetuation of the concept.

There is a wealth of literature addressing this question of the extent to which teaching can be considered a profession. Most of this literature adopts a comparative approach where teaching is judged against the characteristics of the established, elite professions such as medicine and law. For example, Etzioni (1969) classifies teaching as a 'semi-profession', while Haralambos and Holborn (2000) describe it as a 'lower' profession. If we accept the traditional argument outlined above that the classification of occupational groups as professions relates to their relative status and related capacity for reaping reward, then it is understandable that occupational groups would wish to be seen as professions, in order to maximise such status and reward.

Central to this debate is the ever-changing nature of occupational groups and their relationship with society. In this sense, perhaps the validity of the study of 'professions' itself is questionable, as professions themselves are only identifiable as occupational groups judged against the somewhat elusive concept of professionalism. Eraut (1994), referring to the work of Johnson, chooses to classify professionalism as an ideology as opposed to an attempt to 'distinguish "true" professions from other contenders' (p. 1). Indeed, more recent critical analyses of

professionalism (Smyth et al., 2000) tend towards the view that professionalism is principally an ideology linked to matters of control.

It is therefore perhaps not possible to identify a workable definition of professionalism:

> ... to seek a fixed position is futile: professionalism has always been a changing concept rather than a generic one ... I see the concept and practice of professionalism as a site of struggle, especially as it relates to meaning.
>
> (Sachs, 2003, p. 6)

This 'site of struggle' pertains to the ways in which the term, and the concept, of professionalism are used by different stakeholder groups. Smyth et al. (2000) argue that the concept has not only been used to control teachers, but has also been used by them 'as a weapon to maintain and/or regain some control over their work' (p. 45).

So, despite the existence of considerable debate surrounding the extent to which teaching can be classed as a profession, this paper takes as its premise the notion that the existence of this debate itself is proof of the ideological nature of the concept of professionalism. That is, the struggle to define professions and professionalism is indicative of the interplay of power among stakeholders. Therefore, the question of whether or not teaching is a profession, in terms of traditional concepts, is perhaps not as relevant as the question of why and how the concept of professionalism is used in relation to teaching.

Contemporary discourses of teacher professionalism

The dynamic nature and multiple interpretations of professionalism make any analysis of it as a static, homogenous concept somewhat difficult. It would appear that much of the existing body of literature, which explores professionalism from a

traditional sociological perspective, is now being superseded by developing concepts of professionalism that support particular political agendas. Contemporary writers prominent in the field of teacher professionalism appear to be highlighting two contrasting models. While these are defined slightly differently and attributed different names according to particular writers, broadly speaking they equate to a 'managerial' perspective and a 'democratic' perspective – terms used by Sachs (2001). The managerial perspective values effectiveness, efficiency and compliance with policy, whereas the democratic perspective holds dear such values as social justice, fairness and equality. The dynamic nature of the concept of professionalism reflects a response to 'changing social, economic and political conditions' (Sachs, 2003, p. 6).

Sachs (2001), writing from an Australian perspective, claims that managerial professionalism is now the dominant discourse and is 'mandated by the state' (p. 151). She claims that the existence of this discourse is illustrated through employing authorities' policies on CPD 'with their emphasis on accountability and effectiveness' (p. 149). This model has its roots in the corporate world of business, where efficiency, targets and accountability are deemed central to effective organisations, resulting in teachers 'increasingly [being] expected to follow directives and become compliant operatives' (Smyth et al., 2000, p. 1). However, the drive towards a conception of professionalism which ensures increased efficiency is neither accidental, nor neutral. Apple (1996) argues that 'the institutionalization of efficiency as a dominant bureaucratic norm is not a neutral, technical matter. It is, profoundly, an instance of cultural power relations' (p. 54).

While this might help to explain the structure and impact of managerial professionalism, it does not account fully for the influence behind its seeming popularity. The growing trend towards a managerial conception of professionalism has arguably come about as a result of global reforms in education (Carlgren, 1999). However, it is the ideological underpinning of these reforms that influence the way in which concepts of professionalism develop. The recent growth in managerial professionalism has been attributed to globalisation (Smyth et al., 2000), and its role

in driving economic competition among countries, resulting in an emphasis on the development of marketable skills in pupils.

In contrast to the concept of managerial professionalism discussed above, democratic professionalism 'seeks to demystify professional work and build alliances between teachers and excluded constituencies... on whose behalf decisions have traditionally been made either by professions or by the state' (Sachs, 2001, p. 152). Key to the concept of democratic professionalism is the importance of collaborative action (Sachs, 2001) between and among teachers and the communities in which they work. The demystification of professional work is, however, at odds with the traditional notion of professions as the preserve of the educated few, and hence can be perceived as threatening to a profession such as teaching which is still struggling to be viewed as a 'true' profession.

In a similar vein to Sachs' notion of democratic professionalism, Goodson (2003) advocates 'principled professionalism' – a term he uses to convey a 'new moral order of teaching... [which] will unite around moral definitions of teaching and schooling (p. 132). However, the power of the dominant managerial discourse, which espouses market principles, militates against wholesale adoption of such a stance.

In essence, there is a recognition that the dominant view of professionalism across the majority of English-speaking, capitalist countries is that 'as state functionaries, teachers maintain a stance of neutrality in relation to social issues' (Gale and Densmore, 2003, p. 86). Notions of fairness and impartiality are espoused, but are communicated by a profession which for the most part consists of white, middle class, mono-cultured people. This, claim Gale and Densmore, has led to the subconscious reinforcement of 'undemocratic conditions where interests of non-dominant groups have remained unaddressed' (p. 86). This is exacerbated by traditional notions of professionalism which focus on status and privilege, and which ultimately have the capacity to increase the gulf between teachers and many of the communities in which they work. So, while there are arguably two differing

discourses of professionalism dominating current debate, their influence is by no means equal in pragmatic terms.

Accountability

Accountability features heavily in any discussion of professionalism, however, it should not be assumed that there is a shared conception of what the term means, or indeed that the term is a neutral or objective one. It was claimed earlier in this chapter that autonomy and responsibility are deemed to be key tenets of the traditional conception of professionalism. Autonomy and responsibility, however, are inextricably linked, and accountability features in each. In contemporary, managerial conceptions of professionalism, accountability is used as an external form of control, whereas in more democratic conceptions of professionalism, accountability is seen as being much more in the hands of professionals, and is about accounting for the quality of service to learners and their communities rather than to government or other external agencies. Eraut (2000) notes this, going on to suggest that 'The key distinction to be made from the outset is between central prescription and professional accountability' (p. 265).

However, in an education system where a managerial conception of professionalism dominates, accountability becomes equated to the external verification of pre-defined standards being met. Criticism of accountability then relates to criticism of this particular notion, not of the fundamental principle that professionals should be accountable.

What it perhaps missing from many contemporary conceptions of professionalism is the recognition that accountability can be achieved in a number of ways, and that it can come from within the profession as opposed to being externally imposed.

The concept of 'professionalisation'

If, as argued in this chapter, professionalism is viewed as a dynamic concept, then the process of professionalisation is surely significant to the debate. The term 'professionalisation' is often used to describe the process through which

occupational groups seek and gain acceptance as professions (Hoyle and John, 1995). In this sense, professionalisation is a process through which a defined end-outcome is achieved. However, Gale and Densmore (2003) add an extra dimension to this particular debate when they draw distinctions between professionalisation as 'political advocacy', particularly on the part of professional associations, and the drive by teacher educators to have teaching positioned as more of a 'science' (p. 73). This drive to have teaching viewed in 'scientific' terms is particularly relevant to current discussions of CPD policy and its rationale, and reflects the dominant managerial view of professionalism. Patrick et al. (2003) writing about CPD and professionalism in both Scotland and England, support this view when they warn that:

> ... the danger is that CPD will further compound the superficial notion of professionalism demonstrated in ITE/T [initial teacher education/training] competences and in standards for full registration, and that opportunities to step outside the government's agenda and redefine professionalism through CPD will be overlooked. (p. 242)

However, Gale and Densmore's distinction suggests that professional acknowledgement can be achieved in a number of ways, and that the way in which it is achieved is highly significant in shaping professional identity. It is not simply a case of gaining acceptance as a profession that is important, but the nature of that acceptance and its impact on the professional identity of individuals within and outwith the group.

The idea that professionalisation is not merely a means to an end, but rather is concerned with the process through which the identity of the profession is acknowledged, increases the relevance of the concept to this thesis. In essence, if professionalisation is considered as the process through which the professional identity of the occupational group is negotiated and acknowledged, then this is not a process that leads to a definitive end-outcome; rather it is a perpetual process through which identity is articulated, shared, shaped and renewed. If professionalism itself is

indeed a dynamic concept, then professionalisation too must surely be a continual and renewing process, and provides a means through which the differing discourses might vie for dominance.

The foregoing discussion of professionalisation relates to the professional or occupational group as a whole. What is also relevant to this study is the notion of professionalisation as a process through which individuals negotiate their membership of the profession. Thus the argument would follow that individual professionalisation is the process through which an individual would go in order to enable them to articulate their own professional identity. So, if professionalisation is about the process through which either the occupational group as a whole, or individual members within it, strive to have their professional identity articulated and acknowledged, then this shifts the meaning of professionalisation considerably. CPD policy itself could arguably be presented as a form of professionalisation. If this is the case, then what needs to be investigated is the particular notion(s) of professionalism being promoted through the development of the CPD framework.

The politics of professionalism

New professionalism, in which managerial and democratic perspectives create either end of a spectrum, is arguably not so much a concept of professionalism as a description of movement in the debate over professionalism, a debate which is inherently political. Sachs (2001) claims that 'the new professionalism now developing and mandated by the state [Australia] is what I describe as managerial professionalism' (p. 151). Whitty (2002) considers this development, arguing that it has the potential to split the profession into 'those who are prepared to "manage" on behalf of their employers... [and who] may gain enhanced status and rewards' (p. 69) and those who pursue a traditional 'welfarist' agenda who will be 'no longer trusted and have to be controlled more directly' (ibid.). The clear message here being that if teachers are not prepared to comply with and implement the forms of control prescribed through the managerialist agenda they will then have to be controlled by more overt and directive means. Even more worryingly, not only will this control

impact on teachers directly, it will be divisive in such a way that limits collective opposition through a strategy of 'divide and rule'.

The growing imposition of a managerial, business-focused approach to education is a development that Goodson (2003) speaks quite categorically against, claiming that 'once the moral and ethical vocation of teaching is elevated to a priority, it becomes clear that importing business methods of research, accountability and performance pay are peculiarly ill-suited methods' (p. 133).

Indeed, Wolf (2000) adds to this argument suggesting that not only is there no moral or ethical rationale for the adoption of a business model in education, but that there is also no evidence to support the claim that business knows best what the education system should provide. She highlights the extensive role played by the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) in the development of UK education policy, and asks the question 'why have the representatives [the CBI] of what is essentially a lobbying organization for big businesses been so active in education policy...?' (ibid., p. 127). Despite the existence of such views, the business model appears to be an accepted principle on which to base education.

The discussion so far contends that the concept of professionalism is neither static nor neutral – it can be used to empower or to exploit teachers. Hargreaves and Goodson (1996) argue that professionalism can be viewed as 'a rhetorical ruse – a way to get teachers to misrecognize their own exploitation and to comply willingly with increased intensification of their labour in the workplace' (p. 20), however, they go on to state that their preferred conception of professionalism is one that is guided by 'moral and socio-political visions' (ibid.). This view clearly aligns itself with what has been termed in this paper as democratic professionalism – a counter perspective to the currently dominant discourse of managerial professionalism.

In summary, concepts of professionalism derive from ideological concerns about the state and society. Essentially, what can be seen in the debate over contemporary notions of professionalism is the argument over whether economic or societal

concerns should take priority in influencing what happens in schools. The concept of professionalism is used as a tool to promote or to stifle particular ideological agendas, and as such must be seen as a political issue.

The debate about contemporary concepts of professionalism is explored extensively in the literature, presenting a cumulative view that while the managerial perspective is currently dominant in the UK and beyond, democratic professionalism should be made more prominent in policy and in practice.

4.3 Summary

The first part of this chapter argued that dominant conceptions of teaching are influenced heavily by established patterns of initial teacher education. Using Zeichner's (1993) framework this means that for various historical and cultural reasons the Scottish context is dominated by a combination of the 'academic tradition' and the 'social efficiency tradition'.

In the second part of the chapter, which explored conceptions of professionalism, a similar pattern was found, although different terminology was used. The dominant form of professionalism in the Scottish context was found to be based very heavily on a managerial conception, which relates closely to the 'social efficiency' tradition of teaching referred to above.

It can therefore be concluded that the conceptions of teaching and of professionalism are inextricably linked, and together serve as a very influential means of shaping CPD policy. Any analysis of policy relating to teachers must therefore take on board the influence that dominant conceptions of teaching and of professionalism might have.

5 MODELS OF CPD

The area of teachers' continuing professional development is of growing interest in Scotland and internationally. However, while an increasing range of literature focuses on particular aspects of CPD, there is a paucity of literature addressing the spectrum of CPD models in a comparative manner (Hoban, 2002). This chapter examines a range of models of CPD and proposes a framework through which they can be analysed. This analysis focuses on the perceived purpose of each model, identifying issues of power in relation to central control, individual teacher autonomy and profession-wide autonomy. The chapter proposes nine categories under which models of CPD might be grouped. These nine categories are then organised along a spectrum which identifies the relative potential capacity for transformative practice and professional autonomy inherent in each. The premise of this being that such conditions require teachers to be able to articulate their own conceptions of teaching and to be able to select and justify appropriate modes of practice.

CPD can be structured and organised in a number of different ways, and for a number of different reasons. While most CPD experiences might be considered as means of introducing or enhancing knowledge, skills and attitudes, it cannot be assumed that this is uncontested. For example, Eraut (1994) argues that it is not merely the type of professional knowledge being acquired which is important, but the context through which it is acquired, and subsequently used, that actually helps us to understand the nature of that knowledge. Analysing the means through which CPD for teachers is organised and structured may help us to understand not only the motivation behind such structures, but also the nature of professional knowledge and professionalism itself. Eraut (1994) identifies three major contexts in which professional knowledge is acquired: the academic context; institutional discussion of policy and practice; and practice itself (p. 20).

Clearly, knowledge acquisition is not situated exclusively within any one of these three contexts, but the identification of the different contexts is useful in analytical terms. Eraut does not give explicit consideration to the role of informal professional

discussion and reading that takes place outwith the institutional context, yet this, too, is surely a relevant context. The models discussed in this chapter reflect varying degrees of importance placed on each of these contexts as potential sites of knowledge acquisition, and their consideration aids the analysis of the underpinning agendas that are supported by the various models.

This chapter presents a framework in which the main characteristics of a range of models of CPD are identified and categorised. It considers the circumstances in which each particular model might be adopted and explores the form(s) of knowledge that can be developed through the particular model. In broad terms nine models are identified, which have been categorised as follows:

- The training model
- The award-bearing model
- The deficit model
- The cascade model
- The standards-based model
- The coaching/mentoring model
- The community of practice model
- The action research model
- The transformative model

Each of these models will be considered in turn, drawing on specific examples from the Scottish context, before moving on to discuss their interaction and their relative capacity for supporting transformative practice. However, it should be noted that the nine models are not proposed as necessarily exhaustive or exclusive; rather they are an attempt at identifying key characteristics of different types of CPD with the aim of enabling deeper analysis of, and dialogue about, fundamental issues of purpose.

5.1 The training model

The training model of CPD is universally recognisable (Little, 1994; Kelly & McDiarmid, 2002) and has in recent years arguably been the dominant form of CPD

for teachers. This model of CPD supports a skills-based, technocratic view of teaching whereby CPD provides teachers with the opportunity to update their skills in order to be able to demonstrate their competence. It is generally 'delivered' to the teacher by an 'expert', with the agenda determined by the deliverer, and the participant placed in a passive role. While the training can take place within the institution in which the participant works, it is most commonly delivered off-site, and is often subject to criticism about its lack of connection to the current classroom context in which participants work. Day (1999) identifies one of the principal difficulties as being the failure of such training events to 'connect with the essential moral purposes that are at the heart of their [teachers'] professionalism' (p. 49).

The training model of CPD is compatible with, although not always related to, a standards-based view of teacher development where teachers strive to demonstrate particular skills specified in a nationally agreed standard. The model supports a high degree of central control, often veiled as quality assurance, where the focus is firmly on coherence and standardisation. It is powerful in maintaining a narrow view of teaching and education whereby the standardisation of training opportunities overshadows the need for teachers to be proactive in identifying and meeting their own development needs. The dominant discourse in Scotland, as in many other countries, supports this notion that standardisation of training equates to improvements in teaching, learning and pupil attainment. Indeed, Kirk et al. (2003), in outlining the context for the development of the chartered teacher programme, link the standards-based approach with an associated training model of CPD when they say that 'Statements of competence and standards, derived with the support of the profession should help to ensure that development and training are clearly related and effectively targeted at the skills and knowledge teachers require' (p. 3).

Despite its drawbacks, the training model is acknowledged as an effective means of introducing new knowledge (Hoban, 2002), albeit in a decontextualised setting. What the training model fails to impact upon in any significant way is the manner in which this new knowledge is used in practice. Perhaps even more significantly, though, in terms of the relative power of stakeholders the training model provides an effective

way for dominant stakeholders to control and limit the agenda, and places the teacher in a passive role as recipient of specific knowledge.

5.2 The award-bearing model

An award-bearing model of CPD is one that relies on, or emphasises, the completion of award-bearing programmes of study – usually, but not exclusively, validated by universities. This external validation can be viewed as a mark of quality assurance, but equally can be viewed as the exercise of control by the validating and/or funding bodies.

The introduction of the chartered teacher programme in Scotland provides an interesting example of the way in which university validated award-bearing provision can become the bedrock of a particular CPD structure. While it has been argued that this, together with GTCS accreditation, provides a necessary element of quality assurance and continuity, in practice it also serves to limit the availability of other award-bearing provision (Purdon, 2003) and to standardise the experiences of those working towards chartered teacher status.

However, in current education discourse in Scotland there is an emphasis on professional action, which is not always supportive of what is perceived to be 'academic' as opposed to 'practical'. There is therefore a pressure for award-bearing courses to be focused on classroom practice, often at the expense of issues of values and beliefs (Solomon & Tresman, 1999).

The fundamental meaning of chartered teacher status has been the subject of extensive and public debate by high-profile individuals in the Scottish teacher education scene (for example, Henderson, 'Rift over path to chartered status', Times Educational Supplement, 15/03/2002). Arguments have centred round the emphasis on 'professional' as opposed to 'academic' routes. This discourse of anti-intellectualism has led to accusations of the irrelevance of the 'academic' work undertaken by universities and has placed emphasis instead on the practice-based element of teaching. To interpret 'professional' and 'academic' as antonyms conveys

worrying messages about the conception of teacher professionalism in dominant education discourse.

What this particular example illustrates is the way in which the dominant discourse has influenced providers of award-bearing courses, in turn reflecting particular ideological imperatives potentially at the expense of academic and intellectual autonomy.

5.3 The deficit model

Professional development can be designed specifically to address a perceived deficit in teacher performance. This may well be set within the context of performance management, which itself is subject to debate over its fundamental purpose. Rhodes and Beneicke (2003) point out that performance management can be viewed as a means of raising standards or 'as an element of government intervention to exact greater efficiency, effectiveness and accountability' (p. 124). Nonetheless, performance management requires that somebody takes charge of evaluating and managing change in teacher performance, and this includes, where necessary, attempting to remedy perceived weaknesses in individual teacher performance. What is not always clear, however, is what the expectations are for competent performance, and whose notion of competence they reflect.

While the deficit model uses CPD to attempt to remedy perceived weaknesses in individual teachers, Rhodes and Beneicke (2003) suggest that the root causes of poor teacher performance are related not only to individual teachers, but also to organisational and management practices. Indeed, to attribute blame to individual teachers, and to view CPD as a means of remedying individual weaknesses, suggests a model whereby collective responsibility is not considered: that is that the system itself is not considered as a possible reason for the perceived failure of a teacher to demonstrate the desired competence. It also assumes the need for a baseline measure of competence, and once this has been committed to paper, it can begin to adopt an authority of its own.

Borcham (2004) discusses this issue of individual and collective competence, arguing that in the school context, effective collective competence is dependent on leadership which promotes three particular conditions, namely: making collective sense of events in the workplace; developing and using a collective knowledge base; and developing a sense of interdependency (p. 9). This argument is clearly at odds with the notion of the deficit model which attributes blame for perceived under-performance on individuals, and fails to take due cognisance of collective responsibility.

5.4 The cascade model

The cascade model involves individual teachers attending 'training events' and then cascading, or disseminating, the information to colleagues. It is commonly employed in situations where resources are limited. Although very popular in Scotland in the early 1990s, after local government reorganisation resulted in tighter resource allocations (Marker, 1999), this model is not quite as popular in Scotland now.

Day (1999) reports on a case study in which the cascade model was employed by a group of teachers as a means of sharing their own (successful) learning with colleagues. The group reported on what they had learned, but 'no detailed consideration was given to the very principles of participation, collaboration and ownership which had characterized their own learning' (p. 126).

In addition to such issues surrounding the conditions required for successful learning, Solomon and Tresman (1999) suggest that one of the drawbacks of this model is that what is passed on in the cascading process is generally skills-focused, sometimes knowledge-focused, but rarely focuses on values. This is an argument which is also articulated by Nieto (2003) when she claims that teacher education 'needs to shift from a focus on questions of "what" and "how" to also consider questions of "why" (p. 395).

It could therefore be argued that the cascade model supports a technicist view of teaching, where skills and knowledge are given priority over attitudes and values.

The cascade model also neglects to consider the range of learning contexts outlined by Eraut (1994), instead assuming that it is the knowledge per se that is the important part of the process and not necessarily the context in which it is gained or used.

5.5 The standards-based model

Before considering the characteristics of the standards-based model of CPD, it is worth giving some consideration to the terminology used. 'Standards' as opposed to 'competences' are now de rigueur in Scotland, with their most vigorous proponents extolling the relative virtues of standards as opposed to their predecessors – competences. However, in analysing the difference between the two, while the language has changed, it is difficult to discern any real difference in either practical or philosophical terms. While the language may have shifted to hint at issues of values and commitment etc, the real test is in the implementation of standards. Within the Scottish chartered teacher programme, for example, the emphasis is firmly on the 'professional actions', which are seen as the way of demonstrating that the standard has been met. The emphasis on evidence-based, demonstrable practice surely renders the SCT competence-based, despite claims to the contrary. Indeed Kirk et al. (2003), in writing about their experiences as members of the Chartered Teacher Project Team, state that the team was committed to the proposition that 'the assessment of potential Chartered Teachers has centrally to focus on competence in professional performance' (p. 38). It is therefore contested that in real terms, and in contrast to popular academic discourse, there is very little substantive difference between competences and standards, other than in linguistic terms.

The standards-based model of CPD belittles the notion of teaching as a complex, context-specific political and moral endeavour; rather it 'represents a desire to create a system of teaching, and teacher education, that can generate and empirically validate connections between teacher effectiveness and student learning' (Beyer, 2002, p. 243). This 'scientific' basis on which the standards movement relies limits the opportunities for alternative forms of CPD to be considered. It also relies heavily on a behaviourist perspective on learning, focusing on the competence of individual teachers and resultant rewards at the expense of collaborative and collegiate learning.

Smyth (1991) argues that externally imposed forms of accountability and inspection, such as standards, indicate a lack of respect for teachers' own capacities for reflective, critical inquiry. Indeed, this argument could be taken further to suggest that not only is it a lack of respect, but that it sets clear expectations regarding the extent to which teachers should take responsibility for their own professional learning, and encourages them to be reliant on central direction, even in assessing their own capacity to teach.

There are many critics of the standards-based model of CPD. For example, Beyer (2002) criticises the lack of attention given to central and contentious questions regarding the purpose of teaching, claiming that 'teacher education must be infused with the kind of critical scrutiny about social purposes, future possibilities, economic realities and moral directions' (p. 240). He views the move towards increasing standardisation in the US as narrowing the range of potential conceptions of teaching to focus on quality assurance and accountability. This narrowing of view is surely in direct contrast to the above expressed notion of critical scrutiny. Beyer (ibid.), among others, suggests that the move towards increasing standardisation in teacher education at both initial and continuing stages, is in part a response to growing concerns about nation states' abilities to compete in the global economy. In this context standardisation can thus be equated to the pursuit of improved economic status.

Despite the existence of extensive literature which is critical of the standards-based approach to teacher education, policies which adopt this approach do present a justification for its use. For example, within the context of the chartered teacher programme in Scotland, members of the development team have argued that the participative approach to the development of the Standard for Chartered Teacher will result in teachers being more willing to engage with it (Kirk et al., 2003). Arguably, standards also provide a common language, making it easier for teachers to engage in dialogue about their professional practice. However, Draper et al. (2004) note the tensions inherent in the standards-based approach, warning that 'the Standard

[Standard for Full Registration] itself may be seen as a useful scaffold for professional development or as a source of pressure for uniformity' (p. 221).

There is clearly capacity for standards to be used to scaffold professional development and to provide a common language, thereby enabling greater dialogue between teachers, but these advantages must be tempered by acknowledgement of the potential for standards to narrow conceptions of teaching, or indeed to render it unnecessary for teachers to consider alternative conceptions outwith those promoted by the standards.

5.6 The coaching/mentoring model

The coaching/mentoring model covers a variety of CPD practices which are based on a range of philosophical premises. However, the defining characteristic of this model is the importance of the one-to-one relationship, generally between two teachers, which is designed to support CPD. Both coaching and mentoring share this characteristic, although most attempts to distinguish between the two suggest that coaching is more skills based and that mentoring involves an element of 'counselling and professional friendship' (Rhodes and Bencicke, 2002, p. 301). Indeed, mentoring also often implies a relationship where one partner is novice and the other more experienced (Clutterbuck, 1991).

The mentoring or coaching relationship can be collegiate, for example 'peer coaching', but is probably more likely to be hierarchical, as in, for example, the new induction procedures in Scotland (GTCS, 2002b) where every new teacher is guaranteed a 'supporter' who supports the CPD process and is involved in the assessment of the new teacher's competence against the Standard for Full Registration. Key to the coaching/mentoring model, however, is the notion that professional learning can take place within the school context and can be enhanced by sharing dialogue with colleagues.

In contrast to the novice/experienced teacher mentoring relationship, Smyth (1991) argues for a model of 'clinical supervision', which is collegiate in nature and is used by teachers for teachers. These two ends of the spectrum indicate a clear difference,

in conceptual terms, of the purpose of mentoring. The novice/experienced teacher model is akin to apprenticeship, where the experienced teacher initiates the novice teacher into the profession. This initiation, while including support for the novice in gaining and using appropriate skills and knowledge, also conveys messages to the new teacher about the social and cultural norms within the institution. In direct contrast, where the coaching/mentoring model involves a more equitable relationship, it allows for the two teachers involved to discuss possibilities, beliefs and hopes in a less hierarchically threatening manner. Interestingly, depending on the matching of those involved in the coaching/mentoring relationship, this model can support either a transmission view of professional development, where teachers are initiated into the status quo by their more experienced colleagues, or a transformative view where the relationship provides a supportive but challenging forum for both intellectual and affective interrogation of practice.

Robbins (cited in Rhodes and Bencicke, 2002) defines peer coaching as 'A confidential process through which two or more colleagues work together to reflect upon current practices; expand, refine and build new skills; share ideas; conduct action research; teach one another, or problem solve within the workplace' (p. 298). So, while Robbins acknowledges the key characteristic of the one-to-one relationship, his particular definition of the relationship focuses on confidentiality as opposed to accountability. This adds a very different dimension to the relationship as the introduction of the condition of confidentiality shifts the power relationship quite significantly from that described under the induction type relationship where the purpose is dual: support and assessment. Robbins' definition also militates against peer coaching as a form of accountability, instead placing it firmly within a transformative conception of CPD.

Regardless of the fundamental purpose of the coaching/mentoring model as mutually supportive and challenging or hierarchical and assessment driven, the quality of inter-personal relationships is crucial. In order for the coaching/mentoring model of CPD to be successful, participants must have well-developed interpersonal communication skills (Rhodes and Bencicke, 2002). It is interesting to note, then, that while the new induction arrangements in Scotland require that each new teacher

has a designated 'supporter', there are no requirements for that person to have particular strengths in terms of interpersonal communication or to be trained in the role of supporter. However, recent research into the experiences of probationer teachers in the new induction scheme in Scotland suggests that 'for the optimum relationship the supporter must want to do the job and should be trained' (Draper et al., 2004, p. 219).

So, while the key characteristic of the coaching/mentoring model is its reliance on a one-to-one relationship, it can, depending on its underpinning philosophy, support either a transmission or a transformative conception of CPD.

5.7 The community of practice model

There is a clear relationship between communities of practice and the mutually supportive and challenging form of the coaching/mentoring model discussed above. The essential difference between the two is that a community of practice generally involves more than two people, and would not necessarily rely on confidentiality. However, the other form of the coaching/mentoring model of CPD discussed above – the hierarchical, assessment driven model - is perhaps not as closely related to the communities of practice model.

Wenger (1998) contends that while we are all members of various communities of practice, learning within these communities involves three essential processes: evolving forms of mutual engagement; understanding and tuning [their] enterprise; and developing [their] repertoire, styles and discourses (p. 95). Central to Wenger's thesis is a social theory of learning, recognising that learning within a community of practice happens as a result of that community and its interactions, and not merely as a result of planned learning episodes such as courses.

However, participants' awareness of the existence of the community is surely central to their internalisation of such learning. Depending on the role played by the individual as a member of the wider team, learning within such a community could be either a positive and proactive experience or a passive experience where the collective wisdom of dominant members of the group shapes other individuals'

understanding of the community and its roles. Yeatman and Sachs (cited in Day, 1999, p. 183) highlight this in relation to a particular case study in Australia, where they observe that the successful community of practice 'has developed as a formal and explicit relationship between practising teachers and teacher educators'.

Although not using the term 'communities of practice', Borcham (2000) considers a social conception of learning in relation to the medical profession, when he argues that:

> When the professional activity is collective, the amount of knowledge available in a clinical unit cannot be measured by the sum total of the knowledge possessed by its individual members. A more appropriate measure would be the knowledge generated by the richness of the connections between individuals. (p. 505)

Boreham makes explicit the added value of learning in communities, viewing the existence of individual knowledge and the combinations of several individuals' knowledge through practice, as a powerful site for the creation of new knowledge.

Fundamental to successful CPD within a community of practice is the issue of power. Wenger (1998) argues that a community of practice should create its own understanding of the joint enterprise, therefore allowing the members of that community to exert a certain level of control over the agenda. For professional learning to take place within this context, it should be neither a form of externally imposed accountability nor of performance management. Indeed, Wenger (ibid.) argues that 'negotiating a joint enterprise gives rise to relations of mutual accountability among those involved' (p. 81), therefore arguably promoting greater capacity for transformative practice than a managerial form of accountability would allow.

It is therefore argued that while communities of practice can potentially serve to perpetuate dominant discourses in an uncritical manner, under certain conditions they

can also act as powerful sites of transformation, where the sum total of individual knowledge and experience is enhanced significantly through collective endeavour.

5.8 The action research model

Somekh (cited in Day, 1999, p. 34) defines action research as 'the study of a social situation, involving the participants themselves as researchers, with a view to improving the quality of action within it'. The 'quality of action' can be perceived as the participants' understanding of the situation as well as the practice within the situation.

Advocates of the action research model (Burbank and Kauchack, 2003; Weiner, 2002) tend to suggest that it has a greater impact on practice when it is shared in communities of practice, or enquiry, and indeed, many communities of practice will engage in action research. However, collaboration of the nature found in a community of practice is not a prerequisite of the action research model.

Weiner (2002) discusses one particular example of research based professional development set within the particular national context in Sweden. Key to this national context is an agreement among partners (universities, government and professional groups) that national education research needs to be more relevant to practitioners, and that in supporting teachers to carry out action based research the problem of relevance will be addressed. Weiner acknowledges that this agreement could potentially point to a number of agendas, but she concentrates primarily on this move as a means of supporting 'greater participation, relevance and democracy' (p. 3). Indeed, she claims that 'action research has practitioner development and transformation as its main aim' (p. 5). However, this particular move must be seen against a background of increasing decentralisation in the Swedish education system where local authorities and schools are responsible for their teachers' CPD, with no overall national strategy to adhere to. In addition, the move away from universities as sole producers of research could be seen as an attempt to weaken their power base.

Burbank and Kauchack (2003) argue that collaborative action research provides an alternative to the passive role imposed on teachers in traditional models of professional development. They advocate teachers being encouraged to view research as a process as opposed to merely a product of someone else's endeavours. It is also, arguably, a means of limiting dependency on externally produced research, instead shifting the balance of power towards teachers themselves through their identification and implementation of relevant research activities.

Action research as a model of CPD has been acknowledged as being successful in allowing teachers to ask critical questions of their practice. However, Sachs (2003) queries the extent to which it allows teachers to ask such critical questions of the political determinants that shape the parameters of their practice. Nevertheless, an action research model clearly has significant capacity for transformative practice and professional autonomy.

5.9 The transformative model

What is termed in this chapter as a 'transformative model' of CPD involves the combination of a number of processes and conditions – aspects of which are drawn from other models outlined in this chapter. The central characteristic is the combination of practices and conditions which support a transformative agenda. In this sense, it could be argued that the transformative model is not a clearly definable model in itself; rather it recognises the range of different conditions required for transformative practice.

Hoban (2002) provides an interesting perspective on this notion of CPD as a means of supporting educational change. He draws comparisons between the knowledge focused and contextually void model of a training approach with the context specific approach of a communities of practice model which does not necessarily embrace new forms of formal knowledge. He suggests that what is really needed is not a wholesale move towards the teacher-centred, context specific models of CPD, but a better balance between these types of models and the transmission focused models. Hoban's description of the two ends of the spectrum do not, however, include

communities of enquiry which might be based on partnerships between teachers, academics and other organisations, and which can involve both the context and the knowledge required for real and sustainable educational change. Such communities take 'enquiry' as opposed to merely 'practice' as their uniting characteristic, thereby asserting a much more proactive and conscious approach than is necessarily the case in communities of practice.

It could be argued, then, that the key characteristic of the transformative model is its effective integration of the range of models described above, together with a real sense of awareness of issues of power, i.e. whose agendas are being addressed through the process. While examples of this model might not be much in evidence, except for limited small-scale research activities (for example, Nieto, 2003), it features increasingly in academic literature. Indeed it appears to provide an antidote to the constricting nature of the standards, accountability and performance management agenda, and could arguably be categorised as a poststructuralist approach to CPD.

However, an explicit awareness of issues of power means that the transformative model is not without tensions, and indeed it might be argued that it actually relies on tensions: only through the realisation and consideration of conflicting agendas and philosophies, can real debate be engaged in among the various stakeholders in education, which might lead to transformative practice.

5.10 A proposed framework for analysis

While each of the above models describes a set of characteristics, it is not suggested that the models will, or should, stand alone; rather they describe the dominant characteristics of particular approaches to CPD. This allows the creation of a framework through which CPD policies and practice can be analysed and compared.

What is critical to the analysis of CPD models is not just the obvious structural characteristics, but also the underpinning influences, expectations and possibilities.

Five key questions used in the interrogation of literature on CPD in this chapter are therefore proposed as tools for the analysis of models of CPD:

1. What types of knowledge acquisition does the CPD support, i.e. procedural or propositional?
2. Is the principal focus on individual or collective development?
3. To what extent is the CPD used as a form of accountability?
4. What capacity does the CPD allow for supporting professional autonomy?
5. Is the fundamental purpose of the CPD to provide a means of transmission or to facilitate transformative practice?

This fifth question provides a spectrum along which the nine models outlined in this paper can be placed. The perceived purposes of CPD, as represented by either end of this spectrum, can be identified in literature which links CPD to reforms in education and schooling (Little, 1994; Villegas-Reimers and Reimers, 2000), namely, that it can serve either to equip teachers with the requisite skills to implement such reforms as decided by others (usually government) or to inform, contribute to and provide critique of the reforms themselves. Little (1994) argues that because teachers' CPD is often viewed as a means of implementing reform or policy changes, this can serve to mask questions relating to the fundamental purpose of such activity. She therefore suggests that one test of teachers' CPD is 'its capacity to equip teachers individually and collectively to act as shapers, promoters, and well-informed critics of reforms' (ibid., p. 1).

These two distinct purposes for CPD would necessitate very different models of CPD. For example, CPD which is conceived of as fulfilling the function of preparing teachers to implement reforms aligns itself with the training, award-bearing and deficit and cascade models discussed earlier, supporting a 'transmission' view of CPD. On the other hand, CPD which is conceived of as supporting teachers in contributing to and shaping education policy and practice would align itself more naturally with the action research and transformative models. The other three models outlined in this thesis: the standards-based model; the coaching/mentoring model;

and the community of practice model, can be considered 'transitional' in the sense that they have the capacity to support underlying agendas compatible with either of these two purposes of CPD. Figure 1 below presents the nine models organised into these three broad categories: transmission, transitional and transformative:

Model of CPD	Purpose of model
The training model The award-bearing model The deficit model The cascade model	Transmission
The standards-based model The coaching/mentoring model The community of practice model	Transitional
The action research model The transformative model	Transformative

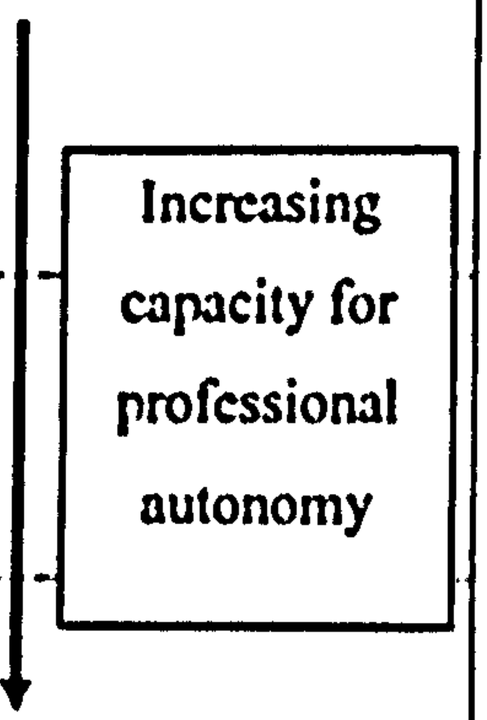

Figure 1: Spectrum of CPD models

This above categorisation and organisation of CPD models suggests increasing capacity for professional autonomy as one moves from transmission, through transitional to transformative categories. While this can be justified on one level in terms of the potential opportunities available for teachers to influence the agenda, Burbank and Kauchak (2003) argue that even within many collaborative forms of CPD, which might be represented in the 'transformative' category above, the parameters of the activity are defined by some external party, usually in a position of power. So while the capacity for professional autonomy is greater in transformative models, this does not in itself imply that the capacity will necessarily be fulfilled.

It is not suggested that this is the only way in which models of CPD can be organised, or indeed that the above representation is exhaustive, but in proposing such a framework for the analysis of models of CPD, it is hoped that issues of

purpose and power will form a greater part of policy debate: that the 'why' of policy will be given as much attention as the 'how'.

6 METHODOLOGY

The issues raised through the literature reviewed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 lead naturally to the articulation of a set of specific research questions designed to address the overall purpose of the study, encapsulated in the title: 'Power, influence and ideology: a poststructural analysis of CPD policy for teachers in Scotland'.

Having set out the specific research questions, this chapter then presents a rationale for the general methodological approach adopted, before describing in detail the justification and implementation of specific strategies.

6.1 The research questions

- What ideological stances underpin current CPD policy for Scottish teachers?
- To what extent are ideological stances identified and articulated by stakeholders themselves?
- Where do the views presented in the data converge and diverge?
- What are the implications arising from this analysis of CPD policy for the teaching profession and for society in general?

6.2 Methodological approach

This study adopts a poststructuralist approach to the analysis of CPD policy – poststructuralist in the sense that it questions the notion of rationality and seeks instead to question assumptions and received norms apparent in the development of CPD policy. The study challenges the positivist view of research where the central task is to arrive at fixed and definite answers through the deployment of reliable, replicable, objective and valid research. That is not to say, however, that this study is not valid, rather that it seeks to challenge the restrictions placed upon research through the blind pursuit of replicable results and unquestionable 'truth'. The chosen approach does not seek to analyse the content of policy as such, but instead seeks to interrogate the assumptions made in policy development and the ways in which dominant discourse normalises a particular ideological approach to policy.

A key aspect of this methodological approach is to explore what Foucault terms 'regimes of truth' (in Rabinow, 1984, p. 74) whereby the notion of truth is used to perpetuate political, economic and institutional regimes. In this regard the study would be deemed to be poststructuralist. However, it should be acknowledged that within what might loosely be termed 'poststructuralist theory' there is a range of different views, including the importance, or otherwise, of the relationship between poststructuralism and postmodernism (see Peters, 1996, p. 19). For the purpose of this study, however, a detailed examination of the extensive debate in this area is not feasible, but it is noted that while this is an area of contention, the theoretical usefulness of the concept to this particular study can be found in writing that is termed both poststructuralist (for example Peters, 1996) and postmodern (for example Atkinson, 2003).

The aim of this policy critique is not to engage in nihilistic criticism of the status quo, rather to engage in 'ethico-political criticism' (Atkinson, 2003, p. 10), central to which is a sense of political and social responsibility. Indeed, Foucault contends that 'the real political task in a society such as ours is to criticize the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent' (cited in Rabinow, 1984, p. 6). Such critique depends on a thorough and specific analysis of discourse: in particular subscribing to the view of discourse developed by French poststructuralists, which Peters (1996) describes as 'a view that investigates the opacities inherent in language and holds that consensus can be established only on the basis of acts of exclusion' (p. 9).

After all, discourses serve to create and maintain social constructions and social identities. In terms of CPD policy, this discourse is shared to a greater or lesser extent by all the stakeholders: teachers who engage in CPD; teacher educators who deliver CPD; local authority personnel who organise, pay for and quality assure CPD; and SEED who create CPD policy and demand measures of accountability. However, while the discourse is shaped principally by the powerful and dominant stakeholders, it is shared by the whole range of stakeholders. As Atkinson (2003, p. 9) points out: 'through the pervasive and persuasive force of hegemony, we have

become agents of our own silence'. In other words, if we are compliant in operating within a particular discourse, we are helping to maintain it. So this study takes as its central aim the identification and articulation of the discourse that permits such hegemony, with the ultimate aim of enabling challenges to be made and alternative discourses to be considered.

The term 'stakeholders' is used throughout this thesis to mean those groups, bodies or organisations that have an interest and/or influence in the subject: CPD policy for teachers in Scotland. Given the focus of the study on interrogating the reaches of power that influence the discourse, the stakeholder groups selected for analysis are those that would be deemed to have particular power in influencing discourse, and therefore in shaping policy. For this reason, while teachers are of course key stakeholders in education, they are the group that is subject to the policy and therefore not in a dominant role. The study does not claim to be exhaustive or exclusive, as other views and influences may also play a part, but the overall aim is to interrogate the dominant discourse perpetuated by the educational elite. A further future extension to the study might well be to explore teachers' views on the findings, as well as to share the findings with the elite interviewees and to explore their views and reactions.

Given the overall aim of the study, and the foregoing consideration of general principles, the particular approaches adopted in this study are elite interviewing and critical discourse analysis. Each of these is discussed in more detail later in this chapter, but it is important to highlight their interrelationship. Firstly, elite interviewing differs from traditional conceptions of interviewing which are characterised by 'designated roles, search for objective knowledge, and a lack of political consciousness' (Gubrium and Holstein, 2003, p. 3). The aim of elite interviewing is to explore the perceptions of elite individuals and to consider the power that they have exercised in influencing discourse. In this respect, then, the analysis of elite interviews could arguably be subsumed within a critical discourse analysis approach. In the following sections of this chapter detailed consideration is

given to the appropriateness of each approach and to the ways in which they have been employed in the study.

Being qualitative in nature, the chosen methodology for this study could be subject to criticism in relation to its reliability, validity and credibility. However, much of this criticism is based on a view of credible research in the traditional scientific vein, or as Silverman (2001, p. 220) describes it 'the systematic test of explicit hypotheses'. As with all rigorous research, the findings can only be credible if the methodology is appropriate to the research question. In the case of social science research, and this study in particular, the aim is not to try to prove or disprove a particular hypothesis, rather to gain a deeper understanding of a sociological issue. That is not to say that social science research cannot be rigorous, just that it requires a particular kind of rigour.

The complexities of ensuring the quality and credibility of qualitative research have exercised generations of social scientists. Patton (2002) suggests that the key to identifying quality is in generating appropriate criteria against which to judge the research. He also acknowledges that different audiences may consciously or subconsciously judge a piece of research against different criteria, according to their particular view of the purpose of the research. Patton goes on to outline five organising themes from which such criteria might be developed:

1. Traditional scientific research criteria
2. Social construction and constructivist criteria
3. Artistic and evocative criteria
4. Critical change criteria
5. Evaluation standards and principles

(Patton, 2002, p. 542)

The principal criteria on which this study should be judged fall under the social construction and constructivist criteria and the critical change criteria. In particular, the acknowledgement of subjectivity and political bias, triangulation and the aim of

enhancing and deepening understanding - belonging to the former category - and the exposure and articulation of the ways in which those with power shape discourse and action – which would come under the latter category.

While part of the discussion on critical discourse analysis in section 6.3 explores the notion that discourse is two-way, and is as much about the interpretation as it is about contribution, this issue is worth raising at this point. In essence, while the research design, implementation and reporting have been developed in accordance with a particular perception of the purpose of the study, the writer cannot take full responsibility for the ways in which individual readers might interpret it. In line with the particular approach taken in the study, the reporting of it should be acknowledged as one part of a communicative event, the other part being the engagement of the reader and their interpretation of it in relation to their own context, knowledge and experience. This theme is explored in more detail in the following section.

6.3 Critical discourse analysis

What is critical discourse analysis?

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is 'a programme of social analysis that critically analyses discourse' (Scollon, 2001, p. 140). It focuses on the ways in which knowledge, power and social relations are constructed through the analysis of written and spoken communications, or as van Dijk (2001) describes it 'a – critical – perspective on doing scholarship: it is, so to speak, discourse analysis 'with an attitude' (p. 96). It is used widely in social science as a means of exploring the context and power relationships in a particular setting or environment.

On a cautionary note, CDA is arguably not a research method as such, but rather should be considered as a theory or approach. For example, Fairclough (2001) expresses reservations about CDA being classified as a single methodology, preferring to consider it as a 'theory or method which is in a dialogical relationship with other social theories or methods, which should engage them in a "transdisciplinary" rather than just an interdisciplinary way' (p. 121). In essence, Fairclough claims that CDA is not a stand-alone research methodology that can be

learned and then applied; rather it involves a range of theories including microsociological perspectives, Foucaldian theories of society and power, theories of social cognition and of grammar (Meyer, 2001) as well as theory of linguistics. Wodak (2001) too, highlights that CDA is more than a methodology, suggesting that it implies more of a common research agenda than a particular theory or method.

MacLure (2003) outlines what she defines as 'two broad discourse traditions' (p. 174): one has its origins in European philosophical and cultural theory and associates itself with poststructuralism, and the other originates from Anglo-American linguistics. While a certain level of linguistic analysis is clearly a necessary component of any discourse analysis, the approach taken in this study aligns itself more explicitly with the first of these traditions, focusing more directly on poststructuralist theory. Discourse within a poststructuralist analysis can be considered as 'practices for producing meaning, forming subjects and regulating conduct within particular societies and institutions, at particular historical times' (MacLure, 2003, p. 175).

MacLure's identification of two broad traditions provides a useful spectrum along which various approaches to CDA might be placed, but inevitably the relationship of CDA to such a range of theoretical positions means that there is no one way of carrying it out. There is, however, a common research purpose in all traditions of CDA; that is to identify the ways in which people exercise power through their engagement in discourse. Van Dijk (2001) suggests that rather than subject an entire piece of text to analysis, it makes sense to concentrate on analysing those factors which enable the speaker or writer to exercise power: 'stress and intonation, word order, lexical style, coherence, local semantic moves (such as disclaimers), topic choice, speech acts, schematic organization, rhetorical figures and most forms of interaction are in principle subject to speaker control' (van Dijk, 2001, p. 99).

While the focus of discourse analysis is on language, the 'critical' element of CDA is the consideration of the context within which the language is used, and the adoption of a political stance in relation to this context (Wodak, 2001). In particular, CDA

examines the relationship between language and power and the way in which interactions through social structures and processes create meanings. Wodak (2001) claims that there are three concepts underpinning CDA: 'the concept of power, the concept of history, and the concept of ideology' (p. 3). The notion of power and dominance is central. Social conventions and accepted 'norms' become legitimated by dominant groups who have the power to shape and influence discourse. CDA aims to expose this domination by identifying and questioning its existence as the norm. In essence, social interactions or conventions that are conceived of as natural, or 'common sense' cannot be neutral – they have derived from a particular ideology conceptualised by dominant groups through their shaping of discourse. The effective use of CDA therefore has the power to question and resist dominant assumptions.

This resistance can also be levelled as a criticism of CDA, due to its inherently political nature and the resulting stance adopted by such researchers. Widdowson (1995) takes this criticism further, suggesting that CDA therefore involves ideological interpretation, and not analysis. He claims that it is inherently biased, not only in terms of the ideological stance of the researcher in the first place, but also in terms of the selection of text to be analysed. However, the extent to which any research agenda or methodology can be value-free is questionable, and one thing that CDA does have in its favour in this respect is its explicit acknowledgement of the political engagement of the researcher. Indeed, van Dijk (2001) acknowledges this potential criticism as a fundamental part of CDA: 'CDA does not deny but explicitly defends its own socio-political position. That is, CDA is biased – and proud of it' (p. 96). That CDA is political is perhaps not surprising if we are to accept Gee's (1999) claim that 'language-in-use [discourse] is everywhere and is always political' (p. 1). Gee has criticised the claim that language is essentially a means of giving and receiving information, instead suggesting that as well as carrying out that function, it serves to provide a framework for social interactions and provides a means by which cultures, social groups and institutions can share, create and recreate their realities. So, in essence, researchers who subscribe to a CDA approach are actively and consciously engaging in a political endeavour, which might usefully be justified by

referring to Griffiths (1998) who asserts that 'bias comes not from having ethical and political positions – this is inevitable – but from not acknowledging them' (p. 133).

However, CDA is not only concerned with exposing issues of power and control, but also, argues van Leeuwen (1993), is concerned with discourse as an instrument of the social construction of reality. Crucially, CDA acknowledges that 'readers/hearers are not passive recipients in their relationships to texts' (Kress, 1989), that is, that the meaning of text is made through interaction – it cannot exist in a vacuum, or in Wodak's (2001) words 'language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it' (p. 10). This view of discourse is dominant in a number of prominent CDA scholars' work (Meyer, 2001; Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 2001; MacLure, 2003). Interestingly, and perhaps in contradiction to this position, Gee (1999) proposes a differentiation between 'discourse' and 'Discourse'. He suggests that discourse is 'language-in-use' whereas Discourse is the 'non-language stuff' (p. 7). This distinction challenges the dominant proposition that discourse is not purely about language but is about the use of language – the context in which it is used, who uses it, and how they use it in certain situations. Indeed, Gee claims earlier that language is about more than the giving and receiving of information (p. 1), yet his distinction between the two forms of discourse appears to support a view of language as the means of communication, with context, body language, etc as the domain where meanings are constructed. To separate these two intrinsically bound aspects arguably suggests a view where language can be viewed as neutral and non-political. This is not, then, a view which supports the critical element of CDA, and so for the purpose of this study 'discourse' is taken to refer to all aspects of a communicative event.

Why use CDA in this study?

In seeking to focus principally on the educational elite and on official representations of CPD policy, this study hopes to uncover issues of power and control in relation to the ways in which CPD policy has been developed and the ideological standpoints which underpin it. Elite interviewing, as discussed in section 6.4, is one way of approaching this, and CDA can be seen as a complementary and at times co-existing

approach. According to Meyer (2001) CDA 'endeavours to make explicit power relationships which are frequently hidden, and thereby to derive results which are of practical relevance' (p. 15). It is not, however, suggested that this hidden power is a result of some conspiracy theory, rather that common understandings or 'social representations' (Meyer, 2001, p. 21) are generally shared by members of a social group, or in this case, a professional group. The implicit nature of these shared social representations makes it difficult to identify them and to conceive of alternative representations; CDA is an approach that can assist in this.

As with many other approaches in qualitative social science research, CDA is subject to criticism about its quality and rigour. Traditional measures of validity and reliability cannot be applied wholesale without adaptation in accordance with the fundamental aims of the approach. The wide range of theoretical positions influencing a CDA approach can be seen to be an advantage in ensuring validity. For example, a piece of analysis which involves analysing the language used in the text, the intertextual relationships, the immediate context of the situation and the wider socio-political and historical contexts decreases the likelihood of researcher bias (Meyer, 2001). However, much as bias can be limited, it is not suggested that CDA will ever be entirely 'complete' and 'correct'. Gee (1999) acknowledges this, arguing that the validity of CDA, and indeed other qualitative research, should not be seen as 'once and for all' (p. 94), rather that all analyses should be subject to continued discussion and debate and should be informed and revised by later work in the field.

Due to the central role of the researcher in interpreting the discourse under investigation, triangulation is essential (Scollon, 2001). This might involve analysing 'different types of data, participants' definition of significance and issue based analysis to establish the significance of the sites of engagement and mediated actions under study' (Meyer, 2001, p. 30). In this study, the analysis of elite interview data together with documentary analysis provides a range of different types of data, and the use of NVivo software in aiding an issue-based analysis allows the significance of key themes to be established, and provides a necessary element of triangulation. It is therefore argued that CDA is a highly appropriate approach to take in a study such

as this, which aims to identify and question fundamental assumptions about the purpose and nature of national policy for teachers' CPD.

Data selection, collation, analysis and interpretation

The interview data were analysed in two distinct ways: thematically across the range of transcripts; and individually in relation to two specific questions asked of each interviewee (described in section 6.4). As part of these processes the transcripts from the elite interviews were subject to CDA, thereby widening the interpretation and ensuring triangulation of that set of data. The validity of the study is enhanced further by the CDA of a selection of documents representing the official position presented by key stakeholders. This material has been gathered over the period of time between the publication of the Sutherland Report in 1997 and the completion of the data gathering phase of this study in 2004. An outline of the material is presented in the 'Chronological Record of CPD Events' in Appendix 1.

In selecting pieces of text to be analysed, consideration must be given to the 'text-context theory' (van Dijk, 2001) whereby the topic under investigation informs the types of sources likely to be relevant. Also of note in the text-context theory is the context within which the text was produced and the audience for which it is acknowledged. So while critics of CDA might view a limited number of data sources selected by the researcher as potentially invalid, the choice of text is actually informed by the careful consideration and framing of the problem under investigation, and is therefore more appropriately focussed than a wider selection might be.

While an awareness of the range of potential approaches to CDA is important, categorising an individual study within a particular tradition of CDA is not necessary. Nonetheless, in terms of identifying and justifying an appropriate method for carrying out the analysis in this study, van Dijk's 'socio-cognitive' approach (2001, p. 97) provides a useful structure. In line with other scholars of CDA, van Dijk highlights the multidisciplinary nature of CDA, acknowledging, however, that for particular research questions, focussing primarily on one or two key disciplines

might well be more appropriate than attempting to consider a wider range. The socio-cognitive approach acknowledges the importance of the interaction between cognition (of both the individual and of society) and the construction of societal norms. In relation to this particular study, this would mean the ways in which key stakeholders acquire their knowledge of policy making in general, and CPD policy in particular, and how that influences their actions and reactions in this area. Van Dijk (ibid.) exemplifies his use of a theoretical framework in the socio-cognitive tradition, suggesting the following structure for interrogation:

1. 'Topics: semantic macrostructures'

   Essentially, this level of interrogation relates to the identification of key topics evident in the text; it is a summary of the key propositions. From these key propositions it may be possible to identify a pattern of particular ideological or political stances.

2. 'Local meanings'

   This level of analysis includes the meanings attributed to particular words (both explicit and implicit) and the structures and interrelationships between the key propositions. These local meanings derive from the speaker's/writer's selection of text. Worthy of analysis in this respect is what van Dijk describes as a strategy of 'positive self-presentation and negative other presentation' (2001, p. 103).

3. 'The relevance of subtle "formal" structure'

   This refers principally to semantic structures that convey particular meanings or beliefs. At this level of analysis the focus is on those aspects of text or talk which are less consciously controlled by the speaker or writer, for example: intonation, syntactic structures, turn taking, pauses, hesitation and body language. These structures can convey hidden or subtle messages about the emotions or opinions of the speaker/writer and their views of the co-participants (for example, views of the status of the interviewer, if the data are an interview transcript).

4. 'Context models'

   Within the above analyses consideration should be given to both the global and the local contexts. Global contexts include the historical, cultural and political structures; local contexts include the particular situation in which the piece of text/talk occurs, the participants involved and the knowledge and intentions of the participants. Van Dijk (2001) argues that the theory of context lends relevance to discourse analysis, adding the 'critical' edge necessary for CDA, claiming that context models 'are the interface between mental information (knowledge, and so on) about an event and actual meanings being constructed in discourse' (p. 110).

5. 'Event models'

   This aspect focuses on the interrogation of the 'mental models' created by speakers/writers of specific events or facts referred to in their text or talk. It should be noted that in any one episode of communication the writer/speaker will not necessarily reveal all that they know or believe about an event; rather they will present a representation of their own mental model of the event based on what they want the listener/reader to know.

The above five-stage framework outlined by van Dijk forms a useful guide for the analysis of data in this study, and will be used in particular to inform the analysis of the official positions presented by key stakeholders – as outlined in the 'Chronological Record of CPD Events' in Appendix 1.

6.4 Elite Interviewing

Justification for elite interviewing

Elite research has recently grown in popularity as a viable methodology for social scientists, perhaps with the exception of those researching in the field of politics, for whom it has traditionally been employed (Hertz & Imber, 1995). This has been in part attributed to the growing realisation that examination of the ways in which power is distributed and exercised can help to explain a variety of sociological situations (Cookson, 1994). Traditionally, social scientists have tended to focus their

research on the subjects with the least power - those affected by policies developed by the powerful - who could provide valuable data on the effects of the policies, but not on the reasons for their creation and their underlying ideologies. One of the accepted, but perhaps not verified, outcomes of this approach has been that it serves to empower disenfranchised subjects. If we accept this reasoning, then it could be argued that if research serves to empower the subjects, elites do not need to be empowered and therefore are not deserving of such research focus as subjects. However, Hertz & Imber (1995) argue that one of the key justifications for undertaking elite research is 'to expose the reach of power in the hope of clarifying it for those who are subject to it' (p. viii).

Elite interviewing is one methodology which allows social scientists to explore such issues as: why particular policy developments have been focused on; who will benefit most from them; who has been responsible for their development and what the intended outcomes are. Kogan (1994), however, warns of the 'problem of truth' (p. 68) in elite interviewing, suggesting that the position espoused by elite interviewees is not always necessarily factual. Foucault's exposition of the concept of 'truth' is relevant here: 'by truth I do not mean "the ensemble of truths which are to be discovered and accepted," but rather "the ensemble of rules according to which the true and the false are separated and specific effects of power attached to the true" (in Rabinow, 1984). In other words, truth is not about identifying the 'right' answer, rather it is about identifying the power that accords the status of 'true' to a particular perception or idea. This is consistent with Peters' (1996) argument that poststructuralist theory implies 'the rejection of truth as correspondence to reality' (p. 3). It could, then, be argued that the fundamental purpose of elite interviewing is not to identify the factual truth, if indeed such a thing can be identified, but to explore issues of perception, interaction and individual influence by virtue of position. In order to analyse these issues systematically, Cookson (1994) identifies four elements of the 'power discourse': 'the ideological field, the institutional setting, the individual actor, and syntactical style' (p. 121). There are, of course, other conceptual frameworks suitable for analysing elite interview data – these are discussed later in the chapter.

Documentary evidence from the various stakeholders has also been analysed as part of this study, both to gather facts about the framework and, through critical discourse analysis, to examine the messages that each has been trying to convey. However, it should be acknowledged that despite being able to subject such evidence to discourse analysis, such documents do present only information which has been deemed to be suitable for public output – the 'official line'. What is not always explicit in this source is data on the underlying ideologies of respective stakeholders and issues relating to the power balance and shift between and among them.

It is, therefore, not only the content of such documents that are of interest, but how and why they have been developed. The ways in which the corporate statements in documentary evidence have been developed, and the 'assumptive worlds' (Young and Mills, 1978) within which the policy-makers influencing their development work are of fundamental importance in this study. Phillips (1998), recognising these two distinct types of data, i.e. what happened and why it happened, advocates elite interviewing as a means of trying to 'synthesise the divide between historical and sociological methodologies' (p. 7), both of which clearly have a place in this study. Indeed, Walford (1994) goes further in suggesting that: 'the factual information gathered through such interviews may be less important than the knowledge gained about the social and political context of policy-making at this high level.' (p. 5)

Each of the stakeholder groups involved in the development of the CPD framework is led by influential individuals, each of whom has a unique and privileged position with regard both to the influence and the knowledge that they hold. In being part of an influential policy network such powerful figures also hold useful information about who or what else is deemed to be significant within their particular sphere of expertise. This information, rather than being viewed as a by-product of elite interviewing, should be seen as an integral part of the process of engaging with policy networks. Gilham (2000) points out that this valuable information, very much the preserve of elite figures, could otherwise easily have been missed by the researcher.

Selection of and access to interviewees

It was not unduly difficult to identify an initial list of potential interviewees who could be classed as elite figures in the Scottish education world with an interest in, or involvement with, CPD. This was done by listing the key stakeholder groups and then identifying and approaching the most senior figure in the organisation. Other interviewees, however, were approached as a result of the recommendation of one or more of the original group of interviewees, and were sometimes approached after having been 'primed' by a previous interviewee. Despite the apparent advantages of this in terms of physical access to interviewees, sometimes through by-passing several layers of gatekeeping (Gilham, 2000), there are nonetheless reservations which must be borne in mind. In suggesting that someone else be interviewed, the original interviewee is exerting an influence on the overall sample of interviewees. Whatever the motivation for suggesting someone's inclusion – it could be a genuine desire to assist the researcher, a desire to have one's own viewpoint validated or possibly the playing out of a personal feud (McPherson & Raab, 1988) – it is nonetheless crucial that the researcher takes this into account in weighing up the pros and cons of following-up such suggestions.

Sixteen interviews were carried out over a period from March 2002 to June 2003. It is worth noting that in only two cases were requests for interview not granted under the full terms requested: in one case a senior Minister was approached, but the letter was passed to a civil servant who then offered to be interviewed in the Minister's place – an offer which was accepted. In another case a potential interviewee declined to be interviewed formally, but did agree to an off-the-record discussion. This discussion was used as background information and to identify other potential sources of information; it has not been used in any formal way within this thesis, and is not included in the sixteen interviews reported. So despite common perception, and in line with the experience of other researchers (Kogan, 1994; Phillips, 1998; Duke, 2002), it did not prove to be as difficult to gain access to these powerful people as might have been expected. Duke (2002) asserts that this relative willingness on the part of elites to be interviewed is particularly likely to be the case where the professional credibility of the researcher has already been established to

some extent within the elite network under consideration (in the context of this study I had established professional credibility through my previous experience as a primary school teacher, as Professional Officer with the GTCS and then as a lecturer in the University of Strathclyde). The particular nature of the elite network would appear to be crucial to the ease, or otherwise, of access. Researchers working in education and similar areas report surprising ease of access – perhaps this surprise is due to the number of general sociological texts which talk of 'elite research' as if it elites were one homogenous group.

It is also acknowledged that in entering policy networks, the key players in the network can serve to help or to hinder the researcher (Gamson, 1995; Duke, 2002). It is therefore vital not only to gain access, but to work at maintaining it. By their very nature, networks involve interaction of their members and the sharing of information; when the cycle of interviews begin, key players in the network will share information on the perceived value of the research and the manner in which the researcher conducts her/himself (McPherson and Raab, 1988; Cookson, 1994). Securing a good reputation early on, and maintaining it, is therefore vital to continued access to the policy network of the elite interviewees.

In this particular study it could however be argued that the relatively positive reaction to the development of a CPD framework might also have been a contributing factor to the relative ease of access. Where a policy is particularly controversial or fiercely contested, the likelihood of accessing elite interviewees diminishes (Walford, 1994). It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the opposite might also be true; that where a policy initiative has enjoyed a relatively positive reaction, elites might be more inclined to accept the opportunity to talk about their particular involvement.

Respective power

In elite interview settings it is very often the case that the interviewee enjoys greater status and power than the interviewer. This is particularly acknowledged to be the case in relation to doctoral students, as the vast majority of such students across the

range of disciplines complete their degree on a full-time basis and therefore do not have a professional role or title on which to rely. Early writing on elite interviewing appeared to take little account of this, or perhaps elite interviewing was not a technique commonly applied by doctoral students: however, recently, and notably in the work of Duke (2002) and Neal (1995), the unique status of the doctoral researcher in elite interview settings has been explored. It is also interesting to note that in both the above-cited works, the researchers have been female and the elite interviewees predominantly male. However, despite an increase in research on the significance of the researcher's status in elite interview settings, i.e. doctoral student or funded researcher, the particular situation pertaining to this study is not a frequently reported one - being both a doctoral student, and therefore arguably free from the constraints of a funding agreement, and holding a full-time post in the field in which professional credibility has already been established.

Much of the power of elites is perpetuated through their control of educational discourse; they 'create a public conversation that sets legitimate boundaries of discourse' (Cookson, 1994, p. 116.) This dominant discourse becomes accepted as the 'authoritative narrative' (Cookson, 1994, p. 126) and serves to suppress divergent or opposing viewpoints. It would, however, be a mistake to think that all elite interviewees were somehow involved in a great conspiracy of ideological control, as the researcher too is subject, often subconsciously, to the accepted 'norms' of the area in which she or he is investigating. Kogan (1994) remarked that he had found, when replaying interview tapes, that his 'own assumptive world peeps through the supplementary questions' (p. 75). This is a particular difficulty when both the researcher and the entire interview sample work within the same policy network and are all familiar, and probably accomplished, users of the dominant discourse.

While by their very definition 'elite interviewees' are powerful people, it would be a mistake to assume that the power relationship in the interview situation is purely hierarchical (Duke, 2002). Indeed, while the researcher may have lower professional status and power in relation to the interviewees, she/he does reserve the power to interpret and disseminate the research. Nonetheless, elites do hold power and are

used to being treated with deference. This can bring with it difficulties for the researcher in determining how to behave. On the one hand these powerful, important and busy people have granted time for the interview and should arguably be treated with deference and grace. On the other hand, if the interview is to yield significant data then it is vital that the interviewer asks probing, and at times, confrontational, questions. Duke (2002) addresses this issue, admitting to perhaps having been over-deferential at times in an attempt not to 'rock the boat' (p. 53), but justifies this in the knowledge that she was working at being accepted within the network and that gaining some information was better than altogether alienating the interviewee, and potentially others in the network.

Procedures

Potential interviewees were sent a letter outlining the study, explaining why they were being invited to take part, suggesting that the interview would take approximately one hour and offering to send a list of interview topics. A brief CV was also sent with the letter.

Fourteen of the sixteen interviews took place in the interviewees' workplaces, and the remaining two in the interviewer's workplace. Fifteen of the interviews were recorded on mini-disc, and subsequently transcribed. Although the interviews were recorded, field notes were also taken to log particularly striking comments or themes, and to record observations such as body language, environmental factors and other such factors which would not be evident through the mini-disc recording. In the one interview where the mini-disc recorder had not worked, the field notes were used to provide a summary which included any direct quotes that had been noted; this was then approved by the interviewee. While field notes were made during the interviews, post-interview observations were also made, outlining general impressions of the interview, and in particular noting factors relating to the relationship between interviewee and interviewer.

Subsequent to each interview the recording was transcribed and then sent to the interviewee for amendment and/or editing. At this point interviewees were asked to

give their permission for the approved version of the transcript to be quoted, and possibly attributed, without further requests. In response to this request: 6 respondents approved their transcripts without amendments; 6 approved their transcripts with minor amendments; and 4 requested that phrases/passages be deleted or marked as 'off-the-record'. A number of the interviewees also made comments to the effect that much of what they had said in the interview was time-specific, and that account should be taken of the fact that as CPD policy developed, their comments might be outdated. However, of the sixteen interviewees, only two asked that if specific quotes were to be attributed to them, then additional permission should be sought; the rest gave blanket permission for their transcripts to be used. This freedom was seen as a crucial part of the methodology, something that McPherson & Raab (1988) highlighted in their study of policy elites, claiming that the 'freedom to interpret evidence' (p. 60) is a fundamental part of the research methodology, and that providing a context for the interpretation might well result in interviewees withdrawing permission.

Permission to attribute quotes was sought because the nature of the elite positions held by the interviewees meant that guaranteeing anonymity could have been difficult in many cases. However, individual identities have not been revealed in this thesis; rather interviewees have been identified by their current post, for example, 'senior HMIE figure' or 'senior GTCS official'. Nonetheless, readers familiar with the Scottish education scene will doubtless be able to identify some of the interviewees, hence the request for permission to attribute quotes to individuals.

The interviews were all semi-structured in nature, allowing the flexibility necessary to elicit information from a unique group of interviewees. However, in having a schedule, albeit detailing topics rather than specific questions, a degree of control is also maintained over the interview process. This is crucial when interviewing elites, as by virtue of their positions, they are skilled at controlling interviews and at regulating the release of information (Fitz & Halpin, 1994; Gilham, 2000).

Four key interview topics were identified: (1) the purpose and outcomes of the CPD framework; (2) the development process; (3) current and future progress; and (4) personal reflections. Not all interviewees were asked the same questions within these topics, and indeed the order of the four topics was adjusted to suit the particular interview situation (see Appendix 2 for example of interview schedule). As the interviews progressed, and a picture of the complex policy network began to develop, use was made of data gleaned in earlier interviews to inform later questions. Due to the unique nature of the professional roles of the interviewees it would have been inappropriate to have generalised the interview structure or the analysis. The crux of the study was to consider differing perspectives, and it therefore seemed inappropriate to attempt to do this through asking a uniform set of questions.

Interviewer behaviour

Consideration has been given earlier in this chapter to the need to develop a good reputation within the elite network in order to gain and maintain access - an acknowledgement that in part the researcher must 'play the game'. However, attention was also drawn to the dangers of being subsumed within the assumptive worlds of the policy makers. There is therefore a tension for the researcher in determining the extent to which their behaviour should conform to expected norms. In reporting his interviews with Hollywood elites, Gamson (1995) advocates 'rule-breaking' as a methodological approach in elite interviewing, claiming that some of his more significant and interesting interview data has come 'through the cracks opened up by rule-breaking' (p. 83). 'Rule-breaking' in this instance is defined as 'a faux-pas, an intrusion, a roll of the eyes' (p. 83). Pierce (1995) also reports the advantages of such behaviour, although in her situation breaking the rules was behaving in a way contrary to that expected of a junior, female colleague (in an American law firm) and brought with it some difficult ethical dilemmas.

Deciding when and how to 'break the rules' relies on judicious assessment of the possible pros and cons of such behaviour, as the more outrageous end of the behaviour spectrum could result in interview access being denied throughout the elite network. There are of course other, perhaps less obtrusive, ways in which

researchers can alter their behaviour in order to change the dynamics and outcome of an interview. Knowing how much to know is one such example; the researcher must consciously decide how they wish to appear to the interviewee in terms of their subject knowledge. There are times, claims Kogan (1994), when the researcher should pretend to know far less than they do in order to be able to ascertain the interviewee's version of events. While perhaps less obvious to the interviewee than the rule-breaking behaviour discussed above, this approach is not entirely without risk, as a researcher who comes across as not having done their homework could potentially be seen as less committed to the research and less likely to do it justice.

There is therefore a fine balance to be struck between modifying one's behaviour in an attempt to access important data on the one hand, and risking denial of access to the elite network on the other.

Analysis of interview data

Data derived from elite interviews are arguably not typically suited to content theme analysis in the same way that other interview data might be (Gilham, 2000). However, the identification of shared themes allows the interview data to be organised in such a way that CDA can be employed to explore the ideological underpinning of individual interviewees' conceptions of key issues. In addition to adopting a thematic analysis, the interview data were also subject to individual analysis in relation to two key questions which were asked of each interviewee, namely their views about what they would want the CPD framework to achieve and their views on suitable indicators for evaluating its success. This complementary approach to interview analysis allows for greater depth of comment to be made.

In order to assist this dual approach to interview data analysis, use was made of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), namely, NVivo. One of the particular strengths of NVivo over other CAQDAS programmes is its capacity for supporting an exploratory approach to data analysis; it supports not only the attribution of text units to particular categories, but also supports an incremental and experimental approach to both the organisation and the analysis of data. This is

particularly useful when the analysis seeks not only to consider content, but also context, as it allows notes to be made and linked in a way that they can be retrieved easily, and cross-linked or reorganised at a later date.

Individual transcripts were analysed for key themes under two super-ordinate categories: subject content and contextual meaning. The categories, or 'nodes' as they are referred to in NVivo, were built up from the data itself, developing a freestanding and dynamic framework, and therefore supporting an inductive approach (Patton, 2002). The flexibility of NVivo is particularly suited to this type of approach, where the data can be organised, reorganised and linked to other parts of the data, as well as to other documents, on an ongoing basis. Details of the actual nodes, and the way they were organised for analysis, are given in Chapter 8 which reports on the themes emerging from the interview data

Gilham (2000) also suggests the use of direct quotations and a minimum of interpretation in order to maintain the meaning of the data. However, it is also argued (Fitz & Halpin, 1994) that the context within which the interviewee speaks is of as much significance as the words themselves, and that any evidence deriving from the interview must be interpreted within this context. It is therefore presumably not sufficient to use mere quotes without paying due attention to the situation in which they are uttered, and is therefore reasonable to query the validity of the advice to use a 'minimum of interpretation'.

Consideration must also be given to the extent to which interviewees are responding fully and accurately to the questions, or whether they are using the interview as an opportunity to reiterate the official line. MacPherson & Raab (1988), in their interpretation of elite interview data, surmised that those interviewees who require least editing of the interview transcripts are most likely to have made measured responses in the first place. While not a fail-safe means of identifying such responses, as other factors may also have a bearing on the extent to which interviewees are happy to endorse what might have been spur of the moment or gut reaction responses, such an indication is useful.

Elite interviewees are selected on the basis of their unique positions and experience, and their own individual perspectives are therefore deemed to be valuable data. However, by virtue of their powerful positions within organisations they may also be representing the views of the organisation, which may or may not concur with their personal viewpoint. It is therefore important to consider the data in terms of whether it is an individual or corporate response; the distinction between which is not always made explicit during the interview. This illustrates the clear links between the use of CDA and the analysis of elite interview data.

6.5 Summary

The central aim of this study is to identify and articulate the ideological views that underpin current CPD policy, and to explore the ways in which stakeholders perpetuate these views. In addressing this aim it employs the critical discourse analysis of documents in the public domain that outline official policy positions. It also employs CDA and both individual and thematic analyses to interpret data gathered through elite interviews. In so doing it draws on a variety of theoretical frameworks, including: Patton's (2002) five organising themes for developing criteria against which to judge the quality of research; van Dijk's (2001) five-stage framework for analysis of discourse in the socio-cognitive tradition; and Cookson's (1994) four elements of the power discourse. Given the overall aim of the study, this should be seen as a strength as it allows for a more thorough analysis and should limit, to some extent, the possibility of omission associated with strict adherence to one specific approach. Indeed, Humes (1997), discussing Stephen Ball's work on policy analysis, points out that 'the researcher should not feel obliged to become fully committed to one methodological stance or be over-concerned about accusations of theoretical eclecticism' (p. 24).

The methodological approach is essentially poststructuralist and therefore seeks to probe assumptions made and to open up the area to further debate about possible alternatives. Where quality of research is measured in relation to traditional natural science research, such an approach might be criticised due to its political nature. This

is, however, defended, and indeed promoted, as a fundamental part of any critical research.

7 INTERROGATING THE DISCOURSE IN DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The evidence in this study is presented and discussed in five principal chapters:

Chapter 7 – Interrogating the discourse in documentary evidence;
Chapter 8 – Conceptions of teaching and professionalism in the interview data;
Chapter 9 – Policy structures and the policy process: views from the interview data;
Chapter 10 – Tensions and resolutions in the interview data; and
Chapter 11 – The exploration of power through the interview process

The rationale for this particular structure follows from the premise that the majority of people with an interest in CPD will gain most of their impression from public presentation by key stakeholder groups. This is, after all, the way in which the dominant discourse is expressed and in turn perpetuated. Therefore, the presentation of this 'public view' sets the scene for the potentially conflicting views given by key individuals in interview (Chapters 8, 9 and 10). Chapter 8 explores each individual interview transcript with a view to identifying the extent to which each interviewee might be said to subscribe to either a technical-rationalist or to a social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism. This is followed by two chapters which deal with the interview data on a thematic basis. After the presentation of the interview data, Chapter 11 deals with issues of power and control in the interview setting, and in so doing raises questions of individual and organisational influence. Together, these five chapters provide an overview of both documentary and interview data, and of thematic and individual concurrences and contradictions.

The documentary evidence analysed in this chapter has been drawn primarily from the 'Chronological Record of CPD Developments' – a summary of which is presented in Appendix 1. This documentary evidence has been subject to critical discourse analysis, drawing principally on van Dijk's (2001) 'socio-cognitive' framework, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 6. While van Dijk's structure provides an analytical framework, the data have been organised in relation to the key

topics addressed in the literature review chapters, namely: the policy process; conceptions of teaching; professionalism and professional identity; and models of CPD and their purpose. Issues falling outwith these key headings, but appearing to be prominent in the dominant discourse on CPD, are also reported. Key themes evident in the dominant discourse expressed through documentary evidence are then summarised, before concluding with a section which outlines challenges to, or deviation from, this dominant discourse.

7.1 The policy process

The language emanating from the Scottish Office Education and Industry Department (SOEID) in the early days of the current CPD developments pointed towards a hierarchical approach where the Government was very much in control, and, although engaging in consultation, viewed teachers' CPD as something that would be provided for them. For example, in announcing the national consultation on teachers' continuing professional development in 1998, Brian Wilson, the then Scottish Education Minister, announced that the Government wanted to 'offer a more coherent framework [for CPD]' (SOEID News Release, 7 July 1998). 'Offer' suggests that the framework would be presented to teachers, as opposed to them being centrally engaged in its development. There was further evidence of an element of central control in this same news release, where it was explained that the consultation sought views on 'a framework of competences, standards and associated qualifications': at no point did it suggest that the consultees should be engaged in developing the underpinning philosophy of any policy on CPD, rather the focus of the consultation was on the detail of a pre-determined approach.

However, on a cautionary note, it should be acknowledged that the nature of news releases as pieces of documentary evidence is important: they will not have been drafted, redrafted and debated to the same extent as official policy documents, and will not reflect the mediated position derived through discussion across the range of stakeholder groups. Rather the news release should be interpreted as a slightly less guarded representation of official view than many other pieces of publicly available

documentation. The question of audience is also important here: the principal audience for news releases being the media, and not necessarily the profession.

The view discussed above was also evident in the summary of responses to the 1998 consultation (SOEID, 1998c), which acknowledged that 'generally, those who responded [total of 75 responses] felt that a framework for the continuing professional development of teaching staff in Scotland was a positive step' (p. 1). However, in the very next sentence, it moved from the broad agreement that a framework was seen as desirable to promote the 'proposed framework' outlined in the consultation document. Further on in the paper, SOEID acknowledged that while 'there was considerable support for a framework... there were different interpretations as to what it might include' (ibid., p. 2), but concluded that 'the responses received are sufficiently encouraging for the Department to proceed towards the development of a national framework of CPD' (ibid., p. 4). In summary, this means that the SOEID were prepared to use a mere 75 responses to a national consultation, many of which were interpreted as being unclear as to what a CPD framework might entail, to endorse their plans to go ahead and introduce a standards-based framework of CPD. The adoption of standards-based approaches to CPD is a global phenomenon, and it has been suggested elsewhere (Bottery, 2000) that focusing on raising pupil attainment by increasing teacher accountability through CPD, can be seen to be a primary means of developing nation states' economic competitiveness. However, while it would appear that Scotland is following a global trend in terms of its adoption of a standards-based CPD framework, the precise reason for such a move is not easily determinable from the data available in this study.

So, while the responses to the 1998 consultation, which were relatively few in proportionate terms, indicated some confusion over what a CPD framework might entail, by April 1999 this was being presented much more unequivocally. In a news release announcing proposals for the developments of a 'standard for expert teacher' (the fore-runner of what was to become the Chartered Teacher), Helen Liddell, by then the Minister for Education, claimed that 'the development of the framework – a

range of competencies, standards and associated qualifications – was given wide support in a recent Scottish Office consultation' (SOEID News Release, 9 April 1999). By November 1999, this was then presented as a fait accompli by Sam Galbraith, the new Minister for Children and Education, who announced formally the establishment of the new CPD framework, outlining that:

> At the core of the new framework there will be three agreed standards of competence for teachers. These will cover:
>
> - Full entry to the profession at the end of probation.
> - The standard to be achieved by an expert teacher.
> - The standard for headship.
>
> Sam Galbraith, SEED News Release, 6 November 1999.

While the decisiveness over the nature of the framework had increased significantly over the previous year, what had remained constant was the use of terms such as 'competence' and 'standards'. By the time of this particular announcement in late 1999, these terms had already begun to creep into the 'assumptive worlds' of both policy makers and stakeholders – evidence for this being that it was no longer deemed necessary to raise the nature of the framework as being in any way contentious.

One of the principal ways in which the development of the CPD framework was taken forward was through the establishment of the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD (MSC), which was to have 'responsibility for drawing up a strategy for continuing professional development for the school sector' (Sam Galbraith, SEED News Release, 6 November 1999). In announcing the establishment of the Committee, Sam Galbraith commented on the constitution of the group, explaining that 'in keeping with the importance of its task I am inviting eminent people from the education sector and elsewhere to serve on the Committee' (ibid.). So not only were those not deemed to be 'eminent people' denied membership, but membership was by invitation only and not therefore open to the profession in general. It is probably

fair to say that to be judged as eminent in the eyes of the Minister for Children and Education, an individual would be expected to hold views which were both respected and encouraged by him, and would therefore be likely to support and promote the dominant discourse on CPD.

While these developments were taking place in relation to the CPD framework, the Independent Committee of Inquiry into Professional Conditions of Service for Teachers (The McCrone Committee) was carrying out its remit which involved a wide-ranging inquiry into 'how teachers' pay, promotion structures and conditions of service would be changed in order to ensure a committed, professional and flexible teaching force...' (SEED, 2000, p. 1). The McCrone Committee was set up in September 1999 and reported in May 2000. The McCrone Report (SEED, 2000) reported under eight main headings: education and the economy; developing and supporting the profession; career structure; pay; conditions of service; ensuring quality; future negotiating mechanism; and costs, savings and next steps. So, while teachers' CPD was clearly a part of the McCrone Inquiry, it was a small part – the majority of the inquiry relating to issues of pay and conditions of service. This was reiterated in a news release on the day of the publication of the McCrone Report, in which Sam Galbraith thanked the Committee, explaining that he had established the inquiry because 'an impasse had yet again been reached in the discussions on pay and conditions' (SEED News Release, 31 May 2000). This would appear to support the contention that the motivation for the development of policy leading from the McCrone Inquiry was essentially aligned to Trowler's (1998) 'engineering' model, where policy-makers focus on trying to find solutions to predefined problems – in this case the problem being a stand-off between teachers and employers over pay and conditions. While this aim is in some part understandable, it fails to take advantage of the potential benefits of a more 'enlightened' approach where the origins of the pre-defined problems are explored rather than merely addressed by a short-term 'fix'.

Despite the fact that the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001) is widely held to be one of the major influences on current CPD policy developments, the McCrone Report (SEED, 2000) itself made very little substantive comment under the sub-heading of

'CPD', other than to acknowledge that SEED was already working on the development of a framework, and that this was welcomed and seen to be 'long overdue' (ibid., p. 9). However, in saying relatively little, and certainly saying nothing contradictory to the message emanating from Government at that time, the McCrone Report served to legitimate what was already happening in relation to the development of a standards-based CPD framework.

In contrast to its discussion of CPD in general, the McCrone Report delivered a very different message in relation to the probation period, describing the current situation as 'little short of scandalous' and 'no way to treat a new entrant to any profession, let alone one that is as demanding and of such public importance as teaching' (ibid., p. 7). This marked change in tone was unique in the Report and served to highlight the message in a very striking way, coming as it did in an 'independent' and high status report.

The combination of contractual and professional issues addressed by the McCrone Inquiry quite clearly focused more on the contractual side than the professional side. This was made particularly clear in Sam Galbraith's announcement regarding the establishment of a McCrone Implementation Group (SEED News Release, 12 September 2000). The group, which was to be chaired by Sam Galbraith himself, was to be 'tripartite', including representatives from employers, teacher unions and SEED. While a series of sub-groups would focus on particular aspects of the Agreement, the focus of the group overall was quite clearly on contractual issues of pay and conditions. The absence of any representation from the GTCS or the universities, for example, helps to strengthen the argument that this particular policy initiative did indeed fall under what Trowler (1998) would term an 'engineering' perspective of policy development, where the key focus was to find consensual solutions to pre-defined problems.

Nonetheless, while there are several indicators pointing towards the primacy of issues of pay and conditions in the McCrone negotiations, there is also some

evidence of the perceived importance of a wider, social agenda. For example, the introduction to the report claims that the Agreement:

> ... represents a unique opportunity to put in place the professional conditions of service which teachers in Scotland deserve and which they need to have if they are to deliver our shared objective of a world class education service which will fit our children well for the 21st century.
>
> (SEED, 2001, p.2)

In terms of overall balance, however, the detail of the McCrone Agreement focuses much more readily on technical issues of pay and career structures than it does on issues of extended professionalism and educational transformation.

So, while there appear to have been different ideological routes contributing to the development of CPD policy – the seemingly 'professional' ideology behind the SOEID consultation on the development of a framework in 1998, and the contractual, political ideology fuelling the McCrone Inquiry – the distinctiveness of these two potentially conflicting influences became blurred over time. So much so that in 2002 when SEED published a consultation paper on the development of 'A Framework for Professional Review and Development', an aspect that might logically be seen as flowing from a professional ideological stance, the rationale was set principally within the context of the contractual requirements set out in the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001). This would seem to suggest that while Trowler's (1998) contention that policy influences can flow from either educational ideologies or political ideologies, in reality the situation is much more complex, and perhaps more akin to Olssen et al.'s (2004) proposition that policy must be seen as a set of practices within political, social and historic contexts.

7.2 Conceptions of teaching

In announcing the national consultation on teachers' continuing professional development in 1998, Brian Wilson was quoted as saying that he wanted to 'ensure that the profession had a more coherent and structured approach to development after

their initial training' (SOEID News Release, 7 July 1998). He went on to indicate why this was deemed to be important by stating that 'our aim is to raise levels of attainment by pupils in Scottish schools. To do this we need teachers who are effective and efficient'. This statement reflects Zeichner's (1993) social efficiency tradition of teaching which relies on 'scientific' evidence about what constitutes good teaching and in so doing limits diversity and creativity. The perceived equation between 'good teaching' and effective learning is illustrated in the consultation document itself, where it is claimed that one of the benefits of the 'presence of a framework, with competences, standards, and where appropriate, qualifications' (SOEID, 1998, p. 6) is that 'when teachers are better prepared the quality of teaching and learning improves with a consequent benefit to pupil attainment and enhanced job satisfaction' (ibid.). This is a bold claim to make, and one which would not appear to be borne out by evidence (Fenstermacher, in Beyer, 2002). The pursuit of 'effective' and 'efficient' teachers also indicates a certain sympathy with a managerialist conception (Sachs, 2001) of teaching, where demands for accountability promote effectiveness and efficiency as priorities. This is evident in the text of the 1998 consultation itself (SOEID, 1998a) which suggests that 'such a framework might take the form of guidance for teachers, schools, and education authorities on the competences, standards and qualifications required in the wide ranging teaching and management roles that teachers undertake at different stages in their careers' (p. 1). While it is only suggested that the framework 'might take' this form, it certainly does not propose any alternative forms or indeed make any mention of the potential disadvantages of following what appears to be a fairly technocratic view of teaching.

The language which points towards a technocratic view of teaching is not only restricted to Government pronouncements; it is also evident elsewhere. The severe criticism of the probation arrangements in the McCrone Report (SEED, 2000), as reported above, also hinted at a technocratic, skills agenda. For example, the Report acknowledged that a satisfactory probationary experience is 'of major importance in further developing a teachers' skills' and that it should be 'regarded as an extension of training' which would help to 'develop their skill in an appropriate learning

environment' (ibid., p. 7). The terms 'training' and 'skills' are used widely, whereas terms such as 'values', 'knowledge', 'attitudes' and 'education' are noticeable by their omission. So, while the McCrone Report undoubtedly served to put the probation issue firmly on the agenda, the language used supported a fairly specific skills and training-based view of the probation period. This conception of teaching is highlighted further in a statement which acknowledged the McCrone Committee of Inquiry's awareness of the ongoing work on the 'development of a competence framework for full registration' (ibid.).

In the final McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001) there is recognition in the introductory section of a wider education reform agenda, with claims that the Committee had a 'shared agreement on a number of critical areas', including: 'the central role teachers play in the quality and effectiveness of learning in school and the importance of the critical relationship between teacher and pupil' and 'a recognition that this was a unique opportunity to address the question of teachers' esteem, professional autonomy and public accountability in a way which would enhance the capacity of school education to meet the challenges of the 21st century' (SEED, 2001, p. 3). However, despite these statements, the detail of the report emphasises specific technical aspects of the Agreement as opposed to underpinning philosophical considerations. While this is perhaps to be expected in such a report, the emphasis on technical aspects of the Agreement arguably conveys a message about expectations in terms of implementation; that technical and bureaucratic aspects of the Agreement assume priority and will be used as indicators of its successful implementation.

The SEED (2002c) consultation document on the new framework for professional review and development also claims, albeit implicitly, that there is a simplistic causal relationship between effective teaching and effective learning. It asserts that the professional review and development process 'leads to better leadership and management of the teaching process, brings about practical improvements in the classroom and directly benefits pupils by raising the quality of their learning experience' (ibid., p. 2). This seems to point towards a conception of teaching akin to

Zeichner's (1993) social efficiency tradition, which relies on 'scientific' evidence about the nature of good teaching. Absent from this conception is any acknowledgement of the potential impact of social or cultural factors on pupil learning, assuming that the cause of pupil learning is good teaching.

This position is illustrated yet again in the GTCS guidance for chartered teachers (GTCS, 2003). In a section outlining the aims of CPD, the document states that 'a world class education system that maximises opportunity for all, depends on a high quality teaching profession. Throughout their careers, teachers must have access to opportunities to refresh and enhance their skills, so that pupils can be effectively supported and higher standards in education can be reached' (ibid., p.1). While it is not disputed that professional development can lead to better teaching, it is the relationship of this to pupil learning that is crucial. The GTCS statement omits to acknowledge the importance of social and cultural factors on pupil learning, as with the examples discussed above. The suggestion that the solution to raising standards of educational achievement lies purely in improving teachers' skills presents a somewhat narrow, managerialist view of teaching, in direct contrast to what Zeichner (1993) terms the 'social reconstructionist' tradition of teaching, which emphasises the key role of education in promoting social justice, thereby enabling access to learning for all.

7.3 Professionalism and professional identity

The 1998 consultation on the development of a national framework of CPD for teachers stated that 'a commitment to life-long professional learning and development is the hallmark of every profession' (SOEID, 1998a, p. 4). However, it went on to claim that beyond gaining full registration with the GTCS, 'there is little incentive for teachers to continue their professional development' (ibid.). Put together, these two statements arguably suggest that teachers are therefore not professional, or not professional enough. The SOEID conception of what it means to be professional was illustrated again further on in the consultation document where one of the purposes of CPD was defined as ensuring 'the supply of trained professionals needed...' (ibid., p. 5). In this phrase, the word 'professionals' appears

to be used to try and appeal to teachers, whereas the rest of the phrase is basically saying that teachers are personnel trained to implement the needs of the state.

In the summary of responses to the 1998 consultation (SOEID, 1998c), the Government stated that the proposed framework reflected its Manifesto commitment to 'raise the morale and status of teachers by increasing their professionalism...' (p. 1). This turn of phrase indicates a perception on behalf of the Government that they can increase teachers' professionalism for them, thereby denying teachers ownership of their own professionalism. 'Professionalism' therefore becomes a political token – something that can be bartered with and exchanged for status and morale.

In November 1999, Sam Galbraith, as Minister for Children and Education, announced the establishment of the new CPD framework, claiming that 'we [Government] aim to promote greater professionalism among teachers' (SOEID News Release, 6 November 1999). Quite what he conceived of as 'greater professionalism' was not articulated, but the statement nonetheless indicates that professionalism is something that Government could promote, and again limits the notion of teachers having responsibility for their own professionalism, either individually or collectively.

The idea of motivation, in the professional context, is evident in various pieces of public documentation. For example, in proposing the introduction of chartered teacher status, the McCrone Report (SEED, 2000) noted that 'we anticipate that teachers will be motivated to achieve it' (ibid., p. 22). While the Report was not explicit about what the exact motivation might be, the fact that it was reported within the section on 'career structure' tends to suggest that increased status perhaps, but pay certainly, would feature highly as motivational rewards. The seemingly central importance of these kinds of rewards indicates a fairly traditional view of professionalism which upholds the focus on status and reward evident in a Weberian perspective on professionalism.

Indeed, the full title of the McCrone Committee – the Committee of Inquiry into Professional Conditions of Service for Teachers – provides another indication of the use of the concept of 'professionalism' in current discourse. The insertion of the word 'professional' appears to make no substantive difference – that is – that 'conditions of service for teachers' is unlikely to be interpreted any differently in real terms from 'the professional conditions of service for teachers'. What the inclusion of the word 'professional' does do though, is to subliminally give the Inquiry an additional sense of status; it acknowledges that this is professional work that is being considered as opposed to non-professional work. Inherent in this is an obligation on behalf of the members of the professional group to act in a 'professional' way, or in other words, it provides a lever by which Government can exact some additional control over teachers, highlighting the highly political nature of the term 'professional', as discussed in Chapter 4.

There is a further, similar example of the political use of the word 'professional' in the consultation document on the SFR (GTCS, 2001). As well as referring to the Standard for Full Registration, the document also talks about the 'professional standard for full registration' (ibid., p. 6). Once again, begging the question whether the addition of 'professional' to this statement makes a substantive, or merely a semantic, difference. Arguably, the difference here is semantic, but that is not to say that it is therefore inert. On the contrary, it gives an implicit message about expected norms of 'professional' behaviour, once again using the term 'professional' as a means of control.

The SEED (2002c) consultation document on the new framework for professional review and development also conveyed a particular conception of professionalism in its introductory comments. It outlined the process of professional review and development as one by which individual needs of staff are assessed in relation to 'their current practice, the requirements of the school/authority development plan, the wider and longer term needs of the education service, and taking into account the national priorities' (ibid., p. 2). This list of influences appears to omit completely any reference to individual professional requirements, presenting the teacher as a servant

of the state as opposed to an autonomous professional with individual career aspirations.

The suggestion that the concept of professionalism can be used to control teachers (Smyth et al., 2000) was raised in Chapter 4, and appears to be evident in the way that Cathy Jamieson (Minister for Education and Young People, November 2001 – May 2003) handled what was perceived to be 'sniping from some quarters' (SEED News Release, 1 November 2002) about the implementation of the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001):

> Critics and opponents of the Agreement need to ask themselves which side they are on and what they really want. Are they on the side of reform, local agreements and local decision making, and the proper recognition of the professionalism of teachers? Or would they prefer a return to poor morale, bad feeling and suspicion and outmoded working practices?
>
> (SEED News Release, 1 November 2002)

This statement polarises the argument, seemingly suggesting that those who do not support the implementation are failing to acknowledge teacher professionalism properly. There is no room in this statement for debate on different ways of recognising teacher professionalism, merely a suggestion that if this particular pathway is not supported then professionalism is not being recognised. It is a subtle, yet pervading way of exerting control over teachers by questioning their commitment to their professionalism.

7.4 Models of CPD and their purposes

In omitting to acknowledge that there might be alternative forms of CPD frameworks worthy of consideration, the summary of responses to the 1998 consultation (SOEID, 1998a) stated that 'the proposed framework would outline the competences that should be associated with the various milestones in a teaching career...' (p. 1). This gives a quite clear message about the perceived purpose of CPD: it is viewed as a

means of satisfying role-related criteria. The idea that it is easy to identify the competences that 'should be' associated with particular teaching roles denies that these might in any way be contentious, problematic, or indeed, dynamic. This conception of CPD supports a view of teacher development as individual and role-related, thereby failing to acknowledge what Borcham (2000) describes as the value of collective development.

In November 1999 Sam Galbraith, as Minister for Children and Education, announced the development of a national framework of CPD for teachers in Scotland. The press release (SEED News Release, 6 November 1999) stated that: 'In keeping with its commitment to attract, motivate and retain high-quality teachers the Scottish Executive is creating a new framework for the continuing professional development of teachers.' – suggesting an agenda motivated principally by recruitment and retention issues, one that would clearly be controlled SEED, and interestingly made no mention of the contribution of other relevant stakeholders.

The content and tone of subsequent CPD-related news releases from SEED changed over time, presenting a variety of justifications for the CPD framework and using a variety of registers to speak to different interest groups. For example, in October 2000, Peter Peacock, the Deputy Minister for Children and Education, announced the first meeting of the Ministerial Strategy Committee, using soft, feel-good language to highlight the partnership nature of CPD development. He assured us that CPD would address 'the current and future needs and expectations of schools, pupils, parents and teachers themselves'. In January 2001, Jack McConnell, then Minister for Education, Europe and External Affairs, introduced yet another reason for teachers' CPD – to prepare teachers 'to adapt to an ever changing world'. McConnell also hinted at equality of access for teachers, engaging in a discourse of teacher empowerment where, in direct contrast to Sam Galbraith's 1999 statement, he expected teachers to take some control of the CPD agenda.

It is apparent from the examination of such official statements that SEED has not sought to advocate one particular rationale for the development of the CPD

framework. This apparent lack of agreement on the intended purpose of the framework indicates that perhaps the Government's motivation comes from elsewhere: 'Governments seek to use education for specific purposes: as a means of improving economic productivity, as workforce training, as a sorting and selection mechanism for distributing opportunities' (Ozga, 2000, p. 10). Ozga then goes on to suggest that in addition to economic motivations, governments can also address cultural concerns through education; a purpose which could be seen as particularly relevant within the post-devolution context in Scotland: '... education has been understood as a site of cultural transmission, as a place where national identities could be fostered – or revised – and as a way of protecting and honouring ideas of heritage that connect to nation and identity' (ibid.). Perhaps for some of the reasons suggested by Ozga, the Government's principal reason for supporting the development of the CPD framework might well be more to do with having control of the teaching profession than it is about professional outcomes. Indeed, Sachs (2001) points out that this phenomenon is evident in many countries, including the UK, USA and Australia. She claims that despite rhetoric to the contrary, the articulation of professional standards is more tightly focused on standardising practice than it is about enhancing quality. If this is the case in the Scottish context, then it is highly unlikely that such an agenda would be openly articulated in official SEED press releases.

In subscribing to a standards-based approach to teaching we are in effect 'uncritically participat[ing] in the standards-based movement' (Delandshere & Arens, 2001, p. 547). If this is the case then it could be argued that the SFR and the SCT, and indeed the entire CPD framework, are more about encouraging a certain way of thinking about teaching and teachers than they are about planning a coherent framework for the professional development of teaching. That is not to say that standards are in themselves necessarily bad, rather that their wholesale, uncritical adoption is perhaps an issue of concern.

In this regard, it is interesting to note that the McCrone Report (SEED, 2000) addresses the idea of chartered teacher within the section on 'career structure' as

opposed to the section which deals with CPD. This gives an indication that the major focus of the introduction of chartered teacher is more closely affiliated with structural concerns than it is with the professional development of individual teachers, an argument explored in detail in Chapter 5, which contends that externally imposed forms of accountability, serve to limit the need for teachers to be reflective, critical enquirers (Smyth, 1991).

The publication of the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001) produced seven bullet-pointed recommendations under the heading of 'professional development'. These recommendations covered initial teacher education, the probation period, chartered teacher and ongoing CPD. One of the recommendations related to the establishment of a national register of CPD providers, noting that 'not all CPD will be accredited, but there should be maximum opportunity for accreditation' (ibid., p. 16). However, there was no apparent justification for the desirability of accredited CPD. Reading this particular recommendation in conjunction with other recommendations tends to suggest that the desirability of accreditation relates to accountability. For example, the Agreement states that CPD 'should be a condition of service' that 'should be accessible and applicable to everyone' and that 'it is the employers' responsibility to ensure a wide range of CPD opportunities' (ibid.). So, if it is the employers' responsibility to ensure that CPD opportunities are available, and these opportunities have to be applicable to everyone, it is reasonable to suggest that the applicability will relate to the employers' perception of what it necessary or desirable. In instigating a national register, it is also likely that there will be increasing uniformity across the country, thereby increasing central control. The emphasis on applicability echoes with Solomon and Tresman's (1999) contention that the pressure for award-bearing courses to focus on classroom practice can be at the expense of attention to issues of values and beliefs. Analysis of the professional development recommendations in the McCrone Agreement mirrors closely the discussion in Chapter 5, which contends that award-bearing CPD has the capacity to support a transmission model, where central control and accountability feature highly.

7.5 Other key themes

Consultation

The issue of consultation, while arguably falling under the 'policy' umbrella, has played a significant part in the current CPD discourse, and is therefore worthy of particular comment. Throughout the recent developments in CPD policy, consultation has been used differently in different aspects of the framework. For example, in much of the development of the SFR and related guidance on induction, consultation was very much downplayed. Responsibility for the creation of the SFR was shared between SEED and the GTCS, and this joint responsibly undoubtedly contributed to the protracted timescale for its development. However, this protracted timescale was not extended to the consultation period: the draft version finally went out for public consultation on 25 September 2001, with responses to be made to the GTCS by 19 November 2001. The consultation launch was fairly low-key, and while the consultation document stated that it would also available on the GTCS website, it appears not to have been available online until 10 December 2001 – almost a month after the closing date for responses.

Results of the consultation were not published, but the consultation document did state that all responses would be made available on request unless respondents indicated their wishes to the contrary. On making such a request to view the responses, 58 were made available, with the accompanying summary indicating that this was the total number of responses received. Given that there are approximately 75 000 registered teachers, 3000 schools, 32 local authorities and six teacher education institutions in Scotland, not to mention numerous education-related organisations and bodies, 58 responses would not seem to be a particularly large response to a national consultation exercise. The breakdown of respondent categories is shown in Appendix 3.

Included in the documentary evidence made available for inspection was the grid used to record amendments made, or action taken, in relation to each of the individual responses received. Individual issues raised in the responses had been collated and then attributed a category of either:

- 'action' (presumably meaning that the GTCS would follow-up, but not necessarily change, the SFR);
- 'noted' (implies no immediate action);
- 'support and guidance' (issue to be dealt with in documentation outlining induction framework); or
- 'inserted' (incorporated into revised SFR).

Interestingly, in addition to the above categories there was one other comment to be found in the 'action' column. In reference to a response that had expressed disappointment at merely being given the opportunity to comment on the detail of the proposals rather than being consulted on the underpinning philosophy of the SFR, the comment 'incorrect statement!' had been written. While of course this had not been written for publication, it does lend credibility to Bottery's (2000) view that the effect of government control on the policy development process 'is to limit the ability of citizens to think in terms other than those which policy-makers wish to prioritise' (p. 59).

There was no way of telling from the material available for inspection whether the responses had been treated differently according to their origin, or whether some categories or sources of response were viewed as being more valuable or significant than others. Of the fifty-eight responses, if each individual response was attributed equal value, then schools would have had the biggest say in the consultation, making up 38% of the total. However, as some of the responses from schools merely indicated agreement or approval at a very general level, then it is questionable how this type of response could be given equal weighting to one which considered issues in a more detailed and multifaceted way.

The responses varied greatly in terms of quality, quantity and focus. Some quite clearly, and perhaps quite rightly, were from single-issue groups and made little comment on wider issues. Other responses merely indicated general approval with the document, while some went through each paragraph and 'professional standard' in detail, indicating approval or otherwise and suggesting changes to wording. Other

responses, however, made a much more conceptual analysis of the standard, querying its nature and purpose and its role in relation to the wider CPD framework. Many of the responses focused on issues related to the need for guidance on the implementation of the induction year (the first year of post-qualification teaching); issues which while connected to the SFR, were not within the scope of this consultation. Another frequently made point was a perceived need to review the ITE standard which was thought to be 'over-demanding', 'too ambitious' and 'a lot to achieve in one year'.

It must be remembered that the status of the SFR differs to that of other standards in the framework in that it is obligatory in relation to the achievement of full registration, and has legislative backing. This was recognised in many of the responses, which questioned how the SFR could be seen as part of continuum of professional development if its primary role was to satisfy professional registration. Indeed one of the responses suggested that 'to bolt together systems which have been designed for different purposes may not be the best approach'.

Consistency in applying the SFR was seen as a contentious issue, with some respondents seeking clearer guidance on how judgements should be made, making the point that it was consistency of implementation that would allow the SFR to meet its primary objective. In relation to this point many respondents raised the issue of the status of the 'holistic indicators' which were to be seen as 'a useful way of supporting judgements' but 'are not a formal part of the SFR' (GTCS, 2001, p. 7). This seemingly contradictory statement could be seen to be an effort to appease critics of a competence-based standard. Hextall and Mahony (2000) report a similar position in relation to the English situation where it had been reported that Teacher Training Agency (TTA) officers 'attempted to create covert pegs on which institutions could hang progressive interpretations of the Standards' (p. 325). They go on to question the extent to which consistency of interpretation and implementation can be assured if this invitation to employ flexibility is taken up. Clear parallels can be seen here with the Scottish situation, where one respondent suggested that there is a 'need for support in interpreting the Standard'.

The outcome of the SFR consultation exercise was not published, either in terms of a summary of responses or an account of the approach used in their analysis. In keeping with the low profile consultation, the final version of the SFR was introduced to schools in June 2002 as part of a package of guidance on implementing the new induction procedures.

The development of the Standard for Chartered Teacher and associated programme, on the other hand, was promoted from the outset as engaging in a wide-ranging and open consultation process to be driven principally by teachers' conceptions of the characteristics of the chartered teacher: indeed, it claimed to be 'a vehicle through which the opinion of the educational community is taken fully into account' (Chartered Teacher Project Team, 2001, p. 5). The consultation took the form of two consultation papers disseminated to every teacher in Scotland, focus groups, interviews with 'accomplished practitioners' and a series of eight national conferences. Selected developments have been documented on the Chartered Teacher Programme website at http://www.ctprogrammescotland.org.uk. The website itself was highlighted in Consultation Paper 1 (May 2001) as being an integral part of the consultation strategy yet interestingly contained only a small selection of papers, with no rationale for either their inclusion or for the exclusion of others. For example, an interim evaluation of the project was carried out in early 2002 and a paper outlining the impact of consultation on the development of the SCT was written in April 2002, yet neither of these papers were mentioned nor made available on the website. Nonetheless, it could be argued that in making information, albeit selected information, publicly available, there would be less likelihood of consultation procedures being queried or challenged: compared with other such national consultations, there had been greater access to (some) associated documentation in the development of the Chartered Teacher programme. This is a fine example of how the CPD discourse can be influenced through control of the flow of information; the information that is in the public domain has not only been sifted for its suitability but might also act to divert interested parties from investigating the existence of other information that is not publicly available. That is not to say that this has necessarily been an intentional strategy, rather that the

outcome, intended or otherwise, is that only a selection of information is publicly available, and that this selection is not likely to be challenged.

The question of participation in consultation exercises is important, and in terms of quantity of participation, the SCT consultation could certainly be classed as successful. However, consideration should be given not only to the number of people involved in the process but also to the quality of their involvement and the relative importance with which their contributions were received. Responses to both Consultation Papers 1 and 2 were categorised into individual and organisational responses, summaries of which are available on the Chartered Teacher Programme website. However, there is no accompanying statement as to how the responses were analysed in creating the summaries, and the extent to which they each influenced successive versions of the SCT.

Nonetheless, the consultation procedures adopted in the development of the SCT have generally been compared favourably to those adopted for the SFR, and have been viewed as being much more open, democratic and wide-ranging. Given the difference in status between the mandatory nature of the SFR, and the optional nature of the SCT, perhaps this is inevitable. After all, prospective chartered teachers will be customers, and as such, providers and facilitators will have to be seen to be responsive to customer demand. In addition, as the introduction of chartered teacher status was part of the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001), SEED will surely have an interest in ensuring that its implementation is successful. Making teachers think that they truly did have a say in the development of the programme is one way of increasing the chances of success, or at least limiting the chances of teachers rejecting the development out of hand.

While clear comparisons can be drawn between the composition and selection of the respective groups involved in developing the SFR and the SCT, what is not so clear is the influence of the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD. The development of the CPD framework has not been sequential or linear; rather various aspects of it have originated from different places for different reasons. However, the MSC did

have responsibility for developing CPD strategy, with one of its specific remits being to oversee the work of the Chartered Teacher Programme. The respective balance of power in this relationship was by no means clear.

The validation of individual policy initiatives, such as the SFR and the SCT, is crucial to the success of the Government in creating their wider policy vision of a national CPD framework. Clearly, in the case of both the SFR and the SCT consultation procedures, one of the driving forces has been to achieve consensus. Consultation in pursuit of consensus is more akin to the effective selling of a policy vision than it is about the generation of helpful advice, feedback and views on which to develop and change policy. While the consultation procedures in the two examples discussed above were quite different in many ways, what they did have in common was their mutual pursuit of the acquiescent consensus so crucial to maintenance of the status quo. Fullan (1993) argues that this is quite the opposite of what we need if CPD is to support teachers in developing the capacity to deal effectively and positively with change. It would appear to indicate that the transformative model of CPD discussed in Chapter 5 is not on the Government agenda.

While it cannot be denied that teachers and other interested stakeholders were afforded the opportunity to comment on the development of both the SFR and the SCT, the extent to which consultation participants were informed on the subject under consultation is questionable. Consultation of this nature could then be classed as 'superficial agreement' (Fullan, 1999, p. 22), and in reality is more akin to public validation of policy than it is true debate on the nature and purpose of the policy in question, thereby supporting a view of the purpose of CPD which would fall under the 'transmission' category proposed in Chapter 5.

7.6 Summary of the discourse: dominant concepts

The discourse discussed in this chapter stems from a range of publicly available documents published by key stakeholders involved in the development of CPD policy. The majority of this documentation is, understandably, from Government, although often it has been developed in conjunction with other key stakeholders such

as the teacher associations, employers and the GTCS. Therefore, the discourse is dominated by official positions, but it is not suggested that this necessarily reflects a single, fixed position to which all contributors subscribe. Rather, the discourse reflects a range of dominant concepts which feature most commonly in the debate surrounding the development of the CPD framework, and arguably, given that the development of specific policy priorities does not happen in isolation, these are concepts which also feature in a much wider educational context.

As van Dijk's (2001) 'socio-cognitive' framework was used to inform the analysis in this chapter, this summarising section will be presented in relation to the five aspects that he suggests as being worthy of interrogation, namely: topics, or semantic macrostructures; local meanings; the relevance of subtle 'formal' structures; context models; and event models

'Topics: semantic macrostructures'

Key topics identified in the documentation analysed included raising pupil attainment, principally through the accountability-driven process of ensuring that teachers meet prescribed standards. There were also both implicit and explicit references to the need for 'effective teaching' which would improve pupil learning, leading to improved attainment in priority subjects. These key propositions reflect Bottery and Wright's (2000b) notion of 'technical-rationality' (p. 51), and fit neatly with Sachs' (2003) conception of 'managerialist professionalism'.

'Local meanings'

In the context of this study, one of the most obvious examples of the impact of local meanings is the use of the concept of professionalism, which, it could been argued, has been used principally as a means of exerting political control over teachers. This was particularly apparent in relation to the debate over the implementation of the McCrone Agreement, where the 'professionalism' argument was used as a means of ensuring that the Agreement would be fulfilled. Indeed, professionalism has become synonymous with the well-used phrase 'the spirit of McCrone', a spirit which does not appear to feature explicitly in the final published Agreement (SEED, 2001).

'The relevance of subtle "formal" structures'

This appears most obviously in relation to the subconscious choice of language used, particularly in SEED news releases, which indicates quite clearly the sense that Government controls the framework and 'provides' it for teachers. The pervading nature of this kind of language excludes the notion of genuine teacher engagement and ownership. However, as outlined in section 7.1, it must be acknowledged that the very nature of news release statements means that they are perhaps not as guarded in their language as official published policy documents might be.

While it is perhaps to be expected in official documents, the depersonalisation of most of the text has served to limit the potential emotional impact of CPD policy by taking an essentially structural approach to the framework, i.e. it is about the standards, the qualifications and the means of reaching these, and not about the underlying ideological purpose of the framework, nor about the contention over the teacher as autonomous professional or state functionary. Using official, formal language depersonalises the debate and makes the omission of contentious issues less noticeable.

'Context models'

One of the most influential context models which must be taken into account is the influence of the McCrone Inquiry, and the underpinning ideological stance which relates much more readily to issues of pay and conditions and control than it does to developing professional democracy or autonomy. This pervades much, if not most, of the dominant discourse on CPD.

However, in relation to the wider context, the pressure to compete in a global economy is arguably an important influence on the Government's view of the need for a CPD framework – a pressure not unique only to education policy, and therefore other, wider political influences must be considered in analysing education policy.

'Event models'

This aspect is perhaps more difficult to identify in 'official' documentation, but one glaring example is the use of consultation as a justification for, or validation of, pre-determined policy agendas. Examples of this raised in this chapter include the responses to the 1998 national consultation on the development of a CPD framework, the consultation on the SFR and, most notably, the public relations exercise that flowed from the consultation exercise carried out by the chartered teacher project team. A lack of apparent engagement in debate about alternative approaches to these developments seems to suggest a reliance on such consultation as a means of validating policy.

The dominant discourse

To summarise, one of the key themes present in the current discourse of CPD policy presented through publicly available documentation is underpinned principally by the notion of education as something which can function to prepare the citizens of the future to serve their nation well. This is achieved through a 'social efficiency' (Zeichner, 1993) view of teaching which relies on a simplistic quasi-scientific notion that effective teaching will result in effective learning, thereby increasing pupil attainment. The current drive for a standards-based approach to CPD provides the 'scientific' formula that will supposedly result in this effective teaching.

However, while this broad conceptual position is represented clearly in the documentation, it is not the only position to be represented, and indeed, some of the documentary evidence makes reference to an agenda which emphasises social welfare. So, while there is clear agreement about the development of a more structured CPD framework being a positive step, there is undoubtedly some ambiguity as to its fundamental purpose.

7.7 Challenges to the dominant themes in the discourse

While the above discussion and summary outlines what appear to be the dominant concepts in contemporary discourse relating to CPD policy, it should be noted that these are not the only concepts contributing to this discourse. This section therefore

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commentators from professional stakeholders such as the GTCS or teacher associations.

This explicit acceptance of private funding, and therefore private agendas, being a welcome part of the development of teachers and schools perhaps supports the notion that a primary purpose of the education system is to prepare citizens to contribute to the nation state's economic success. In this respect it is worth noting the warning expressed by Wolf (2002), as discussed in Chapter 4, where she claims that there is little evidence to suggest that business knows best how to inform education policy.

So, while the above example of the discourse of CPD for 'leadership' is perhaps not as much a challenge to the dominant discourse as a slightly different discourse, there are examples of direct challenges to be found elsewhere, most notably in media reports.

Most obvious is the challenge to the use of the concept of 'professionalism' as a means of protecting certain privileges. This is particularly evident in relation to the pay increases awarded to teachers under the McCrone Agreement. Iain McWhirter, a Sunday Herald columnist, illustrates this, claiming that 'despite the McCrone pay awards, staff seem unwilling or unable to shake off the defensive, clock-watching mentality they acquired during the strikes in the 1980s...' (Sunday Herald, 31 October 2004). Elsewhere in the article McWhirter refers to this as 'the workerist mentality of school teachers' (ibid.).

However, it would be wrong to suggest that the media only presents this particular view, as there is evidence of wider debate being encouraged. For example, on the letters page of the Herald, a retired teacher claims that 'the word professionalism is only used with respect to teachers as a form of moral blackmail' (Robert Gibb, The Herald, 1 November 2004), supporting the proposition put forward in Chapter 4 that the concept of professionalism can be used as a form of control.

While the official discourse espouses the virtues of professionalism and trust, opposition politicians have used the media to articulate a quite different discourse of CPD. In an article by Brian Monteith, at that time the Scottish Conservative party spokesperson for education, the notion of CPD as a means of improving poor practice, or of removing poor teachers from post, is made explicit. In the article Monteith outlines what the Conservative Party would do for education, one of his suggestions being that 'the GTC would be given the central role in the continuing professional development of teachers and their post-probationary assessment. Ill-suited teachers would be given help or removed from the profession' (Brian Monteith, The Scotsman, 14 April 1999). This is quite clearly, and unapologetically, a deficit model, whereby CPD is used to ensure a basic minimum standard of competence. While this appears to be contradictory to the dominant discourse, it does in actual fact reflect one of the principal purposes of the Standard for Full Registration, which was to provide a benchmark by which the GTCS could carry out its responsibility for ensuring standards of professional competence, granted under the terms of the Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act (2000). This is outlined by the GTCS in a document describing the way in which the Council would discharge its competence-related duties: 'Teacher competence is described in terms of the SFR and applies to teachers who have gained full registration with the General Teaching Council for Scotland' (GTCS, 2002a, p. 1). While the official discourse of the GTCS and SEED focused principally on the SFR as a part of the induction process for probationer teachers, the media focused more readily on its co-use as the baseline definition of teacher competence, using headlines such as 'Incompetent teachers now face the sack: Up to 2000 in danger from new powers' (Gerry Braiden, Evening Times [Glasgow], 18 June 2002).

Essentially, while the dominant discourse is characterised by the centrality of issues such as accountability and standardisation, wrapped up in the rhetoric of 'professionalism', the general media coverage serves to challenge some of the basic assumptions being made. The tensions between different perspectives evident in the dominant discourse are discussed further in Chapter 11.

7.8 Questions arising from the documentary analysis

While the above discussion suggests a number of themes emanating from the documentary analysis, it nonetheless raises a number of questions relevant to the analysis of the interview data and the subsequent discussion. In particular:

- There is evidence of a range of conceptions of teaching and professionalism being promoted through the documentary evidence – some more prominent than others. To what extent is this reflected in the interview data?
- Do certain types of documentary evidence assume primacy over others in the lived experience of the interviewees?
- While there is evidence of consensus being reached on the need to develop a more structured CPD policy, does this mean that stakeholders come to a consensual position for the same reasons?

8 CONCEPTIONS OF TEACHING AND PROFESSIONALISM IN THE INTERVIEW DATA

This and the following two chapters present an analysis of the interview data. This chapter focuses on individual interviewees' responses to two specific questions, analysing their comments in relation to the particular conception of teaching and professionalism inherent in the data. Following this, Chapters 9 and 10 present a thematic analysis of the interview data, focusing on two broad areas, namely: policy structures and the policy process; and tensions and resolutions.

8.1 The Interviewees

Sixteen interviews were carried out with people identified as having 'elite' roles within Scottish education. Here 'elite' refers to the position of power held by individuals in terms of their narrative privilege, or capacity to influence the discourse. However, it is not suggested that membership of the category 'elite' necessarily implies any homogeneity of view, nor, therefore, that the dominant discourse be identifiable in terms of a fixed view to which all members of the elite group subscribe. Humes' (1986) notion of 'the leadership class' is worthy of noting in this respect: he argues that it is the complexity of the inter-relationship between elite players in the Scottish education system that governs policy development, and that while the outcome might be consensual, the process is generally not. Therefore, any dominant discourse will reflect the dominant features of relevant debate rather than a fixed and unanimous position.

The interviewees were chosen by virtue of their positions in representing or leading a key stakeholder group. (See Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion of the methodological considerations of elite interviewing, the selection of the sample and the procedures used.) Of the sixteen, four were female and twelve male – a figure which would seem to be fairly representative of the gender balance in senior positions within the education field. An original target list of potential interviewees was fairly easy to identify, with other significant elites being identified by interviewees themselves. Where a name was

mentioned by several of the original interviewees as being of significant influence in the development of CPD policy, the person was approached. Table 1 below gives a breakdown of the interviewees by stakeholder group.

Table 1: Breakdown of interviewees by stakeholder group

Interviewee	HMI	TEI	Civil Servant	Director of Education	GTCS	CT Project Group	Prof. Assoc'n	Politician	IIT	MSC CPD
1			✓							
2	✓									
3						✓				
4				✓						
5					✓					✓
6		✓			✓	✓				
7							✓			
8							✓			
9				✓						✓
10			✓							
11								✓		
12									✓	✓
13		✓			✓					
14					✓					✓
15			✓							✓
16									✓	✓

8.2 Chapter overview

This chapter presents an analysis of the interview data drawing explicitly on the discussion presented in Chapter 4 which explored varying conceptions of teaching and

of teacher professionalism. While different writers use different terminology, broadly speaking they identify a range of positions which might usefully be considered to be contrasting in terms of their capacity to support either a technical-rationalist view or a social democratic view of the purpose of teaching and role of the teacher. The technical-rationalist view positions teachers in the role of implementers of externally devised directives, where quality assurance and accountability are generally achieved through individuals being measured against prescribed standards. Within a social democratic conception, teachers are deemed to be responsible for developing ways of promoting greater participative democracy within schools, and where creative and collaborative work is expected. Also key to this conception is a commitment to social justice and equity, where social and political dimensions of teaching play a central role. Under this conception, quality assurance and accountability would be more likely to be generated from within the profession and its community.

While some of these issues are discussed in the thematic presentation of interview data in Chapters 9 and 10, these chapters do not compare views across the entire interview sample. This chapter therefore contributes a different approach to the interview analysis by analysing this specific theme across each of the interviews in turn, in order to make comparative comment on the positions presented in the data in relation to both technical-rationalist conceptions of teaching and professionalism and social democratic conceptions. This chapter also provides a greater sense of the individual interviewees and their particular views than will be evident in Chapters 9 and 10, illustrating the wide range of views which are held within an elite group. Indeed, breaking down the data in such a way shows that while each of the interviewees can undoubtedly be described as elite in terms of their role within Scottish education, belonging to such a group of people does not mean that they will necessarily all subscribe to the same basic educational and ideological views.

Due to the nature of the interviews with unique and elite figures, the interviews were semi-structured in nature (Chapter 6 provides a more detailed rationale), meaning that

each interview did not follow the exact same pattern of questions. However, the general interview outline, as provided in Appendix 2, included two particular questions which were asked of each interviewee, namely:

- What do you want the CPD framework to achieve?; and
- What indicators should be used to measure its success?

In responding to these questions the interviewees were required to give a view, whether personal or representative of their particular stakeholder group, of what they felt should be the case as opposed to what they felt would be the case. This data can then be used to make judgements on the extent to which they might be said to subscribe to a particular conception of teaching and professionalism, and also allows for an element of comparative analysis across interviewees which is not possible with all aspects of the interview data.

8.3 Relevant conceptual analyses from the review of literature

At this point it is worth revisiting some of the discussion in Chapter 4, and in particular, focusing on the work of Zeichner (1993), Bottery and Wright (2000a) and Sachs (2001) to illustrate the contrasting conceptions outlined above.

Zeichner's (1993) four traditions of teaching were discussed, two of which fit neatly within the schema being drawn on in this chapter, the two traditions being: the 'social efficiency' tradition which relies on 'scientific' knowledge about what constitutes 'good teaching' and which sits comfortably within a standards-based approach to teaching; and the contrasting 'social reconstructionist tradition' which embraces social and political dimensions of teaching and focuses on preparing pupils to be critically aware participants in a democratic society, with the ultimate aim of promoting greater social justice.

Bottery and Wright (2000a) also provide a useful means of analysing different orientations in teaching, arguing that the dominance of the technical-rationalist approach in England is at the expense of both the 'public orientation' which emphasises the responsibility inherent in public service with a particular focus on the development of participative democracy in schools, and the 'ecological orientation' which concerns itself with teachers' awareness of the wider global context within which the nation state is situated.

Sachs (2001) identifies two contrasting teacher identities which also illustrates the contrast between technical-rationalist conceptions and social democratic conceptions. She describes the 'entrepreneurial identity' as being principally individualistic and competitive within an externally regulative and controlling framework. In contrast she describes the 'activist identity' as being primarily concerned with reducing or eliminating exploitation, inequality and oppression. These two teacher identities can be located within two broad traditions of professionalism: managerial and democratic. Sachs identifies the principal features of managerial professionalism as being effectiveness, efficiency and compliance with policy, whereas democratic professionalism prioritises social justice, fairness and equality, and emphasises collaborative action.

In addition to the above conceptual frameworks, the spectrum of CPD models introduced in Chapter 5 also helps to illustrate the contrast, with 'transmission' type models fitting within the technical-rationalist approach and the 'transformative' type models fitting within a social democratic approach.

Figure 2 below summarises the contrasting conceptions outlined above.

Technical-rationalist conceptions	Writer	Social democratic conceptions
'social efficiency' tradition – relies on 'scientific' evidence of what constitutes good teaching	Zeichner (1993)	'social reconstructionist' tradition – embraces social and political dimensions of teaching
Technical-rationalist approach – focuses on compliance/competence of individuals teachers within narrow context of the classroom	Bottery & Wright (2000a)	'public' orientation - focuses on responsibility inherent in public service and emphasises the development of participative democracy in schools 'ecological' orientation – concerns itself with teachers' awareness of the global position in which the nation state is situated, and the concomitant pressures
'entrepreneurial identity' of teachers – individualistic; competitive; controlling and regulative; externally defined	Sachs (2001)	'activist' identity – primarily concerned to reduce or eliminate exploitation, inequality and oppression
'managerial professionalism' – key features include effectiveness, efficiency and compliance with policy.		'democratic professionalism' – key features include emphasis on social justice, fairness and equality. Emphasis on collaborative action.
'transmission' models of CPD – where content knowledge assumes priority over contextual, cultural or political knowledge, and the focus lies on teachers implementing pre-determined education policy directives	From review of models of CPD in Chapter 5	'transformative' models of CPD – where CPD acknowledges social, cultural and political dimensions, and helps and encourages teachers to contribute to the formation and development of education policy

Figure 2: Contrasting conceptions of teaching and professionalism

8.4 Analysing the interview data

Figure 2 above outlines a range of ways in which technical-rationalist and social democratic conceptions of teaching and professionalism might be expressed. This framework was used in the analysis of each of the 16 interview transcripts. Responses to the two questions about interviewees' views of what the CPD framework should achieve and what indicators should be used to measure its success were analysed for comments which would indicate a conception of teaching or professionalism which would fit under one of the two categories summarised in Figure 2 above: technical-rationalist or social democratic.

Each interview transcript is dealt with in turn, using the order presented in Table 1 on page 122, drawing out examples which demonstrate key aspects of either of the two broad conceptions.

Interviewee 1

Interviewee 1 is a SEED civil servant who at the time of interview was working on the implementation of various parts of the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001), including the development of the CPD framework.

The interviewee stated quite unequivocally that '*the fundamental aim [of the CPD framework] is the advancement of teaching and learning and making sure that every child has every opportunity*' – a statement which appears to fit neatly with Sachs' notion of democratic professionalism which emphasises social justice and equality. However, in the next paragraph the interviewee goes on to illustrate this statement using the following example:

> *if you are able to help a child... a child who's maybe struggling more, then whatever achievement they get, and it might not be something which could ever be recognised as a fantastic exam result, but to that individual if that is a real advancement, that is a real achievement to them, then that is very*

important. I think every teacher would agree with that, so yes, I think CPD has to be about more than just individual results and returns about attainment.

So while the view would indicate that the interviewee sees the purpose of CPD as helping individual children to achieve more, and therefore is not subscribing to a technical-rationalist view, it does not go as far as to set the child's achievement or potential achievement within the wider context in which Sachs' democratic professionalism sits. For example, the above illustration seems to describe the one-to-one relationship between the pupil and the teacher, and does not go as far as considering the importance of collaborative action.

In relation to indicators of success of the CPD framework, the interviewee's responses are much more clearly located within the technical-rationalist conception. Various possibilities are listed, including '*monitoring completion of CPD*' – which infers that CPD is episodic, locating the view within the transmission model of the CPD spectrum. This is supported by reference to the need to look at '*the quality of CPD available*' and '*the access to CPD opportunities*', inferring that these have to be provided for teachers as opposed to teachers taking control of their own CPD. The word '*monitoring*' is used extensively in the response, suggesting a reliance on external control consistent with what Sachs describes as the entrepreneurial identity of teachers.

It is interesting to note that while the response to the first question about the purpose of the CPD framework indicates sympathy with both the technical-rationalist and the social democratic conceptions, the question about indicators of success relies much more heavily on external monitoring and regulation consistent with a technical-rationalist conception.

Interviewee 2

At the time of the interview, Interviewee 2 was a senior figure in HMIE. The interviewee's responses adopted a very official tone, generally offering the 'party line' rather than personal opinion.

The interviewee used an analogy to describe the purpose of the CPD framework, suggesting that '*CPD becomes the motorway that gets you to a desirable destination*' and that it is '*how you build that motorway [that] is really quite important*'. When asked if it was perhaps also about how you define the destination, the interviewee replied: '*well I think the destination is defined by Ministers over the years*'. This is a clear indication of support for Sachs' entrepreneurial conception of teacher identity, which is characterised by control and regulation that is externally defined. Interviewee 2 went on to illustrate this by explaining that CPD feeds '*very directly into clear overall Government targets like inclusion*'. While the notion of teaching as a means of promoting social justice would fall within the social democratic conception, the mention of inclusion here appears to relate to current Government policy as opposed to equality as a general principle. To view the CPD framework as principally a means of delivering centrally agreed Government targets negates the concept of collaborative action emanating from within the profession; a key aspect of the democratic conception of professionalism. However, there was also mention of the ever-changing context within which teachers work, and the need for teachers to be aware of the need for change and to be able to '*manage that change*'.

In response to the question about indicators of success of the framework, the interviewee rightly pointed out the complexities of the process and the difficulty in being able to attribute improvements in teaching and learning to the implementation of a formal framework of CPD. However, he did suggest that HMIE '*would probably fairly early on mount what we call an aspect task, which is to look at the way the policy is bedding down across the country*'. He went on to suggest that thereafter, '*if there is to be an expectation, teacher by teacher [that CPD is to be accounted for]*' then in the course of

school inspections, '*it would be our job to monitor whether or not that is in fact being delivered by the local authority*'. This view demonstrates several features which would align with technical-rationalist conception of teaching and professionalism. For example the assumption that the expectation would be '*teacher by teacher*' indicates an individualistic view, which is compounded by the expectation that it be monitored externally; these aspects feature highly in Sachs' entrepreneurial conception of teacher identity. In addition, the implication that local authorities be responsible for 'delivering' CPD aligns with the transmission-type models of CPD. All of these features relate much more readily to a technical-rationalist conception than a social democratic one.

Overall, the majority of Interviewee 2's statements seem to suggest a clear alignment with a technical-rationalist conception of teaching and professionalism – much more explicitly so than with Interviewee 1. However, the context of the interviewee's position and role is also of relevance, and it is perhaps therefore unsurprising that a member of HMIE might align with a conception of teaching and professionalism in which regulation, external monitoring and a focus on compliance with policy feature highly.

Interviewee 3

At the time of the interview, Interviewee 3 was a member of the Chartered Teacher Project team, and hence, while the interview sought to focus on the CPD framework as a whole, this interviewee's responses often related purely to the chartered teacher element of the framework.

Initially Interviewee 3 outlined three main purposes of the chartered teacher programme as opposed to the CPD framework as a whole, these being: to improve further standards in learning and teaching; to improve the status of teachers; and to bring financial reward to class teachers as an incentive for them to remain in the classroom and not seek promotion outwith. He was then asked if these purposes could be translated to other parts of the framework. He acknowledged that the issue of increased financial reward was not quite as relevant to CPD in general, but that improvements in teaching and

learning were a central plank of CPD. He then drew an interesting distinction, suggesting that while improvements in teaching and learning would be an important outcome of CPD, it was '*not an absolute necessity in that some of the CPD will be to do with the school procedures*'. This suggests that the interviewee was separating the school environment and community from the issue of learning. Under a social democratic conception of teaching, the context of teaching assumes considerable importance, rendering this interviewee's comment more in alignment with a technical-rationalist conception of teaching in this respect. There is further evidence for such an interpretation when the interviewee goes on to highlight the central role of the standards (ITE, SFR, SCT and Headship) in the framework, arguing that '*that still leaves out the principal teacher – one that I think personally should be there*' – a view which fits neatly with Zeichner's social efficiency tradition of teacher education which relies on written statements of what constitutes 'good' teaching.

The interviewee's response to the question about indicators of success was set firmly within the context of the chartered teacher programme. One of the central issues raised by the interviewee echoes the point discussed above. He reported concerns voiced by teachers that, in studying for the chartered teacher qualification, a teacher might '*take their eye off the teaching and learning going on in the classroom*' signalling his agreement with this possibility with the phrase '*and obviously there is a danger there, I think*'. Again this indicates a sense that teaching and learning in the classroom is separate from other environmental, cultural or contextual factors. He did go on to justify how the chartered teacher programme might bridge this perceived gap between academic study and practical application by explaining that:

> *They [the potential chartered teacher] will identify this piece of work [that they are carrying out in school anyway] and they will realise that some of the things that they will be doing as part of this work relate to the chartered teacher programme, to the competences. So they will discuss with their assessor how they are covering the competences.*

This explanation exhibits several features consistent with a technical-rationalist approach to teaching and professionalism, not least of which is the way in which the 'competences' or standard provide the evidence that good teaching is happening. The inherent compliance with externally devised policy displays key features of managerial professionalism.

Interviewee 4

Interviewee 4 is a high profile local authority director of education with a keen interest in professional development for teachers.

The interviewee began his response to the question about what he felt to be the purpose of the CPD framework by providing a historical context. Interestingly he described developments under the previous system of local governance as being:

> *... much more related to the agenda of its time, which was maybe perhaps more about performance and good performance being rewarded and so on because that was really, in terms of the management of the day, in the private and the public sector, that was the in-thing.*

In the above statement the interviewee is clearly describing a managerial approach to teaching. However, he sets up this historic context as a contrast to current policy developments in relation to teachers' professionalism development – clearly suggesting that he does not think the purpose of the emerging CPD framework would fall within a technical-rationalist conception of teaching and professionalism.

He went on to describe what happened in his own local authority after local government reorganisation in 1996 talking about the CPD policy as '*a scheme to develop people professionally and give them support rather than a scheme to appraise them*', going on to assert that the new policy '*wasn't to be seen as a management tool coming down to teachers, rather something you owned as your right*'. This conception of professional

development falls within the social democratic conception in that it emanates from the profession as opposed to being imposed on them, and is to be used as a means of improving rather than as a means of accountability. The involvement of teachers in the policy development process falls within a transformative model of CPD as well as illustrating features of Sachs' democratic professionalism. However, Interviewee 4 did point out that his local authority was the first to '*get to the point where it [the newly developed professional review and development scheme] was compulsory – in a nice way*', indicating perhaps slight leanings towards the entrepreneurial identity of teachers where regulating of individual teachers forms a key part. Nonetheless, this interviewee was unequivocal in his expression of the CPD framework as something which would not be imposed as a management tool.

In outlining his views on what features he would deem to be indicators of successful implementation of the CPD framework, Interviewee 4 stated that he did not think there was a need for national monitoring – rather that evaluation or monitoring of the implementation of the framework should be carried out at a local level – again demonstrating a closer alignment with social democratic principles of management than of technical-rationalist principles which rely on external regulation and control. However, he did concede that nationally there might be a requirement for local authorities to report on progress, in which case he suggested returning data on '*how many people go through the framework*' – perhaps signalling an inevitability that there would be some form of external, national accountability imposed.

Interviewee 5

Interviewee 5 is a senior GTCS official who, as well as being on the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD, had been involved in a number of CPD related developments, including the development of the new teacher induction scheme.

The interviewee's response to the question about what he would want to see the CPD framework achieve does not at first glance appear to subscribe to either of the

conceptions of teaching and professionalism encompassed by technical-rationalist or social democratic descriptions. He talked about wanting to '*create a culture where teachers see CPD as something that they are professionally entitled to*'; perhaps indicating that entitlement is the key as opposed to enforcement, which would feature within a technical-rationalist conception of teaching. He went on to suggest that '*it's not the old in-service courses, it's not the old twilight courses but it is something professionally stimulating*', here perhaps suggesting that the previous model of CPD relied too heavily on a transmission model of delivery.

However, when asked about what indicators should be used to measure the success of the CPD framework, the interviewee used language which indicated much clearer alignment with a technical-rationalist conception:

> *... a lot of thinking has gone into how you devise a system that is consistent across the country, that's nationally acceptable, that has quality indicators as far as delivery is concerned and that's as fair as far as the competences are concerned.*

The focus on national consistency measured against externally defined competences displays key features of what Sachs would define as the entrepreneurial identity of teachers working within a system of managerial professionalism. This was also evident later in the interviewee's response where he suggested that '*if the GTC is to accredit providers [of CPD] ...there will have to be some method of evaluating the provider, and I think that will have to be done annually.*' Not only does this suggestion fit within a technical-rationalist conception of teaching and professionalism, but the response overall omits any mention of collaborative professional development or of wider social or political dimensions of teaching, thereby indicating no strong allegiance to the principles of a social democratic conception of teaching.

The interviewee did go on to acknowledge that teachers might well be expecting different kinds of indicators of success than other stakeholders, who he suggested '*may be looking for something more concrete in terms of something you can assess or something you can evaluate*'.

As with interviewee 1, in terms of the purpose of the CPD framework, Interviewee 5 did not appear to align his views explicitly with either a technical-rationalist or a social; democratic conception, but when expressing his views about indicators of success, there was clear evidence of support for a technical-rationalist agenda.

Interviewee 6

Interviewee 6 is a senior university figure who had been a GTCS council member and who at the time of the interview was a member of the Chartered Teacher Project Team. Interestingly, throughout the interview this interviewee tended to express views as personal, for example 'I think' or 'I believe', rather than purporting to be giving a factual response or to be representing a particular stakeholder group.

This interviewee spoke about what a CPD framework would do for teachers – as opposed to what it would do for pupils – highlighting the benefits of establishing '*benchmarks*' in career-long professional development. He also talked about the recognition, both public and professional, that would accrue to teachers as they passed through the various career milestones laid out in the CPD framework. As with Interviewee 5 above, these comments do not lie clearly within one particular conception of teaching and professionalism, however, the emphasis on individual teachers does lean more towards some aspects of the technical-rationalist approach than the more collaborative social democratic approach. This was illustrated in a later statement where the interviewee set the development of the CPD framework within the context of the Sutherland report (see Chapter 2 for detailed discussion of the development of the framework), which acknowledged that 'there was an enormous amount of CPD work undertaken [in Scotland] but not enough of it was quality assured.' Interviewee 6 went

on to express his view on the need for a national framework to be consistent and applicable throughout the country:

> *If it is a national framework then each stage in the framework should mark a publicly agreed statement of what you have achieved by that level, and that would be buttressed by ways of assuring that the standard is consistently applied throughout the country. So having a framework is [not] just good for the profession but I think it is [also] good for an individual teacher to have targets.*

This comment contains several features that would be consistent with a technical-rationalist conception of teaching and professionalism, in particular: the externally defined statement of achievement at various levels; the notion of national measures of quality assurance and the compliance with policy; and the individualistic sense in which teachers would comply with the prescribed standards.

However, the interviewee's comments were not solely in relation to the impact of the framework on teachers: he did make links between the successful implementation of the framework and improvements in pupil learning. This statement fitted with what Zeichner describes as the social efficiency of teaching, the interviewee having talked about the way in which the framework would validate '*effective*' professional action, which would '*have a positive impact on [pupil] learning*'. While this in itself might not indicate a wholesale subscription to a technical-rationalist conception of teaching and professionalism, the absence of any reference to wider social and political dimensions or to the collaborative nature of democratic professionalism, suggests that the interviewee's comments would not fall within the social democratic conception.

Interviewee 7

Interviewee 7 is a senior official in one of the main teacher associations in Scotland. At the outset he gave a rationale for his preference not to use the term 'CPD framework',

based on his understanding that '*the notion of a coherent framework*' had come to gain popularity despite the fact that '*it has grown from apparently discrete parts*'. Due to the nature of his understanding and belief about the origins of the framework, the sense of the question regarding what he would want a national framework of CPD to achieve is called into doubt. However, he did make comment later on in the interview about what he would hope CPD in general would achieve.

In drawing the interview to a close, Interviewee 7 was asked who he thought would have most to gain from the CPD framework. His initial response was: '*the facetiously cynical answer is that there's a whole industry out there, about to develop, and there will be big issues about quality control and accreditation*', adding the rider '*but that's slightly flippant!*' However flippant the comment, it does hint at his acknowledgement of the existence of a technical-rationalist culture which focuses on such issues as external regulation and control, and compliance with policy directives. However, presenting the comment as he does tends to suggest he is distancing himself from such a conception of teaching and professionalism.

The interviewee went on to suggest that teachers would have most to gain from the CPD framework: '*potentially they could get a huge amount if this all works*', illustrating this by giving examples of some of the demands on teachers that have surfaced recently, for example, increased use of ICT and '*the thinking skills agenda*'. His next comment fits directly under the transmission category of CPD models:

> *So there's a massive deficit there [in teachers' ability to cope with new demands on them] and if we start to close that then I think teachers will feel a lot more comfortable in their jobs and less stressed by the challenges and demands that are being made of them.*

While this comment fits broadly under the category defined as technical-rationalist, the interviewee did draw a distinction between this approach, albeit remedying a perceived

deficit, and a more explicitly technical-rationalist conception which would see CPD as '*something that's being done to you by your employer as opposed to something that you actually choose to do and want to do*'.

While at times the interviewee appears to be distancing himself from some of the current practices which display characteristics that have been defined as broadly fitting within a technical-rationalist conception, he does not, on the other hand, subscribe to a social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism in any explicit way.

When asked about the indicators he would use to measure success of the framework, Interviewee 7 reported his answers under two categories: '*objective*' measurement, for example, '*the scale of activity that has taken place*' including '*progression towards chartered teacher*' which would be measurable in terms of teachers gaining increments on the chartered teacher pay scale; and more '*indirect*' things such as motivation and job satisfaction. However, he too acknowledged the complexities in identifying which measures of progress in terms of pupil achievement or attainment could be attributable to the CPD framework. Interviewee 7's responses appear to indicate an acceptance of the inevitability of the use of objective measures, but he did not state explicitly that he would support the use of such indicators. On the other hand, he did not suggest indicators which would appear to align themselves more readily with a social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism.

In summary, while there are indications that Interviewee 7 is critical of a technical-rationalist approach to CPD, he does not demonstrate any clear alignment with a social democratic approach.

Interviewee 8

Interviewee 8 is also a senior teacher association official; not from the same association as Interviewee 7 above. His traditional trade union stance is clear throughout much of the interview through his focus on issues of pay and conditions.

The initial response to the question about what he would wish to see the CPD framework achieve illustrated sympathy with the notion of CPD as remedying a deficit – fitting within the transmission category of types of CPD models, for example: '*There's been a particular problem as methodologies change, as the curriculum has changed, as the whole ethos of teaching has changed, that CPD has not kept pace with that.*' There are further indicators of the interviewee seeing CPD as serving transmission-type purposes when he suggested that '*there is also reservation about the way in which it is delivered – whether the professionalism and the delivery of some of the stuff was as evident as the professionalism it espoused.*'

Other than suggesting CPD as a means of remedying a deficit, the interviewee made no other suggestions as to potential benefits of the CPD framework. This would seem to suggest that his view lies quite firmly within a technical-rationalist conception of teaching and professionalism.

While Interviewee 8 acknowledged the difficulty in evaluating some of the more qualitative aspects of the framework, his views about the types of indicators that should be used to measure the success of the framework nonetheless aligned with a technical-rationalist conception. For example, he stated that '*clearly the uptake rates on the courses that are offered*' is something that can be measured easily, but went on to warn that just because a teacher attends a course does not mean that they have necessarily engaged with the subject. When pushed to identity what he meant by '*some of the more qualitative aspects*' he responded by saying that if teachers perceive that the implementation of the chartered teacher programme goes well then '*people will perceive CPD as being much more of a success*', but that '*if we are engaged in the travails of a pay-claim which is going nowhere ... then it will be a very different matter.*' This response indicates an understanding of the 'qualitative aspects' to mean how pleased teachers are with the framework rather than qualitative indicators such as an increase in

democratic participation in schools, or improvements in participation by pupils from lower socio-economic backgrounds.

Interviewee 9

This interviewee is a high profile local authority director of education, who was also a member of the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD.

In direct contrast to the interviewee reported above, Interviewee 9 stated that he would want the CPD framework to result in '*teachers being professionally curious*'. He went on to illustrate this with an incident in his own local authority in which he had a direct responsibility for working with teachers who were helping pupils to deal with the aftermath of a trauma, claiming that many of the teachers he worked with, but in particular secondary teachers, appeared to view their role as a narrow, academic one rather than having responsibility for social dimensions of pupils' experiences. This sets Interviewee 9's statement clearly within a social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism. This was reiterated when he summed up his view saying: '*I only want teachers to be effective teachers, but they need some professional curiosity about the context within which they are operating and how they engage with families and with other professionals to succeed in that*'. This statement contains several of the key features of Sachs' democratic professionalism and Bottery and Wright's public orientation – both of which point towards the interviewee subscribing to a social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism.

The next part of the interview followed a different path, but in concluding his response to the question about what a CPD framework should achieve, the interviewee talked about a range of issues which were currently being debated, such as the esteem of senior teachers, but asserted that these were not the important issues: '*the [important] issues are about quality of education and issues of...we're not doing nearly enough to support the educational achievement of children suffering from poverty*'. This is yet again a clear

indication of the interviewee's support for a social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism.

In terms of indicators of success of the CPD framework, the interviewee did not make specific suggestions; rather he drew a contrast between '*accountability*' and '*empowerment*', indicating his support for an emphasis on empowerment. However, he expressed a view that this message would have to come explicitly from politicians, and that if this did not happen then there was little chance of the profession delivering '*the twin peaks of raising achievement and social inclusion*'. The interviewee clearly supports a social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism, acknowledging his awareness that this requires not only a commitment to reducing inequality, but also that this needs to be set within the current political and cultural context. This, again, demonstrates several of the key features of the social democratic paradigms described by Zeichner, Botttery & Wright and Sachs.

Interviewee 9's responses indicate explicit support for a social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism, and interestingly, would appear to be the most unequivocal of the interviews analysed so far in this chapter.

Interviewee 10

Interviewee 10 is a civil servant, who at the time of the interview was working on the new induction arrangements for probationer teachers in Scotland. Throughout the interview, the interviewee's answers were guarded, fairly brief, and clearly intended to reflect an official view as opposed to a personal view.

When asked what the CPD framework should achieve, Interviewee 10 replied:

I think that it is our view, and it's a shared view, that having an effective CPD framework to which all parties are committed: teachers, schools, authorities, the Executive etc., that the purpose of that is to increase the

> *professionalism... of the profession... To make a better qualified, more self-aware, highly trained profession which is up-to-date and constantly looking for ways to develop their skills.*

This statement displays several features of a technical-rationalist nature, for example: the ideal of commitment to and compliance with agreed policy; the emphasis on effectiveness and efficiency; and the focus on 'skills' and 'training' which underpin a transmission view of CPD. In addition, there is no mention here of any of the wider aspects of a teacher's role, and no explicit cognisance taken of social or political dimensions which would indicate leanings towards a social democratic conception.

This alignment with a technical-rationalist concept of teaching and professionalism was exhibited again in response to the question about indicators of success of the CPD framework. The first indicator suggested was that there should be '*some kind of proof, or evidence, that all teachers are actually accessing the opportunity for professional development*'. This reflects a commitment to what Sachs would term 'managerial professionalism' in that it focuses on the compliance with policy, and identifying efficient means of ensuring such compliance, as opposed to identifying what the outcome of such compliance might be.

Interviewee 10's brief, guarded and 'official' responses to these, and other, questions reflect many of the features of a technical-rationalist approach: focusing on compliance with regulations which are externally defined; not considering alternatives outwith what has been pre-defined as good or effective teaching; and paying scant regard to contextual, cultural or political dimensions of the teacher's role.

Interviewee 11

Interviewee 11 is a Member of the Scottish Parliament, and at the time of the interview was his party's spokesperson on education. In interpreting the interview it should be

noted that the political party to which this MP belongs is not one of the parties in power, so criticism of current policy might be expected.

In discussing the potential achievement of the CPD framework, the interviewee began by criticising the current approach, arguing that '*the contemporary civil service view is that everything can be measured*' and that if it is not measurable it is not worthwhile – indicating the interviewee's clear opposition to the technical-rationalist view. He went on to suggest that the quality of education debate in general is limited by the '*uncritical adoption*' of language such as '*standards*' and '*competence*'. These statements outline a view that current Government policy might be said to fall under the technical-rationalist conception of teaching and professionalism, with the interviewee signalling his objection to it. In contrast to this, Interviewee 10 expressed his favour for a model of CPD which would involve '*genuine democratic power to schools as communities*' – a statement which is more in alignment with Sachs' notion of democratic professionalism.

While it is impossible to predict what the interviewee's party might do were they to be in power in the Scottish Parliament, the interview nonetheless illustrates a willingness on behalf of the interviewee to present his support for a CPD framework which would be more akin to a social democratic model than a technical-rationalist one.

However, the interviewee's initial response when asked about potential indicators of success was to suggest that exam results would clearly be one indicator, but that they '*should not be the final determinant*'. While such indicators might be seen to fit more readily within a technical-rationalist conception, the fact that Interviewee 10 went on to argue that other factors such as satisfaction and happiness would also be important would arguably still fit within a social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism. Indeed, the notion of encouraging democratic school communities fits with Bottery and Wright's 'public' orientation of teaching, while the acknowledgement that exam results are also important might also indicate some sense of the 'ecological' orientation where it is acknowledged that on a global stage exam results are deemed to

be important. There is a sense in which the interviewee expresses visionary hope for the future but also grounds it in the current cultural and political context – a key feature of the social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism.

Interviewee 12

Interviewee 12 is a headteacher who at the time of the interview was an active and prominent member of the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD.

Interviewee 12's hopes for the CPD framework were that it '*ought to liberate the teacher; enable the teacher to develop personally and professionally. I think secondly it ought to enable schools to see how they can maximise from the professionals that are working for the benefit of pupils.*' While not subscribing to some of the more controlling elements of the technical-rationalist conception, her response does not encompass the wider social and political dimensions of wholesale adoption of the social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism. There is also a sense in the response that the focus is on individual teachers – illustrated by the comparison given between pupils and teachers:

> *...now we are doing the same things for our pupils that we are doing for our teachers – we are trying to say that pupils need to develop their personal skills and the skills that are going to equip them for life... We 've got to find ways of becoming more flexible and more responsive to the needs of individuals.*

The focus on individuals, and individual needs, relates in part to Sachs' notion of the entrepreneurial identity of teachers, although Interviewee 12 does not appear to subscribe to the competitive, regulating and controlling aspects which Sachs also identifies as a part of this identity.

The interviewee's views on appropriate indicators of success also related to individual teachers, although she did not suggest that teachers necessarily be measured against some externally defined standard; rather she suggested that this should come from within the profession itself: '*People have got to be able to point to success*'. Again this view would appear to fall somewhere between the two extremes represented by the technical-rationalist and social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism. However, unlike some of the interviewees, Interviewee 12's responses to both questions indicate a similar conceptual standpoint.

Interviewee 13

This interviewee is a senior figure in teacher education, and also holds office on the Council of the GTCS. His own philosophy on education was apparent throughout the interview and responses are therefore more personal than representative of either teacher education or of the General Teaching Council.

Before responding to the question about what the CPD framework should achieve, the interviewee cautioned that his thinking was principally informed by his experience in relation to secondary teachers. He went on to say that he would like to see the '*subject-centredness or subject-boundedness*' of secondary education disappear. He summed up his hopes succinctly: '*My aspiration... is for a CPD framework to focus on the broader issues at the one level – the broader issues of school, community, society. But insofar as it inevitably has to focus on classroom practice*'. This response is similar to that of Interviewee 11 – the MSP – in that it subscribes to the social vision of the social democratic conception, and also situates that vision within the current political and cultural context.

In terms of indicators of success, Interviewee 13 suggested that '*the first and most simple [indicator] of all is that teachers would want to take it.*' However, he did not go on to suggest how such evidence might be accrued. He also proposes that '*better communication amongst teachers*' would be a key indicator, but again, does not suggest

specific means of gathering this information. His third suggestion, that '*professionals in schools make more explicit to the public what they are achieving and not as has been in the past resort to a kind of defensiveness and a desire to restrict public access to school education*' reflects the collaborative element that Sachs claims to be a vital component of democratic professionalism. However, his fourth proposal strikes a contrast to the preceding statements – a fact that he acknowledged himself, suggesting that it is '*almost a perverse one*' – as he proposed '*CPD as a means of culling the profession from time to time*'. This sits firmly alongside the ideas expressed under the technical-rationalist conception, where CPD is used as a means of external control. The interviewee expanded on this suggestion, saying:

> *Now I don't like being autocratic in that direction, but I think if you are going to have performance indicators, or quality indicators, then you have to be able to use them from time to time to indicate, after appropriate testing, to a teacher that they are no longer maintaining the standard.*

The overt emphasis on compliance with policy and external control and regulation renders this suggestion technical-rationalist in nature – a stance which appears to be at odds with that expressed earlier. This indicates the complexities of the philosophical and ideological views that underpin the views of those education elite involved in the policy-development process.

Interviewee 14

Interviewee 14 is a senior GTCS official, who was also a member of the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD.

Interviewee 14's response to the question about what the CPD framework should achieve was brief:

> *I think we would want it to give teachers confidence in what they do and how they do it, and support them in that. We wouldn't want to do it <u>for</u> teachers, but to give then confidence to actually explain what they do; give them their professionalism back because that's what it's about... it's about our professional confidence and ability*

While perhaps appearing to give little away, the response does indicate a view that the CPD framework is more about teachers than it is about the outcome of teachers' work. In that sense it would appear to fit better within the social democratic conception than the technical-rationalist conception of teaching and professionalism.

When asked about what the indicators of success should be, Interviewee 14 stated that it '*would not necessarily be people achieving a specific outcome like a stamp on the head that says 'Chartered Teacher', but teachers,... being recognised and valued for the work they do...*'. Yet again this response focuses on teachers, and teachers' sense of professional worth. It does however acknowledge explicitly that many of the valuable outcomes of CPD are not easily or objectively measurable. Indeed, the interviewee went on to acknowledge that these kinds of dimensions are '*attitudinal...the culture*', and therefore '*they are not quantifiable*'.

Later on in the interview, Interviewee 14 drew a distinction between the kinds of indicators that SEED has used to measure success in the past, for example, counting the numbers of probationers successfully placed within the new induction scheme, and the kinds of indicators that she would propose which would focus on quality rather than quantity. This may indicate an implicit recognition of the need for measurable outcomes, and hence reflect elements of the technical rationalist view.

Again, this interviewee's responses illustrate the complexities of the ideological influences at work, showing that aspects of both technical-rationalist and social

democratic conceptions can struggle for dominance within consensual, formal policy agreements and in individuals' (sometimes differing) policy aspirations.

Interviewee 15

Interviewee 15 is a civil servant, who at the time of the interview was involved in the development of the CPD framework, working closely with the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD. Unlike many civil servants who move departments on a regular basis, his attachment to this particular department of the Scottish Executive had lasted approximately three years.

At the outset, the interviewee acknowledged openly that there was no formal articulation of the purpose of the CPD framework, and that '*I suspect if you asked each member of the Committee [the MSC] to describe what they thought the vision would be, you'd get a different response depending on their particular angle*'. However, he went on to state that as his responsibility was to draw all the various interests together into a coherent policy, then perhaps the purpose of the CPD framework could be described as something which would '*allow teachers to develop and enhance their skills and knowledge and understanding at the most appropriate time in their career with high quality CPD which... is available to all teachers – no matter where they are located*'. This is an interesting illustration of how differing views within the policy-making community can be brought together to reflect a consensus.

The emphasis here is on teachers' entitlement to CPD, as opposed to the ultimate impact on pupils, as might be expected under a social democratic conception of teaching. The statement also suggests that as CPD is something that should be made '*available to*' teachers; that it is provided for them, rather than something that might be generated from within the profession. This tends to suggest alignment with the transmission-type models of CPD discussed in Chapter 5, which would fall under the technical-rationalist category. Later on in this response, however, the interviewee expanded on the above

statement by suggesting that a number of other aspects would also fall within the broad definition he provided:

> *re-engaging the teacher with their professionalism, it's giving them that opportunity to recognise that they've got a responsibility to think about their professionalism and to ensure that they are actually delivering or doing things which allow them to deliver the vision of improving and ensuring that all children in Scotland get the best possible start in life. I mean ultimately that's the role; it's not about making life nicer for teachers, it's about making life better for kids...*

In this statement Interviewee 15 does explicitly acknowledge the impact on pupils as being a primary driving force for CPD, but he does not go as far as to suggest what that impact might be. There is also a sense in the above statement, that the interviewee deems teachers to be lacking in '*professionalism*', and that the CPD framework might serve to remedy this deficit. The notion of the deficit model sits quite clearly within what is described as the transmission model of CPD, and is at odds with a social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism.

Interviewee 15's response to the question about possible indicators of success focussed on the impact of the Chartered Teacher programme as opposed to the framework in general. He suggested that there might be evidence from HMIE school inspections of improved quality in schools which have chartered teachers on their staff. He went on to acknowledge that not all improvements would be easily measurable, but finished his response by asserting that '*there will be research done... to see if we can determine what impact it has had. Because at the end of the day it's quite a significant amount of money being put into it.*' While this response is in relation to the Chartered Teacher programme in particular, the emphasis on value for money locates the response within a technical-rationalist conception of teaching and professionalism; encompassing several features which would fit with Sachs' notion of managerial professionalism.

Interviewee 16

Interviewee 16 is a prominent head teacher who was a member of the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD and of the leadership and management sub-group.

Throughout the interview, Interviewee 16 tended to give responses which he presented as factual rather than providing his view or opinion; this was evident in his response to the question about what he wanted the CPD framework to achieve. His responses started with: '*... if you take the framework, you know, the benchmarks... In terms of people's careers*'. He then proceeded to go through the various standards, chartered teacher, headship, and so on, and summarise their respective purposes. He then focused on the work he had been involved in with the leadership and management sub-group of the MSC, highlighting that the group had '*indicated the kinds of competences that you might be seeking to display at these various stages [of leadership], and also the professional programmes that might be necessary to help people reach these various levels of competency*'. The focus of the response is on structural and organisational elements of selected aspects of the CPD framework – suggesting an emphasis on compliance with externally devised regulative standards which feature heavily in a technical-rationalist conception of teaching and professionalism.

The emphasis on structural and organisational dimensions of the CPD framework continued in Interviewee 16's response to the question about indicators of success, suggesting that '*things like the take-up of chartered teacher... and SQH*'. However, he then went on to express concern about different perceptions of what constitutes CPD, stating that '*some of my staff are passing off what is basic curriculum development as CPD*'. He went on to describe the kinds of CPD he perceived as valuable in his school, for example, observing colleagues' classes and taking part in teaching and learning seminars. These comments tend to suggest a move away from the technical-rationalist conception of teaching, yet he did not go as far as to locate CPD within the social and political dimensions of teaching that would indicate alignment with a more social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism.

8.5 Convergence and divergence of views

The data presented above outline where each interviewees' responses to two specific questions lie in relation to either technical-rationalist or social democratic conceptions of teaching and professionalism. The responses for each interviewee were categorised as displaying features which are: clearly social democratic (SD); generally SD; non-SD; clearly technical-rationalist (TR); generally TR; non-TR; or between both conceptions. These categorisations reflect both the strength of view expressed, for example, 'clearly' SD or 'generally' SD, and interviewees' explicit opposition to a particular conception, i.e. non SD or non-TR. The 'between' category reflects a position which is not clearly identifiable as veering towards either of the conceptions outlined. This categorisation is presented in table format in Appendix 4. The data show that respondents cannot easily be classified as subscribing to one or other of the categories, as the majority of interviewees demonstrated aspects of both conceptions, to greater or lesser degrees. So while there is difference between interviewees there are also differing conceptions being expressed within individual interviews.

There are a number of interesting features arising from the data outlined above which help to shed some light on the complexities of the policy making process in which this elite group of people in Scottish education engage.

While some interviewees indicated views which could be categorised as non-social democratic, they did not, conversely, subscribe explicitly to a technical-rationalist conception, and those that did display features of a social democratic conception did not always do so completely, that is, they tended to support a collaborative approach to teacher development, but did not locate this within the wider cultural and political context of striving for greater social justice. Rather, the focus was more on structures of joint working and communication than it was on the fundamental purpose or impact of such action.

Only two of the interviewees (Interviewee 4 and Interviewee 9 – both directors of education in local authorities) appeared to subscribe fully to a social democratic conception in relation to both the purpose of the framework and the potential indicators of its success. This is at odds with the majority of the data, as overall there were more expressions which could be categorised as technical-rationalist within the responses to the question about indicators of success than there were to the question about the purpose of the framework, demonstrating a tendency to express aspirations in accord with a social democratic conception, but describing indicators of success in terms of a more technical-rationalist approach. Furthermore, statements about potential indicators of success were more likely to fall into the 'clearly TR' category than the 'generally TR' category. This perhaps indicates some tension between interviewees' aspirations for the impact of the CPD framework and their view of the likely reality of its implementation. It should also be acknowledged that the wording of the question – 'what indicators should be used to measure its [the CPD framework] success?' – might have been leading in that it used language which is commonly associated with a positivist approach to identifying success, perhaps thereby limiting the range of responses, although clearly a range of interpretations could have been made.. Alternatively, the data might simply suggest resignation to the fact that technical-rationalist models of implementation will dominate in contemporary professional lives.

In many of the responses there is a sense in which there seems to be a category missing between the technical-rationalist and social democratic conceptions – something akin to a more narrow version of the social democratic conception where teacher democracy and pupil participation are valued, but not going quite as far as locating it within its wider cultural and political sphere. This 'intermediate' view can perhaps be said to be anti-external control, but concerns itself primarily within the parameters of school as opposed to viewing the school as an integral part of wider community or society.

8.6 Summary

This chapter has added another dimension to the data analysis by exploring individual interviewees' responses to two specific questions. These responses were analysed in relation to the conceptions of teaching and professionalism discussed in the literature in Chapter 4, and are broadly defined as technical-rationalist and social democratic conceptions.

The analysis revealed significant complexities and differing views being expressed both within and between interviews. In general, however, there was a greater tendency for interviewees to subscribe to a technical-rationalist conception in relation to their views on what would constitute indicators of successful implementation of the CPD framework than there was when they talked about what they hoped it would achieve.

In addition to the two categories defined through the literature, there also appeared to be an intermediate conception which aligned with the collaborative and self-regulative aspects of the social democratic conception, but did not embrace the underpinning ideology which would compel it to address issues of social justice and equity through teaching.

Finally, what this chapter illustrates clearly is that while the elite figures as a group could be said to be supportive about the development of the CPD framework, they are not homogenous in relation to their reasons for such support. Indeed, it should be stressed that the 'elite' aspect is more clearly in relation to their status and power in the education scene in Scotland than it is to their subscription to a particular ideology.

9 POLICY STRUCTURES AND THE POLICY PROCESS: VIEWS FROM THE INTERVIEW DATA

This chapter begins with an outline of the demographics of the sample of interviewees. It then goes on to outline procedures used in the analysis of the interview transcripts before presenting and discussing findings from the data.

9.1 Carrying out a thematic analysis of the interview data

In addition to the analysis of individual interview transcripts in relation to two specific questions, as reported in the previous chapter, a theme analysis of the interview data was also carried out. This involved using the CAQDAS programme NVivo (again, see Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion of the methodological considerations), and provides a complementary analysis to that undertaken in the previous chapter. It should be noted that several of the points discussed in Chapter 8 are also touched on in this chapter, but that the thematic data discussed here comes from across the entire interview transcripts and is not limited to answers to specific questions. As a result of this thematic analysis 42 nodes were identified (node is the term used in NVivo to mean 'theme'). A complete list of these nodes is presented in Appendix 5. From the 42 original nodes, ten organising categories were identified:

1. Policies/structures in place
2. The policy process
3. Reasons for the development of the framework
4. Purpose of the framework
5. Indicators of success
6. Power and influence
7. Tensions, contradictions and assumptions
8. The interview process
9. Interviewees' understanding of key terms or topics
10. The future

The relevant nodes subsumed by these organising categories are presented in list form in Appendix 6. Some of the original nodes were placed under more than one of the ten categories. For the purposes of discussing and reporting the analysis of these categories, three distinct chapters have been identified, namely:

- Categories 1, 2, 3 and 4 discuss issues to do with the policies, structures and the policy development process, and will be reported in this chapter;
- Categories 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10 can be grouped broadly under the heading of 'tensions and resolutions', and will be discussed in Chapter 10; and
- Category 8, 'The interview process', will be discussed in Chapter 11.

9.2 Policies and structures in place

Inevitably, there were developments in both policies and structures over the period in which the interviews took place: March 2002 – June 2003. However, in keeping with the aim of this study, the central concern was not to identify the factual detail of such policies or structures, rather to identify their origins and to explore the forces which lend them credibility and acceptability: Foucault's 'regimes of truth' (in Rabinow, 1984, p. 74).

What is particularly interesting from a poststructuralist point of view is the extent to which interviewees questioned the aim or appropriateness of the structures of, or the agendas behind, particular policy imperatives. Also of importance in this section is van Dijk's (2001) text-context theory, discussed in Chapter 6, which identifies the context of the production of text as being crucial to its analysis.

While issues of policy and structures are clearly bound up in much of what was discussed in the interviews, there are a number of nodes in the NVivo analysis which are worthy of particular consideration under this heading, namely: the impact of the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001); financial implications of the CPD framework; the Chartered Teacher programme in general and the debate over its academic/professional status in particular; induction and the Standard for Full

Registration; the National Register of Providers; the relative importance of constituent aspects of the CPD framework; and the standards-based approach to the framework.

The McCrone Agreement

As outlined in Chapter 2, the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001) has had a significant impact on CPD developments for teachers in Scotland. Indeed, the McCrone Agreement appears to have been used by some of the interviewees as a justification for particular actions, and some of the language implies that in citing the Agreement as the reason for certain developments, there is no need to question motives further. For example, a civil servant stated *'The parameters were set by the McCrone Agreement itself, so there were some things we had to do because they were established in the Agreement'*. This is interesting in that it lends new significance to the McCrone Agreement; implying a status which renders it incontestable. This use of the McCrone Agreement to defend particular actions is also evident elsewhere. Later in the interview the civil servant quoted above said *'...and then the Agreement came along and said there will be chartered teacher.'* In attributing identity and power to 'the Agreement' the speaker was in effect by-passing the fact that those involved in the Committee of Inquiry were principally the ones to have made the decisions. Attributing power to a policy is typical of the way in which discourse allows authority to be maintained and questioning to be limited. This was particularly evident in this case, as the civil servant then went on to admit that *'... because although people signed up to the Agreement, not very many people would have read the Agreement'*. It is not, however, suggested that this imputation of power to the Agreement as opposed to the people involved is necessarily a conscious position, rather that the particular language used conveys such an impression.

The authority accorded to policies such as the McCrone Agreement is arguably unjustified, especially when participants in the policy process describe how the policy came to be. A high profile local authority director of education, in discussing the implementation of the McCrone Agreement, asserted that *'the two [issues] that began on the back of my envelope were probation and chartered teacher.'* This is an

interesting choice of language, indicating his view of the ad hoc manner in which component parts of the Agreement were developed, and hinting at his personal influence in the process.

The perceived authority and status of the McCrone Agreement is of even more significance when we consider how it influenced subsequent policy direction. It was widely acknowledged by the interviewees that the McCrone Agreement had been the primary impetus in the establishment of the CPD framework, and while not all of the interviewees stated this explicitly, there were no suggestions of alternative reasons.

So, while the McCrone Agreement was acknowledged as the driving force behind the development of the CPD framework, the impetus behind the McCrone Agreement was actually acknowledged across the range of constituencies represented in the interview sample as being more to do with teachers' pay and conditions than their professional development (see discussion of documentary evidence in Chapter 7). One of the civil servants illustrated this view:

> *...obviously at the beginning the kind of pay deal dwarfed the rest of it. I think that is inevitable with any organisation or profession, or whatever, and I think as I mentioned earlier, ...so far in what we have been doing, the Chartered Teacher has been very much the more focal point of the rest of the CPD.* (Civil Servant)

So not only were pay and conditions the driving force behind the establishment of the McCrone Agreement, but this focus on enhanced pay was evident through the suggestion that the chartered teacher component of the CPD framework was dominant. This notion is discussed further later in this section.

However, while acknowledging the influence attributed to McCrone, not all the interviewees accepted this without question. One of the senior GTCS figures raised a concern over the way that McCrone was being perceived, stating that:

> *in terms of the profession I think the downside is that it now appears as if there are gigantic changes coming in the wake of McCrone and I am not sure if politically, with a small 'p', that's really the message McCrone wanted.* (Senior GTCS official)

This interviewee's suggestion that this concern was *'in terms of the profession'* appears to refer to the profession as teachers, but suggests that in terms of other stakeholders, this might not be an issue. So while it was not articulated explicitly in the interview, it might be suggested that the interviewee was implying that other stakeholders had different agendas and that McCrone was being used to support or satisfy them.

Yet again, the identity attributed to McCrone is interesting: 'McCrone' in the above quote could be read as being either the policy (the Agreement itself); the person, Professor Gavin McCrone, who chaired the Committee; or the committee membership. This distinction is relevant, as it attributes power to the policy, the person or the committee. Indeed, this seemingly innocuous choice of language, in effect conceals the speaker's perception of the identity of 'McCrone' by not being explicit about the ownership. Whether or not this dubiety is intended is not evident from the quote itself. Nonetheless, in terms of its contribution to discourse, the intention or otherwise does not necessarily have an impact on the way in which the phrase is interpreted, and it is through the act of interpretation that the meaning of the words is made (Kress, 1989); regardless of what this person means, the power of the person speaking has potential significance.

The MSP interviewed, who at the time of the interview was the party spokesperson for education issues, was perhaps more explicit in his assessment of the purpose of the McCrone Agreement:

> *In terms of McCrone and its carrot and stick approach, the carrot has nearly been eaten (the final part of the pay deal will be implemented as of*

> *August 2003) but the stick (the Government's control of teachers' CPD) remains.* (MSP)

This view was echoed by one of the senior teacher association officials who claimed that the word *'payback'* was *'used repeatedly in the McCrone negotiations.'* His assessment of the reason for this payback was not as precise as the MSP's, claiming that:

> *it is a money-for-something deal; not just righting past wrongs and giving you more money. They [Government] are locked into this notion that public services are universally bad and requiring to be modernised, whatever that may mean.* (Senior teacher association official)

Clearly, then, there was much debate over why the McCrone Agreement came about, and given the general acknowledgement that the Agreement had been a primary influence on the development of the CPD framework, this section has relevance for the discussion in sections 8.6 and 8.7 which consider the reasons for the development of the framework and its intended purpose.

Financial implications of the CPD framework

A number of the interviewees raised concerns about the financial implications of the CPD framework. The majority of these concerns, however, related to teachers having to self-fund their pathway towards Chartered Teacher status. Self-funded professional development is not new in the teaching profession: for years teachers have been studying for postgraduate qualifications at universities, albeit that many of these modules have been subsidised by central government. In addition, while gaining these additional qualifications may have increased teachers' opportunities for promotion; they were not directly linked to increases in pay. Perhaps this is why the idea that teachers would have to pay full cost for Chartered Teacher modules, in order to be awarded increases in salary, seems to have been received with some resentment in places. One of the Senior Teacher Association Officials suggested that while this element of the Agreement was not resisted explicitly, it was simply not raised during the negotiations and it was therefore assumed that it would not feature.

He drew the comparison that *'no-one ever said "you won't be working Sundays" – we assumed that this would not be a feature of the new working arrangements.'* Clearly, the notion of teachers paying for their own professional development was as unfathomable to this interviewee as teachers working on Sundays. This assumption, and the willingness of the interviewee to articulate it, indicates an implicit, but definite, view of the parameters of the role of the teacher in 21st Century Scotland. What is perhaps even more significant is the idea that this assumption was necessarily shared. It does, nonetheless, provide an illustration of Young and Mill's (1978) notion of the 'assumptive worlds' in which policy-makers live, and the potential power that these assumptive worlds have to shape the dominant discourse by articulating what is 'normal' and what is not in terms of teachers' working conditions.

Part of the explanation for this might well be precedence. For example, the same interviewee went on to point out the comparison with those teachers studying for the Scottish Qualification for Headship, where the entire cost is met by the Government. He highlighted, rightly, that *'the potential reward for that is huge'* [in terms of salary levels for headteachers]. However, there is a fundamental difference in that Chartered Teacher is a professional status accorded to the individual teacher, and is not related to an individual teacher's post. This interviewee's view that teachers paying to achieve Chartered Teacher is wrong, would therefore seem to be based very much on his knowledge of current practice rather than on an analysis of the purpose of chartered teacher status. It is a good example of van Dijk's (2001) argument that the context within which a person (in this case the senior teacher association official) interprets an event is based on their own particular knowledge and experience. While this in itself is perhaps not surprising or problematic, when it comes to elite figures who are responsible for negotiating national policy on behalf of others, the significance of this power is heightened.

However, to ascribe an ideological standpoint to a particular stakeholder, by virtue of their connection to a particular group, would be to deny the impact that the 'individual actor' (Cookson, 1994) has on policy development. In this case, the other

senior teacher association official interviewed demonstrated a more analytical view of the links between pay and professional development. He was quite clear about the fact that Chartered Teacher is a status and not a post, and therefore not directly comparable with other situations. He went on to highlight that while the exact context of Chartered Teacher status is *'virtually unique'*, there are parallels with the probationary situation under McCrone whereby progression beyond the first point of the scale is dependent on the probationer teacher achieving full registration through meeting the SFR.

While in some ways this is encouraging, the interview data itself, while illustrating a particular discourse, does not guarantee that any interviewee will act in exact accordance with their comments in interview. Indeed, as is discussed later in this chapter, many elite figures experience tension between their own views and those of the organisations which they represent. This is particularly likely to be the case for officers such as general secretaries of teacher associations and the GTCS, where they are employed to service the organisation in accordance with the decisions of an elected body.

Traditionally, teaching has been perceived as a vocation, and much of the rhetoric surrounding teacher professionalism has focused on the 'social duty' aspect of the job. It is therefore not part of contemporary, or indeed traditional, culture of the profession to discuss financial rewards as being a primary motivator for career pathways within teaching. The Chartered Teacher programme has clearly forced this notion to be challenged. While many teachers might support the view espoused by the first senior teacher association official discussed above, which focuses on the fact that teachers have to pay for this particular professional development where other professional development is funded centrally, there has also been explicit acknowledgement that the salary rewards *are* attractive to teachers. One of the civil servants involved in the development of the chartered teacher programme tackled this theme, but initially appeared to be cautious about the choice of language used:

the chartered teacher programme is not about the money, because although it is a reasonably significant increase, I think the way the programme has been developed, people will do it, I would hope. They will do it and it won't be the money, it will be the fact that they have actually enhanced themselves and the programme is so invigorating and stimulating that the money is immaterial.

(Civil Servant)

Here, the civil servant was acknowledging that the salary increase is of note, but was stressing the functionalist concept of professionalism where teaching is perceived as primarily a social duty. However, later in the interview, he demonstrated a more pragmatic view: *'clearly the chartered teacher programme is something they've [teachers] got to buy into, because it's where the money's going to be'* (Civil Servant).

Taken at face value, these two statements appear to be stressing different purposes for the Chartered Teacher programme. What is significant in the context of this study is not which, if either, is 'true', but the reasons for these two positions being presented; the ideological views behind them; the extent to which the interviewee's actions reflect these views; and the power the interviewee has to influence discourse in accordance with these views.

The civil servant was not the only interviewee to suggest these two reasons as primary factors in encouraging teachers to undertake the Chartered Teacher programme. A senior university figure also suggested that both financial reward and increased professional satisfaction would be significant. In contrast to the former interviewee though, he openly acknowledged that although:

teachers have a genuine interest in how they can develop themselves professionally... it would be daft to deny that there isn't a significant financial incentive and that will be sufficient to encourage a lot of people to get involved in this. (Senior university figure)

The use of the words '*encourage*' and '*incentive*' are interesting in that they imply that teachers might not want to undertake this programme of their own free will without significant encouragement or incentive. This is particularly interesting when we consider the extent to which those involved in the development of the Chartered Teacher programme have sought to highlight that it has been developed for, and by, teachers. This issue is discussed in more detail later in this section.

Chartered Teacher

While there appears to be a range of views on the exact purpose of Chartered Teacher status, there is no doubt that it is seen as a central plank of the wider CPD framework. This is evidenced by the proportion of time in each interview devoted to chartered teacher as opposed to other aspects of CPD policy.

The lack of clarity over what exactly chartered teacher status means was characterised by a range of comparisons with existing contexts. For example, although the official rhetoric talks of chartered teacher as a status, several of the interviewees, either explicitly or implicitly, referred to it as a post. So, when the senior GTCS official raised one of the difficulties of chartered teacher as: '*how do you make sure a chartered teacher is achieving what they should in terms of being able to draw a higher salary than someone else?*', this appears to raise issues about the blurring of definitions between professional and contractual obligations. One of the senior teacher association officials talked about the McCrone negotiations in this respect, and cited worries over local authorities placing existing staff, i.e. senior teachers, on the chartered teacher scale and prescribing '*duties commensurate with that*'. So perhaps, in placing teachers on the new McCrone pay scales, there was a tendency to confuse status with post.

The foregoing suggests that interviewees demonstrated a conception of chartered teacher as both a post and as a status, but an added complexity in defining chartered teacher is the notion of it as a qualification. For example, one of the senior university figures posed the question: '*What's going to happen to chartered teachers after they have completed the chartered teacher programme?*' This statement indicates a view

that 'chartered teacher' is the actual qualification and that the programme itself is perhaps the most important aspect. This contrasts with the view that the experience of candidates going for chartered teacher status is the most important aspect and that the qualification is merely proof of status being deserved. Many of the interviewees had contributions to make to the debate on the academic/professional aspects of chartered teacher, and this is discussed in more detail in section 8.10 which deals with tensions, contradictions and assumptions. Nonetheless, it is worth noting here that while chartered teacher was deemed to be a, if not the, most significant aspect of the new CPD framework, there was still a lack of clarity and agreement over its primary purpose.

As an illustration of this lack of clarity, one of the senior university figures suggested that *'you would expect the chartered teacher to be much more willing to take risks and to be innovative and improvise'* while a senior GTCS figure questioned teachers' conceptions of chartered teacher, explaining that:

> *there are many people who think that they already are [worthy of chartered teacher status], therefore "why do I need to?" And then you've got a new generation who think "well I can collect things as I go and then all I have to do is APEL [Accreditation of Prior Experiential Learning] these in when I get to the top of the scale", and that's not what it's about. It's about having experience and building on experience, not as you gain experience*
>
> (Senior GTCS figure)

This statement could be read as viewing chartered teacher status as exclusive, while other interviewees suggested that the whole initiative will only have been successful if the majority of eligible teachers achieve chartered teacher status. However, it was recognised that this in itself would bring other difficulties: *'when we have got the majority of the profession enrolled as chartered teachers or having achieved the Standard, those who are not will be under amazing pressure'* (Senior university figure).

Induction

Induction has also been a significant part of emerging CPD policy: some stakeholders commented positively on it and used it as an example of investment in the profession, while others used the difficulties in establishing new procedures as evidence of incompetence and/or failure. In contrast to some of the more muddled views on other aspects of policy, this appears to show more polarity of view. For example, one of the senior teacher association officials was unequivocal in his criticism of the scheme, stating that: *'there has been a fairly high degree of shambles, which has done nothing to reinforce the status of the profession. In the end it has probably been cobbled together, but it is only just hanging on by its fingernails.'* This statement seems to suggest that blame be apportioned, although it is not clear exactly where that blame lies. What is clear, however, is that the interviewee was not taking on any responsibility for the 'shambles', despite his own organisation having had a part to play in negotiations regarding the policy and its implementation. This reflects what van Dijk (2001) describes as the strategy of 'positive self-presentation and negative other presentation', which is evident in the choice of language used and the omission of any reference to responsibility by the speaker, on either a personal or organisational level.

This negative presentation of 'other' was not reflected unanimously by this group of interviewees; indeed, the policy itself was not seen as negative by all interviewees. One of the senior university figures presented a much more positive view, lending weight to his view by claiming that his perception was informed by *'my direct observation based on my tutorial visits to secondary schools'*. He reported noticing *'a changed climate, and it wasn't just affecting the probationer teacher, it was actually affecting the perceptions of those who were the supporters of the probationer teachers.'* However, while the interviewee, by virtue of his position and standing in the education community, is deemed to be well informed in such matters, he provided no clear indication of the source or extent of evidence used to inform this opinion. Rather, it is accorded more weight than might otherwise be the case because of his senior position and elite status. Clearly he was aware of this, whether consciously or subconsciously, as he did not attempt to justify his view with

evidence. This particular interviewee, as with many of the others, has key roles and responsibilities in a number of stakeholder groups, and therefore has multiple opportunities to influence discourse with this particular view. Through several of his comments, this interviewee did try to give the impression that his comments were based on research, for example, by commenting on the fact that he was *'trying to do a lot of reading at the moment'* and referring to the work of a prominent writer on education development before going on to assert his own opinion. This subtle approach does fit with the current discourse of 'evidence-based' practice and policy development (Humes and Bryce, 2001).

This same interviewee also acknowledged that under the new induction arrangements, probationers will not be able to move beyond the first point on the pay scale until they have achieved the SFR: this is, as he points out, a *'severe sanction'*. So the picture presented by the above statement is perhaps to be expected where the stakes are so high.

While the teacher association interviewee quoted above was unequivocal in his negative representation of the new induction procedures, this university figure was equally unequivocal in his positive view, going on to claim that:

> *what the new induction process is doing is not just supporting the beginning teachers, it is actually changing the supporter so you are getting double value. So the chances are that we haven't just influenced the practice of 2000 people [the number of probationers on the induction scheme in the session 2002/2003] this year, we've influenced the practice of getting on for 4000.*
>
> (Senior university figure)

It is interesting to note, that just as the senior teacher association official presented a positive representation of himself at the expense of other, the university interviewee uses language which infers collegiate responsibility, of which he is part, for the positive outcome: *'we've influenced the practice...'*

The statement discussed above deals with the positive influence of the induction scheme on the wider school community, and indeed this would seem to be a worthy reason for its implementation. However, this was not the only reason cited for the development of the new procedures. Much of the discussion centred around issues of competence and quality assurance: '*the SFR, there's got to be sorts of basic standards of competence*' (Local authority director of education) – although this interviewee added the rider that the SFR was not the only contributing factor to teacher development and that he would rather see a wider conception of the process than a *'full compliance check of 'How Good Is our Teacher?'*

The other senior university figure, not already quoted in this section on induction, made it quite clear that he viewed the induction year as an extension of initial teacher education, particularly as the probation period had been reduced to one year. He suggested that it should therefore have been the responsibility of the universities and schools to organise and implement, and that the GTCS and SEED should have taken a less prominent role. He also suggested that *'maybe you don't need to [have a separate standard for induction], you see I interpret the training here really as a way of extending the programme of initial teacher education'*. The language here implies a view of the induction period as extended professional education with the emphasis on development: this is in direct contrast to some of the other interpretations which view the induction period as primarily being about quality assurance, for example, the focus on *'basic standards of competence'* discussed above. However, while these contrasting reasons for the induction scheme can be seen in the interview data, this is not to suggest that individual interviewees subscribe to one or the other, rather that they recognise the importance of both purposes but tend to problematise or support one aspect over the other.

In the context of this same discussion, the university figure suggested that the partnership between the universities and the GTCS might have been more effective:

> *You need a partnership with the GTC that is not just restricted to initial teacher education but tries to have a broader agenda: research, collaboration, better value. And we could have taken that back and discussed it, but just preparing ourselves for what comes out the other end [i.e. guidance on implementing the induction year], it is not really the best way to do it.* (Senior university figure)

The context of these comments are of particular relevance here, as the interviewee previously had close involvement with the GTCS and at the time of the interviews had engaged in some fairly public debate with other leading figures in the GTCS regarding the focus of the chartered teacher programme (discussed in more detail later in this chapter). The comments here, while based on what seems to be a considered rationale, should be interpreted within this context.

One other concern raised in relation to the new induction procedures was highlighted by a civil servant involved in the development of the induction policy. She reported that *'almost unanimously all teachers can see the advantage of a more effective induction experience in bringing forward better-prepared teachers'* but raised a concern that:

> *where they are not so positive is more in relation to the impact on them in terms of them being less well qualified and experienced, and access to jobs and opportunities being reduced for them in favour of these newly trained, highly effective teachers coming out of their probation.* (Civil servant)

While one might take issue with the suggestion here that those teachers who have not taken part in the new induction scheme are less well qualified, there is nonetheless a serious point being raised: the perception of the majority of teachers, whether accurately reflecting the situation or not, does have an impact on the way in which a policy might be received.

The National Register of Providers

Another structural aspect of the new CPD framework discussed in some of the interviews was the implementation of the National Register of Providers: another aspect of the McCrone Inquiry which found its way into the Agreement (SEED, 2001). Indeed, the National Register being a part of the McCrone Agreement appeared to be justification itself for its establishment: none of the interviewees articulated a convincing rationale for implementation, or otherwise.

The perception of one of the civil servants interviewed indicated that the National Register is seen as an accountability tool: *'I think effectively it [the National Register] will be kept by the GTC. Certainly the GTC is going to be the keeper of the standards.'* Beyond this implication, little else was said about the purpose or potential of the National Register.

The CPD Framework

In each of the interviews there was discussion over what had come to be termed 'the CPD framework'. This discussion covered, variously, what exactly the term 'CPD framework' constituted, as well as the significance of its various component parts.

One of the civil servants involved in the development of the chartered teacher programme made comment about the impact of the chartered teacher programme:

> *I suspect, and I don't know if I'm saying this just because I've been doing this, but I think the chartered teacher's probably going to have the most significant impact and I do actually think it is going to be an impact that is measurable.* (Civil servant)

When then asked whether he believed that it was the most significant part of the framework, he replied: *'No I don't... I think the professional review and development process [will be the most significant], because again, chartered teacher will only impact on a percentage of teachers whereas the professional review and development process is every teacher's responsibility to undertake'.*

These comments raise some interesting issues about the relative significance of individual and collective competence, a contrast which Sachs (2001) draws in her definitions of managerial and democratic professionalism (as discussed in the previous chapter).

One of the members of the Chartered Teacher Project team seemed to be presenting a view contradictory to this. He talked about the role of chartered teacher in raising the status of the whole profession, by drawing a comparison with the impact of ongoing professional development on the public perception of teachers:

> *Theoretically, if you put a pail of water in the sea you must raise the level – I am not at all sure that by having some in-school CPD how much you increase the status of teachers in the wider community.*
>
> (Member of Chartered Teacher Project Team)

Despite the rhetoric surrounding chartered teacher and the opportunities it provides for teachers who do not want to go into management, there were clear signals that the CPD framework is hierarchical, where headship is still the aspirational status. For example, one of the local authority directors of education, when talking about the framework, commented that *'you've got the Standard for Headship at the top'*, while one of the civil servants explained that *'there is the Standard for Headship which is at the very top of the scale'*.

The interviewees were all comfortable in discussing the various 'standards', but when asked about the impact of subscribing to a standards-based CPD framework, a variety of views emerged. One of the senior teacher association officials was quite clear that although he could see advantages, he felt it to be unhealthy in terms of its lack of provision for diversity:

> *that [a standards-based CPD framework] is in many ways a good thing. But my worry would be that... we would end up with people who are clone-like, repeating the same thing that has been repeated before*

because that is orthodoxy and nothing else ever happens. That is really quite unhealthy because you don't get diversity from that

It should be noted that this same interviewee was critical elsewhere in the interview of teachers having to fund their own chartered teacher programme, although he did not suggest alternative sources of funding. This is perhaps another example of van Dijk's (2001) 'positive self and negative other representation'.

Where interviewees were not negative about the CPD framework being based on standards, they rarely questioned the 'foundational stances' on which the standards were based (Delandshere and Arens, 2001). This unquestioning acceptance that a standards–based framework is appropriate, was illustrated by one of the senior university figures: *'If you are going to have standards, and your CPD framework is a crucial part of the standard, then you have to maintain the standard...'*. The focus of his comment was on how the standards would be maintained as opposed to why they were there in the first place. The language used here is also interesting: *'if you are going to have standards and your CPD framework...'* (emphasis added): not 'we' or 'our'. This implies a lack of ownership over the framework.

Following this comment, the interviewee was asked if he believed that in adopting a proliferation of standards we might be limiting the need for teachers to conceptualise the purpose of teaching. He replied:

Oh no, I think the opposite. I think it's the standard that gives you the scope to think about your profession and your role. So in a sense you've caught me by surprise; it's never entered my thoughts that the standards are limiting in that way. (Senior university figure)

The comment *'in a sense you've caught me by surprise; it's never entered my thoughts'* shows strength of view, seeming to infer that an alternative position would be inconceivable, and in this sense it is worth reflecting on the language used in this particular example. It illustrates one of the techniques used by elite figures, not

necessarily consciously, to control the discourse, where by virtue of their status they have the power to convey what might be deemed to be the norms of the discussion. There is more detailed discussion of the dynamics of the interview process in Chapter 11. That apart, the answer to the question is also interesting - that standards can provide *'the scope to think about your profession and your role'*. This presumably is only the case if the standard is used in such a way as to encourage reflective and critical thinking, a point made by one of the headteachers on the MSC who claimed that standards are *'useful'* provided they are not *'interpreted in a hard way'*, and goes on to assert that they are *'as useful as the good sense and imagination of the people who use it'*. This issue was also raised by a senior GTCS official, who suggested that *'there's a very literal translation of parts of the standards and parts of the accreditation mechanism.'*

It is then interesting to contrast these sentiments with the sentiments expressed in the documentary evidence where the SFR is promoted as being a 'standard against which reliable and consistent decisions can be made on the fitness of new teachers for full registration' (GTCS, 2002).

Therein lies one of the difficulties: in the case of the CPD framework, the various standards are promoted as having quite different purposes. Indeed, the senior university figure discussed above had proclaimed earlier in the interview that it is the regulatory body's responsibility (in this case the GTCS) to ensure that standards are maintained, and that it has to '*bite that particular unpleasant tasting fruit.*' This does seem to be in direct contrast to his comment about standards promoting professional reflection. One wonders, therefore, if the defensive response to the question about standards being potentially limiting was more of a response designed to deflect that line of questioning rather than a genuine response to the question. This is perhaps hardly surprising, given that interviewees might well not have been required to articulate such views prior to the interview, and therefore would not have rehearsed their responses to such questions.

In response to a similar question about the rationale for a standards-based framework, one of the civil servants suggested that it *'made a lot of sense'* to base the framework on the standards that were available. His rationale was based on the premise that:

> *it was recognised early on, or maybe it has always been recognised, that actually if you try and build something around standards then it allows that flexibility as to how you achieve the standards, and that's probably of great value.* (Civil Servant)

This rationale, while acknowledging the need for flexibility in how a standard is achieved, does nevertheless view the 'standard' as fixed and uncontentious. This view is also reflected in comments by one of the other civil servants, who stated that:

> *My guess is that there probably was very long and hard discussion [about basing a CPD framework on a series of standards]... but that was far earlier in the process. I think it would be a bit late now to be considering changes to that – it's [the CPD framework] not even fully implemented.* (Civil servant)

Yet again, the response seems to deride the very notion of questioning the standards-based approach, and focuses on the implementation of the framework as opposed to its purpose and its capacity to achieve that purpose. The first part of the statement is also of particular note: *'my guess is...'*. While it is perhaps unreasonable to expect that civil servants would have knowledge of every development in an initiative, even if they had not been a part of its inception, it does nonetheless illustrate how easy it is to continue going down particular paths because that is what had been started when they took up post. That said, this particular civil servant did seem to have a clear view of the purpose of standards: *'by setting a range of competence-based standards what you are saying is that these are the skills, these are things that we think are important... unless you achieve them you don't pass your Standard for*

Registration...' There are clear messages about power and control here, where *'you'* (teachers) have to achieve the things that *'we'* (Government) think are important.

One of the senior GTCS officials was fairly explicit in acknowledging why the standards-based approach had been adopted: *'I think it was just almost accepted that that was the way the world was going. There would be pressure on Scotland anyway because of what was happening in England and Wales with the different standards.'* This comment seemingly indicates a default position where the approach was adopted as a result of external pressures rather than as a result of measured and informed consideration.

One of the justifications for adopting a standards-based approach is that it allows teachers to use a common language to talk about their practice. Several of the interviewees alluded to this. However, one of the headteachers on the MSC, while supporting the incremental and *'natural'* development of the standards-based framework, acknowledged that when it came to the final reports on probationer teachers, his colleagues could articulate *'the classroom-type competences'* in detailed and descriptive ways, but when it came to *'the things like professional values and commitment... they were pretty much the same: "committed to the profession"....'* So while the documentary evidence discussed in Chapter 7 promotes a more balanced view of the role of the teacher, this comment appears to show that in practice there is a greater emphasis on the craft element of teaching.

Another of the interviewees, one of the local authority directors of education, appeared to be using rhetoric to 'market' the standards approach: *'we are celebrating standards, measuring professionalism against the Standard for Full Registration'.* Given the complexity of the concept of 'professionalism' and its use, as discussed in Chapter 4, it would seem to be a difficult, if not impossible, task to calibrate professionalism in such a way that it be measured in a comparative and consistent way. There are clearly real challenges in operationalising the aspirations outlined in the documentary evidence.

The possible reason behind the use of this 'empty rhetoric' is hinted at in a later comment - again in a response to a question about the rationale for a standards-based framework. Initially the interviewee stated that if a standards-based framework limits diversity, then *'we've got the standards wrong'*, but then after some thought went on to say:

> *Clearly, em... yeah, and I can't get particularly locked into the standards, competences side of things, but there has to be some definition about it if we are going to reassure the funders, so that balance of accountability. As long as accountability is measured, you know, I'm back to my old way which was oriented towards the public, and in our case children, which is about engaging with communities.*

Essentially what this director of education was saying is that standards are fine if the Government needs some measure against which they can justify their distribution of funds, but in real terms standards are a necessary, but limited, part of the job of teaching. This view appeared to be supported by the MSP interviewed, who claimed that: *'the contemporary civil service view is that everything can be measured, and that if it is not measurable it is not worthwhile.'* This again highlights the tensions between standards as written and standards as operationalised, and the data appears to show no clear resolution of these tensions.

One of the senior teacher association officials also suggested that a standards-based CPD framework might help with issues of accountability, but unlike the relatively negative view of accountability discussed above, he suggested that standards, or in this case the SFR, is necessary *'in terms of both registration and also in terms of an authority wanting to get rid of an incompetent teacher.'* He went on to iterate that the CPD framework might be more about accountability than development when he raised a concern that not only are the various standards *'attempting to draw unnatural distinctions'*, but that:

the whole business of the CPD record is going to become an industry. It's going to run the risk of distorting what the core job is about if you're spending vast amounts of time not only doing your CPD, but recording it.

The interview data discussed in this section has considered a range of aspects of CPD policy, namely, the McCrone Agreement, chartered teacher, induction and so on, and seems to convey a picture of confusion, dubiety and contradiction between and among the interviewees. In many respects this might well be more to do with the interviewees not having had to organise and articulate their thinking on specific matters than it is to do with real contradiction or tension. However, regardless of the extent to which interviewees are informed and articulate about these issues, their elite status may result in their articulated views being given priority and attention over those of other stakeholders.

9.3 The policy process

Analysis of the policy process is a fundamental aspect of this study, but so too is the identification of stakeholders' perceptions of the policy process, as these are not necessarily the same thing. This section examines stakeholders' views of the process but also looks at themes emerging from the interview data which deal with the particulars of, for example, the role of the MSC in developing CPD policy as well as broader issues of consultation and communication.

One of the central questions in any policy analysis is the question of power – who has responsibility for developing the policy and/or who has most influence in its development. Perhaps the most obvious answer in this particular case would be the Government, and in particular, the MSP with responsibility for the education portfolio. It is interesting to note then, as was highlighted by the senior HMIE figure interviewed, the relatively frequent change in personnel in this position. The HMIE figure raised concerns over *'continuity'* in policy making as a result of this, stating that *'they [education ministers] do have their own views and if you have a rapid change in ministers then that obviously does have a ripple effect on the priority that is given to various aspects of policy'*. Indeed, this was apparent in the differing

emphases by Ministers in the SEED news releases reported in Chapter 7. However, one of the civil servants claimed that *'we've had two meetings in the last six months with ministers, which is actually quite a lot considering the size of their portfolios'*, suggesting perhaps that the majority of the work is carried out by civil servants. These two perspectives, while perhaps not contradictory, could be seen to represent slightly different views of the direct influence of ministers.

However, while this might seem to be a reasonable concern to raise, it should be remembered that these are the interviewees' own perspectives, and that it is not therefore necessarily representative of the range of stakeholders' opinions. This point is particularly relevant when we consider the HMIE interviewee's perspective of the involvement of teachers in the policy-making process. While agreeing that teachers should have a more direct role in policy-development, he claimed that they already have the opportunity:

> *I would argue that they already have the opportunity for a direct role, in that every educational development that I can think of in Scotland that I have ever been associated with, has been taken forward via committees or working groups that were representative of all stakeholders. And that's a very Scottish way of making curriculum or policy development... so it would not be true to say that teachers cannot become involved in policy-making.*
>
> (Senior HMIE figure)

What the interviewee did not give any explicit attention to was the way in which teachers can get involved in these groups, and their respective influence if they do become members of such a group. This theme is raised more explicitly in the subsequent discussion on consultation and communication. It should also be noted that this senior HMIE figure clearly saw teachers' involvement in policy development as membership of working groups – not the identification and decision making about what policy initiatives should actually be on the agenda. It is evidence

of the 'assumptive world' (Young and Mills, 1978) that contributes to the setting of boundaries in the dominant discourse.

In terms of the power of HMIE, the senior HMIE figure claimed that adopting agency status *'does not affect the role in terms of giving policy advice'* but that it does *'mean that HM Inspectors would not chair policy development groups, for example.'* He went on to state that *'this is viewed as a positive move as it ring-fences the independence of HMIE'*. It is potentially significant that he uses the phrase 'this is viewed as...' as opposed to 'I (or we) view this as...'.

The interview data revealed a range of views on the policy process, including the notion that policy development should be carried out with adequate attention paid to the balance between 'expert' input by those who *'are dedicated to their subject'* (Local authority director of education) and general input by non-experts who can take an overview of the whole context. This tension between the stated intention of policy and the reality of implementation was seen to be particularly problematic by this director of education.

The MSP interviewed reiterated the view expressed by Humes in 1986 that *'the current policy community is fairly limited, and is dominated by politicians and civil servants'*. Indeed he went on to claim that *'while the Scottish Parliament has made politicians more accountable, there is no vision in terms of Scottish education policy. Scotland is notoriously cautious in its outlook'*. This accusation that Scottish education policy development lacks vision, would fit with the views of other interviewees who suggested that CPD policy in particular has *'grown, almost piecemeal'* (Senior teacher association official) and that *'It was just as usual. I don't think SEED had seen far enough down the track'* (Member of Chartered Teacher Project Team).

One of the more specific parts of the policy process discussed in relation to CPD policy was the role of the MSC. Several of the interviewees made comment on the ways in which members were chosen. The senior HMIE figure acknowledged that

while HM Inspectors did make recommendations for membership of working groups based on teachers they had come across during school inspections, they *'would not be happy if the Inspectorate was the only source of evidence used to identify potential members of such groups'*. Nonetheless, were they to seek to perpetuate dominant ideologies, the inspectorate would be likely to be recommending members who would be supportive of their particular educational philosophies; an example of what Humes (1986) refers to as 'patronage'. This view of the way in which members were chosen was backed up by one of the civil servants who explained that teacher associations were invited to nominate potential members and that civil servants then *'went to an HMI and got a wee bit more background about what these individuals' expertise was and a decision was made from there'*. So, while this particular senior HMIE would like to think that other means were also used to identify members, HMIE did play an extremely significant role. This in effect limits the range of representation on any particular group and increases the likelihood of consensus, thereby supporting Peters' (1996) argument that 'consensus can only be established on the basis of exclusion' (p. 9).

All sixteen of the interviewees were asked explicitly what they felt both their own organisation and their own personal contributions had been to the development of the CPD framework. In terms of organisational contribution and influence, some of the responses related more closely to general involvement in groups working on the implementation of the McCrone Agreement than to direct involvement in influencing the shape of the CPD framework. For most of the interviewees, their organisation was represented by other members of the organisation. This is complicated further by the structure of some of the organisations to which interviewees belonged, for example, the teacher associations and the GTCS, where the day-to-day business is overseen by employed officers while the decision-making powers lie with elected councils. This distribution of power, and potentially different levels of power and knowledge, makes the organisational processes quite complex to identify and analyse.

While the language used to describe and explain institutional or organisational contributions to the development of the framework was generally measured and reflective of the dominant discourse, that is that it reflected notions of commitment to improving pupil achievement through partnership working, discussion about individual roles proved to be more diverse. Indeed, one of the teacher association officials, when asked about his own contribution to developments, replied *'I refer to myself as a cynic in residence – I criticise anything that happens!'* When asked later if he experienced tension between his organisation's view of CPD developments and his own feelings about the CPD agenda, he replied *'Oh, consistently'*. This would seem to suggest that the interview data from this particular interview must be interpreted with this in mind. It straddles two of Cookson's (1994) elements of the power discourse: the 'institutional setting' and the 'individual actor'. Indeed, it does not merely straddle the two elements, rather it demonstrates their inter-relationship.

The nature of most elite figures' roles is that they give strategic direction rather than assuming operational responsibility for their organisation. This was articulated explicitly by several of the interviewees, particularly the local authority directors of education, one of whom stated that *'I am not an expert on CPD, and most directors are not directly involved in the nitty gritty work of it'*. This has implications for the extent to which their views on such matters should be accorded authority. Indeed, without the 'elite' role or position that the interviewees enjoy, it is possible that a lack of specific knowledge on certain matters would render their views irrelevant or inconsequential.

One of the senior university figures gave an interesting response to a similar question about his own particular role in the development of the CPD framework. This particular interviewee, as with several of the others, has involvement in more than one of the stakeholder groups involved in this study. It is interesting to note that although he was interviewed in his capacity as a senior university figure, he chose to respond in his capacity as a GTCS Council member. In response to the question *'can we start with a description of what your involvement has been with the 'framework' in your various capacities?'* he replied, after a pause, with *'No more than any other*

individual – elected or appointed – of the General Teaching Council'. Given the measured and almost corporate response, preceded by a significant pause for thought, this answer might seem to reflect what the interviewee thought he should say rather than his gut reaction to the question, or that he felt his personal influence was more significant in relation to his GTCS role than his university role. He did go on to say that all Council members have access to reports about CPD related matters, but *'beyond that it's a question of your natural curiosity'*. This statement would appear to be at odds with the 'official' response given initially, and could be seen to suggest that he personally does have a particular interest in CPD matters and therefore has played a bigger role than his Council membership necessarily requires him to. It is also significant in wider terms in that it acknowledges that beyond the official requirements of Council membership there is scope for members to become more involved in particular matters in which they have an interest. This has implications for the range of people who are involved in influencing any one particular policy initiative under the auspices of the GTCS.

However, as the interview progressed, another reason for this particular response became clear. The interviewee was asked about his involvement in his university capacity, the interview proceeded as follows:

Interviewee: *I've got no involvement at Faculty level.*
Interviewer: *Did you have in your capacity as Dean?*
Interviewee: *Nope.*
Interviewer: *No... because it [the interviewee's term as Dean] was essentially prior to a lot of this?*
Interviewee: *No because it was a closed shop.*
Interviewer: *Closed – who was in the inside of the closed shop?*
Interviewee: *All those who are in the project team [Chartered Teacher]...(pause)... who had a life of their own.*

The shortness and directness of the replies indicate a change of feeling, as this interviewee has responded at length to most of the previous and following questions.

This may indicate a degree of disquiet on the part of the respondent, which might go some way towards explaining why the interviewee responded to the original question in his capacity as a member of the GTCS as opposed to his capacity as a senior university figure.

The impression of one of the civil servants was that he and colleagues act as policy facilitators, listening to what the stakeholders *'think they think the answer is'* and identifying ways of achieving these aims. The extent to which this perception would be shared by other stakeholders is perhaps questionable.

The range of different types of reply to the question about perceptions of individual influence on the CPD framework was interesting and potentially significant. Some interviewees responded by stating what groups they were on, for example: *'I have been on the Ministerial group for continuing professional development'* (Local authority director of education); *'I was on the working group for COSLA [Convention of Scottish Local Authorities] as an adviser'* (Local authority director of education); and *'I've been a member of the Ministerial Strategy Group since 2000'* (Headteacher on MSC). These responses indicate a knowledge of the significance of that context, but do not actually address the issue of individual influence, as having membership of a group, while increasing the chances of being influential, does not guarantee that the individual's voice will be heard or acted upon.

Other interviewees spoke about the ways in which they felt the work of their particular body or organisation had served to influence policy developments. This was particularly the case with both of the local authority directors of education, one of whom claimed *'They [SEED officials involved with the MSC] approached us because of our track record'*. In a similar vein, the other local authority director of education commented: *'I'm obviously claiming that some of the chartered teacher approach emanated from the practice which we had developed.'* The use of the words 'us', 'our' and 'we' suggests a corporate view of influence in the policy development process. However, as the lead figures in each of these two local

authorities, this could be seen as a way of highlighting individual influence while trying to display a certain level of modesty.

In contrast to the responses above which conveyed influence as either a specific named role (membership of particular working groups) or as corporate, some interviewees made a more personal and detailed response to the question of their individual influence. One of the senior university figures claimed:

> *If you've looked at the supplementary paper [in the Chartered Teacher consultation exercise]... that was drafted by me. I am particularly proud of the purple prose in the final paragraph and the final sentence is a challenge to Scottish teachers to raise their game.*

He also stated that *'I remember engaging with [senior HMIE figure], he was the HMI who was involved, and saying to him "now look, that linear relationship is not appropriate", and he agreed with me and there was some rethinking internally.'* This is particularly interesting in that is gives a hint as to where the interviewee believes the real power to be located; that is, that he believes he has exercised influence over the process if he is able to convince HMIE of a particular course of action. However, these are very specific examples of influence, and were clearly said by someone who had the confidence that their position was influential enough to be able to take personal responsibility within group developments. Such a position is less common, certainly within this group of interviewees, and might well be a reflection of the dominant discourse in Scottish education where consensus is so highly valued, and conflict seen as undesirable.

The range of types of response shed some light on what the interviewees viewed as 'influence': some clearly viewed their presence on a group as influential, some took a more corporate view of influence and others viewed their own personal input as the measure of influence.

The role of teachers in influencing the policy development process was touched on by some of the interviewees. In some cases this reflected a discourse of partnership and consultation. For example, one of the headteachers on the MSC stated that *'the essential thing is that teachers own the process [of CPD]; that it is not done to them, it's done by them for the whole profession'*. The language in this statement reflects the rhetoric currently being used by the Government, as explored in Chapter 7, in which they attempt to convince teachers that developments are being taken forward in a spirit of collaboration. The fact that this language is being used by an arguably 'elite' headteacher, who is deemed to be influential, is symptomatic of Young and Mills (1978) concept of the 'assumptive world' in which policy-makers inhabit. This assumptive world takes certain things for granted and enables the policy elite to speak with authority which often goes unquestioned. The above statement begs the question 'how?'

The MSP interviewed took a less idealistic view of the role that teachers play in the policy development process, implying in his response that teachers were not playing a big enough role: *'there are too many demands being foisted upon teachers at the moment for them to be able to attend properly to the issue of CPD'*. While this may arguably be an accurate reflection of the view of some, if not many, teachers, the interesting question is why this might be the case, and whether or not it is intentional.

The area of consultation and communication is crucial to analysing the policy process, as it is commonly held up to be evidence of open and collegiate policy development. For example, one of the Chartered Teacher Project team members claimed that *'I have been involved in a lot of initiatives over the years... and this one has had far more consultation in proportional terms than any of the others'*. He went on to say that *'it [the chartered teacher consultation process] was the most consultative process that I have ever been involved in'*. However, while a considerable amount of consultation might well have taken place, it is the nature of that consultation that is important. One of the senior teacher association officials offered a view which was in direct contrast to the positive view presented above:

the consultation on chartered teacher, which in fairness has not been well received... We've got a dossier of all the things that went wrong...And there were seminars which were organised which were well over-subscribed, and people were complaining they couldn't get in. These [the consultation seminars] were also not well received because they were seen as being a process of apologetics for something that had already been decided rather than a consultation exercise; it was a roadshow rather than a consultation.

(Senior teacher association official)

This view was supported by one of the senior university figures, who when asked if teachers had had any real say in CPD developments replied *'When did they ever?'*, and went on to say that *'the cynic in me would say that the answers were predicated by the questions, and so the project team [for Chartered Teacher] got the results they wanted; results which reinforced a very 1980s model.'*

The quantity of consultation engaged in during the development of policy is often cited as evidence of engagement with stakeholders. However, the quality of that consultation and the processes used to seek and analyse responses is not discussed as frequently. One of the civil servants illustrated this:

> *I'd imagine that if you look back on the amount of consultation that's been completed throughout the whole CPD process, I mean there's probably been hundreds of focus groups... there's been lots of engagement and consultation documents galore. I mean arguably over-consultation, but can you ever over-consult?*

This statement seemed to convey the message that the resulting CPD framework has been shaped by all of those who have an investment in it. Interestingly though, the interviewee went on to say that:

I think our biggest failure has been our inability to communicate with teachers effectively...the understanding at a high level of where we were going and what we are doing has been pretty good, but getting that information out to the troops on the ground has been a problem.

(Civil servant)

A close colleague of this civil servant, however, viewed it differently, claiming that the consultations had been useful in that they had helped to raise awareness of CPD in staffrooms.

The examples cited above give a flavour of the numerous examples in the interview data of contradictory views on the extent, quality and usefulness of consultation on various aspects of the CPD framework. While arguably it might be expected that individuals might hold different views of the process, the fact that these particular individuals hold elite positions, renders their versions more influential. The perceptions of the education elite can assume a 'truth' of their own, by virtue of the authority with which perceptions are presented as 'truth' or 'facts'. It is not, however, suggested that the interviewees were purposely trying to present a view which was not a correct version of events. What is interesting is that the majority of interviewees were presenting what they perceived to be an accurate account of events. In such circumstances, contradictions in interview transcripts might be explained by a lack of clarity of thinking rather than a deliberate attempt to mislead.

The MSP interviewed was the only interviewee to question explicitly the extent to which stakeholders are equipped to make genuine contributions to debate, claiming that education debate in Scotland is limited by the uncritical adoption of language such as 'standards', 'competence' and so on.

9.4 Reasons for the development of the framework

Some of the more common understandings of why the framework was being developed in the first place included: an attempt to make the teaching profession comparable with other professions already engaging in systematic CPD; to provide an enhanced career structure; to address current inequalities in access to professional

development opportunities; and to support teachers in being able to adapt to change. However, it was clear that even within these general categories there was considerable variation in interpretation. For example, in considering CPD as a means of supporting teachers in adapting to change, this could be read as empowering teachers to drive change (Fullan, 1993), yet in interview with one of the civil servants, this point was illustrated as being a means through which teachers could cope with the changes foisted upon them: '*there are priorities and we are throwing things at you left, right and centre*'. Clearly there is a fundamental difference between teachers being able to cope with centrally imposed change and teachers embracing and driving change.

One of the interviewees, a senior university figure, talked at great length about the significance of the Sutherland Report (Sutherland, 1997), which suggested that considerable improvements needed to be made in the area of teachers' CPD and also suggested that a framework be developed. However, he was the only interviewee to mention this. Interestingly, this particular interviewee recounted a conversation that he had had with Lord Sutherland in which comparisons had been made with the situation in England. This is a claim that is often made about Scottish education policy – that many initiatives are influenced by what is happening in England. If this is indeed the case in terms of CPD, then the Sutherland Report, being a small part of a UK–wide report might well have been responsible in part for sowing the seeds of the development.

Various interviewees spoke about an acknowledgement of the need to systematise CPD, highlighting that many teachers throughout the country were already engaging in high quality, relevant CPD activity. While some interviewees claimed that the development of the CPD framework was about enhancing the professional status of teachers, another suggested that these teachers were looking for a system to '*cash in their CPD*' in terms of formal credit towards a university postgraduate award. This could be interpreted as an attempt to enhance the university role in teachers' CPD, but might also be viewed as an attempt to exert more central control over the types of CPD teachers engage in. This view was supported by a civil servant who suggested

that one of the principal reasons for the development of the framework was to improve the quality of current CPD, implying that much of it was considered to be poor or inappropriate. However, if that is indeed one of the principal reasons then it suggests that the framework has been developed principally for the purpose of imposing greater quality assurance on CPD providers, and in turn implies that CPD is something which should be provided rather than teacher-led.

Most of the interviewees, by virtue of their high-profile roles, gave responses which reflected their own particular perception of the 'bigger picture' of Scottish education. In contrast to this, one of the headteachers interviewed, a member of the MSC, gave a response which was either surprisingly limited in its view, or was an attempt to justify the approach taken by the Committee. He suggested that the framework was a '*natural development*', built on the benchmarks which had been developed for initial teacher education programmes:

> *And then of course you had the McCrone-type probationer approach, which I think is wonderful, so you get the Standard for Full Registration – I don't see a problem with that. That's really a development, if you like, from ITE. It therefore became very natural that you had a standard for chartered teacher.* (Headteacher on MSC)

This response does not really indicate a view on why the framework was seen as being worthy of development in the first place, rather it seems to take that for granted, and accepts implicitly the 'coherence' argument (Purdon, 2003) as being a worthy rationale for the development of a standards-based framework of CPD.

A high profile local authority director of education interviewed as part of the sample raised an issue not about the reason for the development of the framework, but rather about the relative importance attached to its development. He suggested that the development of the CPD framework was perhaps being overshadowed by the significant changes being brought about to pay and conditions through the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001), suggesting that the CPD aspect of the agreement was

being dominated by the pay and conditions aspect. This view indicates that he believes the primary source of CPD developments to have been the McCrone Agreement, a view that is supported by the analysis of the McCrone Report and Agreement documentation discussed in Chapter 7. This is a view which was also supported by a senior teacher association official who claimed that outcomes attributed to CPD will be used by the Government as a measure of value for money, in terms of its investment in teachers' pay and conditions through the McCrone Agreement. In this case he was referring specifically to outcomes relating to increases in pupil attainment.

While a significant number of interviewee comments could be interpreted in such a way as to provide an indication of each particular person's perception, one in particular provided mainly rhetoric in this area, suggesting that the real reason for the development of the framework was '*to create a culture of professional entitlement*' – laudable sentiments perhaps, but in need of substantial unpacking as it is highly unlikely that there would be general agreement as to what this 'entitlement' should be.

Despite the range of views as to the original reason for the development of the CPD framework, not one of the interviewees questioned the need for it, unanimously viewing it as a positive step. This is a good illustration of the contention that while groups of elite figures might arrive at a consensus in terms of identifying the way forward in a particular policy development, the underpinning reasons for supporting the consensual position are not necessarily the same.

9.5 Purpose of the framework

This theme is discussed explicitly in Chapter 8 in relation to interviewees' responses to a direct question, but this section considers the wider data set in discussing both direct and indirect comments which address this theme from across entire transcripts.

While there is acknowledged to be general agreement among stakeholders that the development of the CPD framework is a positive step, nowhere is there written down

any clear definition of its intended purpose. In each of the interviews this issue was raised, sometimes by the interviewees themselves, but if not, certainly by the interviewer. It will come as no surprise to discover that across the sixteen interviews analysed in this study a broad range of possible purposes was identified.

Many of the interviewees stated quite firmly that the purpose of the framework was to ensure a better education for children, for example: '*If this works properly, teachers will be better prepared to do what they do and I suspect that they will be more satisfied in doing their job, so the kids have most to gain from all of that.*' (Senior teacher association official)

This positive aspiration for the CPD framework was expressed in a range of ways by the interviewees, but what was not expressed explicitly by the above, or by any of the other interviewees, was a notion of what a better education entails. This implies an assumption that we share an understanding of what education is about and that it is not a contested area, supporting Delandshere & Arens' (2001) claim that the more we standardise our teacher education, the less we are required to articulate our own conceptions. The assumption that greater adherence to the framework will necessarily result in better teaching or learning subscribes to the theory underpinning Zeichner's (1993) social efficiency tradition which suggests that there is a right way to teach, whereby the better an individual teacher can perform this prescribed 'good teaching', the more learning will take place in their classroom. This view fails to give due cognisance to issues of environment and society, and the inequalities inherent in them – a fundamental aspect of the social democratic conception of teaching and professionalism as discussed in Chapter 8.

While some interviewees suggested a range of possible purposes for the framework, a senior HMIE figure was much clearer about the purpose, claiming that Government ministers had already defined the purpose, which was about raising attainment. He went on to explain his understanding of 'raising attainment' in more detail:

> *They [Government ministers] are wanting to improve the range and quality of skills that young people have when they leave school because that improves their chances of getting advanced education, or getting a better job, or improving their lifestyle, and that has implications for society and the economy.* (Senior HMIE figure)

This explicit adherence to Government imperatives was continued in his claim that CPD should '*feed very directly into Government targets like Inclusion*', thereby acknowledging the CPD framework as a means of delivering Government priorities as opposed to something which the profession itself should own. Continuing the link between CPD and raising pupil attainment, but displaying a slightly different perspective on it, was comment from a senior teacher association official, who suggested that raising attainment is the '*pay-back*' demanded by Government for funding the pay and conditions package outlined in the McCrone Agreement:

> *... if it is the private sector then there are measures about profitability and shareholder value and so on that can be used to ascertain where their investment has come good. So they [the Government] need to devise a proxy in the public sector and basically the proxy that is being used is to do with pupil attainment; it's the targets, it's the exam results and these kind of quantifiable measures that the Treasury expects to see back for the money that they have made available.* (Senior teacher association official)

This view supports Hartley's (2002) claims that standardisation and accountability is also about the prudent use of public funds.

A common theme in several of the interviews was the acknowledgement that there appears to be no formally agreed or written down purpose for the development of the CPD framework – perhaps somewhat surprising considering the resources that have been invested in its development. This acknowledgement came from a range of sources including figures from the GTCS and universities as well as from civil

servants directly involved in the development of aspects of the framework. Indeed one civil servant expressed the view that even members of the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD, whose remit it is to give strategic direction to the development of the framework, would be unlikely to share a common view of the purpose. However, that view was not echoed by one of the headteachers on the MSC who stated quite unequivocally that he believed that all members of the Committee subscribed to the same view of the fundamental purpose of the framework. Despite holding this particular view, he failed to articulate exactly what that fundamental purpose might be. The apparent lack of any clear purpose of the framework adds complexity to the question of evaluating its success – a theme explored elsewhere in this chapter.

Only one of the interviewees, a senior university figure, raised explicitly the issue of the transformative potential of the CPD framework, claiming that '*it really comes down to whether public schools are there to reproduce or transform*'. He implied that the CPD framework could support Zeichner's (1993) social reconstructionist view of teacher education, although other comments in this interview tended to suggest that he views this as more of a theoretical potential than an actual one – a view supported by the HMIE figure's comments discussed above.

One of the local authority directors of education, however, also talked about the reculturalisation of teaching through the CPD framework, claiming that '*we are engaged in an enterprise here to change culture, you know, to raise the esteem and professional confidence of teachers*'. He went on to explain that '*I only want teachers to be effective teachers but they need some professional curiosity about the context within which they are operating... to succeed in that*'. He appeared to be suggesting that his notion of '*effective teaching*' is not necessarily to conform to performance indicators or attainment targets imposed by central government, but rather to be autonomous professionals, aligning with Bottery and Wright's (2000a) public and ecological orientations of teaching. So, while interviewees used common language – for example, 'effective teachers' – clearly their understanding of what that implies was not necessarily shared. This adds complexity to the analysis of

messages emanating from elite education figures, as it demonstrates that it is not enough merely to consider what they are saying, but as Cookson (1994) contends, that the ideological field in which the individual acts is fundamental to the interpretation of their comments.

Another interesting issue arising from the interviews was the respective status attributed by individual interviewees to the various components of the CPD framework. In particular, there was a tendency by many to respond to questions about 'the CPD framework' purely from the perspective of developments in the chartered teacher programme (a theme developed more fully elsewhere in this chapter). While there was a range of explanations as to why chartered teacher might currently be seen to be of higher status/priority than other aspects of the framework, this nonetheless has to be borne in mind in interpreting the responses. Indeed, it was perhaps unreasonable to expect interviewees to come up with a succinct rationale for the purpose of a framework which comprises discrete components, each with their own origins and purposes. Whatever the reasons for variations in perceived importance of the respective components, it was nonetheless obvious that chartered teacher was seen by many to be the central focus of the CPD framework. A senior teacher association official suggested, rightly or wrongly, that this was because the rest of the framework will not be substantially different to current practice: '*Of the CPD issues it [the chartered teacher project] has been by far and away the biggest, and it has been the most significant because it is the one where it is new, it is open for grabs.*'

Another possible purpose of the framework mentioned by several interviewees related to the status of teachers and the way the profession is perceived both internally and externally. However, closer examination of these comments indicated different discourses in play. For example, the senior HMIE figure stated that the framework is in part about '*enhancing professional integrity*' and while it could be argued that a standards-based framework designed principally to enable Government imperatives to be fulfilled is not the best way of enhancing professional integrity, it is

obvious that the HMIE figure interviewed understands the importance of using appropriate language which will keep teachers on-side.

One of the civil servants, on the other hand, suggested that the framework is about '*trying to re-engage teachers with their professionalism. It's giving them that opportunity to recognise that they've got a responsibility to think about their professionalism*'. Here the implication is that this is a top-down approach where teachers will need to have things 'done' to them in order to remedy the deficit implicit in this statement.

While detailed discourse analysis of such comments might reveal subtle differences in the choice of language and the meaning implicit, it does not necessarily indicate factual truth. Rather what it might indicate is the level of experience of the respective interviewees in terms of their awareness of their own public presentation – perhaps signifying that Cookson's (1994) notion of the four elements of the power discourse are not discrete aspects, but rather are interlinking categories that have a direct bearing on each other. For example, the 'syntactical style' is perhaps less polished and deliberate in the less experienced public figure – the 'individual actor'. Nevertheless, it must be assumed that not everybody listening to these elite education figures will have the time or the inclination to carry out detailed discourse analysis, and therefore the message that is conveyed, whether it is attributable to syntactical style, the individual actor, or a combination of both, is highly significant.

10 TENSIONS AND RESOLUTIONS IN THE CPD DISCOURSE: VIEWS FROM THE INTERVIEW DATA

The selection of nodes discussed in this chapter include: indicators of success; power and influence; tensions, contradictions and assumptions; interviewees' understanding of key terms or topics; and future developments and predictions. The chapter also includes a short commentary on developments since the interviews which might impact on or elucidate aspects of the interview data. The chapter discusses tensions and resolutions from both within individual interviews and from across the range of transcripts.

10.1 Indicators of success

Again this issue is discussed in specific terms in Chapter 8, but this section looks beyond the answers given to the direct question about interviewees' views on suitable indicators of success. Instead this section takes a thematic look at the issue rather than analysing what the responses say about individual interviewees' sympathies with either social democratic or technical-rationalist conceptions of teaching and professionalism.

It may have been reasonable to assume that the perceptions articulated under this theme would relate closely to the issues highlighted under the theme addressed in the previous chapter about interviewees' views of the purposes of the framework. After all, if the framework were established to serve certain purposes then the indicators of its successful implementation would surely be linked to these purposes. However, this is not what transpired from the interview data. Indeed, in the majority of interview transcripts there was no clear match between these two areas. There was, however, fairly broad agreement that there currently exist no agreed plans for the monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the framework. One of the civil servants went further in suggesting that: '*until we... have a slighly firmer idea of what the framework is going to be, I think we would be unwise to start throwing out too many unfocused success factors.*' This comment would appear to acknowledge that there were in fact no overall strategic objectives for the CPD framework.

Several of the interviewees suggested that the uptake of courses would be an indicator of successful implementation, for example, '*are teachers getting and going on CPD?*' (Senior HMIE figure). Whether or not these interviewees were actually suggesting that they would advocate adopting this indicator, or whether they were merely expressing what they anticipate might be used, was not always clear. However, it did suggest that when it comes to measurement, some of the more qualitative aspects mentioned under the previous section, such as improvement in teacher morale and more confident, happy pupils, tended to assume a lower profile. As well as course uptake it was proposed that course availability, and the extent to which local authorities provide opportunities for teachers to meet their CPD needs, would also be indicators of success. These types of indicators imply a view of CPD as being something that is 'provided' for teachers – this is arguably in direct contrast to the notion of enhanced professional status and responsibility highlighted by interviewees elsewhere. In placing the responsibility for successful implementation with employers and providers, the elite figures interviewed in this study were in effect limiting the extent to which they viewed teachers as having ownership of CPD. Reading these interview comments together with the strong messages emanating from SEED news releases, as reported in Chapter 7, that suggested teacher professionalism is something that the Government can 'give' to teachers, one can see how this particular discourse is perpetuated.

Most of the interviewees did acknowledge that some of what they perceived to be the more desirable outcomes of a successful CPD framework would be quite difficult to measure. They also highlighted the difficulty in distinguishing between improvements made as a result of a good CPD framework and improvements made as a result of other initiatives. Nonetheless, this is surely not an issue that relates purely to CPD policy – it must have implications for the evaluation of all education initiatives and polices, none of which stand in isolation.

A senior GTCS official suggested that there might well prove to be tensions between what teachers and what other stakeholders would view as desirable outcomes of the framework – a suggestion in keeping with the findings discussed in Chapter 8. It was

suggested that the other stakeholders would be looking for more '*concrete*' indicators of success. Indeed, the interviewee went on to suggest that much of the benefit of successful implementation would not really be visible for perhaps another twenty years when the pupils on whom it is hoped this will have an impact begin to make more visible contributions to society.

Interviewees holding posts in SEED, a university and HMIE itself all suggested that future school inspections should consider the extent to which the CPD framework is being implemented successfully. The senior HMIE figure also suggested that they [HMIE] would wish to mount an aspect inspection at some point, an aspect inspection being a country-wide review of one particular theme, taking into account the views and practices of relevant institutions such as the universities, local authorities and schools. However, there would have to be some initial agreement about the kinds of features that were deemed to be desirable in terms of successful implementation.

Interestingly, one of the teacher association officials suggested that '*issues around retention will become one of the indirect things that people will measure*', yet not one of the interviewees suggested that improved retention would be one of the key purposes of the CPD framework. This could mean that the interviewee assumed either that indicators of success would be those things most easily measured, or that retention was a key purpose but not one that stakeholders wanted to highlight. The possibility that the indicators that are most easy to measure would be the ones that were used was supported by two interviewees in particular. One of the teacher association officials, as raised earlier, considered that Government would want to see payback for its investment in teachers' salaries in terms of raised pupil attainment through targets and exam results. This was supported by one of the civil servants who also suggested that measuring the achievement of pupil attainment targets would be useful: '*it will be interesting to compare targets in five or ten years time with the targets now, and whether you can distil the impact of the chartered teacher programme on the improvement you will see.*'

Despite the majority of suggested indicators of success being fairly quantitative in nature, it would be unfair to present this as the whole picture presented by the interviewees. Two such examples of contrasting views were:

> *one indicator of success would be that there was significant enhancement in the quality of education provided by schools...[and] a richer quality of discussion about educational issues* (Senior university figure [1])

> *better communication amongst teachers... [and] an ability of professionals in schools to make more explicit to the public what they were achieving* (Senior university figure [2])

It was interesting to note that the more extensive and explicit comments relating to qualitative indicators came from the two senior university figures interviewed. While the interview transcripts of these two interviewees displayed some contrasting views on the purpose of CPD for teachers, they were the only two within this sample to be quite so explicit in qualitative terms and to acknowledge that while qualitative indicators are perhaps more difficult to measure, they are nonetheless important. This could be for a number of reasons – firstly, it could be argued that it is not the university sector that has invested the money in the development of the framework and it would therefore not be held accountable for its success or otherwise. Secondly, it might well be that these particular interviewees subscribed to a conception of teaching which views these more holistic indicators as important. However, it could be that these particular interviewees hold a more positive view of the potential and rigour of qualitative social science research, and therefore do not shy away from suggesting such indicators of success.

10.2 Power and influence

The issue of power and influence in the development of CPD policy is central to this study. Many points were made in the interviews – both explicitly and implicitly – which related to issues of power. Issues of power ranged from competing agendas and relationships between stakeholder groups to the perceived influence of

individuals and organisations. Some issues relevant to this topic have already been raised earlier in Chapter 9, for example, issues of power in relation to consultation processes.

One of the crucial questions in policy analysis is the motivation for particular policies being on the agenda in the first place. This was discussed by several of the interviewees – some more openly than others. For example, the senior HMIE figure was open in acknowledging that the vast majority of new policy initiatives in education have occurred because *'Government or the Inspectorate or other stakeholders have said we need to make a change'*. He attributed this to pressure to compete on an international stage, where government *'folsts'* policy initiatives on the profession, as opposed to the profession itself determining priorities. While not relating this explicitly to CPD policy, he appeared to be identifying what he perceived to be the dominant trend in education policy-making in contemporary Scotland.

However, while the above statement seemed to suggest that the HMIE figure was advocating greater involvement from the profession, comments later in the interview appeared to indicate that this involvement by the profession should be limited to teachers recognising the kinds of issues that Government identifies – not articulating a whole host of different policy priorities based on different ideological conceptions of teaching. He suggested that other countries are *'catching up with us'*, and that one of the solutions to this is that *'we must look at all the ways that we can keep abreast in terms of quality and one of the ways is to look at what is the teaching profession'*. This is another example of the shared assumptions that members of the policy community can exhibit – that there is necessarily agreement over what 'quality' of teaching or education might be. The complexities of the range of conceptions of teaching are considered in detail in Chapter 4, and are explored in the context of the interview data in Chapter 8.

A senior GTCS official supported the view discussed above that government drives the policy agenda – but expressed it in a different, although equally open, manner:

> *there is the argument of course that we will get nothing done if we're too democratic and that if you have a political will then the political will will fight the argument. So I'd say that there's been a degree of political will driving the whole thing [the CPD framework] forward which in the end will not be democratic.* (Senior GTCS official)

The acceptance of the inevitability of this position – that political will holds sway over democratic participation in policy development – is significant. Clearly, however, the interviewee is happy to share this view openly, and therefore does not perhaps view this perceived government dominance as of concern.

Government dominance in setting and developing the policy agenda is arguably more likely where stakeholder groups themselves have not developed agreed understandings about key issues. One of the senior GTCS officials explained that in order to develop an informed and coherent position on developing CPD policy, the organisation had agreed to set up a CPD reference group. This strategy was highlighted as an example of strategic planning by the GTCS. However, one of the senior university figures, who had also been a Council member, suggested that this strategy was in effect limiting the power of other individuals on the Council to contribute to the debate, acknowledging that while *'it is a good idea... it is also a way of controlling debate.'*

The attribution of power to certain individuals and stakeholder groups, whether conscious or not, is evident in the interview data. Here, Foucault's concept of 'truth', as discussed in Chapter 6, is particularly relevant. To reiterate, Foucault understands truth to be 'the ensemble of rules according to which the true and the false are separated and specific effects of power attached to true' (cited in Rabinow, 1984, p. 74). In the case of CPD policy, several of the interviewees referred to instances where teachers were not always told 'the truth', two such examples being:

> *People [teachers] have been told so many things about Chartered Teacher, some of which have been authored solely by the Executive or local authorities.*

(Senior teacher association official)

they [universities] were far too quick to organise seminars [about the Chartered Teacher programme] and tell people what it was when they didn't know.

(Local authority director of education)

The two statements quoted above apportion blame to different stakeholders for 'not telling teachers the truth', and arguably imply that the interviewees can identify the 'truth' of the matter. However, what is important in this context is not what the factual 'truth' of the situation might be, but the power struggle evident where more than one stakeholder group believes it has the right to determine what version of understanding should be promoted as truth. It is interesting to note that the struggle in this selection of interview data is between the rights of local authorities, teacher associations and universities to determine truth. Absent from the discussion is the place of teachers in determining truth. Indeed, quite the opposite is the case, as the discussion centres around which stakeholders have the right to pass on the 'true' version of events to teachers. Teachers, as a group, are therefore placed in a passive role with the other stakeholder groups positioning themselves as guardians of the information that they release to teachers. This position would appear to be in conflict with the discourse of partnership and consultation evident in the publicly available documentary evidence (see Chapter 7).

The above discussion centres on power in terms of the power to shape the policy agenda, but also of interest is power in terms of the power of this particular policy agenda item to shape practice. In other words, what effect do the stakeholders hope the policy will have? In relation to the CPD framework, the interview data reveal a range of reasons why interviewees believe the framework will be powerful; significant among these is CPD as a means of assuring teacher accountability. This was expressed in an unequivocal manner by one of the senior university figures, who suggested that:

CPD as a means of culling the teaching profession from time to time. Now I don't like being autocratic in that direction, but I think if you are going to have performance indicators, or quality indicators, you have to be able to use them from time to time to indicate, after appropriate testing, to a teacher that they are no longer maintaining the standard
(Senior university figure)

Both the content and the language used in this statement indicate a sense of power over teachers. For example, '*culling the teaching profession*' is not an expression which signifies mutual respect or a commitment to partnership.

This power position is mirrored in comments by a civil servant who suggested that:

the actual need to set standards was recognised a while back and I presume that was because the argument being, if you want to reprofessionalise the profession... you have to identify to the profession what you expect of them, because if you don't,... how do they know they are achieving it?
(Civil servant)

The language used here suggests that the speaker, or the stakeholder group that the speaker represents, holds power over teachers in a way that enables it to demand specific forms of accountability. The comment displays an interesting use of the concept of 'professionalisation' (discussed in Chapter 4), which implies adherence to a 'standard' applied by dominant stakeholder groups, and not one generated from within the profession. This is an example of what Smyth et al. (2000) describe when they suggest that professionalism is an ideology linked to matters of control. Again, the tone of the statement is in conflict with discourse espoused elsewhere, in which the buzzwords include 'consultation', 'consensus' and 'partnership'.

The civil servant quoted above went on to articulate the extent to which accountability is important, claiming that part of the job of teaching is to be able to

account for oneself to the headteacher, the university, the professional body, their peers *'and to their customers'*. The use of 'customers' as opposed to 'pupils' or 'pupils and parents' might arguably be viewed as being indicative of a market approach to education. This reflects Sachs' (2001) notion of the 'entrepreneurial identity' of teachers, as discussed in Chapter 8, where market forces drive an efficiency agenda, in which issues of accountability feature heavily.

Market forces were a concern of one of the other interviewees; in this case the forces which contribute to the vagaries of the supply of teachers. One of the local authority directors of education, in discussing the use of the CPD framework as a means of identifying incompetent teachers, acknowledged that the availability of teachers does impact on the extent to which a local authority is willing to support its workforce:

> *in times of over-supply [of teachers] there are a whole number of ways in which authorities can be less tolerant or supportive. They will be much more aggressive when they know they can find a replacement. And in times of teacher shortage they will be much more tolerant.*
>
> (Local authority director of education)

In effect, this interviewee was acknowledging that while the framework might include standards designed to ensure consistency across Scotland, in reality the interpretation and implementation of these standards will depend on other circumstances. This suggests that standards too, as well as the concept of professionalism discussed above, can be adopted as tools of ideological control.

Only one of the interviewees acknowledged the conflicting nature of these two distinct discourses: the standards and efficiency driven discourse represented by a technical-rationalist conception of teaching and professionalism, where accountability is crucial; and the collegiate, developmental discourse represented by the social democratic conception, where partnership and consultation are fundamental. One of the senior teacher association officials articulated this conflict in relation to the messages emanating from SEED:

There's a duality of purpose here: on the one hand the Executive wants to be seen to be supportive, to be providing opportunities for CPD for chartered teachers and so on, but there is another bit of the Executive, the public perception of the teaching profession 'tough on crime, tough on the causes', have high standards of teaching but be tough on the bad ones. So there is a kind of duality of message there.

(Senior teacher association official)

These conflicting discourses are evident in policy documents coming from SEED, and the wider Scottish Executive, but appear to be being ignored in pursuit of consensus, again perhaps illustrating Peters' (1996) view that 'consensus can be established only on the basis of exclusion' (p. 9).

Interviewees' views of the respective influence of stakeholder groups proved to be varied, indicating quite different perceptions of the situation. One of the senior GTCS officials laid claim to having had significant influence, claiming that *'we [the GTCS] have driven this more than people expected'*, but added the disclaimer that *'that's not necessarily seen from a public view'*.

In contrast, one of the Chartered Teacher Project team members claimed that *'individual teachers'* had been the most influential stakeholder group in relation to the development of the Chartered Teacher programme. This is of particular significance when we consider comments discussed in the previous chapter about the lack of communication with teachers in the development of the CPD framework as a whole. This leads us to question whether the Chartered Teacher Programme was in actual fact so different from the rest of the framework in terms of its involvement with teachers, or whether other factors have influenced this perception.

An important distinction between having power to agree agendas and having power to implement resulting initiatives was drawn by one of the local authority directors of education. He highlighted the role of COSLA (the Convention of Scottish Local

Authorities) in the McCrone negotiations, claiming that *'COSLA's role in it can sometimes be seen to be power without responsibility because they can reach agreements but they have no interest whatsoever in implementing them.'* This raises two interesting issues: first, to what extent can power and responsibility be separated, and second, is power actively sought by those who have an 'interest' or is it 'given' to particular groups by virtue of their perceived role? There is a fundamental difference between power being taken by groups or power being given to groups. While various stakeholder groups were discussed by the interviewees in terms of their influence in developing the CPD framework, the GTCS featured prominently as one of the key stakeholder groups. There was a sense in several of the interviewees' comments that the role of the GTCS is changing, and that their involvement in CPD is central to that change. Whether that involvement is through changing structures or through the personal ambition of individuals within the organisation was not clear-cut in the interview data. For example, one of the senior university figures viewed the GTCS involvement in accrediting chartered teacher courses as a means of strengthening its general CPD role, given that it already had significant power in relation to ITE and induction. However, one of the civil servants had a slightly different perception of the principal reason for increased GTCS involvement and profile: *'I think it is the personnel that have changed that, and the drive, and the ambition of the personnel in that area [CPD]'*. The notion that not only organisations, but individuals too can have the power to shape dominant discourse supports Cookson's (1994) notion of the four elements of the power discourse, one of which is the 'individual actor' (p. 121). Cookson acknowledges that in certain situations the individual actor can be the critical element in shaping discourse, and here, the civil servant attributes, in part, the changing role of the GTCS to individual influence. However, the same interviewee also talked of structural issues which have increased the power of the GTCS, at one point saying *'did we realise that we were giving them significant power in the CPD arena?'*, indicating that he believed that the ownership of the power was quite clearly with SEED, by virtue of their ability to 'give', and therefore presumable also to withhold, power to stakeholder groups.

One of the senior teacher association officials continued the theme of the Government being in the position of power and therefore being in a position to distribute that power to particular stakeholder groups.

> *I suspect that it [the GTCS] does not have the power in fairness to it. It is a body that in my view has been interfered with, if you like, by the Government, actually improperly. Some of the recent changes to the composition [of the Council] and so on are illustrative of that...*
>
> (Senior teacher association official)

This statement gives some insight into one of the mechanisms by which the GTCS might arguably be controlled more effectively by Government. Indeed, one of the headteachers on the MSC also mentioned the role that the composition of the GTCS Council has, highlighting his concern at the way in which teacher associations run 'slates' for elections, thereby hoping to gain some control over GTCS business. He acknowledged that the legislative changes to the GTCS composition have limited this, but nevertheless acknowledged that it does still happen. So while the GTCS might be deemed to have more power than it did previously, that power is still controlled, to an extent, by Government. The teacher association official quoted above went on to say that:

> *...I know that it is difficult for the GTC because if it has a stand-off with the Executive about something there is always the risk that it simply has its powers trimmed or certain functions taken away. The Government uses it when it is convenient and it is reasonably co-operative, but if it were to become really stroppy and very assertive then it would put at risk such powers as it has.* (Senior teacher association official)

Clearly the interplay of power is much more complex than who has it and what they do with it. It needs to be considered within the legislative and structural context, the cultural context and the personal context of those individuals and groups involved.

Several of the interviewees were happy to discuss the individuals that they believed to have had significant impact on development of the CPD framework. Some of these individuals were deemed to be influential in terms of their role(s) on various groups or bodies, where others were influential in terms of the way in which they had helped to inform the interviewees' thinking on CPD. Of particular note here were Sam Galbraith (Minister for Children and Education, May 1999 – October 2000) who was credited with challenging the profession and putting CPD on the agenda; and one of the senior GTCS officials who was perceived as individually influential in terms of shaping the detail of the CPD framework in general and the chartered teacher programme in particular.

In addition to asking interviewees about other individuals deemed to be powerful or influential, the interviewees' perceptions of their own power were explored. Given the range of positions held by the interviewees, questions relating to this were not the same across the board. For example, where interviewees held positions as officials representing elected bodies, their individual power was considered in relation to the elected body, whereas some of the interviewees held positions which were less obviously restricted.

The four interviewees holding senior officer positions in teacher associations and the GTCS were asked about the extent to which their own views were consistent with those of their elected councils, and the extent to which their roles changed with changes to the elected council membership. One of the senior teacher association officials claimed that his role remained constant regardless of the constitution of the elected council. He went on to claim that:

our power and influence has increased quite considerably over the past few years. You can tell by the number of phone calls we get – I get press officers from Victoria Quay [SEED headquarters] saying "what's this

> *you're saying?" I must be doing my job right because every so often I get complaining phone calls!* (Senior teacher association official)

This statement gives an indication of what the interviewee deemed to be evidence of power, namely him personally developing a higher profile with SEED. In contrast, the other senior teacher association official talked about the limitations of his personal role:

> *it [being a paid official] alters the relationship, what you can say and do, and so on, because if you are elected you can debate and have your own opinion, have your arguments and so on. But if you are a paid chief officer then you are there to serve the organisation, to promote and promulgate the policy position.* (Senior teacher association official)

The difference in emphasis in these two statements illustrates the complexities of the power relationships within such organisations, where on the surface the structures would appear to be fairly similar. However, it is also indicative of the different perceptions of individuals.

Both of the senior GTCS officials acknowledged the difference that the composition of the council could make. One of the officials in particular also talked about ways in which officials work behind the scenes to inform council members, and presumably therefore to promote their own particular perception of issues through influencing council members. The tensions which these interviewees, and others, experience in aligning their own personal views with those of the stakeholder groups which they represent, is discussed in more detail in the following section.

Relationships among the various stakeholder groups were also explored in the interviews. Again, though, relationships cannot be discussed purely in terms of structures and functions, as the individuals representing stakeholder groups have the power to influence others' perceptions of their organisation. One of the civil servants acknowledged this, using SEED's relationship with the GTCS as an example: *'At the*

moment with the personnel that's there, there are good relations with the Executive and the GTC. I don't know if there's ever been bad relations, but at the moment they are particularly good'.

Following this statement, the interviewee was asked about the commonly held accusation which is frequently asserted in the educational press that the GTCS is a puppet of the Government, to which he replied *'Oh right, I thought you were going to say the puppet for the unions!'* He went on to develop this by explaining that: *'I would imagine many teachers see the GTC in the pocket of the Executive, and the Executive has probably seen the GTC in the pocket of the unions, and it's just standpoint, it's perception.'* While acknowledging that there will doubtless be differences in perception, the reasons for these perceptions are interesting. In being able to pinpoint which groups would find relationships between other stakeholder groups to be problematic, the interviewee is illustrating his knowledge of the difference in ideological standpoints of the respective groups involved.

Comments from other stakeholders also revealed where ideological standpoints converge or diverge. For example, one of the senior teacher association officials was quite vehement in his distrust of local authorities in relation to their role in the development of CPD policy:

> *There is a real danger that the local authorities will corrupt that process [the partnership approach to the implementation of the McCrone Agreement]. Already there are signs that they will do that at the first opportunity... one of the difficulties, especially with the local authorities I would have to say, is where personnel have changed. Some people have been involved in negotiating this, the thing is signed and agreed and different people then come and do the implementation and talk about what should have been signed in the first place. They persist in coming to meetings with an alternative to this, not a way of making this work. I find that professionally incompetent and I also find it thoroughly*

reprehensible that they will damage the profession, and indirectly young people, by doing so. (Senior teacher association official)

The statement demonstrates a real distrust of local authorities – levelling accusations that might well be levelled at other stakeholder groups, for example, changes in personnel – but directing them principally at this one particular group. This would appear to be the result of a longstanding distrust, probably fuelled by the two groups supporting fundamentally different agendas. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that the power of the individuals making such statements is likely to result in their words being accorded a certain status.

While the above statement is quite unequivocal in its distrust of local authorities, one of the civil servants echoed some of these concerns, although in a more tempered manner, declaring that *'from our perspective the most significant risk is whether local authorities engage fully in delivering the framework and in understanding their role in delivering the framework'*. This comment implies that the local authorities perhaps do not 'understand' their role, or at least do not share SEED's understanding of the role. This choice of language suggests, again, that the discourse of partnership and collegiate working is not the central focus.

This comment from the civil servant, taken together with the previous comments made by the senior teacher association official, gives some indication of the perceived power of local authorities; they are seen by some stakeholders as a threat, and presumably, therefore, deemed to be capable of exerting power.

10.3 Tensions, contradictions and assumptions

The interview data provided a number of interesting findings in this area, ranging from interviewees' discussion of tensions in their own roles, to contradictory statements made by individuals, and indeed, at times, erroneous assumptions. These tensions contradictions and assumptions covered a range of issues within the broad area of CPD policy, although one particular issue appeared to be the source of significant debate amongst the interviewees: the extent to which chartered teacher

should be based on so-called 'academic' or 'professional' routes. This specific issue is discussed in some detail in the Chapter 9.

Tensions in own role

As raised previously, paid officials working on behalf of elected councils are subject to specific tensions by virtue of their remit to carry out the business of their council. These paid officials are generally considered as significant individuals in the education community, where their professional roles enable them to have access to a range of debates, yet they as individuals are not always able to put forward their own views. One of the senior teacher association officials put this into perspective, claiming that *'Ninety-nine percent of the time I'm quite comfortable with it. But there are times where you have to articulate something which you fundamentally disagree with, and you just do it.'* This highlights a distinction between those elite figures who enjoy the right to make their own views known as part of their professional role and those whose job it is to represent the views of others.

Contradictory statements

During the course of the interview several of the interviewees made statements which appeared to be in contradiction with statements they had made elsewhere in the interview. These contradictions covered a range of issues, both in relation to their view of the content and purpose of the CPD framework and in relation to their view of the processes and power dynamics which accompany the development of policy.

One of the civil servants claimed that standards reflect the current *'requirements'* for certain teaching posts, explaining that:

> *standards can often be set, and will be based on current thinking, you know, about what's appropriate at this particular time – what's the vision, or what's the idea at this particular moment in time, but these notions might change over a very short period of time* (Civil servant)

This comment infers that standards set down the description for the desirable qualities of teachers. It does not suggest room for diversity. However, the interviewee went on to say that:

> *there are fifty-odd thousand teachers so there's fifty-odd thousand different ways of being a teacher and therefore the standard's just a generic... I would see it as a mechanism to stimulate their thinking rather than something by which they live their life.* (Civil servant)

This begs the question, if a standard is about stimulating thinking within a diverse group of people, how can it also be used as a means of ensuring consistency by describing current requirements for teachers in certain posts? However, inconsistencies such as this might simply be the result of the interviewee not having considered the issue in any great detail and hence not holding a considered view on it. The resulting comments would, therefore, reflect the interviewee 'thinking on his/her feet'.

Questionable assumptions

Many comments were made in the interviews which carried an air of authority – the interviewee was not questioning or suggesting, rather they were asserting certain things to be the case. In some cases these comments were not based on any real evidence, and in other cases were neither a real, nor whole, reflection of the situation.

One of the civil servants claimed that *'we've actually changed the way that universities think about the way they deliver this programme [the Master's degree leading to Chartered Teacher status] – this is not the usual Master's programme; it is an applied Master's'*. While the interviewee did not identify the particular Master's programmes with which he was making the comparison, this somewhat bold claim does suggest that he was not aware of the wide range of professional Master's programmes currently on offer in universities across Scotland.

Assumptions were also made about the linear progression of the CPD framework. One of the senior university figures talked of *'the standard for chartered teacher which is going to be the next step up after probation'*. This comment fails to give cognisance to the concept of career choice: teachers might not wish to take the chartered teacher route. While arguably the interviewee might retract or reword the comment if challenged, the fact that he is in a position in which he holds considerable influence, including the influence to shape dominant discourse, lends the comment a sense of gravitas that it might otherwise not have held.

Another theme which was raised by two of the interviewees in particular was that of the experience of university staff in delivering CPD to teachers. There had been a comment in the McCrone Report (SEED, 2000) about TEI staff being 'out of touch', which prompted considerable debate as to whether there was any evidence to support the existence of such perceptions, or to support the justification of such perceptions if they were found to be widespread (Deloitte and Touche, 2001). While the aforementioned reports refer to the experience of staff in ITE, one of the local authority directors of education and the MSP interviewed both commented on the lack of recent and relevant experience of TEI staff delivering CPD. This illustrates an assumption that the successful delivery of CPD can only be done by teachers with recent, relevant experience of teaching in schools. It also makes fundamental assumptions about the particular expertise of university staff, and portrays a conception of CPD as something that is delivered to a less experienced person by a more experienced person. These are all assumptions which can arguably be challenged.

'Academic' or 'professional' route to chartered teacher

The use and personal understanding of terminology in this particular issue might well be the root of some of the debate. For example, interviewees' interpretation of 'academic' and 'professional' are not articulated explicitly, yet the terms are used to categorise and justify particular positions.

One of the senior university figures interviewed illustrated this with a comment in which his justification relied on the interpretation of 'professionalism': *'it is a professional award and it is up to the profession to determine what professional route they want to take towards that professional award'*. This justification relies on a specific interpretation of 'professionalism' and seems to imply an interpretation aligned to Gale and Densmore's (2003) notion of professionalism as 'political advocacy'.

When this interviewee was challenged about the reasons for teachers pledging allegiance to one particular side of the debate, and whether that was more to do with the key proponents than the substantive arguments, he was quite unequivocal in dismissing the idea; therefore dismissing the potential power of the 'individual actor' (Cookson, 1994) in shaping discourse. His response could be interpreted as indicating a view of the 'institutional setting' as perhaps more significant in this instance: *'what they [Council members, in supporting the so-called 'professional' route to Chartered Teacher] may be reflecting is something that you have hinted at before – the generation-specific attitudes.'* He went on to explain this by talking about the attitudinal change in new probationers, and suggesting that the dominant view of Council members might be related to the fact that *'there won't be many elected members of the General Teaching Council who have a second degree'*, thereby hinting perhaps that the introduction of widespread opportunities for teachers to gain Master's degrees might be threatening to more experienced teachers.

In another case, a similar example of terminology and interpretation impacting on discourse was evident in one of the Chartered Teacher Project Team's understanding of 'research' and its relationship to teaching:

> *we [the Chartered Teacher Project Team] wanted it [the Chartered Teacher programme] to be very much rooted in classroom practice, something that would make a difference actually to your teaching in the classroom. It is not research... I would have found it harder had I thought that the idea of chartered teacher was to be a research qualification. I am*

all for research but I think that's where the balance is and so if we agree to having a large percentage of our postgraduate work done on the improvement of learning and teaching then I think that is good.

(Member of chartered teacher project team)

The understanding of research implicit in this comment is that it is something theoretical that does not have a bearing on teaching. In essence it implies that '*improvement of learning and teaching*' can happen without recourse to research. This view of the distinctiveness of 'teaching' and 'research' underpinned much of the debate surrounding the form that the Chartered Teacher Programme should have taken.

A lack of understanding of the potentially complementary nature of scholarship and teaching appeared to be at the root of much of this debate. As previously discussed, some interviewees displayed a lack of knowledge of current professionally relevant postgraduate awards. This is also apparent in one civil servant's comment about his preferred route to chartered teacher status: *'what we didn't want was somebody doing modules and getting certificates and being a chartered teacher, and so chartered teacher status had to come from [pause...] there had to be some sort of professional recognition.'* This distinction between accredited modules and 'professional recognition' belies the complexities and inter-relationship of scholarship and teaching. Only one of the interviewees, the other senior university figure, appeared to recognise what was essentially a war of words, or a war of interpretations, claiming that the portrayal of university accreditation as being too 'academic': *'is a misrepresentation about what the chartered teacher programme is trying to do'.* Indeed, this interviewee became increasingly personal in his attack on the body he believed to have instigated the debate – the GTCS: *'in coming up with an alternative route it [the GTCS] has trivialised the Standard [the SCT].'*

However, the perception of one of the senior GTCS officials of the debate at a Council meeting is quite different:

> *'Well it wasn't really a discussion at all, I mean it was again that there seemed to be one member of the fifty-strong Council saying something different, but that is what I mean, there seems to be a fair consensus that what we were trying to say was something that was sensible – that the perception of the moment is that the Chartered Teacher is another degree – and that's a wrong perception'.* (Senior GTCS official)

In relation to this debate, one of the senior teacher association officials presented a slightly different interpretation: *'there was an issue with the GTC; they seemed to go off in a different direction for a while. I am not sure that there hasn't been a mutual misunderstanding actually'.*

This whole discussion reveals what is essentially an argument over interpretation, and illustrates the way in which such debate, when carried out publicly by elite figures, takes on a particular significance. This is yet another clear example of the way in which the policy community can shape whatever dominant discourse might emerge.

10.4 Interviewees' understandings of key terms or topics

A fundamental aspect of elite interviewing as a methodological approach is the notion that elite figures within a field are granted an authority with which to present their views. This authority is often accorded to such individuals by others, but nevertheless, has the effect of strengthening the perceived validity of what the elite figure says. However, while elite figures undoubtedly have specific expertise, this expertise does not necessarily extend to the whole breadth of education issues. This was evident through some of the interviews, where interviewees spoke with authority, but demonstrated various levels of understanding of key topics. In particular, interviewees' understanding of what constitutes CPD was of particular interest.

As well as discussion on what constitutes CPD, several of the interviewees made comments about the 'CPD framework', in some cases questioning its existence as a

planned framework. One of the senior university figures commented briefly on an issue relating to the so-called 'framework' which might have been assumed to have warranted greater discussion:

> *I can't remember if that consultation paper [SOEID, 1998a] or another one actually included the famous [sequence of] initial teacher education, probation, the expert teacher, the SQH, and it assumed there is a linear relationship. You know – that is the way you go up – so the fact of becoming a headteacher was first of all to become an expert teacher – that was the assumption.*
>
> (Senior university figure)

While noting this apparent assumption, the interviewee nevertheless talked elsewhere about chartered teacher being *'the next step up after probation'*, seemingly showing implicit agreement, or acceptance, of the linear progression, at least in part.

In general discussion, the interviewees displayed a significant range of opinions about what the CPD framework is; if there actually is a 'framework'; and the purposes of any such framework. While much of this is discussed in Chapters 8 and 9, it is worth noting the range of comments on the CPD framework, which include:

> *We [the LAMPS sub-group of the MSC] want CPD to be essentially about supporting teachers and making sure that they are equipped to meet challenges and so on...* (Headteacher on MSC)

> *...in favour of a model of CPD which devolves genuine democratic power to schools as communities, not exclusively to headteachers as has been suggested recently by Jack McConnell.* (MSP)

> *what are the implications of having a two-stream framework: one focusing on qualifications (i.e. chartered teacher, SQH) and one on school-based professional development.* (MSP)

> *What we had, in my view, was enormous pressure following over from the Conservative Government to do something about this issue...The striking thing about this is like so much else that happens in Scottish education. The Standard [for Headship] is not the outcome of any process of systematic national planning.* (Senior university figure)

The range of perceptions of the purpose and motivation for the CPD framework is interesting given that the general consensus of stakeholders is that it is a positive development.

The existence of a wide range of views on the CPD framework should come as no surprise given the equally wide range of perceptions as to what constitutes CPD. While this question was not asked in such an explicit way, many of the interviews produced data which indicated interviewees' perceptions of this.

The traditional view of CPD as a means of updating teachers' skills through appropriate 'training' (Kelly And McDiarmid, 2002) was evident in the comments of one of the senior teacher association officials, who suggested that *'There's been a particular problem as methodologies change, as the curriculum has changed, as the whole ethos of teaching has changed, that CPD has not kept pace with that.'* The senior HMIE official echoed this view, to an extent, when he claimed that CPD underpinned policy initiatives, and that *'there is a sense in which CPD becomes a motorway that gets you to a desirable destination.'* CPD as a means to a pre-determined end seems to reflect a somewhat narrow definition of CPD.

This view of CPD was recognised by one of the senior university figures, who indicated that his perception was that *'in-service is still the name of the game'*. He went on to warn that:

> *[this] In turn sets a challenge for those of us who are going to deliver the CPD framework ... are we going to have this dependency model where*

teachers come to universities and other providers in order to get the brownie points... (Senior university figure)

Other interviewees presented slightly more vague views of their understanding of CPD. For example: *'CPD is a broad range of things, and it's just to make teachers stop and reflect on what they are doing and where they are going at a very basic level.'* (Civil servant)

Others still gave what might be deemed to be the 'official line': *'I see continuing professional development as the means by which the National Debate in education will be taken forward'* (Headteacher on MSC). It is interesting that this particular interviewee gave such a response, as the authority of the interviewee was based on her profile as a headteacher, and she was therefore arguably not under as much pressure to be seen to be promoting Government policy as others might have been. Additionally, this particular interviewee was presenting a personal/professional viewpoint as opposed to representing the views of an organisation. In contrast to this view that CPD is a means by which national priorities can be taken forward, one of the civil servants suggested that CPD should be *'based on individual needs.'*

Another perception that was evident in a number of places in the interview data was an implicit assumption that CPD means chartered teacher. If challenged about this, interviewees might well have said that this was not their intention, but the fact that six of the interviewees made explicit statements to this effect suggests that it is certainly the first thing that many of the interviewees think about in relation to CPD, if not the only thing. A comment from one of the senior university figures illustrated this point: *'So my answer to your question about what would be the indicators – if the framework is really working, a key indicator would be more and more teachers would be capable of the professional action that we are trying to describe.'* This interviewee was a prominent member of the chartered teacher project group, so it is reasonable to assume that the 'we' in his statement refers to this group, particularly as the term 'professional action' is so clearly part of the Standard for Chartered Teacher.

Some interesting comments were made which could be grouped under the heading of 'teacher professionalism'. The vast majority of these comments implied that teachers could work towards meeting a new level of professionalism through engagement with the CPD framework. Some interviewees were more explicit in suggesting that teachers needed to be 'more professional', thereby implying that CPD was a means of meeting a perceived deficit in professionalism. Some examples were:

> *what is needed at the moment in the teaching profession is a real injection: it needs to be challenged; it needs to raise its sights, to raise its game*
> (Senior University Figure)

> *it's trying to re-engage teachers with their professionalism, it's giving them that opportunity to recognise that they've got a responsibility to think about their professionalism*
> (Civil Servant when questioned about the purpose of the CPD framework)

> *the 35 hours is also impacting on the teacher, and it has to impact even on those who are not motivated, who don't want to do it, and whether or not you can actually change their professionalism through that process....*
> (Civil Servant)

> *having an effective CPD framework to which all parties are committed: teachers, schools, the authorities, the Executive etc., the purpose of having that is to increase the professionalism of the profession* (Civil Servant)

> *if you think of the whole idea of chartered teacher, I mean that is giving people a whole new level of professionalism* (Headteacher on MSC)

Related to the deficit view, a managerial view of professionalism (Sachs, 2001) was also evident in some of the interviews, where professionalism was equated with

providing evidence of having met specified standards. While some of these points are raised in Chapter 8 in relation to individual interviewees' conceptual viewpoints, it is worth looking at a range of examples form across the interview data:

> *teachers need to think about their own professionalism and what it means to be a teacher – what the standards should do, if you like, is give them the basis...* (Civil Servant)
>
> *we are celebrating standards, measuring professionalism against the Standard for Full Registration* (Local authority director of education)

> *they have the opportunity... to stay in the classroom and hone their professionalism, moving onto a higher standard that is the Standard for Chartered Teacher* (Local authority director of education)

While notions of updating knowledge were discussed in many of the interviews as a principal reason for the development of a CPD framework, only one of the interviewees expressed this in terms of its relationship to professional status, demonstrating a traditional conception of the notion of professionalism: *'I think there's a status thing, that part of the essence of being in a profession is that there is this notion of maintenance and enhancement of knowledge and skills.'* (Senior teacher association official)

Sachs' (2001) notion of 'democratic professionalism' is implicit in a few comments, but is not articulated in any explicit manner. For example, one of the local authority directors of education equates professionalism with growing development in team working, claiming that *'we have made [great strides] in professionalism through guidance, team teaching, co-operative teaching, support for learning, behaviour support'.*

Other interviewees made positive comment about teacher professionalism, which although they did not quite fit under the headings of 'deficit' or 'managerial', were not quite at the 'democratic' end of the spectrum:

I have a clear view that if we are going to take teaching properly and professionally through into the twenty-first century, it is about restoring professional confidence (Senior university figure)

teachers are also themselves professionals... they are not just paid workers whose whole professional career should be channelled to meet the employers' needs (Senior teacher association official)

Some of the comments on professionalism indicated a perception that there existed some shared view of professionalism, thereby inferring that professionalism as a concept was not problematic or contestable. Most notably were comments from two of the civil servants:

> *so what the sub-group [looking at revised guidance on Professional Review and Development] is essentially being brought together to do, to have a look at the guidelines from 1998 and review them within the context of McCrone and the Agreement, to make sure that they reflect the new kind of professionalism – that's the main thing that has come out of McCrone.*
>
> (Civil servant)

And in response to a question about who has most to gain from the implementation of the framework, the other civil servant suggested that *'those teachers that are committed to development and professionalism will be lapping it up'*. The suggestion that teachers can be 'committed to professionalism' appears to be devoid of any conceptual understanding of what professionalism might entail.

While some of the range of concepts of professionalism discussed in Chapter 4 are evident in much of the interview data, it should be noted that the individual interviewees often made comments which reflected a range of different conceptions. This in itself indicates that professionalism can be used in a way which does not require the speaker to identify or articulate an understanding of the concept; rather it

can be used as a conduit for promoting specific political or ideological messages, whether consciously or not.

10.5 Future developments and predictions

Several comments were categorised under the headings of 'future developments' and 'predictions'. It is worth discussing these two categories together, as in many cases, what was confirmed as a future development in some interviews was the subject of prediction in others. The predictions of this group of elite figures in Scottish education carry a significance that might not otherwise be accorded to statements of prophecy, in terms of the authority of these individuals to influence and shape discourse. In this respect, such predictions or prophecies are worthy of discussion and exploration.

Many of the predictions were of a more general education-related nature than specific to CPD. For example, one of the senior university figures talked about his hope for a system where individual schools could become 'partner schools' to a university, but cautioned that *'the [local authority], the EIS, the GTC – they would all be down on us like a ton of bricks, but that is what is going to happen.'* He went on to talk of the advantages of establishing so-called 'teacher development partnerships' but expressed doubt that the local authorities would be happy to sign up to such agreements.

The other senior university figure talked about his hopes for an education 'advisory council' which would act as a forum for discussing education, but would be outwith the immediate power of the established education stakeholders. He viewed the role of such a group as providing *'dispassionate advice to the public, the profession and to the Executive'*. Later in the interview, this interviewee went on to describe this current period as significant in terms of changes to the profession, musing that within the next four years:

> *We may be into even more heavy prescription, even more uniformity, even more heavy compliance; we may on the other hand be in for a great deal of diversity, autonomy and liberation, and there's evidence at the moment of equal weight on both sides of the argument.*
>
> (Senior university figure)

In contrast to the 'blue skies' thinking of the two senior university figures, the two senior GTCS officials made predictions which were much more closely concerned with the detail of current policies and procedures. One expressed a view that current developments in CPD would eventually lead to an 'active register', whereby every teacher would be required to provide evidence of having undertaken sufficient and appropriate CPD in order to retain their registration. The other GTCS interviewee talked about developments in the chartered teacher programme, and expressed an expectation that the programmes of the future would become *'much more open and flexible'*.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given its overarching role and its time-limited remit, the future of the MSC was the subject of several comments. One of the headteachers on the MSC and one of the senior university figures argued for the establishment of a national leadership college to replace, and extend, some of the functions previously carried out by the MSC. Other interviewees, namely the other headteacher on the MSC and one of the civil servants, highlighted communication with the profession about CPD as being the most important factor in considering what might replace the MSC.

10.6 Developments since the interviews

During the analysis of the interview data in this and the preceding two chapters, it became clear that a few of the issues under discussion had developed since the date of the interview, therefore rendering the initial interview comments out-of-date, irrelevant or wrong. This is inevitable in a study such as this where the central focus – the development of CPD policy – is a dynamic and ever-changing field. In addition, the period of time between the first interview (March 2002), the last

interview (June 2003) and the submission of this thesis (February 2005) spanned over nearly three years; a significant timescale in relation to policy development.

However, it is worth noting some of the key areas where developments had taken place subsequent to interviews. The most obvious were in relation to the chartered teacher programme: issues of who pays for the programme; how local authorities will fund chartered teachers' salaries; and how the programme will be supported and monitored within local authorities. All of these issues have now developed either in such as way as to answer a question raised by one of the interviewees, or have developed in a different way from that outlined by the interviewee.

One of the other fairly significant developments since the interview is the handing over of responsibility for the development and maintenance of the National Register of CPD providers to the GTCS. At an interview in March 2002, one of the senior GTCS officials claimed that

> *the Government's preferred option at the moment is to see SUfI [Scottish University for Industry] or LearnDirect Scotland having all the information on a database about the courses available for teachers to go on-line to access these courses. But there would have to be a relationship between us and LearnDirect Scotland if we were to be the accrediting agent*
>
> (Senior GTCS official)

By the time the other senior GTCS official was interviewed in May 2003 this position had changed and the GTCS had been given responsibility for the National Register. This is significant on a number of levels: firstly, the timescale – less than a year – is quite short in relation to this kind of development; and secondly, the status of the GTCS in the eyes of SEED had changed in such as way as this was now deemed a feasible option where it had not previously been.

As discussed in Chapter 6, many of the interviewees expressed concern in granting permission for their transcripts to be used, that much of what they had said might become dated quite quickly. While acknowledging this in this thesis, it should be noted that the central focus for the study has been the processes of policy-development and the power and influence inherent in the developments.

10.7 Key issues in the thematic analysis of interview data

Given the size and complexity of the thematic discussion presented in this and the previous chapter, summarising them would be a difficult task. However, there are a number of key issues arising that are worthy of reiterating.

First, the notion of 'truth' and its relationship to 'perception' has been illustrated in a number of places. Several examples have been given where detailed analysis of parts of the interview transcripts have revealed messages that the interviewees might not be happy to endorse if given the opportunity to read the analysis in context. Nonetheless, it has been highlighted that although most individuals engaging in a professional context with the interviewees would not have cause to analyse their words to the same extent as has been done in this study, their words do carry a certain authority and gravitas which allow them greater influence on the discourse. Of particular interest in the analysis has been the complex ways in which power is exercised by individuals and by groups. One particular example of this is the increased power of the GTCS, and the range of perceptions as to whether this is due to increased legislative powers or the personal drive and ambition of individual Council officials. This exploration of the root of power provides an interesting counterpoint to the analysis of depersonalised documents in the previous chapter.

Second, while the sixteen interviewees have been termed 'elite' by virtue of their status and power in Scottish education, the interview data provide evidence that sharing an elite status does not necessarily mean that the individuals share views. The discourse which these key players arguably dominate is influenced by a wide variety of ideological positions – some of which the interviewees articulate explicitly, but some of which is evident in their 'off-the-cuff' responses to particular

questions. It is clear that the majority of interviewees are nebulous in their thinking about certain aspects of the CPD policy development. However, the analysis of individual transcripts in Chapter 8 provides a counterpoint to this and helps to make more sense of the overall conceptual positions to which the interviewees subscribe.

Finally, what is perhaps most striking is the way in which an analysis of spoken words which have been recorded in transcripts can provide a much more detailed picture than merely listening to the spoken versions in a one-off occasion. It is also acknowledged that in carrying out the process of recording and transcribing interviews, increased emphasis is placed on what is a relatively small and context-specific range of comments made by individuals. It is clear that the interviewees, while being used to contributing to the public discourse on education, are not used to seeing their spoken words translated into text. Their reactions to this are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

11 EXPLORATION OF THE INTERVIEW PROCESS

While Chapters 8, 9 and 10 focused principally on issues arising from the interviews, this chapter focuses more directly on the dynamics of the interview process. Given the importance of the interview as a communicative event, it is crucial to examine the context of such an event beyond the simplistic notion of the 'factual' data that it produces. A poststructuralist approach demands that the collaborative nature of the interview, that is the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, is seen as significant. Gubrium and Holstein (2003) talk about the 'active interview', contrasting the conventional view that 'the interview conversation is a pipeline for transmitting knowledge' (p. 68) with the more complex view that meaning is constructed through the interview process itself, and that 'this means consciously and conscientiously attending to the interview process and product in ways that are more sensitive to the social construction of knowledge' (ibid.).

Issues relating to the interview process were identified and coded during the NVivo analysis of the interview transcripts – the relevant nodes being: 'interesting choice of language'; 'interview process and methodology'; and 'interviewee stuttering or stalling'. In addition to textual comments or reactions identified in these nodes, issues which related to the overall dynamics of each individual interview were noted on a 'transcript commentary' recorded for each interviewee during the NVivo analysis. Such issues included the tone of voice used; changes in communicative style; reactions to specific questions; and the overall tone of the interview. The transcript commentaries were created through the 'memo' facility in NVivo: an extremely useful function which serves as a means of recording field notes as well as assisting in the process of theorising and building an analytical framework (Gibbs, 2002). This allowed direct links to be made between the transcript and the commentary, which could be accessed directly via hyperlinks in each document.

In addition to the interview transcripts, field notes were made after each interview, which recorded general impressions of the content as well as the dynamics of the interview. For example, the ways in which interviewees created particular

environments or projected particular impressions of themselves or their organisations, both during the actual interviews and in the welcome/farewell stages of the meeting.

This chapter is therefore based on the post-interview field notes, as well as both general and specific comments made in the transcript commentaries during the NVivo analysis. This combination of data collection acknowledges the need for different types of data which allow for a deeper understanding of the interview process – highlighting the point that choices about methods of data collection should ensure 'fitness for purpose' (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 146).

Although the interviewees in this study are all categorised as being 'elite', it would be wrong to think of them as one homogenous group. They differ in a number of ways: their official positions, i.e. as representatives or as leaders of stakeholder groups; the related capacity that they have to express personal as opposed to purely organisational viewpoints; their gender; their own syntactical use of language; and their confidence and skill in being interviewed. In addition to these variables, the relationship of the interviewees to the interviewer varied: in some cases interviewees were known in various capacities, and in others the interview was the first meeting. This must be taken into account when considering both the language used in the interviews and the extent to which strategies such as 'rocking the boat' (Duke, 2002, p. 35) or 'rule-breaking' (Gamson, 1995, p. 38) could be employed.

11.1 Post-interview observations

Immediately after each interview field notes were made about general impression of the interview. These notes covered such issues as the suitability of the location, the atmosphere created, the courtesy extended and the willingness of the interviewee to be open. While some of these observations were also clear in the interview recordings and transcripts, the notes added another dimension about the power dynamics that would not have been easily discernable from the transcripts themselves. For example, two of the interviewees in particular appeared to be carrying out a public relations exercise where they made every effort to promote, in a

positive light, what they and their particular organisations had done in the field of CPD, at the expense of a more balanced discussion. This was evident not only during the actual interviews, but also in the informal periods before and after the recorded interviews took place.

Other interviewees, most notably one of the civil servants, gave very little of themselves and made the entire process somewhat impersonal. Some of the interviewees were clearly skilled at being able to combine social pleasantries with answering the interview questions, where others were reticent or defensive throughout significant parts of the interview.

In general, the interviewees were extremely welcoming and made efforts to ensure that the interview was comfortable, for example, ensuring the interview took place in a quiet and comfortable room, providing refreshments and positioning themselves in a more equal physical position (as opposed to behind a desk, for example). However, this was not always the case, and in some cases interviewees behaved in a way that sought to mark out their higher status. For example, keeping me waiting, taking 'important' phone calls during the interview and constantly reinforcing the message that their valuable time was limited, despite having previously agreed a time scale for the meeting.

Where significant to the interview, interviewees' apparent knowledge of me and my professional background was also noted in the transcript commentaries or post-interview notes. Some of the interviewees treated me as an individual, acknowledging that I had my own particular experience, background , knowledge and interests, but others treated me as a representative of 'universities' as opposed to an individual working in a particular university, and one with experience of working in other stakeholder groups. This indicates a view on behalf of such interviewees that people can be compartmentalised and categorised according to the perceived agenda of the stakeholder group to which they belong. Most notable in this respect were one of the senior teacher association officials and one of the directors of education who peppered their interviews with negative comments about 'universities' in general.

11.2 Language

Language used by the interviewees varied from informal, expressive and judgemental, for example, *'To introduce that now would cause 'hairy commotions' all over the place'; 'it is just pathetic'; 'I mean it was just disgraceful'*; and *'it was a shoddy piece of work, unbelievably shoddy'* (Senior university figure), to official and 'neutral' language, for example: *'I can't comment on that because that is way before my time'; 'I can't comment on that, it's not in my area at all'*; and *'I represent the views of the Executive, not my personal views'* (Civil servant). The differences in style can be attributed in part to personal syntactical style, but also indicate differences in the interviewees' perceptions of their right to make public their own personal views, and potentially their confidence in what might be done with the interview data subsequently.

Also evident in a linguistic analysis of the interview data, is the skill of some of the interviewees in deflecting questions which they were not prepared for, or found to be difficult or contentious. For example, one of the civil servants dealt with this by using phrases such as *'that's an interesting point'* and *'that's a good question'*, to buy thinking time when hesitating to answer a question. One of the senior teacher association officials replied to a question with *'wow!'* - indicating that he felt comfortable about acknowledging the question as difficult or extensive. These responses mark a sharp contrast to those from the civil servant quoted in the above paragraph, where the reaction to contentious questions was to shut down the line of questioning altogether.

After each interview, the recordings were transcribed, and each of the interviewees was sent a copy of their interview transcript, asked to indicate any part of it that they would not wish to have used, and to give permission for it to be quoted, and potentially attributed, without further permission. Only two of the sixteen interviewees requested that additional permission be sought for attributed quotes. Interestingly, however, in email communications responding to this request, several of the interviewees made reference to their own use of language, making comments such as:

I am shocked at how I speak. I can only assume I use a lot of body language!!!

The transcript is fine if we forget punctuation!!

My gosh, who was this opinionated and verbose person to whom you were talking? Doesn't [s/he] know anything about sentence construction?... If you need to quote me I hope you will tidy up the appalling prose!

Goodness knows what you make of it. An embarrassing read...you know.

If you can find anything fit to use - feel free, but spare my blushes by re-crafting so that it reads something like a coherent sentence!

Feel free to attribute whatever you wish: I do not mind what people think of my views. I do however worry about what they think of my grammar.

Most of the substance of such comments related to issues of language/grammar and the potential impact on their reputation. It is interesting to note that more concerns were expressed about this than how the contents of the transcripts might impact on their reputations.

11.3 Rocking the boat, playing the game and knowing how much to know

Rocking the boat, playing the game and knowing how much to know are all tactics that the interviewer can deploy when interviewing elite figures (these are discussed in Chapter 6). They were used variously, and sporadically, in the sixteen interviews in this study. Potentially the most prominent of these techniques used in this study, and the one which varied most from interview to interview, was the issue of 'knowing how much to know' (Kogan, 1994). This involves the interviewer making conscious decisions about how they appear to the interviewee in terms of their own subject knowledge, potentially pretending to know less than they do in order to get the interviewee to articulate their own perception of events. Despite all the interviewees having been sent a brief CV detailing my employment history,

current/recent research and areas of professional interest and expertise, several spoke with an authority about events in which they had played no direct role, yet had featured on my CV as areas of central involvement or responsibility. This may indicate a perception on the behalf of the interviewee that they are in a position of authority and that their word is the 'truth', and therefore should not be questionable: there is almost an expectation that the 'truth' will not be challenged.

However, the interview is a dynamic, collaborative process, and therefore the interviewee cannot be held solely accountable for the outcome. At times in this study, the tactic of 'playing the game' was employed in order to get an interviewee to provide their perspective on a particular issue. In many cases, particularly where the interviewee was exerting their relative hierarchical power, I deferred to that power, and made explicit my respect for their 'superior' knowledge. For example, where it appeared that an interviewee did not know about me or my professional background I was able ask them things that I already knew the answer to. This led to some interesting, and apparently authoritative, descriptions of how the Standard for Full Registration was developed and how 'universities' [as one homogenous group] run their MEd programmes, that were contradictory to my lived experience of such matters.

11.4 The power of dissemination

Duke (2002) notes that the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee is not always entirely hierarchical because the interviewer retains the power to disseminate. While in this study the power to disseminate only extended to transcripts which had been approved by the interviewee, this nonetheless allows significant scope for interpretation. The interviewer can exercise power not only over what is disseminated, but how it is interpreted and subsequently presented.

As was observed in Chapter 6, of the sixteen interviewees, six approved their transcripts without requesting further amendments, and six made what might be termed minor qualifications, such as changing individual words or taking out a phrase which seemed to be too direct or critical. However, four of the interviewees

requested that significant parts of the transcript be edited or extracted, one arranging an extended telephone discussion to overtake this to his satisfaction, and another claiming that large parts of the interview would have to be deleted as they represented personal rather than organisational views. In contrast to this, one of the interviewees who approved the transcript without amendments commented: *'I congratulate you on the number of indiscretions you managed to winkle out of me.'* – clearly identifying that there were things that he might not have planned to say, but that he was content that they remain as part of the transcript. Another noted that although things had moved on since the interview, the comments he had made reflected his views at the time. This is interesting, as several of the other interviewees had expressed concern that much of the detail of what they had to say was time-limited in the sense that developments move so quickly that the position represented in the interview could very quickly become out-of-date. This view provides insight into the interviewees' perceptions of the purpose of the interviews and of the relative importance of their particular knowledge and expertise. It seems to suggest a perception that their comments reflect the 'truth' of the current situation, and that the remit of the interviewer is to find out that truth rather than to identify why that particular version of truth is being presented.

11.5 Relative equality of the interview relationship

The relative equality of the interviewee and the interviewer was considered, in terms of their respective control of the 'talk time', and the percentage of talk time attributable to both the interviewee and the interviewer was therefore analysed for each interview. The percentage of the word count of the total interview controlled by the interviewee ranged from 72% to 94%, with a mean figure of 84% (see Appendix 7).

The dynamics of the interview change quite markedly along this spectrum, from what might be termed a 'conversation' at one end to more of a 'presentation' at the other. While the raw percentage figures themselves do not provide evidence of the actual interview dynamics, they do highlight variation across the sample as a whole. This might be attributable to a range of explanations. For example, where the

interviewee controls the majority of talk time this could be interpreted as the interviewee holding a high opinion of their own knowledge and experience in the area. Equally, it might be indicative of someone with a real passion for the subject and a desire to articulate and share their thoughts. At the other end of the spectrum, where interviewee and interviewer talk times are more equitable, this might be symptomatic of the interviewees' lack of knowledge or reticence to share knowledge, or might be indicative of a more equal personal relationship between the two parties, where the interview is conceived of as a conversation, or sharing of views.

While this evidence might not in itself be a definitive indicator of the dynamics of an interview, it does provide some additional data which can be interpreted alongside other sources of data, such as that presented earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 8.

11.6 Summary

This chapter has focused on the interview as a site of knowledge construction, and as such acknowledges it as a dynamic and collaborative process, as opposed to a scientific instrument designed to 'extract' knowledge from the interviewee. In exploring the dynamics of the interview, three principal sources of data were used: excerpts of text coded in specific NVivo nodes; transcript commentaries which reflected observations apparent through reading/listening to the interview transcripts; and the post-interview notes. These data allowed observations to be made about ways in which interviewees reflected their perceptions of their status, and my status relative to them.

Analysis of language used also provided interesting observations about the extent to which interviewees seemed comfortable in the interview situation, and the extent to which they were able to use specific linguistic techniques to control the interview. However, given the collaborative nature of the interview situation, the role of the interviewer cannot be ignored, and the way in which I had to 'play the game' in order to access certain responses is also significant.

There appeared to be varying degrees to which the interviewees were concerned about the dissemination of the interview data. This was evident through their responses to requests to approve the transcript and to give permission to attribute quotations. In Chapter 6, McPherson and Raab's (1986) contention that those interviewees who requested least editing of transcripts were most likely to have made the measured responses in the first place was discussed. However, while not dismissing the fact that this might be the case for some interviewees, the data in this study do not appear to support this contention fully: the interviewees who gave blanket permission to use their transcript with little or no amendments were not the ones who had made the more cautious responses.

In addition to the three data sources highlighted above, figures on the percentage of the total word count attributable to both interviewee and interviewer were also examined. While acknowledging that these data are not in themselves unequivocal proof of interview dynamics, they provide an additional useful insight when considered in conjunction with the other sources of data.

The issues raised in this chapter will be drawn on in the general discussion chapter (Chapter 12), which addresses issues raised across the discussions in Chapters 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11.

12 GENERAL DISCUSSION

Many of the issues arising from the data are discussed in the relevant chapters themselves (7, 8, 9, 10 and 11). This chapter considers the main themes raised across these five chapters, highlighting both common and divergent issues. The discussion centres on four broad themes emerging from the data, namely:

- the discourse of professionalism;
- CPD as a means of transmission or transformation;
- the policy process: people and power; and
- rhetoric, reality and the power of language.

Implications from this discussion are then considered in Chapter 12.

12.1 The discourse of professionalism

Contemporary CPD policy in Scotland adopts a standards-based approach, where the dominant notion of professionalism relates to individual teachers meeting and maintaining prescribed standards. The emphasis on individual accountability evidenced through this approach militates against a conception of democratic professionalism, which has at its core the notion of collaborative action. The current focus quite clearly supports, in both ideological and structural terms, a managerial conception of professionalism. This is illustrated in Chapter 8 where interviewees tended to suggest indicators of successful implementation of the CPD framework in technical-rationalist terms, despite expressing aspirations for the framework which were more social democratic in nature. In order to shift to a more democratic conception of professionalism, then perhaps greater heed needs to be taken of Eraut's (2000) suggestion, discussed in Chapter 4, that accountability needs to have a tighter focus on professional accountability as opposed to relying principally on central prescription. The section in Chapter 4 on 'alternatives to standards-based approaches', raises some possibilities for how this might be done, including adopting a wider range of types of evidence of quality.

The demystification of professional work, argued by Sachs (2001) as a key component of democratic professionalism, involves collaboration not only with other teachers, but also with other professionals as well as with students and their communities. It involves understanding 'the nature and limitations of each other's work and perspectives' (Sachs, 2001, p. 153). However, when teachers are encouraged to view professionalism in individual terms, resulting in individual as opposed to collective accountability, the opportunities for, and desirability of, a collaborative concept of professionalism become limited. This is despite the fact that some of the rhetoric, and arguably some of the intentions outlined in, for example, the SCT call for collaborative action and a 'shared collegial undertaking' (SEED, 2002d, p. 3). Nonetheless, both culture and structure must support this ideal.

Although it is argued in Chapter 4 that the debate on professionalism has developed in recent times from a traditional means of sociological classification to a more politically driven perspective, the influence of traditional notions of status and reward are still apparent. This is evident in the focus on teachers' pay and conditions, and the way in which matters relating to CPD in the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001) were addressed under headings of pay, conditions and career structure. Nonetheless, while this focus might have its roots in the traditional views of professionalism, the way in which issues of pay and conditions were used as motivating factors to introduce reform in teachers' work highlights the way in which notions of professionalism have been used as a means of exerting political control.

This is also evident in the so-called 'academic/professional' debate over chartered teacher, where unarticulated assumptions about what constitutes professionalism form the basis of the debate, and were used in an attempt to lobby teachers and other stakeholders to side with one particular camp.

Essentially, the data presented in this study indicate that the discourse of professionalism is not neutral: in contemporary Scottish CPD policy it supports a managerial conception, at the expense of a more democratic perspective. Indeed, there is some evidence to back up Hargreaves and Goodson's (1996) view that

professionalism is a 'rhetorical ruse' which is used to 'get teachers to misrecognize their own exploitation' (p. 20). One clear example of this was the public relations exercise surrounding consultation on the Standard for Chartered Teacher, which emphasised the impact of teachers' views and downplayed the influence of other stakeholders such as Government and academics, meanwhile diverting attention from potential debate on more fundamental issues of purpose.

In terms of the way in which this dominant discourse of managerial professionalism came about, tracking back through publicly available documentation, it is clear from the outset that the standards-based agenda has been promoted by Government at the expense of alternative conceptions. The term 'professionalism' has been used frequently in an attempt to appeal to teachers' desire to be accorded professional status, but the underlying meaning of professionalism has not been articulated explicitly, thus allowing readers to make their own sense of what it might mean within the context. Indeed, the word 'professional' appears in numerous policy documents in a purely semantic way, that is, that its inclusion makes no substantive difference to the meaning of the text, yet its inclusion is nonetheless deemed important. This is arguably a subtle form of control, where teachers are reminded of their responsibilities if they are to be accorded professional status, and its related rewards.

Given the contention stated in Chapter 4 that a CPD framework is a powerful means of influencing professionalisation at both individual and profession-wide levels, then the ideological focus of the developing CPD framework in Scotland takes on even more significance. In many of the examples discussed in this study, notions of professionalism are used to encourage conformity: conformity of individual teachers to prescribed standards within the CPD framework; and conformity of the CPD framework as a whole to a standards-based approach. This is apparent in both documentary evidence and in the interview data. The absence of alternative conceptions of professionalism, and indeed of teaching, limits the need for teachers, or other stakeholders, to develop or articulate their own views, and increases the potential for the Government to exercise ideological control. This goes some way

towards explaining why the outcome in terms of implementation and evaluation of the CPD framework undoubtedly tends towards a technical-rationalist approach, while many of those who are involved in supporting this in structural terms, express aspirations of a more social democratic nature.

The way in which elite figures in Scottish education use the term professionalism, indicates that they too have no clearly articulated view of what it means. This is apparent in many of the interview transcripts where different, and sometimes competing, conceptions of professionalism are presented by the same interviewee. However, while conscious of this or not, the interviewees are clearly using the concept of professionalism to convey ideological positions, thereby supporting the view that the concept can be used to empower teachers, or perhaps more commonly, to control them. This is yet another example which supports the view that the discourse of professionalism in not neutral; rather, in the case of the CPD framework, and whether consciously or not, it supports a managerial conception at the expense of alternatives.

12.2 Transmission or transformation: the possibilities and limitations of CPD

The analysis of CPD models presented in Chapter 5 suggested that while a standards-based approach could be seen as a means of scaffolding professional development and of providing a common language to encourage dialogue, it also has the capacity to promote a particular conception of teaching at the expense of the consideration of alternatives. However, the documentary evidence analysed in Chapter 7 provided examples of the ways in which individual standards, and the standards-based framework as a whole, could be packaged as an attractive option to the profession, with notions of coherence and consistency featuring highly in the rationales. The support for a standards-based model was also expressed explicitly in several of the interviews, most notably in relation to the Standard for Chartered Teacher. However, while there is arguably some attention given in the text of the SCT, and in other standards, to issues other than purely skills-based performance ones, it is important to consider the definition of policy presented in Chapter 3. In this respect it is worth reiterating Ball's (1994) assertion that 'policy is both text and action, words and

deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended' (p. 10). So, clearly the argument promoted by supporters of the standards-based approach, while convincing in one respect, does not reflect the whole picture of policy as a process as well as a product, or a document. However, this is more than merely a limited understanding of the notion of policy: the persuasive defence put forward by people who are fairly powerful players in the education community serves to influence popular discourse. It can therefore be used as a subtle means of deflecting criticism of more fundamental issues of purpose and impact, supporting Cookson's (1994) suggestion that the 'ideological field' is an important element through which power is exercised in discourse. In the interview data in particular there was clear support for the notion of standards as a means of accountability being a primary factor in the development of the CPD framework. This was apparent through tacit approval rather than any explicit expression of support, thus demonstrating the power of the 'assumptive world' (Young & Mills, 1978) within which the educational elite operate.

The above discussion illustrates the contention put forward in Chapter 5 that a standards-based model of CPD can serve either to support teachers in contributing to and shaping educational policy and practice or to train teachers to implement pre-determined policy. In this sense the model has been categorised as transitional, as it has, theoretically, the capacity to promote either trajectory. However, the data discussed in this study seems to indicate that while some of the written policy documentation could arguably be seen to promote a transformative agenda, and some of the interviewees expressed aspirations for a more transformative framework, the context within which it is implemented, where the dominant discourse promotes a managerial view of teacher professionalism, means that the standards-based approach is much more likely to support a transmission view. Indeed, the argument put forward that a coherent framework of standards will help to provide a common language through which teachers can engage in dialogue about their teaching, illustrates perfectly how CPD can be used to transmit and maintain traditional notions of teaching. In using the language of the standards, which in practice focus on practical and demonstrable skills of teaching, teachers are limiting their discourse

at the expense of more fundamental, but abstract, issues of beliefs, values and morals.

The various models of CPD discussed in Chapter 5 are categorised along a spectrum which ranges from CPD which supports a transmission view to that which supports a transformative view, arguing that those models at the 'transformative' end of the spectrum provide greater capacity for professional autonomy than those at the transmission end. Using this model to analyse contemporary CPD policy in Scotland it would appear that there is a dominance of those types of CPD which support transmission. For example, the award-bearing model in particular is seen through both the interview and documentary data to be accorded increasing importance, particularly now that teachers have to account for an additional 35 hours of CPD per annum under the McCrone Agreement. In addition, the use of the SFR as the benchmark standard for competence throughout a teacher's career allows it to be used to identify CPD which would be classed under the 'deficit model'. Crucially, it is argued that the data portray a very individualised approach to CPD where accountability is demanded at the level of individual teachers. This militates against forms of collaborative action which are at the heart of the models of CPD deemed to be supportive of a transformative agenda, meaning that regardless of the personal aspirations expressed by interviewees, where the structure emphasises individual teachers, genuine collaboration or transformative CPD is unlikely to occur.

The analysis in Chapter 5 suggested that standards-based models, coaching/mentoring models and the community of practice models of CPD could be categorised as 'transitional' in that they can demonstrate characteristics belonging to either transmission or transformative approaches, depending on their implementation. However, it is contended earlier in this section that the way in which the standards-based model is being conceived of and implemented in Scotland aligns it much more readily with a transmission view of CPD. While current developments do not include the community of practice model to any great degree, there is some evidence of the coaching/mentoring model, most notably in the new induction scheme which came into place in August 2002. Analysing this scheme against the

framework outlined in Chapter 5 reveals that the implementation of the mentoring aspect of the scheme relies heavily on a hierarchical novice/experienced practitioner relationship where the balance of power lies clearly with the experienced practitioner, or mentor. This is supported, in particular, by the documentary analysis in Chapter 7 which highlights that the SFR is principally a means of ensuring that 'reliable and consistent judgements can be made on the fitness of new teachers for full registration...' (GTCS, 2002a). This, together with the amount of paperwork that the mentor and probationer are required to complete would tend to suggest that the mentoring relationship is perhaps more closely aligned with assessment and accountability than it is with collegiate development - a point also illustrated by the general support of interviewees (Chapter 8) for more technical-rationalist indicators of successful implementation of the framework. This therefore indicates a transmission interpretation of this particular mentoring model, and while theoretically the mentoring relationship can be conducive to transformative practice, the requirements of the Scottish induction scheme do not support such a perspective.

The dominance of transmission-type models of CPD is consistent with the earlier discussion of the discourse of professionalism which is dominated by a managerial conception rather than a democratic one.

12.3 The policy process, people and power

The emerging national CPD framework for teachers in Scotland is increasingly showing signs of continuity in its component parts; standards have been written in similar styles using clearly identifiable and consistent language, thereby encouraging continuity of interpretation. However, fitting component parts designed for different purposes into one framework is not the result of strategic planning, a fact acknowledged by a member of the Chartered Teacher Project team interviewed in this study, who was unequivocal that '*The Standard [SCT] is not the outcome of any process of systematic national planning*'.

Nonetheless, the Government is keen for teachers' CPD to be seen in the context of a planned, coherent and responsive framework. If teachers are to sign up to it then they

need to be seen to have a voice in its development – hence the numerous consultation exercises. However, quantity of consultation does not necessarily result in quality consultation, and there is a need to ask questions about the extent to which teachers' contributions are taken on board. First, if teachers have not had the opportunity to familiarise themselves with the debate surrounding a particular consultation then it is unlikely that they will be able to participate in a meaningful way (Purdon, 2001). And second, without a clear commitment to value teachers' responses and to develop policies accordingly, then consultation is arguably little more than public validation of pre-determined policy. Compounding this is the indication gleaned from the data discussed in Chapter 8 that while elite figures might express particular hopes and aspirations for education privately – their actions in terms of contributing to the development of CPD structures tend to comply with the general ideological principles advocated by Government.

Despite recognition of both shared and divergent themes in the consultation procedures used for the SFR and the SCT, it seems evident that the CPD agenda is ultimately controlled by SEED, aided and abetted perhaps by a general acceptance of the inevitability of political control in education. This inevitability seems to urge pragmatic acceptance of the situation, as expressed by one of the senior GTCS officials: '*there is an argument of course that if we're too democratic we will get nothing done, and that if you have the political will, the political will will win the argument*'. This helps, in part, to explain the way in which particular ideologies, for example the social democratic conception of teaching, can be found in what Ball (1994) would categorise as 'words', or what is intended in policy formulation, yet fail to make significant impact on what he refers to as 'action', 'deeds', or what is enacted in policy.

However, in failing properly to address issues of purpose and values in terms of CPD policy, the current consensus may well prove to be unsustainable. Raffe et al. (2002) illustrate this in their analysis of policy leading to the Higher Still exams debacle, where the revised Scottish secondary school examination system all but broke down, suggesting that 'postponing fundamental debates about values' (p. 183) ultimately

made the policy impossible to manage. Perhaps this warning should be heeded in relation to the development of CPD policy where there has clearly been a lack of debate about its fundamental purpose, and where there are also clearly a range of ideological beliefs being subscribed to. It is also worth reiterating that while both documentary and interview data indicate general consensus on the need for a CPD framework, the detailed reasons for this support are wide-ranging and not entirely consensual.

There is an inherent danger in accepting the inevitability of SEED control. After all, if teachers and other stakeholders do not take the lead in shaping the professional agenda, then the education community in Scotland runs the risk of becoming blind to alternative options. This is particularly the case in the development of CPD policy where already a standards-based conception of teaching appears to be seen as the norm, and where real debate on alternatives has been notable by its absence. Delandshere and Arens (2001) warn of the dangers in accepting standards-based models which do not require those involved to consider or articulate their own conception(s) of teaching, resulting in a situation where eventually 'it becomes impossible... to entertain alternative perspectives on teaching and education outside of the framework provided... by the standards' (p. 547).

The extent to which teachers really have a voice in education policy development is an area of significant contention. Should one believe the elite figures interviewed in this study, one could be forgiven for being convinced of the argument that teachers in Scotland have the opportunity to be involved in policy development if they so wish: '*they [teachers] already have the opportunity for a direct role... and there is a consultative process with virtually every policy development, and they can contribute to that as well*' (senior HMIE figure). This statement seems to imply that those who do not become involved in policy development have consciously made the decision not to do so. In reality, however, it seems that Humes' (1986) concept of 'patronage' is alive and well in terms of teachers' opportunities to contribute to national developments. And while it cannot be disputed that most new education policies do involve an element of consultation with the profession, responding to consultation

does not necessarily mean that respondents' views will be valued or taken on board. Indeed, what might be perceived of as apathy on the part of teachers in terms of contributions to consultation exercises is possibly a response to the feeling that there is little point in contributing if the consultation exercise is principally about demonstrating democracy in the process, and in reality has little effect on a pre-determined outcome. There is also a danger in believing that the educational elite assume control of policy. What this study seems to suggest is that they have power in relation to the development of organisational structures, but that in terms of fundamental underpinning ideological concerns, they too are bound up in the 'assumptive world' of policy-makers which currently supports an agenda where externally-verified accountability is perceived to assume primacy over more democratic approaches. In this sense, we have perhaps not progressed as far as we might have expected from Humes' (1986) notion of the 'leadership class' in which he argued that the educational elite assume control through 'certain forms of bureaucratic and professional socialisation, backed by a misleading and self-serving ideology' (p. 203).

The unit of influence on CPD policy development, in terms of individuals or groups, is also of importance here. It is interesting to note that in all of the major pieces of development on the framework, working parties have consisted of representatives of what are deemed to be key stakeholder groups, therefore in principle ensuring a balanced range of interests. However, in reality the individual unit of influence is perhaps of more significance. This is evident in the civil servant's comments about the way in which members of the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD were chosen – principally by recommendation of HMIE, indicating that membership was not just about belonging to a particular constituency, but about individuals being approved by HMIE. It is also relevant in relation to the growing influence of the GTCS. While arguably the GTCS has more power anyway under the terms of the Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act (2000), the influence of one particular senior official was noted by several of the interviewees. There is, therefore, a potential masking of power where individuals who establish themselves as powerful and influential players through their own personalities, knowledge, or whatever, are

able to disguise, or downplay, the extent of *this influence through their identity as a* 'representative' of a stakeholder group. This can be seen in both the documentary evidence and in the interview data: many of the published documents refer to the balanced representation on development groups or lists of invited consultees, and several of the interviewees talked about groups such as the Ministerial Strategy Committee on CPD having representation from a wide range of stakeholders. However, in some of the interviews in particular it became clear that the unit of influence was much more likely to be attributable to the individual than it was to the stakeholder group.

12.4 Rhetoric, reality and the power of language

In Chapter 7 a series of SEED news releases were analysed, in which successive Ministers for Education made statements about the CPD framework, indicating either explicitly or implicitly, its perceived purpose. These were found to promote a broad range of reasons, including: recruitment, retention and promoting 'greater professionalism' (Sam Galbraith, Minister for Children and Education, 1999); using CPD as a means of meeting the expectations of teachers, pupils and parents (Peter Peacock, Deputy Minister for Education and Young People, 2000); and preparing teachers to adapt to an ever-changing world (Jack McConnell, Minister for Education, Europe and External Affairs, 2001). This range of reasons and lack of a clearly articulated purpose was mirrored in the interview data, where not only did different interviewees express different perceived purposes, but some individual interviewees suggested several different reasons.

So, it can be deduced from the data presented in this study that there is no clearly articulated or agreed view on the purpose of the emerging CPD framework. However, given the influential status of the data sources – official public policy documents and statements from educational elites – their stated purposes do acquire a sense of gravitas, and are therefore potentially quite powerful in shaping the dominant themes of the discourse. However, it must also be acknowledged that these data sources do not all carry equal status, and that the sense of audience is important – helping to explain why some of the interview data appears to portray slightly

different ideological leanings than the structural implementation of the CPD framework would imply.

An example of this comes from the discussion in Chapter 7 on the respective consultation processes leading to the development of the SFR and the SCT, where the evidence indicates that the consultation on the development of the SCT had been much more open and participative than that of the SFR. Indeed, the rhetoric in documents published by the Chartered Teacher Project team, and that used by interviewees to describe the process, creates a picture of bottom-up policy development, where those directly impacted (teachers) have a powerful voice. Yet it seems that despite the project team's seeming commitment to this approach, SEED had decided that it wanted the end product to be adapted to align more closely with the SFR, presumably citing the 'coherence' argument again. The extent to which the development of the SCT has been truly open is therefore debatable yet the perception that it was, remains; evidence that the careful construction of rhetoric can be a very powerful tool in the policy development process (Edwards and Nicoll, 2001).

In terms of consultation approaches, Chapter 7 highlighted both similarities and differences in the SFR and the SCT. However, perhaps the most significant difference is that whereas consultation on the SFR initially appears to have been less democratic, and therefore easier to be critical of, it actually could be said to have been more honest, making few overt claims to having been wide-ranging and democratic. Consultation on the development of the SCT, on the other hand, was characterised by a very slick public relations spin arguably designed to give the impression of participation, yet resulting in SEED, through the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD, having ultimate control. However, as the evaluation of the actual implementation of the Chartered Teacher Programme emerges, reality will begin to become more evident, and will inevitably be contrasted with the rhetoric. Views of the programme are beginning to be shaped by experience and not purely by official discourse (for example, O'Neil, 2004). Whether or not teachers support the SCT and its associated programme in the longer term may well depend on the extent to which the rhetoric and reality match. Edwards and Nicoll (2001), however, argue

that the crucial thing is not whether they match, but rather 'which discussion is more persuasive and why' (p. 104).

There is evidence of individuals and stakeholder groups using the 'right' rhetoric to appeal to particular audiences. This is illustrated by comparing some of the documentary analysis with some of the interview data. In the documentary analysis presented in Chapter 7, the introduction of the CPD framework is given a positive spin, appealing to teachers' notions of 'professional' status and to ideals of improving learning for pupils. Challenges to this discourse are few, and are to be found principally in the non-education specific media and by opposition politicians. It is interesting, then, that while the majority of the interviewees will have taken part in consultation exercises leading to the publication of the above-mentioned official policy documents, their interview transcripts reveal much more willingness to discuss CPD as a means of control and accountability. For example, one of the senior teacher association officials claimed that the CPD framework is principally a means of measuring the value for money that the Government has gained in return for pay increases, while a senior university figure suggested that it is '*a means of culling the profession from time to time*'. Were these kinds of statements to be used openly in public documentation, the reaction from teachers might well have been fairly negative. This is yet another illustration of Edwards and Nicolls's (2001) argument that what really matters is the persuasiveness involved in any discourse, not whether it is based on so-called rhetoric or reality.

Some of the interview data reported in Chapters 8, 9 and 10 indicate that several of the interviewees expressed contrasting or contradictory views. While arguably elite figures are experienced, to greater or lesser extents, in controlling the flow of information and tailoring it to the particular audience, the semi-structured nature of the interview did not allow them the opportunity to prepare fully beforehand. Therefore, examples of individual interviewees presenting contradictory views within one interview transcript might indicate that they are used to providing different rhetoric for different occasions. However, it might also be an indication of the complexities of the ideological influences which inform their views, and these

apparent contradictions may reflect authentically a degree of ambivalence on the part of several of the elite interviewees.

12.5 Overarching issues emanating from the study

While this chapter has been presented under four main themes, there are some overarching issues arising across both this discussion and the specific discussions in Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10. Principally, what has emerged from the study has been an exposure of the way in which the policy process, in relation to this particular policy area, has served to promote the dominance of a particular ideology in terms of the structural implementation of the CPD framework. That is not to say that it is the only ideology evident, but that it has served to underpin the overall policy direction. This particular ideology promotes a managerial perspective on teaching and learning; an ideological influence which is equated elsewhere (Apple, 2001; Hartley 2002) with the influence of globalisation in terms of the pressure on Government to compete on a global stage. This inevitably means a disproportionate balance of attention being devoted to issues of international competitiveness in academic attainment, resulting in the need for children to be educated in a particular way. This is reflected in a CPD framework which promotes individual accountability against pre-determined standards, with a focus on effectiveness and compliance. The result is that such things as creativity, diversity, and moral and ethical imperatives may assume lesser importance.

The dominance of this agenda and the persuasive, if subtle, argument in its favour has served to allow the omission of alternative ideologies to go relatively unchallenged. However, it is not suggested here that this is necessarily a result of conscious, planned intervention by the educational elite; rather it is the education community's response to a much bigger national and international political agenda. Nonetheless, for real challenges to the dominance of this particular ideology to be mounted, participants in the policy process must be better informed about the roles they play; this includes tacit approval of particular ideological agendas as well as positive promotion of support.

13 IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Some key implications arising from the study are highlighted in the following section. In addition, a number of issues are suggested as warranting further investigation. Following this, statements are made about the extent to which the stated research questions have been met. The key contributions of this study to the field are then outlined, before finishing with some concluding remarks about the study as a whole.

13.1 Key implications arising from the study

Through the analysis of contemporary discourse on CPD, this study would support the view that the discourse of professionalism is not neutral; rather it is a powerful political tool through which ideological notions of society and education can serve to influence practice. There is, therefore, a need to interrogate conceptions of professionalism inherent in CPD policy much more rigorously, as they have the power to influence discourse and in turn to shape practice. Perhaps more dangerously, the acquiescent acceptance of the dominance of particular themes within the discourse on professionalism serves to limit alternative conceptions of what might be possible.

The various policy development processes adopted served to limit debate on fundamental issues of purpose of CPD, and therefore of education. However, it is not necessarily suggested that these were conscious attempts at limiting debate; rather that the process itself was limiting. The focus of much of the consultation was on procedural as opposed to philosophical aspects, resulting in a more limited scope for debate. This echoes Bottery and Wright's (2000a) assessment of the English context, where they argue that a 'combination of directive government policy and acquiescent professional culture has enhanced a monolithic approach to education, has helped silence alternative voices, and may be contributing to a much more corporatist and reduced form of democracy' (p. 476). It is therefore suggested that all stakeholders, including teachers and the educational elite, need to find means to develop their awareness of the ways in which this happens. Linked to this is the need for greater

awareness of wider political ideologies – for example, the impact of globalisation – that influence policy discourse and policy-making in specific areas such as education.

Consultation processes are highlighted in the study as one particular way in which dominant discourse is perpetuated and challenges to it are limited. The current emphasis on partnership and consensus serves to support such action. While recognising that this might well be partly a cultural issue, consensus is always gained at the expense of something: there is therefore a need to examine what is being ignored or marginalised in the pursuit of consensus, particularly when we see (Chapter 10) that those directly involved in the policy-making process are not always able to influence developments in accordance with their ideological beliefs.

The debate about rhetoric and reality was raised in the study, drawing on Edwards and Nicolls' (2001) assertion that what really matters is whether it is the rhetoric or the reality which is more persuasive rather than which is more 'real'. The illustration in this study of the way in which the CPD framework has been shaped and promoted at the expense of alternative conceptions indicates a need for teachers and other stakeholders to become much more adept at interrogating the discourse. It is therefore suggested that this skill should be overtly taught and practised in both ITE and CPD, and should be acknowledged as an essential skill for teachers.

Despite conflicting views from some of the interviewees, there was widespread evidence of support for the development of a CPD framework, yet interestingly, no agreement as to the purpose of the framework. Furthermore, there appears to be no consideration of this lack of agreement as a potential difficulty in the future. However, it is suggested in this study that the differences of view among elite education figures as to the purpose of the CPD framework could well lead to dispute further down the line if it becomes evident that not all agendas can be met.

This lack of a clearly articulated purpose for the framework, and the diverse range of views about its possible purpose, could potentially allow Government to exert greater

control. While it is not suggested that this is a conscious action on behalf of the Government, the default position might well act in its favour. Indeed, control of the CPD framework, by design or default, would serve as a very effective means of ensuring that Government priorities could be met, while at the same time appearing to be giving the profession something to which it feels it is entitled. Such political priorities will derive from Government policy across the board, and may not therefore be influenced primarily by educational ideologies.

One of the key purposes for the CPD framework, cited in both interview and documentary data, was that such a framework would enhance accountability. However, it has been noted that accountability is itself a contentious concept. Chapter 4 outlined some of the debate over centrally prescribed accountability versus accountability emanating from within the profession, and Chapter 10 analysed interviewees' views on what might constitute appropriate indicators of successful implementation of the CPD framework. It is therefore concluded that the current apparent emphasis on managerialism, and its inherent requirement for centrally imposed accountability, needs to be countered by a greater acceptance of the need for the profession itself to develop ways of ensuring and providing evidence of quality practices. Tied closely to this is the need to develop more genuinely collaborative practices, where accountability features as a part of the natural sharing of practice. Instead of relying exclusively on standards which measure individual competence, genuinely collaborative practice and development might be better achieved through greater acknowledgement of collegiate achievement. This suggestion reflects some of the more social democratic statements made by the interviewees in relation to their aspirations for the CPD framework.

What is clear from the interview data, and from the documentary analysis to a lesser extent, is that there appears to be a dominant view of CPD as something that is provider-led, or at least provided for teachers. This supports the assertion made in Chapter 4 that the dominant model of initial teacher education in Scotland, which aligns with both the 'academic' and the 'social efficiency' traditions outlined by Zeichner (1993), has influenced the way in which the CPD framework has

developed. The prevailing view expressed in the interviews was one of employer/provider-led CPD, which would facilitate externally imposed accountability, thereby supporting a social efficiency view of teaching. However, the rhetoric surrounding the development of the CPD framework espouses enhanced status for teachers, professional entitlement and a growing culture of professional trust. There is perhaps a contradiction here worthy of further exploration – that the attempt to open up teacher professionalism is being entrusted to organisations which themselves are constrained for a variety of cultural and legislative reasons, and are, therefore, less likely to be able to promote a wider, reconstructionist or transformative conception of teacher education. This brings us back, again, to Ball's (1994) understanding of the contrast between the 'words' and the 'deeds' or 'actions' of policy.

Indeed, the evidence presented and discussed in this study suggests that the current CPD framework tends towards the 'transmission' end of the CPD spectrum presented in Chapter 5. This appears to have happened without any conscious or explicit debate about whether or not this would be the most appropriate model. If it is to be argued that such a model is the most appropriate, then this should have been as a result of informed consideration of possible alternatives. In terms of future policy developments, it is therefore contended that there is a need for greater consideration of underpinning ideological rationales, and that where a particular model or line of development is selected, this should be because others have been considered and rejected in an informed way. In other words, there needs to be debate and discussion on the 'what' and the 'why' aspects of policy – not just on the 'how'. This would require teachers to be actively engaged in contributing to the development of CPD policy and processes, and not merely limiting their role to participation in CPD activities. It would also require policy-makers – the educational elite – to expose their own roles and actions to greater interrogation in terms of identifying underpinning ideological concerns as opposed to focusing primarily on organisational or structural concerns.

This study takes a poststructuralist approach, claiming that such an approach is necessary in order to look beyond the restrictions placed on policy analysis by traditional structuralist views. One particular example is the power of individual players in the policy development process. There is clearly a much greater need to interrogate not only stakeholder positions, but the views and influence of individual players in policy development and implementation.

In justifying the methodological approach of this study it was noted that social science in general, and critical discourse analysis in particular, is often criticised for its lack of rigour. This thesis has therefore sought to meet that challenge head-on by articulating clearly the chosen approaches and using rigorous and replicable frameworks for analysis. It is therefore hoped that the model used in this study will be of use in other policy analyses in the social science domain.

From the implications of the study discussed in this section, emerge a number of suggestions for both the profession and for policy development. It should be noted, however, that there is some overlap in these two categories as it is assumed that implications for policy development will also have a bearing on teachers who should be engaged in the policy process along with other stakeholders.

Implications for the profession include:

- Interrogation of policy discourse is a necessary requirement for active involvement in policy development. It is therefore suggested that teachers need to acknowledge the importance of, and develop skills in, such interrogation at initial and post-qualification stages;
- Policy development is not a neutral or objective procedure; rather it is inherently political. Teachers and other stakeholders must accept that in contributing to policy development, either through active engagement or through tacit acceptance by failing to participate, they are adopting a political position which will ultimately impact on the pupils that they teach;
- Accountability is seen as a key reason for the development of the CPD framework and is also a fundamental aspect of professionalism, however,

there needs to be a greater balance of externally imposed and internally driven accountability. Teachers will need to develop a wider range of means of ensuring and promoting accountability through their engagement with CPD.

Implications for policy development:

- Conceptions of professionalism inherent in CPD (and other) policy need to be explicitly articulated and interrogated;
- Policy development should involve seeking to identify and take into account the ideological influences, both political and educational, which underpin it;
- In pursuing consensus in policy development, there should be recognition of what is being omitted, ignored or marginalised;
- Relying principally on one particular approach, i.e. the standards-based approach to CPD, serves to limit debate on alternative conceptions. A more eclectic approach where different ideological and philosophical positions co-exist would result in the consideration of a much wider range of possibilities;
- Recognition of the range of CPD models and their capacity to support or limit transformative practice (see Chapter 5) could be used to analyse current policy and practice in CPD at both local and national levels;
- Adopting a range of different means of policy evaluation would allow different aspects to be investigated. For example, the poststructuralist approach adopted in this study might usefully be implemented in a smaller scale analysis of local CPD policy.

13.2 Aspects worthy of further investigation

It has been noted in several places in this thesis that while certain uses of language or other means of shaping discourse have been evident, they may or may not be conscious on the part of the writer/speaker. One way of exploring the extent to which the individuals and stakeholder groups consciously shape the discourse would be to share the contents of this thesis with them, and to seek their views on the interpretation presented here.

Another area meriting investigation is teachers' perception in relation to the issues discussed in this study. This would include not only teachers' views of the development of the CPD framework, but also their views of the policy process and the power relationships which influence it. However, any such investigation would have to take into account the assertions made in this thesis that stakeholders, including teachers, are limited by the dominant discourse in that they will possibly not have considered alternative views to any great extent, and that perceptions set out will be expressed within the domain of their current knowledge construction. However, presenting a direct challenge to the authority of this, and seeking reactions to this challenge, could potentially be very revealing.

Finally, taking a comparative view of the analysis in this study would be extremely interesting. This might be done through replicating the analytical frameworks used here within the context of another country. This would serve two main purposes: first, it would allow the integrity of the methodological approach to be tested, and second, it might well provide very different results which could serve to inform and open up the debate in Scotland.

13.3 The research questions

The central aim of this study was to explore the development of CPD policy for teachers in Scotland, taking a poststructuralist approach. In adopting such an approach the intention was to take an overtly political stance in interrogating not only what was said and written, but also what was omitted from the debate.

Chapter 6 outlined four specific questions through which it was hoped this overall aim would be met, namely:

1. What ideological stances underpin current CPD policy for Scottish teachers?
2. To what extent are ideological stances identified and articulated by stakeholders themselves?
3. Where do the views presented in the data converge and diverge?
4. What are the implications arising from this analysis of CPD policy for the teaching profession and for society in general?

It is contended that each of these has been addressed in this thesis, although inevitably the extent to which each has been addressed has depended to an extent on what has emerged from the data.

The first question was concerned with identifying the ideological stances underpinning CPD policy. This question has formed much of the discussion in each of the data chapters, in particular Chapter 8, where responses to two particular interview questions were analysed in relation to contrasting ideological conceptions of teaching and professionalism. It is also addressed specifically in the general discussion in Chapter 12.

Identifying clear responses to question 2 has been more complex. However, piecing together evidence such as the variety of different, and sometimes contradictory, responses in individual interviews, would tend to suggest that the elite figures interviewed in this study are not explicitly aware of the particular ideological stances to which they are subscribing. However, it must also be acknowledged that interviewees were not asked directly what their ideological stance might be.

Question 3 sought to identify where views presented in the data converge and diverge. As with the first question, this issue is addressed through each of the data chapters, and again is illustrated explicitly in Chapter 8. It is also specifically addressed in Chapter 12, where it was noted that although the elite figures interviewed will all have contributed to official policy documents which do not promote explicitly CPD as a form of control or externally imposed accountability, such a view was expressed by several of the elite figures in interview.

Finally, implications arising from the study (question 4) were discussed earlier in this chapter.

13.4 The contribution of this study to current understanding

This study contributes to theoretical understanding in two main areas: CPD policy for teachers in Scotland; and the development of a poststructural methodology for analysing social policy. In particular, it:

- Provides an overview of developments in CPD policy for teachers in Scotland from 1997 to 2004;
- Uncovers and analyses the processes through which CPD policy has been created;
- Identifies and compares the perceptions of key figures involved in the development of CPD policy;
- Provides a framework for the analysis of models of CPD, through which policies can be identified as supporting a transmission or a transformative philosophy;
- Demonstrates a methodological approach which enables analysis of events, discourse and power relationships;
- Highlights the political nature of policy development and locates this particular policy development within its wider global political context.

In addition to these contributions contained in the thesis itself, a number of conference presentations and publications have arisen from the study as it has progressed. These contributions, listed in Appendix 8, have been made in a range of national and international publications and conference locations in an attempt to ensure dissemination and discussion of both the substantive content and the methodological issues uncovered in the study. It is intended that further publications, particularly in relation to the key findings and implications, will also be published in the near future, thereby ensuring maximum contribution of this study to the discourse of CPD policy in Scotland and beyond.

13.5 Concluding remarks

The policy analysis presented in this study serves to illustrate the messiness and complexities of the policy process. It also highlights the inter-relationship of topic-specific concerns, in this case education, with wider political concerns –

demonstrating Trowler's (1998) thesis that policy development is influenced, to varying extents, by both political and educational ideologies. It also suggests that while the educational elite are a group in relation to the power and status they hold, and also in terms of the 'assumptive world' in which they operate – they should not be conceived of as homogeneous in terms of the detail of their personal and professional views.

In terms of the particular policy at the centre of this analysis, what has emerged most significantly in this study is the promotion from the outset of a standards-based approach to the CPD framework, and a notable absence of consideration of alternative conceptions. While this undoubtedly has major implications for teachers' work, their conceptions of teaching and their professional identity, it also has major implications for the education of current and future generations of children and young people. However, it is not contended from the evidence in this study, that this approach and its underlying ideological influence is necessarily a conscious or planned approach. Rather, the process and outcome of policy development in this specific area of education is influenced heavily by a much wider, global political agenda. The insidious nature of such influences, and their wide ranging impact – i.e. on the whole range of social policies – tends to normalise developments hence making them less likely to be scrutinised in a more fundamental way. This, in part, justifies the need to take a poststructuralist approach to analysis which allows the analyst to look beyond perceived norms.

It is acknowledged that individuals will have their own views on the appropriateness of such an agenda for education, but what is argued unequivocally here is that the notion of 'professionalism' must involve teachers in engaging with the political nature of education. For if teachers, and indeed other stakeholders in education, do not engage with *this agenda* then education policy runs the risk of serving a global political agenda at the expense of potentially more appropriate and diverse local solutions.

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CHRONOLOGICAL RECORD OF CPD EVENTS

EDUCATION MINISTER	DATE	EVENT	DOCUMENT/TITLE
Brian Wilson Minister of State for Education, Industry and Tourism (from May 1997)	July 1997	The Sutherland Report - National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education report	*Report 10* *Teacher education and training: a study* (The Sutherland Report) DfEE/HMSO
	7 July 1998	Brian Wilson announces consultation on CPD framework	SOEID News release
	July 1998	Consultation document	*Consultation Document: Proposals for developing a framework for continuing professional development for the teaching profession in Scotland* Edinburgh: SOEID
Helen Liddell Deputy Secretary of State for Scotland and Minister for Education (from July 1998)	December 1998	Summary of responses to CPD consultation	*Proposals for developing a framework for continuing professional development for the teaching profession in Scotland: A summary of responses to the consultation document* Edinburgh: SOEID
	9 April 1999	Helen Liddell announces proposals to develop standard for expert teachers	SOEID News release
Sam Galbraith Minister for Children and Education (from May 1999)	June 1999	Deloitte Touche publish review report on GTC	*Review of the General Teaching Council for Scotland: Final report* Edinburgh: SOEID
Scottish Parliament SOEID becomes SEED (1 July 1999)	14 July 1999	Sam Galbraith announces proposals for new powers for the GTCS	SEED News release

	July 1999	Consultation on GTCS for new Act	*Improving our Schools: Consultation on the General Teaching Council for Scotland* Edinburgh: SEED
	6 November 1999	Sam Galbraith outlines plans for CPD framework: SFR, expert teacher, headship	SEED News release
	January 2000	Responses published to *Improving our Schools* consultation	*Improving our Schools: consultation response.* Edinburgh: SEED
	31 May 2000	McCrone Report published	*A Teaching Profession for the 21st Century.* Edinburgh: SEED
	31 May 2000	Sam Galbraith thanks McCrone Committee for Report	SEED News Release
	12 September 2000	Sam Galbraith announces McCrone Implementation Group	SEED News Release
Jack McConnell Minister for Education, Europe and External Affairs (from October 2000)	4 October 2000	Peter Peacock (Deputy Minister) chairs first meeting of the Ministerial Strategy Committee for CPD	SEED News release
	January 2001	McCrone Agreement published	*A Teaching Profession for the 21st Century: Agreement reached following recommendations made in the McCrone report.* Edinburgh: SEED
	12 January 2001	Jack McConnell announces award of Chartered Teacher contract to Arthur Andersen consortium	SEED News release
	May 2001	Launch of first stage consultation on Chartered Teacher Programme	*Chartered Teacher Programme: Consultation Paper 1*
	25 September 2001	Launch of consultation on Standard for Full Registration	*Consultation on the Standard for Full Registration with the General Teaching Council for Scotland*

	November 2001	Launch of second stage consultation on Chartered Teacher Programme	*Chartered Teacher Programme: Consultation paper II* Chartered Teacher Programme: Supplementary Paper
Cathy Jamieson Minister for Education and Young People (from November 2001) **Nicol Stephen** Deputy Minister Responsibility for teachers and schools	November & December 2001	Consultation Conferences on Chartered Teacher programme	Flyers advertising conferences
	January 2002	Consultation on draft framework for professional review and development	Consultation document *A Framework for Professional Review and Development, SEED,* and covering letter
	17 May 2002	Nicol Stephen announces extra funds to LAs for CPD	SEED News Release, *Councils get extra teacher-support cash*
	June 2002	SFR launched	The Standard for Full Registration Edinburgh: GTCS
	June 2002	Induction Materials sent to schools	The Standard for Full Registration: Guidance for Schools, GTCS
	October 2002	SEED booklet produced outlining CPD Framework	*Continuing Professional Development*, SEED
	October 2002	SEED booklet produced outlining Revised Standard for Headship	*Standard for Headship in Scotland*, SEED
	01 November 2002	News release – Cathy Jamieson	*No return to teaching's "bad old days"*
	November 2002	SEED booklet produced outlining the Standard for Chartered Teacher and its context	*Standard for Chartered Teacher*, SEED
	November 2002	Chartered Teacher FAQs	*Chartered Teacher: Frequently asked questions*, SEED
	December 2002	SEED booklet produced outlining revised Professional Review and Development guidelines	*Professional Review and Development*, SEED

Peter Peacock Minister for Education and Young People (from May 2003)	March 2003	SEED produced additional Chartered FAQs booklet	*Additional Frequently Asked Questions: How to become a chartered teacher,* SEED
	March 2003	Draft LAMPS document for consultation	*Continuing Professional Development for Educational Leaders*
	2003	GTCS Guidance for Chartered Teachers	*Achieving the Standard for Chartered Teacher: Guidance for Teachers,* GTCS
	6 August 2003	First cohort embarks on Chartered Teacher programme	SEED News release – Peter Peacock *'Chartered Teachers Programme'*
	September 2003	Final version of Leadership document published	*Continuing Professional Development for Educational Leaders,* SEED
	1 November 2004	Peter Peacock announces schools reform package to include new Leadership Academy backed by Tom Hunter	News release – Peter Peacock *'Reforms aim to improve Scotland's schools'*

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: (OUTLINE)

Introduction:

- Clarify purpose of interview ☐
- Recording ☐
- Transcription agreement ☐
- Permission to use thereafter & to attribute quotes ☐

Interview topics and possible questions:

A. Purpose and outcomes of the CPD framework

1. What do you want a national framework of CPD to achieve?
   (for teachers, pupils, communities, the economy, government)

2. Where does the balance lie between obligation and entitlement (and where do you feel it should lie)?

3. What indicators should be used to measure its success or otherwise?

4. Do you think that in adopting a proliferation of standards we are subscribing to a particular view on the purpose and nature of teaching?
   (competence/holistic, professional/technician, autonomy/accountability)

B. Development process

1. What has been your experience of and involvement with the development of the CPD framework to date?

2. How democratic has the development process been (probe consultation processes)?

3. Who would you view as the key stakeholders in this area and to what extent have each of them shaped the current picture?

4. Who/what body has been most influential in shaping the CPD framework?

5. What has been your own/your organisation's particular contribution to the development of the framework?

6. To what extent have teachers been involved in the shaping and design of the CPD framework?
   (at both conceptual and practical levels)

C. Current and future progress

1. How would you evaluate progress made so far?

2. How do you think teachers view progress made so far?

3. Would you endorse the introduction of an active register (why/why not)?

4. What would you say are the current key issues facing the development of teachers' CPD? (Perhaps consider contrasting approaches to ongoing CPD and the standards)

5. What do you see as potential barriers to the success of the framework?

D. Personal reflections

1. In your official role, whose opinions are you representing?

2. In what ways do these opinions accord or differ with your own personal views on the development of a CPD framework?

3. Who/what body has been most influential in shaping your views of the purpose and expected outcomes of a national framework of CPD?

4. Who do you believe has most to gain from the CPD framework (and why)?

Closing remarks:

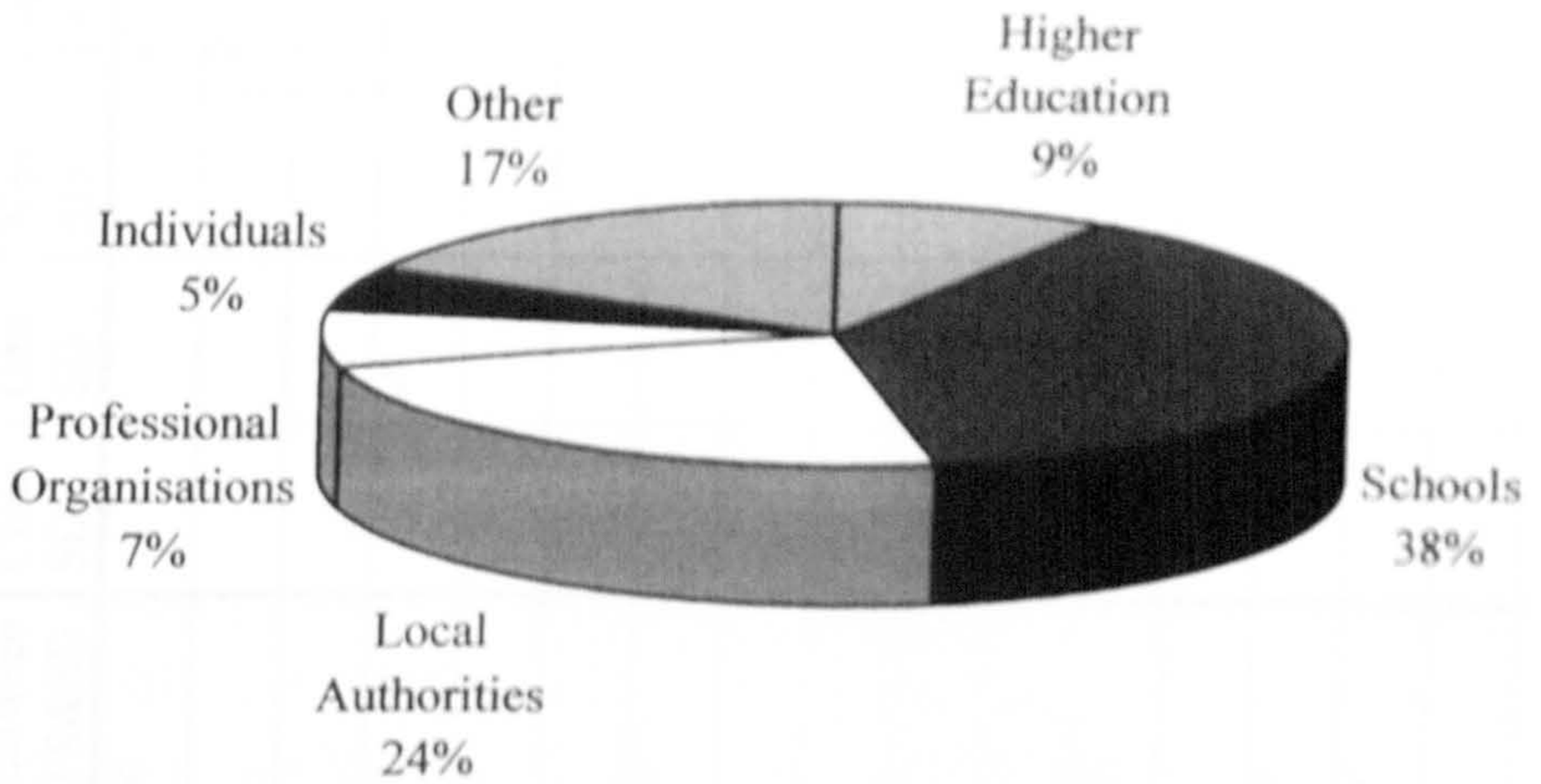
Request suggestions for other potential interviewees
Invite any further comment

Conclusion:

Confirm arrangements for use of data:

- Will send copy of text, after transcription, for approval
- Thereafter, would like permission to use as appropriate
- Check permission to attribute quotes, as likelihood of anonymity remote

SFR CONSULTATION RESPONSE CATEGORIES



n=58

CATEGORISATION OF INTERVIEWEE RESPONSES: CHAPTER 8

	Purpose of CPD Framework							Indicators of Success						
	Clear SD	Gen SD	Non SD	Clear TR	Gen TR	Non TR	Between TR&SD	Clear SD	Gen SD	Non SD	Clear TR	Gen TR	Non TR	Between TR&SD
1							✓				✓			
2			✓								✓			
3					✓							✓		
4	✓								✓					
5							✓				✓			
6					✓					✓				
7							✓							✓
8				✓							✓			
9	✓							✓						
10					✓							✓		
11		✓							✓					
12							✓							✓
13	✓							✓			✓			
14							✓							✓
15							✓					✓		
16					✓									✓

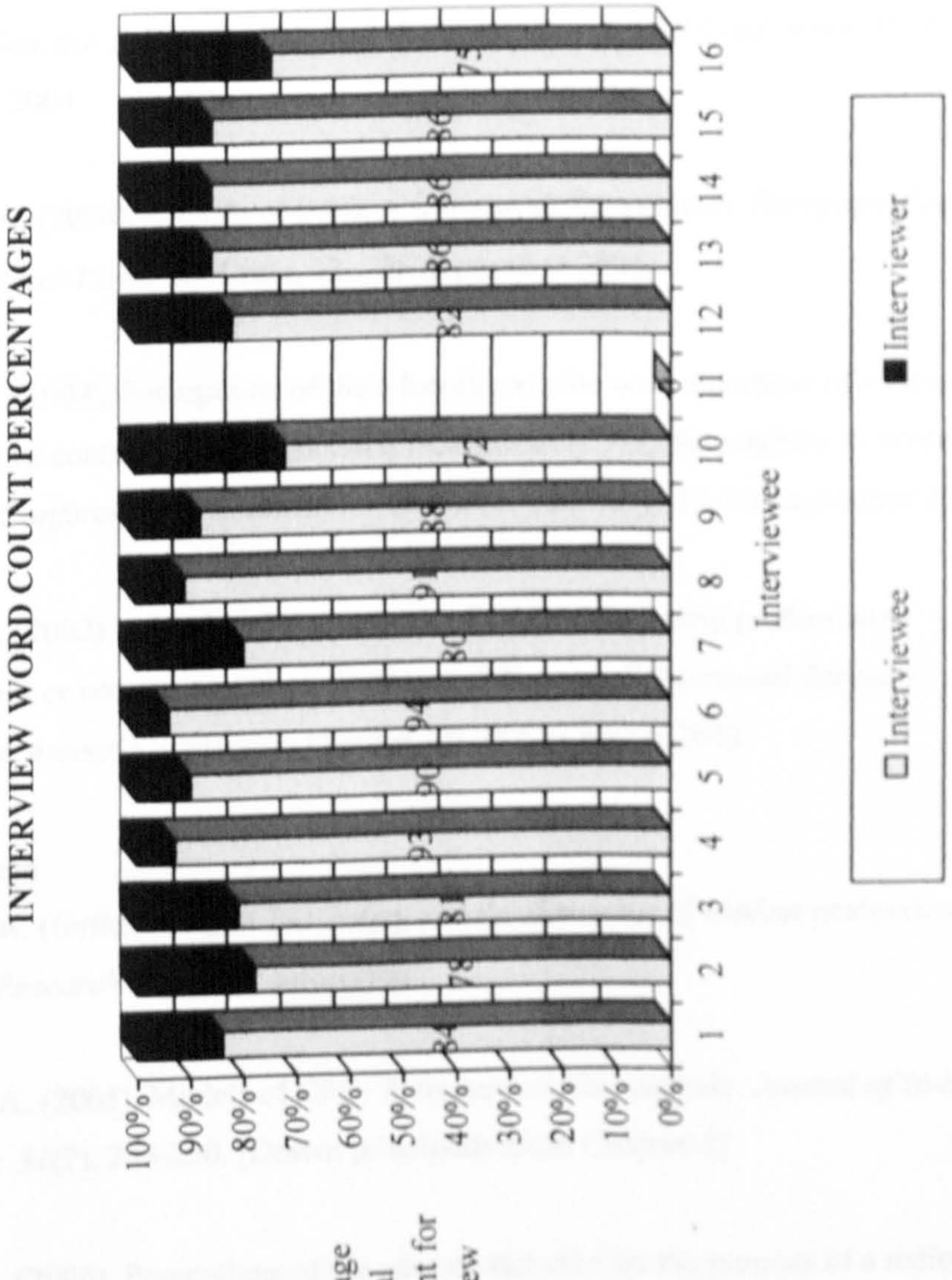
NVIVO NODES: ORIGINAL LIST

1. Access to CPD
2. Assumption that CPD means CT
3. Barriers
4. Comparisons with other professions
5. Competing agendas
6. Consultation and communication
7. Contradictory statements
8. CPD as teacher accountability
9. CT Academic/Professional debate
10. CT General
11. Discussion of terminology
12. Erroneous assumptions
13. Financial implications
14. Future developments
15. General CPD comments
16. General education comments
17. Growing power of GTCS
18. Impact of McCrone
19. Indicators of success
20. Induction and the SFR
21. Influence of stakeholder groups
22. Influential individuals
23. Interesting choice of language
24. Interview process and methodology
25. Interviewee stuttering or stalling
26. MSC role, remit and membership
27. National register of providers
28. Organisation's role in development of framework
29. Own role in development of framework
30. Policy development process
31. Power
32. Predictions
33. Purpose of CPD framework
34. Reasons for development of CPD framework
35. Relationships between stakeholder groups
36. Relative importance of aspects of framework
37. Significant developments since interview
38. Standards-based framework
39. Teacher engagement
40. Teacher professionalism
41. Tensions in own role
42. What is CPD

NVIVO NODES: COLLATED

Organising Category	Relevant Nodes
1. Policies/structures in place	9. CT Academic/Professional debate 10. CT General 13. Financial implications 18. Impact of McCrone 20. Induction and the SFR 27. National register of providers 36. Relative importance of aspects of framework 38. Standards-based framework
2. Policy process	6. Consultation and communication 26. MSC role, remit and membership 28. Organisation's role in development of framework 29. Own role in development of framework 30. Policy development process 39. Teacher engagement
3. Reasons for development of the framework	1. Access to CPD 4. Comparisons with other professions 8. CPD as teacher accountability 34. Reasons for development of CPD framework
4. Purpose of the framework	8. CPD as teacher accountability 33. Purpose of CPD framework
5. Indicators of success	1. Access to CPD 3. Barriers 13. Financial implications 19. Indicators of success 39. Teacher engagement

6. Power & influence	5. Competing agendas 6. Consultation and communication 8. CPD as teacher accountability 17. Growing power of GTCS 21. Influence of stakeholder groups 22. Influential individuals 28. Organisation's role in development of framework 29. Own role in development of framework 31. Power 35. Relationships between stakeholder groups
7. Tensions, contradictions and assumptions	7. Contradictory statements 9. CT Academic/Professional debate 12. Erroneous assumptions 41. Tensions in own role
8. The interview process etc	23. Interesting choice of language 24. Interview process and methodology 25. Interviewee stuttering or stalling
9. Understanding of key terms or topics	2. Assumption that CPD means CT 11. Discussion of terminology 15. General CPD comments 16. General education comments 40. Teacher professionalism 42. What is CPD?
10. Future	14. Future developments 32. Predictions 37. Significant developments since interview


INTERVIEW WORD COUNT PERCENTAGES
Percentage of total word count for interview
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
Interviewee
Interviewee
Interviewer
Interviewee
Interviewer
84 78 81 93 90 94 80 91 88 72 82 86 86 86 75

APPENDIX 8

PRESENTATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS RELATED TO THIS THESIS

Conference Presentations

Kennedy, A. (2004). CPD Policy and the discourse of teacher professionalism in Scotland. *Scottish Educational Research Association Annual Conference*, Perth, 25-27 November 2004

Kennedy, A. (2004). Models of CPD: A framework for analysis. *European Conference on Educational Research*, Crete, 22 – 25 September 2004.

Purdon, A. (2003). Perceptions of the educational elite on the purpose of a national framework of continuing professional development (CPD) for teachers in Scotland. *European Conference on Educational Research*, Hamburg, 17-20 September 2003.

Purdon, A. (2002). A National Framework of CPD: Continuing professional development or continuing policy dominance? *Scottish Educational Research Association Annual Conference*, Dundee, 26-28 September 2002.

Publications

Kennedy, A. (forthcoming). CPD Policy and the discourse of teacher professionalism in Scotland. *Research Papers in Education.*

Kennedy, A. (2005). Models of CPD: A framework for analysis. *Journal of In-Service Education, 31*(2), 235-250. [Drawn principally from Chapter 5]

Purdon, A. (2004). Perceptions of the educational elite on the purpose of a national framework of continuing professional development (CPD) for teachers in Scotland. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 30*(2), 131-149.

Purdon, A. (2003). The Professional Development of Teachers. In T. G. K Bryce & W. M. Humes, (Eds.). *Scottish Education 2nd Edition: Post-Devolution*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. [Drawn principally from Chapter 2]

Purdon, A. (2003). A national framework of CPD: Continuing professional development or continuing policy dominance? *Journal of Education Policy, 18*(4), 432-437.

Paper submitted

Kennedy, A. (2005). People, power and processes: An analysis of continuing professional development (CPD) policy for teachers in Scotland. Submitted July 2005 to *Scottish Educational Review*.