CCE

CREATIVITY CULTURE & EDUCATION

Teachers – formation, training and identity:
a literature review

Ian Menter

Creativity, Culture and Education (CCE) Literature Reviews

These reports have been commissioned to introduce readers to the main principles, theories, research and debates in the field. They aim to introduce the major themes and writing pertaining to each area of study and to outline key trends and arguments.

About the author

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Contents

About the Creativity, Culture and Education Literature Review Series

Creativity, Culture and Education (CCE) is a national charity with a vision for all children, regardless of their background, to experience and access the diverse range of cultural activities in England because these opportunities can enhance their aspirations, achievements and skills. We promote the value and impact of creative learning and cultural opportunities through our strong evidence base and policy analysis, stimulating debate among policy makers and opinion formers, and delivering front line high quality programmes.

Through our research and evaluation programme, we promote a systemic approach to creative and cultural initiatives and one which builds on the excellent practice which already exists to make opportunity consistent, to ensure that all children and young people are included and to place quality at the core of any creative or cultural experience.

CCE's work includes:

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Fostering creativity is fundamentally important because creativity brings with it the ability to question, make connections, innovate, problem solve, communicate, collaborate and to reflect critically. These are all skills demanded by contemporary employers and will be vital for young people to play their part in a rapidly changing world.

Our programmes can have maximum impact if teachers, parents, children, young people and practitioners themselves learn from the experience and activities delivered through the programmes. For this reason, one of the most significant legacies will be the product of our research and evaluation and how that is effectively communicated to stakeholders.

However, because Creativity, Culture and Education works by creating partnerships drawn from the widest fields of endeavour, the different stakeholders recognise that there is often a 'knowledge gap' between reflection, analysis, and learning. In addition, the wide focus of approach – which is fundamental to the nature of creativity – means that people are often working at the limit of their disciplines.

For these reasons we have commissioned a series of literature reviews exploring the key issues in current literature and summarising the history and latest developments in each subject. Each review is written by an experienced and respected author in their field. They aim to be accessible, clearly referenced and to act as 'stepping-stone' resources to underpin the research conducted by and for Creativity, Culture and Education.

Foreword

In this review, Ian Menter provides an overview of how teachers have been trained since the late 19th century up to the present day, and considers connections between creativity and teacher identity, between teachers' wellbeing and their pupils, and between the increasing number of non-teaching professionals working in the classroom and teacher identity.

Creativity, Culture and Education has long championed the importance of supporting teachers in the classroom through partnership opportunities and formal CPD. This is because we believe that teachers themselves provide the best basis for sustainable changes in the quality of teaching and learning, and that the only way to achieve this is to offer prolonged engagement with reflective, supportive partnerships that help to develop pedagogy. The Creative Partnerships programme offers the best and most established example of CCE's approach to this challenge, but we acknowledge that there are long standing histories and paradigms at work which influence the major structures and institutions that offer teacher CPD and this review aims to make this more explicit.

Menter's review of the literature focusing on teachers demonstrates the range of issues that require the attention of policymakers and practitioners working with and for teachers. Five strands explored in this literature review, teacher collaboration and enquiry, pupil voice, community engagement, exploiting new technologies and creative partnerships, are suggested by Menter as important to the "re-emergence of a confident professionalism among teachers… based upon a recognition of their distinctive contribution to society through the education of children."

Running through the whole of this review is a consideration of the sense of identity and autonomy at the heart of the teaching profession and the extent to which teachers are enabled or impeded in their efforts to act with confidence when providing educational opportunities to children. It suggests a reinvention of the role may be timely, to create a flexible, confident sense of autonomous practice, open to collaboration and partnership, yet fuelled by a clear understanding of the unique and valuable contribution to society that teachers make.

Dr David Parker, Creativity, Culture and Education
Dr Julian Sefton-Green

There has been growing interest in aspects of identity in social settings over recent years, and this has been reflected in an increasing amount of research work concerning teachers' identities.

1 **Introduction**

This review of research on teachers and their work has a central focus on the question of identity. There has been growing interest in aspects of identity in social settings over recent years, and this has been reflected in an increasing amount of research work concerning teachers' identities. The teaching profession has been subject to much policy change in this period and hence the ways in which the professional aspects of teacher identity are formed have also been changing.

The main purpose of this review is to provide arts and education practitioners with an overview of relevant issues in understanding influences on the development of creative working partnerships in school classrooms, through considering:

1. how teachers in the UK have been and are currently trained for their work in schools;

2. how the professional identities of teachers are formed and developed;

3. the extent to which professional development (ITE and CPD[1]) prepares teachers for creative aspects of teaching and learning and creative aspects of the curriculum;

4. how recent policy developments have led to increasing forms of professional and inter-professional collaboration;

5. accounts (including published research) of teacher collaboration in school-based arts and arts-related projects.

The review has five main sections. The section that follows (Section 2) offers an overview of the ways in which teachers have been trained in the UK since the late 19th century. What emerges from this historical review is that there have been competing models of teaching underlying different phases of teacher education. In the recent past there has been very strong central control of the process and all new teachers are now required to meet a particular set of standards or competences that are laid down at a national level. There has been a significant debate about the extent to which this has constrained teachers' autonomy or indeed their scope for creativity.

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[1] Initial Teacher Education and Continuing Professional Development

In Section 3 we consider teachers' identities, exploring the interaction of professional and personal factors and the ways in which research has tracked the changing experiences of teachers and how a number of the recent policy developments affecting teachers' work appear to have 'reduced' their professionalism and to have increased the ways in which they are judged by measures of performance. There has been a culture of 'performativity' that has challenged their professional identity. Although many teachers retain elements of a past professional identity based on a public service ethic, the adaptation to new forces has had a major impact on the profession as a whole.

Section 4 then considers connections between creativity and teacher identity more directly, considering in turn creativity in teaching and then creativity in the curriculum. A number of themes emerge from this discussion, through which the more creative dimensions of teaching might be enhanced and developed.

In Section 5, we consider recent and current changes in the organisation of teaching and teachers' work, in particular some of the boundaries that affect how teachers work, including their employment contracts and the ways in which they relate to others working in schools: there has been an enormous growth of ancillary staff in schools over the past ten to fifteen years. This leads to Section 6, where some examples of teachers working alongside creative professionals in school settings are considered.

The conclusion to the review is a positive one that suggests that in the contemporary setting for teachers, partnerships with creative professionals can not only greatly enhance the experience of learners, but also greatly enrich the teachers' own working experience. Teachers' work has become so collaborative and interactive that they are now very well placed to work effectively with a wide range of partners, including creative professionals.

… since the establishment of a state education system in the 1870s … teacher education has consistently been a significant site of social and political struggle.

2 Becoming a teacher: competing approaches

2.1 The history of teacher education in the UK

We shall see that the past twenty-five years of teacher education have been a time of much change and turbulence. However, a longer review of teacher education across the UK, particularly since the establishment of a state education system in the 1870s, shows that teacher education has consistently been a significant site of social and political struggle. The inter-related themes of this contestation include the following:

- Struggles for 'positioning' and the 'ownership' of teacher education
- Attempts to define teaching as a profession – and to establish whether teaching has a distinctive intellectual knowledge base
- Debate over teachers' terms and conditions, as well as pay, and the role of teachers' unions
- The emergence of professional bodies to uphold professional standards and to control entry into the profession
- The economics of teacher supply and demand

Systematic teacher training developed in England in the second half of the 19th century alongside the provision of elementary schooling for all. The pupil-teacher system was in essence the first form of 'on the job' training for teachers. Here youngsters who had completed elementary schooling would teach the younger pupils under the supervision of the schoolmaster. 'Normal schools' emerged, where practice classrooms were established enabling trainee teachers to perform in front of others and their tutors.

The early colleges emerged out of these normal schools in many instances, and most of them were run by the Church of England and its associated bodies. By the end of the 1840s more than twenty colleges of education had been established in England (Dent, 1977).

As a system of secondary schools gradually emerged in the early twentieth century, so graduates from universities were employed to teach the subject they had studied. At first it was assumed that no particular training was required. However, by the time of the outbreak of the Second World War a national network of colleges had developed and some universities had started their own departments of education. The war had a major impact, with a number of colleges closing and with potential trainees being

conscripted. Shortened training courses ('emergency training') were instigated after the war to address the shortfall in teacher supply. Chairs of education had been established in a small number of universities, indicating that education had been recognised as a legitimate field of study. This, of course, was much later than for some other professional areas, notably medicine and law.

Teachers' trade unions became increasingly active during the first half of the twentieth century, and were not only concerned about pay and conditions but also sought to raise the standing and status of the profession across the country. Many elementary school teachers were from working-class backgrounds[2] and in this sector the workforce was increasingly becoming dominated by women. Secondary school teachers, who at this time received a higher rate of pay, were less feminised and tended to be drawn more from middle-class backgrounds.

During the 1960s, teachers were again becoming a strong political voice in UK society. The emerging 'counter-culture' had its educational manifestations in schools, colleges and universities. Early in the 1970s, the government established a major committee of enquiry under Lord James to consider the current provision for teacher education in England and Wales, both pre-service and in-service. This reported in 1972 in what became known as the James Report and confirmed the move towards an all-graduate profession (Department of Education and Science, 1972). Such an ambition was already established in Scotland, where the General Teaching Council had been established in 1966 and was supporting this aspiration as a central plank of its work.

By this time the majority of primary teachers were training through a Certificate of Education, typically taking three years. These were being converted into Ordinary Degrees – the Bachelor of Education – with the possibility of an Honours degree through undertaking a fourth year of study. The degrees were validated by a local university. A one year training programme for graduates was also introduced at this time, eventually becoming known as the PGCE – the Postgraduate Certificate of Education.

For secondary teachers, the normal training route now was a one year programme, also called the PGCE. These were offered in some colleges as

2 See DH Lawrence's *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* for fascinating fictional accounts.

well as in university departments of education (UDEs). The role of universities in teacher education was steadily increasing (see Alexander, Craft and Lynch, 1984).

The James Report also played a part in the subsequent 'rationalisation' of provision. Many colleges were closed during the 1970s through mergers. Several of these combined with the new polytechnics, administered by local education authorities, to form departments or faculties of education, some of which were very large indeed. Some 'monotechnic' provision in colleges, especially those associated with the churches, remained at this time.

By the beginning of the 1980s, there was thus a situation where provision had been consolidated into a number of colleges, polytechnics and universities, and an-all graduate profession was well on the way to being established. The nature of the training had been established as a combination of professional and theoretical classes, together with periods of 'teaching practice' in schools (Alexander, 1984). The degree programmes tended to include significantly more theory than the one-year graduate training programmes, although even there, efforts were made to introduce students to relevant research and theory.

2.2 1984 and the politicisation of teacher education

In 1976, Prime Minister Callaghan gave his famous 'Ruskin speech', which in just a few minutes set out political concern about the apparent failure of education (in England and Wales) to meet the economic needs of the country. This, in the immediate wake of the economic crisis caused by the rapid rise in oil prices, gave rise to a considerable 'moral panic' about education. The seeds were thus sown for significantly more direct intervention in many aspects of education by government than had happened at least since the early twentieth century. For many years the curriculum had been seen as a 'Secret Garden' for education professionals, with governments being much more interested in such matters as school structures and teachers' pay. Now, for the first time for nearly a hundred years, government started to show serious interest in the school curriculum. But there were also growing concerns about the quality of teaching, not

least in the wake of such infamous causes *célèbres* as 'the William Tyndale affair' in 1975. This was the case of a primary school in North London, which was undertaking a radical curriculum initiative in which many decisions were being made by the children. It attracted considerable press interest and led to a formal inquiry[3] (Dale, 1989).

A Conservative government under Mrs Thatcher came into power at Westminster in 1979. Although he was not the first Minister for Education under the Tories, Sir Keith Joseph was certainly the first to create considerable turbulence within teacher education. He produced a White Paper in 1983 called *'Teaching Quality'* (DES, 1983), which among other things, gave rise to a 1984 government circular on initial teacher education, known as '3/84' (DES, 1984). This for the first time established national criteria for the approval of initial teacher education (ITE) courses.

In due course, '3/84' proved to be just the first of a whole series of circulars produced under Conservative administrations. By the time that New Labour took office in 1997, the culture of initial teacher education had been completely transformed (Furlong *et al.*, 2000). Among the most significant aspects of this were:

- The creation of the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) (since renamed as the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA))
- The requirement that all providers of initial teacher training work in partnership with schools
- That ITT be significantly based in schools (up to 66% of time on secondary one-year courses)
- That all courses be regularly inspected and graded by Ofsted (itself created in 1992) and that providers be resourced with ITT places according to the grades awarded in the inspections
- That all courses and all trainees be judged by the extent to which they delivered and achieved a range of 'standards' defining the observable behaviours required of beginning teachers
- That universities were not required to be part of the ITT process – schools, consortia or other agencies could bid to provide employment-based training, for example.

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[3] The inquiry was established by the Inner London Education Authority, following months of campaigns, highlighted in the press, about the management and control of the school and its extreme 'child-centredness'. The inquiry report catstigated the majority of the teaching staff and most of them were sacked, following strike action.

All of these changes amounted to a sea change in the nature of provision. Writing in 1992, Gilroy described this as the 'political rape of teacher education' (Gilroy, 1992). The power and influence of the university sector were under sustained attack during this period. Both the Vice-Chancellors and the Faculties of Education seemed to be almost entirely powerless in resisting this onslaught which, it was claimed, had led to a 'technicisation' (Stronach *et al.*, 2002) or 'deprofessionalisation' (Landman and Ozga, 1995) of teaching.

The changes appear in retrospect to have resulted from a combination of ideological and economic factors. There is no doubt that the thinkers of the New Right, so influential during the Thatcher years, had succeeded in significantly undermining the reputation of the historic providers of education through a series of pamphlets, articles and other media appearances that alleged left-wing infiltration of the 'teacher training colleges' and the promotion of 'barmy theory' (a phrase famously used by Kenneth Clarke when he was Secretary of State for Education). The Adam Smith Institute, the Hillgate Group and the Centre for Policy Studies were among the think-tanks that successfully called the integrity and suitability of existing provision into question (see Gilroy, 1992).

But there were some other economic factors at work which were also to have an impact on teacher education. There were growing and immediate concerns about the supply of teachers. At various points during the 1980s and then especially during the 1990s, serious shortages in the supply of teachers threatened to undermine the credibility of government. Some of the responses that come under the heading of 'diversification of routes of entry' into teaching can be seen as an attempt to ensure that supply could meet demand. So, for example, we saw the introduction of shortened BEd courses in 'shortage subjects' during the 1980s, followed later in that decade by schemes for 'articled' and 'licensed' teachers, opening up the possibility for later employment-based routes (such as the Graduate Teacher Programme) to be established.

Another significant development in the early 1990s was the removal of the 'binary divide' in higher education between polytechnics and universities, meaning that for the first time the majority of teacher education provision was the responsibility of universities, although some provision within colleges of higher education continued.

When New Labour came to power in 1997, the first Green Paper they produced concerned teachers and teaching (DfEE, 1998). It actually had very little to say about the overall provision of Initial Teacher Education and Training (ITET), although it did lead to the introduction of 'skills tests' for qualifying teachers, but by and large it confirmed the arrangements already in place. The more significant elements of the proposals concerned the introduction of a performance-related pay scheme, in the shape of 'threshold assessment' and proposals to significantly increase the number of ancillary staff working in schools. Both of these developments have had significant impact on teachers. There had been longstanding opposition to the introduction of performance-related pay, with early attempts to introduce appraisal systems for teachers having been resisted during the 1980s. However, on the basis of the argument that good teaching should be rewarded ('something for something' in the words of the then Chancellor Gordon Brown), teachers who had reached the top of the standard scale could submit an application to pass the threshold. The application involved the submission of evidence of achievement which was then judged by assessors. The great majority of applications were successful and teachers could then move forward to the Upper Pay Scale where any further increases were subject to application and assessment (Wragg *et al.*, 2004).

The announcement of an increase in ancillary staff was met by a mixed reception. Yes, teachers were keen to receive further support, but there was some anxiety that this might be a covert way of introducing a new cadre of staff into schools who would actually take on some of the responsibilities – including, critically, face-to-face contact with classes – that had been the distinctive preserve of qualified teachers. Recently published work commissioned by the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) (Hutchings *et al.*, 2009) has tended to confirm that this has actually been happening, even if it was not the original intention. Furthermore, even where it has not been happening, some other recent research indicates that the provision of ancillary staff does not necessarily lead to improvements in educational outcomes (Blatchford *et al.*, 2009). These matters are discussed in more detail in Section 5 below.

Pay differentials directly related to performance have been resisted in Scotland, although there, too, the number of classroom assistants has increased significantly and the government has made continuing commitments to lowering class sizes, especially in the early stages of primary school. However, what has also been evident in Scotland over recent years has been a number of policies which emanate from the 'McCrone Report' of 2000

(Scottish Executive, 2000). This report was commissioned by the then Scottish Office to investigate pay and conditions for Scottish teachers following a period of considerable industrial unrest during the 1990s. The recommendations, which were largely accepted by the Scottish Executive and published in an agreement entitled *A Teaching Profession for the 21st Century* (Scottish Executive, 2001), gave teachers a pay rise greater than 20%, phased over five years, and also stipulated a 'normal' working week of no more than 35 hours. The agreement introduced the notion of an entitlement to CPD and also launched the idea of the 'Chartered Teacher' as a route for teachers who did not wish to be promoted into management posts but wished to pursue excellence in classroom performance. While the Scottish approach is quite distinctive, similar schemes have been introduced elsewhere in the UK, leading to a range of models of 'the accomplished teacher'.

More recently, we have seen the introduction of elements of Master's level work into initial teacher education programmes in England, so that for example, teachers qualifying with a PGCE may now achieve a number of credits at M Level, which can then be recognised as part of a subsequent programme of study towards a Master's award, such as an MEd. During 2010, the TDA has been introducing a pilot scheme for the Master's in Teaching and Learning (MTL), a new qualification which it intends in due course to make available to all newly qualified teachers. This appears to be the first step towards the creation of a 'Master's Level profession', as is the case in Finland and some other states. Much of the drive for these developments came from a report from the McKinsey Corporation, written by a former British Government education adviser, Sir Michael Barber (McKinsey, 2007).

As well as increasing the number of ancillary staff, governments across the UK have all been developing – each in their own way – attempts to improve inter-professional collaboration around education. So we have seen the concept of 'wraparound schooling' in England or the launch of 'learning communities' in Scottish cities. Such schemes share an interest in bringing together professionals from education, health, social services and sometimes, police and voluntary agencies, all for the better integration of services, especially for those deemed to be most needy.

The other significant development over recent years has been around leadership in education. The launch of a National College for School Leadership[4] (NCSL) by Tony Blair in England signalled an increased concern with the management of schools. Initially, the focus was very much on current and aspirant headteachers, but increasingly leadership has been seen as an expectation for all teachers. Hence the National College now has courses such as 'Leading from the Middle'.

2.3 Competing paradigms

Thus we have seen that the history of teacher education over the past 150 years or so has been a story of institutional change and occasional conflict. In the next section we shall consider the implications of these changes for questions of teacher identity, but before that, it will be helpful to try to draw out some of the competing models of – or approaches to defining – teachers' work that have emerged during this history and which are all still present in the way that contemporary discussions about teachers and teaching are played out. It may be suggested that there are four particular models that can be identified.

2.3.1 The effective teacher: standards and competences

This is the model that has emerged as the dominant one in governments' discourses over the last thirty years. It is closely associated with the economically led view of education that stresses the need for high quality education provided by high quality teachers that will prepare pupils to take their part in making ours a successful economy on the world stage. The emphases are on technical accomplishment and on measurement. It is the model for an age of accountability and performativity (Mahony and Hextall, 2000). It is a response to the variability in the quality of teaching and the diversity of approaches that increasingly characterised the post-war period. From a political perspective it is almost impossible to reject this model, because it prioritises value for money for taxpayers and opportunity for all pupils to achieve to their best potential and subsequently to contribute to the

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[4] The NCSL has now changed its name to The National College for Leadership of Schools and Children's Services.

economy and society. It may be compared with approaches to teaching that were present early in the twentieth century when, under the Revised Code (in 1904), elementary school teachers had a tightly prescribed curriculum based on 'object lessons' and were monitored by headteachers and inspectors. In its contemporary version, however, with the use of modern technologies and a range of good quality curriculum materials, it may lead to a more enriching learning experience than it did a hundred years ago.

Nevertheless, such an approach to teaching is consistent with a nationally prescribed curriculum and a national assessment system, which extends down to the earliest stages of schooling, long before the public examinations of the upper secondary school. Indeed, this particular aspect of education in the UK has seen considerable recent variation in policy across the four nations and has been the topic of considerable discussion following the publication of the *Cambridge Primary Review* (Alexander, 2010). In Scotland, although there was a clear set of guidance under Curriculum 5-14 introduced from 1989 onwards, there has not been a national curriculum as such, and currently a *Curriculum for Excellence* is being introduced. In both Wales and Northern Ireland there has been much relaxation of the National Curriculum since devolution, especially in the earlier years of schooling. Likewise, national assessment in the form of Standard Assessment Tasks (SATs) (and accompanying school league tables) was not developed in the same way in Scotland and has been removed from the Welsh system since devolution.

So it is perhaps not surprising that the ways in which the dominant standards-based approach to teaching has been defined in each country have shown some interesting variations. In a small-scale study undertaken as part of the *Teaching and Learning Research Programme*, some significant differences were identified between the statements defining what was required of new teachers in each of the four jurisdictions (Menter and Hulme, 2008). In particular, the most explicit statements about underlying values of teaching were found in the Northern Irish, Welsh and Scottish documents, but these were far less visible in the English. Furthermore there were much more explicit references to educational research and enquiry and to anti-discriminatory practice in the documents produced in the smaller nations. While it must be acknowledged that such differences in official policy statements do not necessarily reflect significant differences in practice (or in teacher identity), nevertheless the differences do suggest a

differentiation within the policy community in each country. In other words, the effective teacher model is not a universally agreed prescription. Mahony and Hextall (2000) provide an account of how the standards were developed and implemented in the English context under the auspices of the TTA. It is quite clear that teachers and teacher educators played a very small part in these developments.

But if the effective teacher model is itself disputed, nor are the other three models, that we shall set out, the subject of universal agreement. What they have in common, however, is that they are models that have emerged much more from within the teaching profession and from within sites of teacher education, in contrast to the politically-driven effective teacher model.

2.3.2 The reflective teacher

The notion of teaching as a reflective activity emerged strongly in the UK as the technicist and performative hold of the government was developing. Some versions were indeed direct responses to the policy proposals and sought to promote the possibility of 'reflective competences' (Hextall *et al.*, 1991). The philosophical roots of the reflective teaching model may be found in the work of the American educator John Dewey. Writing early in the twentieth century he captured an approach to teaching which was based on teachers becoming active decision-makers in their professional work.

Similar ideas were developed later in the century by Donald Schon who, working across a number of different professions, wrote about *The Reflective Practitioner* (1983), stressing the significance of values and of theory informing the decisions that practitioners make. In the UK, such ideas were picked up and developed in a very practical way by Andrew Pollard and his collaborators who, from the mid-1980s onwards, produced a series of books, including handbooks, on 'reflective teaching' (Pollard and Tann, 1987). At the centre of this model was a cyclical approach as set out in Figure 1.

Figure 1
The reflective teaching model (adapted from Pollard and Tann, 1987)

Reflect

Plan

Evaluate data

Make provision

Analyse data

Act

Collect data
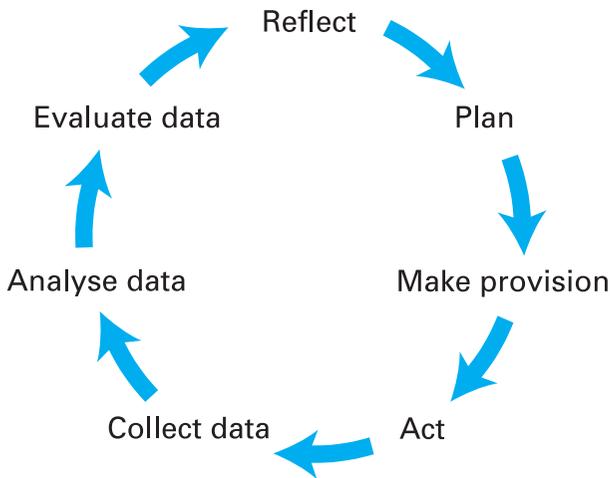
Built into such a model is a commitment to personal professional development through practice. It was a model that took a firm hold in teacher education institutions across the UK during the latter parts of the twentieth century. The largest scale studies of initial teacher education undertaken in England by Furlong *et al.* (2000) found that during this time, the great majority of teacher education programmes led from universities and colleges were informed by some version of 'reflective teaching'.

2.3.3 The enquiring teacher

Reflective teaching does not in itself imply a research orientation on the part of the teacher, although the model may be strongly influenced by a set of ideas that do promote just that conception. In the UK, the origins of the notion of 'teacher as researcher' are usually associated with the groundbreaking work of Lawrence Stenhouse (1975), who, especially during his time at the University of East Anglia and in the establishment of CARE

(Centre for Applied Research in Education), argued that teachers should indeed take a research approach to their work. That is, they should be encouraged to undertake systematic enquiry in their own classrooms and share their insights with other professionals. Such ideas have been taken up, developed and enhanced through a range of subsequent initiatives, most frequently associated with university staff working in partnership with teachers and lecturers in schools and colleges. Very frequently the term 'action research' is associated with these approaches, and a number of exemplary texts may be consulted to develop an understanding of the range of approaches (Carr and Kemmis, 1986; Walker, 1985; Elliot, 1991; Whitehead and McNiff, 2005). Actual accounts of teacher enquiry and research may be found in a number of monographs (Armstrong, 1980; Rowland, 1984) and in edited collections (Webb, 1991; McNamara, 2002).

It is also to be noted that, at various times, such approaches have received 'official' endorsement through funded schemes (see McNamara, 2002; Hulme, Menter et al., 2010). Indeed a range of recent initiatives concerning accomplished teachers, and even initial teacher education, have introduced a strong enquiry element into the frame. Teacher enquiry frequently figures within contemporary approaches to professional development (Campbell *et al.*, 2004; Campbell and Groundwater-Smith, 2010). So, it seems possible for the enquiring teacher model to be compatible with the effective teacher. They are not necessarily polar opposites.

Furthermore, it may be noted that some of the most developed approaches to teacher as researcher/the enquiring teacher have been developed outside the UK, in Europe (Altrichter *et al.*, 2007), North America (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1993; 2009) and in Australia (Groundwater-Smith, 2006).

2.3.4 The transformative teacher

The final model to be put forward certainly incorporates, and indeed builds upon, elements of the previous two. However, its key defining feature is that it brings a political dimension into the approach to teaching. If the prevalent view of the teacher is someone whose contribution to society is to transmit knowledge and prepare pupils for the existing world, the view here is that teachers' responsibilities go beyond that. They should indeed be

contributing to social change and be preparing their pupils to contribute to change in society. The philosophical origins here are in the ideas of 'the organic intellectual' as notably developed by Antonio Gramsci and then enacted in a variety of forms and locations by such radical educators as Paolo Freire in Brazil (1972), Herbert Kohl (1977) and Jonathan Kozol (1993) in the USA (see also Apple & Beane, 2007 or the journal *Rethinking Schools*), and RF Mckenzie (1970) or Chris Searle (1972) in the UK.

The most recent and cogent articulation of this model is that set out by the Australian teacher educator, Judyth Sachs (2003). Such approaches may be seen as disruptive and potentially subversive, and at the very least are likely to cause some friction within the system. Nevertheless, those who advocate teaching as a transformative activity will suggest that such turbulence is not only to be expected but is a necessary part of bringing about a more just education system, where inequalities in society begin to be addressed and where progressive social change can be stimulated.

2.4 Teaching in the 21st century

In the 1970s, Eric Hoyle wrote an influential paper that suggested that models of teaching existed at some point on a continuum between 'extended' and 'restricted' versions of professionalism (Hoyle, 1974). Crudely speaking, the first model depicted above, 'the effective teacher', rests at the restricted end of the spectrum, with the other three at various points towards the extended end.

In some respects these extremes correspond to a performativity-oriented approach as compared to a creativity-oriented approach. It is not that the former requires less skill on the part of the teacher than the latter. Indeed, it would be widely agreed that even the most performative technicist approach to teaching – to be carried out well – requires great skill on the part of the teacher. Rather, it is suggested that the performative approach is based on the supposition that successful outcomes and appropriate actions on the part of the teacher can be predicted and indeed measured or assessed. The more creative approaches associated with transformative, enquiring and reflective models are much more difficult to assess and will include significant elements of unpredictability, both in teacher action and in

outcomes. There is less certainty in such approaches and more active decision-making on the part of the teacher.

The debate will no doubt continue. However, it might be argued that such is the unpredictable nature of social and economic development at this point in the 21st century (Menter, 2009a), that teachers might best be prepared as professionals who can deal with uncertainty and who will prepare their pupils for a continually changing world. Nevertheless, we might wish to suggest that there are some fundamental values that underlie the moral obligations on teachers, that include respect for and belief in their pupils, and a commitment to reducing inequality and challenging injustice, both in and through education.

As we shall see in the next section, these contemporary challenges, and the range of models of teacher professionalism and teacher formation that have developed over the past, create a climate in which 'teacher identity' is far from being a simple uniform concept.

…a large research team led by Christopher Day (see Day *et al.*, 2006; 2007) examined the relationship between teachers' sense of well-being and their effectiveness in the classroom … and demonstrated that there is a correlation between how teachers feel about themselves, their commitment to teaching and the success of their work in terms of pupil achievement.

3 Teachers' professional identities

3.1 Introduction

We have seen in the previous section how the ways in which teachers are trained and prepared for their work have changed over the years and also how there are competing models of teachers' work. In this section, we turn to the question of professional identities – that is, in essence, how teachers see themselves and their work. This has become a topic of increasing interest, partly in response to the changes that were discussed previously, but also as part of a wider interest in the significance of identity in social and economic life. Postmodern social theory has focused attention on the 'multiple identities' that most individuals hold, relating to the range of social relationships and experiences that people have. Thus, a secondary school geography teacher may have a professional identity within their own school, based on their relationships with other staff and pupils, an external professional identity perhaps related to contacts in a subject association, a trade union identity and perhaps an identity as an examiner. But that same teacher may also be a parent and/or a carer, an amateur musician, a member of a political party and so on. These multiple identities combine to make that person what he or she is - and we haven't even mentioned such characteristics as gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, religious or other beliefs or social class, all of which may contribute in some way to the particular experience and expression of these identities for each individual.

So, in focusing on 'teacher identities' we should not be forgetting that the work-related identities exist alongside that much wider range of identities. In other words, there is a risk of being reductive in what follows. What we are trying to identify here is the sense of teacher identity that is conveyed by the phrase 'this is how I see myself as a teacher'. Such a self-defining approach is not as individualistic as it may sound initially, given that such a view of identity will be shaped in large measure by the social setting in which any individual teacher finds her/himself, be that at national, local or school level. Discussions of teacher formation and professionalism are therefore very relevant indeed, as well as more historically and culturally informed constructions. The different models of teaching that emerged from the previous section may well have a significant influence on the shaping of teachers' identities.

Furthermore, if we are interested in teachers and creativity, then the extent to which teachers are autonomous in their professionalism and in how they

define their identities is likely to be an important aspect of this discussion. Teachers' creativity may be constrained by the expectations and requirements laid down by the formal structures and institutions of a national education system, but there may well be scope for innovation and creative development within that national system.

In a series of seminars held during 2005-06 in London, a range of perspectives on these matters were explored. The series was entitled *Changing Teacher Roles, Identities and Professionalism*. A very helpful annotated bibliography to underpin this project was prepared by Hextall *et al*. (2007)[5]. Additionally, an edited collection of papers from the series was published as a book (Gewirtz *et al*., 2009). What follows draws partly on these sources.

First, we review some general questions about approaches to professional identity in teaching. We then look at the relation between teachers and their specialist subjects, and then at how teachers relate to pupils/children. The former tends to relate to teachers of secondary school children, the latter to teachers of younger children, in early years settings and the primary school. We then consider some comparisons with professional identity in other spheres of work, before concluding by considering the question of identity in the context of globalisation.

3.2 Professional identity

Approaches to defining professional identity draw on both sociological and psychological perspectives. Indeed, any discussion of identity is very much a consideration of the interaction between an individual and society. We may thus be concerned with individual thought, perception and experience (very much the terrain of the psychologist) and with social institutions and structures and cultures (very much the terrain of the sociologist – and sometimes the anthropologist).

A series of ethnographic studies, initially inspired by the work in the 1960s of Lacey (1970) and Hargeaves (1967), began to convey the nature of teachers' working identities in England. For example, Ball (1981) and Burgess (1983) carried out institutionally-based studies of secondary

[5] This is available at http://www.tlrp.org/themes/seminar/gewirtz/papers/bibliography.pdf

schools. Or, in the primary sector, there were studies by King (1978), Hartley (1985), Sharp and Green (1975) and Pollard (1985) which analysed the school culture and had a fair amount to say about the ways in which teachers saw their working world. The impact of managerialism on primary teachers has been an element in more recent primary school studies by Acker (1999) and by Willmott (2002).

Indeed, one of the most interesting aspects to emerge from this work is the difference between the professional identities of primary and secondary teachers. Primary teachers, it is suggested, most strongly relate to the child, by contrast to secondary teachers who may relate more directly to their subject specialism.

But there has also been a stream of very relevant work that drew more from historical analysis and economic theories. This examined the relationship between teachers and the state, and drew on labour process theory in order to explain something of the balance between 'structure' and 'agency' in the working lives of teachers. Key contributors to this work have included Gerald Grace, Jenny Ozga and Martin Lawn. In his more recent work, Stephen Ball has returned to the topic of teachers within his distinctive approach to policy sociology and has particularly considered the impact of performativity on teachers' working lives.

Life history studies have also made a distinctive contribution to our understanding of teacher identities, with Goodson and Sikes (2001) being especially notable for their work in England. Finally, there has been a range of work focussing on sociological dimensions of 'race', gender and social class that have added to our understanding. We turn first to consider work on secondary school teachers.

3.3 Secondary school studies

Studies carried out in the 1960s of two single-sex boys' schools, one a secondary modern school and the other a grammar school, by David Hargreaves (1967) and Colin Lacey (1970) respectively, tended to focus most centrally on the pupils and the social processes influencing their education, but the two books also reveal some interesting features about the teachers. Certainly those in the grammar school tend to have had a

more successful education themselves and come more from middle-class backgrounds than do the teachers in the secondary modern. Indeed the secondary modern teachers tended to be somewhat disenchanted:

> Many of the teachers were inevitably ambivalent about their jobs. From their professional training they derived ideals of what they were expected to achieve as teachers, but they were forced to deal with material which was frequently apathetic or intractable. They would thus tend to vary between feelings of depression and frustration when they considered their efforts to be without fruit or purpose, and moods of a more elated and jocular missionary confidence. Because the rewards were so small and intangible, it was the former mood which predominated, and teachers often blamed the home environment of the boys for many of their setbacks and failures as teachers. (Hargreaves, 1967:85)

A few years later, in an interactionist ethnographic study of another secondary modern school, Peter Woods (1979) stressed the institutional constraints experienced by teachers (and pupils) that influenced their actions and shaped their identities:

> …the institution impinges on all. Teachers, too [as well as pupils], bound by commitment, oppressed by growing demands and dwindling resources, guided now by professionalism, now by humanitarian interest in their charges, and subject to the same bureaucratic forces, also are concerned with establishing and maintaining identities within the school. (Woods 1979:248)

Later studies, by Ball in comprehensive schools (1981 and 1987) and by Burgess (1983) in a Roman Catholic secondary school, also provide valuable insights to the identity formation of secondary teachers.

Working in Switzerland, Huberman wrote what became a classic study of secondary school teachers, which has been very influential in much subsequent work in Europe and America, *The Lives of Teachers*. This was originally published in 1989, then in English translation in 1993. He investigated the working lives of 193 secondary teachers and came to two major conclusions. The first was that teachers tended not to consider their own careers very systematically or even reflectively; indeed many of Huberman's respondents commented how novel and interesting the process of being interviewed for this study was. Secondly, he found that

teachers' careers often developed in quite unexpected ways – 'professional career trajectories are not adequately linear, predictable or identical – are often, in fact, unpredictable…' (Huberman, 1993:264).

3.4 Teachers in primary schools

Jennifer Nias (1989), in her book *Primary Teachers Talking*, based on lengthy interviews with about one hundred teachers, captures some core values that seem important to primary teachers.

> …teachers in English primary schools are socialized… into a tradition of isolation, individualism, self-reliance and autonomy – on which high value is attached to self-investment and the establishment of a personal relationship with pupils. The teacher as a person is held by many within the profession and outside it to be at the centre of not only the classroom but also the educational process. By implication, therefore, it matters to teachers themselves, as well as to their pupils, who and what they are. Their self-image is more important to them as practitioners than is the case in occupations where the person can easily be separated from the craft. (202-203)

This was consistent with the view of teachers that emerged from Pollard's ethnography (1985) and indeed is consistent with the earlier ethnographic work of King, Hartley and Sharp and Green, mentioned above.

In the years that followed, however, especially after the Education Reform Act of 1988, there was increasing concern that the onslaught of new policies, initially on the curriculum and assessment and subsequently on teaching strategies, had severely undermined such a 'self'-centred approach to primary teaching.

Although the first major study on the impact of the National Curriculum on primary education focused very much on pupils and their learning, a strong strand emerged that was about the work of teachers. This is very well drawn together in the volume by Osborne *et al*. (2000), *What Teachers Do.*

A smaller-scale study, based on investigation of a small number of primary schools in one local authority (Menter *et al*., 1997), also demonstrated the very conflictual experiences that the new policies were creating for many

teachers (see also Menter and Muschamp, 1999). The findings suggested that these changes were part of a wider set of gendered social changes occurring at that time:

> The public and private accounts of the women teachers in our study are not, it could be argued, reflections of their confusion, or their conscientiousness (itself a very gendered term), or their false consciousness, nor yet entirely explicable through reference to incomplete processes of cultural change. Instead they may be understood as accurate reflections of the fragmented and fractured identities that are created by post-Fordist work forms, perhaps especially in the service professions and perhaps especially for women workers. (Menter *et al.*, 1997: 133)

This is echoed in Sandra Acker's long-term study of one primary school, which she called Hillview. She notes the gendered nature of the teachers' work and the conflicts that emerge when they feel they are not achieving as much as they would wish to:

> Perhaps paradoxically, the attempt to do the impossible gave strong impetus to the development of a caring, mutually supportive teachers' workplace culture. There was much at Hillview that could fit the 'women's culture' model, including a preference for sharing rather than demarcating responsibilities; for participation over delegation; equality over hierarchy; support over competition. Humour was integrative rather than divisive. There was a strong sense of community, sustained by rituals. (Acker, 1999:115)

A series of studies by Webb and Vulliamy indicated similar initial responses, although in their later work they suggest that some aspects of the teaching strategies are giving teachers an opportunity for 're-professionalisation' rather than 'de-professionalisation' (see Webb, Vulliamy *et al.*, 2004a, 2004b). As Hextall *et al.* (2007) summarise in one of their papers:

> [It is] [b]ased on a collaborative research project in England and New Zealand which examined the impact of education policy on primary teachers' work and professional identities. The researchers describe a shift in policy discourse from a 'professional-contextualist' conception of teacher professionalism towards a 'technocratic-reductionist' conception,

associated with an increase in constraints on teacher autonomy. They argue that teachers' perceptions of the implications of this shift for their sense of professionalism were largely dependent upon how extrinsic accountability demands were filtered through the profession's defining quality, namely teachers' altruistic concerns for the welfare of the children in their care' (Locke *et al.*, 2005:555).

In a series of qualitative studies of primary teachers, Peter Woods, Bob Jeffrey, Geoff Troman and colleagues explore similar themes and suggest that primary teaching has become increasingly stressful and the subject of considerable emotional pressure. Nevertheless, they do identify teachers who have developed strategies for dealing with these demands, but who bemoan the retreat from more holistic and humane approaches to their work (Woods and Jeffrey, 2002). Their 1997 book (Woods *et al.*, 1997) talked about the reconstruction of teaching and teachers, largely as a result of the intensification of the work, through, among other things, the inspection regime that had developed since the 1992 creation of Ofsted. Troman and Woods (2001) examined the range of causes of teacher stress and compared two schools, one where stress levels were low and one where they were high. Carlyle and Woods (2002) studied primary teachers who had been clinically diagnosed as subject to stress and found that very few of them were able to return to working in the context where this condition had developed. Some of the factors that had given rise to their stress were related to the particular setting, others to the changing demands of the job, as they experienced them.

3.5 The contribution of policy sociology

The previous two sections have largely concerned school-based studies that provide significant insights on teacher identity. In this section we follow another strand of work. Although, as we shall see, some of it is based within particular schools, it is distinctive in seeking to relate issues of teacher identity very directly to questions of policy, politics and governance. This has become a particular field of interest in what has become known as education policy sociology (see Ozga, 2000 for an overview of this approach).

The first major study in this line of development was carried out by Gerald Grace in the 1970s (Grace, 1978). In what he saw as a study in urban education, and building on earlier work concerning role conflict for teachers (Grace, 1972), Grace examined how history and social structures influenced the thinking and working lives of secondary teachers in inner London. In this and subsequent work (Grace, 1984), Grace shows how teachers are expected to uphold and promote moral standards. He is able to trace this back to the very explicit Christian mission of the elementary school. In 1987 the argument was developed further to explore how the relationship between teachers and the State has developed (Grace, 1987).

Jenny Ozga and Martin Lawn shared an interest with Gerald Grace in class relations and teachers, which they wrote about in an examination of teacher trade unionism (Ozga and Lawn, 1981) and then followed through in a number of subsequent publications which focused on the labour process of teaching and shared a structural and often historical approach as well (Lawn, 1987; Ozga, 1988). Although this work is clear that teachers do have some agency, it also illuminates the institutional and governmental constraints under which teachers in the state system work. Indeed, by 1987, Grace was suggesting that teachers had been depoliticised and 'incorporated' by the state to such an extent that they wielded very little industrial or even 'professional' power. If that was the case in 1987, there is little evidence of any reversal of that process since, as we shall see.

Much of the recent research on teacher identity has focused on the impact of performativity and new managerialism on the work and identity of teachers. Ball (2005) writes of economism and 'the end of authenticity' in describing how teachers' identities, relationships and values have changed. Ball argues that there has been 'a shift in emphasis in the concerns of teachers from ethics to efficiency, a reconstruction of teachers as technicians, the production of feelings of uncertainty, instability and ontological insecurity and a growing emphasis on presentation and 'fabrication'' (Ball 2005, cited in Hextall et al. 2007:5). Nevertheless, far from being deterministic, he does identify elements of agency in teachers' responses to these pressures and identifies how, in particular contexts, teachers retain some control of their working practices that derives in large part from their own values and dispositions.

Using a very different kind of approach, a large research team led by Christopher Day (see Day et al., 2006; 2007) examined the relationship

between teachers' sense of well-being and their effectiveness in the classroom. This study (known as VITAE) was sponsored by government and other major agencies. The team studied 300 teachers in primary and secondary schools across England at different stages of their careers, and demonstrated that there is a correlation between how teachers feel about themselves, their commitment to teaching and the success of their work in terms of pupil achievement. The title of the book that arose from the project was *Teachers Matter: Connecting Work, Lives and Effectiveness*, a reminder that successful learning is dependent on teachers being positive about themselves and about their pupils. As they put it, 'teacher identities may be more, or less, stable and more or less fragmented at different times and in different ways according to a number of life, career and situational factors' (2007:601).

So, to summarise, whatever methodological approach to the question of professional identity is adopted, it does appear that the matter is a very important one in terms of the quality of educational provision. We turn now to matters of social identity of teachers and the intersection of these with professional identity.

3.6 Class, gender and 'race'

The social composition of the teaching workforce may be looked at in two ways. First, there are concerns about the representativeness of the workforce in relation to the wider community and in particular to the school pupil community (Menter *et al.*, 2006). It is widely acknowledged that there is significant under-representation of teachers from minority ethnic groups, for example, especially in some parts of the UK. Similarly, teaching is a profession that has become increasingly dominated, at least numerically, by women, especially in the primary sector, although women have not occupied senior posts in teaching on a proportionate basis. There have been recruitment initiatives at national and local levels designed to address the 'imbalances' within the profession (Showumni and Constantine-Simms, 1995; Menter, Hutchings and Ross, 2002).

The social class background of teachers has also, from time to time, been seen as an issue. Historically, entry into teaching was depicted as one of the main avenues for 'upward' social mobility for working-class people. These

are important matters and do connect with matters of teacher identity, but here it is more appropriate to focus on the second perspective on these matters, which is to consider the *experiences* of teachers in relation to class, gender and race – that is, to consider questions around teacher identity and the ways in which it is socially constructed.

There has been remarkably little recent work on social class and identity among teachers. As suggested earlier, we may turn to the fiction of DH Lawrence in the first part of the twentieth century to get some powerful, if idiosyncratic, insights into the dynamics of social class, culture and teaching as a profession (*Women in Love, The Rainbow*). But there has been little sociological work on this topic, at least in the recent past. One of the few scholars who has had a continuing interest in these matters has been Meg Maguire (2005); indeed she has had an enduring interest in 'race' and gender matters, as well as class, in her studies of teachers. In a fascinating analysis of the process of 'class-crossing', through exploring the experience of one teacher in depth, she examines the impact of educational experiences and of joining the teaching profession on the self-image of a woman teacher from a working-class background. Through this woman's experience, she explores how the tiniest details of daily experience working in a school may carry class-based messages that contribute to the relative positioning of herself and of the pupils in the school.

There has been significantly more work in the last twenty years or so on the ethnic identity of teachers. Such work as that by Osler (1997) and Callender (1997) has found, mainly using qualitative approaches – often interviews with teachers from Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) Backgrounds – that at various stages in their teaching career, these teachers encounter challenges that are in some way additional to those typically encountered by white teachers. A study by Basit *et al.*, (2006; 2007) examined the reasons why minority ethnic students withdrew from initial teacher training courses. These were found to be largely similar to the reasons given by white students who withdrew, although there were accounts of experiencing racism. They also suggest that BME students find that 'the bar is slightly higher' for them when it comes to their assessment. On entry into the profession, some teachers from BME backgrounds have found themselves being drawn into specialist 'multicultural' or bilingual support work, where they may be felt to have special expertise. However such routes may not lead to the same range of career prospects as more mainstream

opportunities. Unless there is a critical mass of BME teachers in a particular setting, the research suggests that the experience can be a challenging – and not always positive – one. A number of support networks and self-help groups have been established, including sections within the teacher unions, which have undoubtedly helped to create a collective identity for many BME teachers.

In relation to gender, as indicated above, the issue that is most often raised is the shortage of men in the profession. But why is it important that there should be more men in teaching? The argument is often put forward that boys need male teachers as 'positive role models' to assist their social development. But these suppositions have been critically examined by Carrington and colleagues in a number of articles. In summarising their own work, Carrington *et al.*, (2007: 407) say:

> In recent years, policy-makers in England, Australia and other countries have called for measures to increase male recruitment to the teaching profession, particularly to the primary sector. This policy of targeted recruitment is predicated upon a number of unexamined assumptions about the benefits of matching teachers and pupils by gender. For example, it is held that the dearth of male 'role models' in schools continues to have an adverse effect on boys' academic motivation and engagement. Utilizing data from interviews with more than 300 7- to 8-year-olds attending primary schools in the north-east and south-east of England, the paper sets out to scrutinize these claims. The findings revealed that the gender of teachers had little apparent effect on the academic motivation and engagement of either boys or girls. For the majority of the children, the gender of the teacher was largely immaterial. They valued teachers, whether men or women, who were consistent and even-handed and supportive of them as learners.

In another paper, Carrington (2002) depicts primary teaching as a 'quintessentially feminine domain'. He points out that male teachers can also face particular problems concerning how they are perceived by others, and these problems may have a part in shaping their professional identities. He suggests that popular discourse tends to see male teachers in primary schools as 'unusual', 'ambitious', 'odd' or even 'deviant'. In related work, Chris Skelton (2003) and Becky Francis (2008) develop the theme of the complexity of the gendered identities of male primary teachers. Foster and

Newman examine some of the challenges to their masculinity that male teachers may experience in primary school settings (Foster and Newman, 2005).

3.7 Life history

The personal dimensions of teacher identity come to the fore also in an important related stream of work that is defined as 'life history'. The essence of this approach is the extended interview with teachers about their lives and careers. The approach has been developed in particular by Pat Sikes, Ivor Goodson and a number of colleagues, and is represented through a series of publications (Sikes, Measor and Woods, 1985; Goodson, 1992; 2003). Work of this kind can reveal depths of insight that are not easily achieved using other methods. The 'emotional landscape' of teaching emerges powerfully from such work. At times, it can read like autobiography, or indeed as fiction, and some writers have used fictional forms of reporting their research. Of course, some teachers have actually used their experience as the basis of novels (see Menter, 2008 for examples and further discussion of different methodologies in examining teacher identity).

3.8 Teachers and other professions

One further perspective that may help to enrich our understanding of teacher identity is that which seeks to compare teaching with other professions. There has been a reasonable amount of work on 'professional learning' across a range of professions. Less comparative work of this sort, however, has been done on professional identities. Stronach *et al.* (2002) have suggested that nurses' professional identities have been in a state of flux, much like that of teachers. They consider 'the interactions and tensions between the 'economy of performance' and 'ecologies of practice'[6] discourses that shape the professional identities of teachers and nurses. They seek to offer a 'nuanced account of professional identities, stressing the local, situated and indeterminable nature of professional practice, and

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[6] These two phrases capture the tension between the growing influence of managerialism and the traditional institutionally-based cultures of nursing.

the inescapable dimensions of trust, diversity and creativity' (p. 109).

There is certainly scope for more comparative work of this kind to be undertaken, including comparisons with other professions and occupations. There has been some investigation of the identity formation of teacher educators – mostly people moving from teaching in schools into academic posts in higher education – which is of some relevance to this discussion and shows that there are some similarities in the identity transformations with those moving into nurse and social work education (Murray, 2007).

3.9 Globalisation and teacher identity

In a world which sees increasing 'globalisation', not only of the economy but also of social provision including education, it is important, finally, to consider the extent to which the features of professional identity we have been considering in this section are part of an international pattern. There have been a number of cross-national comparisons of the nature of teachers' work, although not all of them have focused on matters of identity. At the level of the UK, some 'home international' work has investigated whether the processes of workforce reform in Scotland and England have had similar or differing effects on teachers and their identities (Menter, Mahony and Hextall, 2004).

In the European context, Broadfoot and Osborn (1993) have compared the work of French and English teachers and revealed a number of differences that emerge, both from the different governance of teachers in the two countries and also from the different conceptions of culture and education as revealed in curriculum and pedagogy. The enormous comparative work by Robin Alexander (2001), on primary education pedagogy in five nations across the world, shows very powerfully how teachers' work relates to cultural and social contexts.

In the context of globalisation, Robertson (2000) suggests that teachers' work is being reshaped in similar ways around the world. She detects performativity and elements of deprofessionalisation in many contexts. Bash (2005) argues that ease of access to information via the internet necessitates a re-examination of the role and professional identity of teachers and of the nature of their professional knowledge.

3.10 Summary

At the end of her review of the impact of recent education reforms on teachers' working lives, Helsby acknowledges the rise of the effective teacher model (see 2.3.1 above) and suggests that this poses a threat to the health of education:

> Currently, it is rational management, systems-based approaches and efficiency that are being rewarded, whilst traditionally feminine qualities and values such as intuition, caring and people-based orientations are often belittled or ignored. Whilst this may accord well with a Taylorist view of the role of teachers as skilled but compliant technicians, it is at odds with a broader and more humanistic conception of them as independent moral agents, entrusted by society to reconcile the conflicting demands of education within their classrooms and to best meet the needs of their students, often in unpredictable ways. (Helsby, 1999:174-5)

The range of studies reviewed in this section has shown that there are some core values that have typified teacher identity, which include commitment to children, interests in particular curriculum subjects and sometimes a wider sense of moral duty and/or public service. When this range of values coincides with the policies and practices promoted at a national and local level, then teachers may feel reasonably fulfilled and indeed may feel that they can bring their own creativity to bear in their work. If, on the other hand, there are significant tensions between their value commitments and the policy context in which they are working, creativity may only come into play as a form of resistance or even subversion. It is to aspects of this somewhat paradoxical quandary that we now turn.

… we cannot expect learners to become creative in an environment where teachers do not share the same opportunities to develop their own creativity.

4 Creative dimensions in teacher development and identity

In this section, two complementary dimensions will initially be considered – the extent to which teacher education is informed by ideas of creativity and the extent to which teachers are prepared to contribute in the creative aspects of the curriculum.

4.1 Definitions of creativity

How we may understand the connections between creativity and teaching depends very much on how we understand the term creativity. An earlier literature review in this series considers the rhetorics of creativity, suggesting in a persuasive way that the term is used as a tool of persuasion rather than as a concept with a fixed meaning (Banaji and Burn, 2006). In this context, one might point out that few would wish to support uncreative – or non-creative or even anti-creative - teaching. There is no doubt that the term is a 'tricky' one. As argued elsewhere (Hartley, 2003; 2006; Hulme, Menter and Conroy, forthcoming, 2011), there does appear to have been a 'creative turn' in recent education policy at least in the UK – and indeed Creativity, Culture and Education (CCE) itself would seem to be a part of that turn.

Tom Bentley of the Demos think tank offers a definition of creativity, as follows: 'Creativity is the application of knowledge and skills in new ways to achieve a valued goal' (Bentley: 2001:136). He emphasises that creativity is a set of capacities that 'can be learned', which is of course a helpful approach for educators, in contrast to those definitions which see creativity as some fixed and 'endowed' capacity. In exploring what this may mean for schools, he makes a point which is deeply salient to this review, that we cannot expect learners to become creative in an environment where teachers do not share the same opportunities to develop their own creativity. In an education system for a knowledge economy, he argues,

> Teachers will need to model the kinds of learning behaviour which they are seeking to develop among students, and be able to apply their professional knowledge in contexts other than the classroom.
>
> (Bentley, 2001: 138)

In the previous section, we found evidence that many of the changes that have occurred in the recent past, in the ways in which teachers' work is defined and managed, have had the effect of reducing individual professional autonomy. The key term that permeated much of this discussion was performativity. So in this section an underlying question is, whether performativity and creativity are or are not counterposed. Is it possible for creativity to be demonstrated within a performative environment? Or does performativity stifle creativity? On the other hand, within a performative framework, might it be possible to measure teacher creativity, thereby endorsing it as a desirable element of teachers' work?

Furthermore, is it possible for education to be a creative process without teachers themselves being creative? Bentley's argument above is that this is indeed not possible. However, it could be argued that some of what is posited as 'creative' within pupil experience at school, could be produced without the need for the individual creativity of the teacher.

Flowing from this, then, there are therefore two particular dimensions that are worthy of exploration. The first is the extent to which teachers' work is in itself creative. The second is to ask whether curricula, as currently constructed, create opportunities for teachers to explore creativity with their pupils.

4.2 Creativity in teaching

As we saw earlier, many of the research studies carried out on teachers' work, in the wake of the dramatic upheavals brought about following the 1988 Education Reform Act, have emphasised the increasing central controls on teachers. Work in early years, primary and secondary sectors has suggested the encroachment of an increasingly 'performative' agenda on teachers' work. Initially this was through a tightened control of the curriculum and the introduction of increasingly frequent assessment procedures. During the 1990s and into the 21st century, additional performance measures were introduced directly into teachers' work through performance assessment systems associated with new pay regimes.

Whilst the general tenor of much of this research is a somewhat pessimistic one that suggests the deprofessionalisation of teaching, 'the terror of performativity' and 'a discourse of derision' (Ball, 2001 and 1990) that teachers were subjected to, nevertheless, there is some evidence that although experiencing considerable conflict through these reforms, there were ways and means through which teachers were able to assert their own values and commitments and to hold on to aspects of the professional identity of the kind reported in the previous section.

The work of Osborn *et al.* (2000) captures this complexity well:

> The many changes have centred on a progressive loss of professional freedom to determine what and how to teach, which has resulted in a perceived loss of creativity and a more or less grudging compliance on the part of teachers. The climate of increased managerialism based on targets and performance indicators has served to reinforce this compliance and to encourage a sense of instrumentalism in the pursuit and judgement of learning outcomes. Where teachers have been conscious of such an increased instrumentality in their teaching, this has been experienced by some as a source of conflict. However, other teachers, either as individuals or as groups, have been able to integrate these new pressures into their existing professional values. They have developed more collegial ways of working and new understandings about how to achieve their underlying professional values. These have in turn become the basis for a new 'professionalism' which is a synthesis of past and present ideologies. (Osborn *et al.*, 2000: 232-333).

In other words, some teachers have deployed their own creativity in mediating the policy changes that have been required. More recently, Troman *et al.* (2007) suggested that in coping with the twin forces of performativity and creativity, primary teachers in the schools they were studying were using their creativity most effectively in responding to the performative agenda, for example by finding creative ways of improving their pupils' results in tests. This seems to be a somewhat paradoxical deployment of creativity!

Concerns have also been expressed by more 'establishment' organisations – outside of education per se – about the potentially damaging effects of what the think-tank Demos called 'test mania'. As Brehony says:

Demos has been identified by Hartley (2003), along with the Department for Trade and Industry and the Department for Media, Culture and Sport, as sites where concerns were expressed in 2000, 'that an overly *dirigiste* approach to the management of teachers and an overly explicit classroom pedagogy would do little to release the creativity and innovation which a knowledge based economy would require' (Brehony, 2006:37).

There does indeed seem to be at present something of a contradiction between the forces of performativity and creativity in schools, that is visited most directly upon teachers as they go about their work in attempting to accommodate and respond professionally to both.

4.3 Creativity in the curriculum

It may be easier to identify creativity in a more straightforward way when we come to focus on the curriculum and consider the role of teachers in supporting the creative aspects of the curriculum.

Both in England and in Scotland, the approach to creativity in the school curriculum, which in the past was most closely associated with the arts subjects (see Craft *et al.*, 2001), is now a wider conception that draws on ideas about entrepreneurialism and so can be seen as touching many, if not most, curriculum areas (see Sefton-Green *et al.*, 2011, forthcoming). Indeed, the current wave of curriculum reform that is happening in some shape or form across all four UK jurisdictions, appears to be repositioning teachers in their relationship with the curriculum. This is perhaps most evident in Scotland, where the *Curriculum for Excellence* is being introduced. The boundaries between subjects have been weakened, so that more interdisciplinary work is being encouraged in both primary and secondary schools and teachers are being encouraged to develop the detail of the curriculum themselves, ideally in collaboration with each other, at a local level. This might be seen, at least to some extent, as a 'reprofessionalisation' of teaching through curriculum reclassification.

Hartley (2006) describes the creative and affective turns taken by the curriculum, especially in England, but is doubtful about the 'authenticity' of these developments, suspecting that in the current climate these

developments will simply be overshadowed by a continuation in the instrumentalism that has dominated for the past twenty years. As he puts it:

> What will count as creativity and emotion in education seems set to be filtered through a modernist sieve, thereby producing (at least as policy) a pastoral or therapeutic bureaucracy. (Hartley, 2006: 69/70)

A similar set of concerns led Ecclestone and Hayes (2009) to talk about the 'therapeutic turn' in education 'turning young people and adults into anxious, cautious and passive individuals rather than aspiring, optimistic and resilient learners'.

So, creativity in the curriculum is not without its problems. However, the creative turn and the therapeutic turn do not have to be associated with each other. Few would argue with the view that it is desirable for pupils to be encouraged to be creative and to be able to respond to the creative outputs and activities of others. Creativity can be associated with criticality as well, of course: indeed one might expect that the more creative people are, the more dissent and diversity will emerge. These are not tendencies that are always welcomed in institutional educational settings.

4.4 Implications for teachers

Returning to Bentley's definition of creativity, what then are the expectations of teachers? What are the new ways in which teachers can use their knowledge and skills to arrive at 'valued goals'? The valued goals may relate primarily to the learning for the pupils with whom the teacher is working, but may also relate to contentment and satisfaction with their own work. Thinking both of the past as well as of new opportunities that present themselves in the 21st century, we could list some dimensions of teaching that may lead to greater creativity and may contribute at the same time to the development of more positive teacher identities.

4.4.1 Teacher collaboration and enquiry

Although the conventional depiction of a teacher is as a sole adult within a classroom teaching a class of pupils, there are many ways in which

collaboration and an enquiry approach can enhance their work. Models of 'teacher as researcher' (Stenhouse, 1975) or of the enquiring practitioner (Campbell *et al.*, 2004) are invariably propounded as necessarily collaborative efforts. When teachers start to enquire into questions of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment within their own contexts, the outcomes invariably meet Bentley's definition. Valued goals are explicitly stated and such activities will lead to new approaches within the classroom and school.

4.4.2 Pupil voice

An awareness of the significance of pupil or student voice has been growing over recent years. In part, this is no doubt a result of the increasingly consumerist view of education. Ofsted reports, parental satisfaction, accountability generally, have all led to an aspiration to be responding to the concerns and interest of learners across all education sectors. In schools, the affective turn described above has also been a relevant influence here, with a recognition that schools have emotional climates too (sometimes equated with 'ethos'), that are likely to have a significant influence on pupils' learning. While the channels of communication of pupil voice may be much more 'managed' than they were in some of the radical 'pupil power' experiments of the 1960s and '70s, there is plenty of research evidence that the benefits of taking this seriously are numerous (Rudduck and McIntyre, 2007). Again, such considerations are very likely to lead to a more creative environment for both teachers and learners.

4.4.3 Community engagement

Community engagement may take many forms. At the most immediate level, it may be simply ensuring that the parents, carers and families of the school's pupils have a meaningful relationship with the school. Parents may be seen as part of the wider resource of the school; and while it may be hoped that they will be supportive of their own children's education, in ways appropriate to their stage of schooling, the parents may also contribute to more communal aspects of the school's life, through input to

a range of curricular, extra-curricular, social and recreational activities. The same may be said of local and regional community organisations. The idea of the community school, which emerged strongly in the 1970s (Poster, 1971) is perhaps making something of a return, as we see the promotion of such concepts as the 'wraparound school' and 'learning communities' based on schools. Furthermore, the availability of new technologies (see the next point) means that this wider community can be an international one relatively easily. The opportunities for teachers to connect globally, as well as the opportunities for schools and their pupils to form links and alliances with their counterparts in varied parts of the world, create the potential for intercultural learning of a new kind.

4.4.4 Exploiting new technologies

While the opportunities for global linking and international learning are one result of the availability of electronic technologies of communication, there are also many ways in which new technologies can enhance learning within the school. The availability, through the internet, of innumerable resources means that pupils can have access to a vast range of knowledge that could never have been included in textbooks or other traditional resources. This immediately changes the role of the teacher, who, while still directing the pupils to particular resources, must inevitably play a greater role than before: supporting the pupils in developing their critical faculties in judging the quality of resources and in making critical use of them – in the broadest sense of the term, media education becomes important for all teachers, not only those involved in 'media studies'. The use of technologies such as interactive whiteboards, smart boards and PowerPoint presentations can streamline the deployment of teaching resources in a way that would have been unimaginable only thirty years ago. However, again it is still crucial to remember that the technology is not the teacher, but is rather a tool and resource to be deployed by the teacher and learner in pursuit of 'valued goals'. Indeed, it is perfectly possible to incorporate new technologies into very traditional 'transmissional' models of teaching.

4.4.5 Creative partnerships

One way in which all four of the previous points may be combined is through the development of creative partnerships with external partners, something that we shall focus on in more detail in Section 6. The less that teachers see themselves working in isolation within classrooms (or schools), the more they are likely to perceive opportunities for developing external partnerships. Again, partnerships in themselves are not necessarily creative, but joint working of any kind between a teacher and others is likely to lead to new ideas and to interesting curricular and pedagogical developments.

Each of these five suggestions about how teachers may respond to the challenge of creativity does have implications for their professional identity. As teachers develop their work collaboratively with each other, respond to pupils more dynamically, engage with their wider school community, respond to new opportunities provided by technology and consider working in partnership with creative individuals and organisations, they cannot rest on a traditional notion of teacher as imparter of knowledge to children, let alone as the moral guide for children. There are of course likely still to be strong elements of these dimensions, but they will be complemented by this wider range of interactions, making the role and indeed the identity more complex and perhaps more challenging than ever before.

'Flexibility is increasingly demanded of those who make up the education workforce – whose traditional role boundaries are no longer static, but open to question. Within this new reality is a tension concerning who should be providing the nation's schooling.'
(Butt and Gunter, 2009:154-5).

5 **Teachers working with others**

This section reviews recent developments in definitions of teachers' work arising from changes in the education workforce as well as the growth of concerns about inter-professional working that have surfaced in the context of child protection. These themes are explored to indicate how some of the traditional boundaries of teacher professionalism are being stretched and/or permeated.

5.1 Teachers – not always a full-time permanent classroom post

The job of teaching has been re-shaped in a number of ways over recent years. There is increasing recognition that teaching may not be a lifelong career. People may choose to join the teaching profession as a second or third career, or enter the profession immediately after completing their degree as a short term posting before taking up their 'substantive' career, as in the *Teach First* scheme in England. But this section of the report is less concerned with career changers and their effect on the reshaping of teaching. Rather, what we consider here are: firstly the differing types of teaching contracts that may be undertaken and roles outside the classroom that teachers undertake, and secondly (in 5.2), the increasing range of non-teacher roles that are available in schools, roles which complement the work of teachers themselves. Then, in 5.3, we consider the impact of the encroachment of private sector companies into educational provision by the state.

The teaching workforce has become much more differentiated over recent years. There have been an increasing number of part-time posts, and supply teachers (i.e. temporary postings) have become a significant part of the workforce. Studies carried out in Scotland and England in 2003-5 revealed that supply teaching contributes a great deal to sustaining the presence of a full complement of teachers in schools (Menter *et al.*, 2004; Hutchings et al., 2006). There is a sense, therefore, in which employment for many members of the teaching profession has been casualised.

A growing number of teachers have been taking on new roles that have become available as new policies have been developed at national and local level. Posts such as advisory teachers, literacy or numeracy consultants, active sports co-ordinators or indeed cultural co-ordinators, are almost always filled by teachers, many of them moving out of regular classroom teaching. In many

cases these posts are designed to bring about change in schools, the postholders may therefore be seen as 'change agents' and will typically be working in a number of schools to a brief determined by the local authority, albeit often concerned with implementing a new national initiative. Little research has been carried out on this aspect of the re-shaping of the teaching workforce (and the employment of many of them by private companies, see 5.3 below).

On the other hand, there has been research on the 'workforce remodelling' (as it has been called in England) that has been common across the UK. One of the major planks of the English and Scottish workforce reforms at the turn of the century was the introduction of large numbers of new assistants of various kinds. This had been signalled in the then newly-elected Labour Government's Green Paper, published in 1998, *Teachers: Meeting the Challenge of Change* (DfEE, 1998). The huge expansion of ancillary staffing in schools, from about 60,000 in 1997 to 177,000 in 2008 (as reported by Blatchford *et al*, 2009), is underpinned by two official rationales. The one most closely connected to 'workforce reform' has sought to reduce the burden of administrative and routine tasks on teachers, so that they could give more time to the more skilled aspects of their work with pupils. There was some concern from teachers, voiced mainly through their trade unions, that the huge expansion of this cadre of relatively low-paid education workers might prepare the ground for a reduction in the numbers of teachers and that some ancillary staff might start to take over some of the core tasks of teachers.

The second rationale has been developed over a longer timescale, and concerns the requirements of children with special learning needs. Ever since the move towards the integration of children with 'learning difficulties' or 'additional support needs' into mainstream schools, signalled by the Warnock Report on 'special educational needs' (1978), there has been recognition that such integration may only be successful where staff are appointed to provide specialist support to teachers to help them manage the learning environment for a much more diverse group of pupils.

Indeed, for many years, teachers in schools and early years settings had been working in collaboration with others, including what were sometimes referred to as paraprofessionals. For example, in nursery education settings, teachers would typically be supported in a class by at least two qualified nursery

nurses. In secondary schools, a number of technicians would typically be employed to assist in science or art classes, through preparing resources and maintaining equipment. The idea of collaboration with others, therefore, was not a new one for teachers.

However, the changes that followed from the 1998 Green Paper were on an unprecedented scale and have not been without some controversy. Studies have been carried out on the educational impact of the deployment of teaching assistants, as well as on the actual nature of the work they have undertaken. In England, the report by Blatchford *et al.* (2009), on a recent study funded by the DCSF and the Wales Assembly Government, found that:

> … support staff presence resulted in increased individualisation of attention and overall teaching, easier classroom control, and that pupils showed more engagement and a more active role in interaction with adults. This supports teachers' positive view of support staff, but their presence also meant pupils' contact with teachers declined and at secondary level there was less individual and active interaction between teachers and pupils. (661)

A major study carried out in 2008/09 in England found many positive outcomes from the *Workforce Remodelling* process. Many teachers had experienced a reduction in their administrative tasks, and the principle that teachers should not take on administrative tasks was widely accepted. Many of the teaching assistants were very positive about the work they were doing. However, there was some concern that:

- Some support staff have taken responsibility for classes for longer than intended, taking on responsibility for which they were neither trained nor paid.
- Some cover supervisors have undertaken specified work that was not included on their job descriptions.
- Support staff at all levels reported excessive workload, despite large increases in support staff numbers. (Hutchings *et al*, 2009:18)

Butt and Gunter (2009) summarise a review of such developments in a number of countries, including England:

> Flexibility is increasingly demanded of those who make up the education workforce – whose traditional role boundaries are no longer static, but

open to question. Within this new reality is a tension concerning who should be providing the nation's schooling. This can be approached from the macro level – should education be seen as a public good, or a private service? Or from the micro level – should classroom teaching always be carried out by trained teachers? At the heart of this debate lies the professional identity of teachers, alongside the desires of both parents and students that teaching should still be carried out by trained professionals. (Butt and Gunter, 2009:154-5).

Teacher trade unions have expressed deep concern about the encroachment into their members' work domains that has occurred. There can be a real tension between on the one hand developing a flexible and collaborative approach, and on the other hand relinquishing the distinctive knowledge- and skill-set that enables teachers to justify their status and salary, that are usually considerably more than those of ancillary staff.

5.2 Teachers and inter-professional working

The other 'boundary issue' with teachers and teaching over recent years has been a consequence of the promotion of inter-agency working and inter-professional working. These developments have been spurred in part by the sequence of heavily publicised events in which individual children have been subjected to neglect and/or abuse. Among the best known cases are those in London of Victoria Climbié in 2000 (which led to the Laming Inquiry) and 'Baby Peter' in 2007 (leading to a second Laming Inquiry). In Birmingham in 2008, the death of Kyra Ishaq occurred following her removal from school to be educated at home, even though concerns about her welfare had been reported by teachers to social services.

One of the common messages to emerge from the aftermath of these tragic cases has been that the possibility of further such occurrences is likely to be reduced if all agencies with child welfare concerns are working more closely together. There has been a huge shift to the provision of 'children's services' rather than education and social work and health. This is reflected in the renaming and reorganisation of local authority departments across the UK and by the renaming of the Government Department in England, to become the Department of Children, Schools and Families, in 2008. In England, this process had been given enormous impetus by the launch of the *Every Child*

Matters programme in 2003, and also by the *Sure Start* programme for early years provision.

While these moves do not imply teachers taking on the work of social workers or health visitors, they do imply teachers working more closely with these other professionals and also imply greater awareness of the skills and experience of these colleagues. There are sometimes tensions and identity conflicts arising from these developments. As Hulme and Cracknell (2010) put it:

> Professionals working within integrated contexts now relate to an increasing number of partners, which raises significant issues for professional learning and practice… The existence of multiple identities in complex teams presents a number of challenges: the generation of shared understandings and a shared language across the different knowledge bases informing professional practice (for example, medical, social, psychological and educational) and the diverse settings, communities and cultures. This new terrain requires new forms of collaborative working and a commitment to the co-construction of knowledge. (55)

The sorts of border skirmishes about the roles of teachers described in this section are also happening in other developed countries (see also Menter, 2009b).

5.3 The rise of the private sector

A third way in which the professional identity of teachers has been affected in the recent past has been the significant growth of the private sector within education service provision. Throughout most of the twentieth century, teachers working in state-funded schools would see themselves very much as public servants. By and large, they would see themselves as very distinguishable from teachers working in private schools, and few teachers would move between the two sectors. However, under the later Conservative administrations of the 1990s and certainly following the election of New Labour in 1997, the boundaries between public and private sector have been becoming increasingly porous. One of the first manifestations of this was in the rapid growth of private employment agencies as a major

source of supply teachers. Whereas in the past, each school had tended to have its own list of supply teachers or would call on a list held by the local authority, employment agencies were taking over the role of managing and deploying supply teachers. Some of the organisations were existing employment agencies that branched out into teaching, others were set up specifically as education agencies. Then, following the creation of Ofsted in 1992 and the new approach to school inspection, many new companies were set up, often by former teachers or local education authority staff, to secure the commercial contracts to carry out inspections. Such approaches developed further after 1997, and much of the implementation of the new performance pay system that followed the Green Paper (such as 'threshold assessment of teachers) was largely carried out by private sector companies (see Mahony *et al.*, 2002).

There has thus emerged a large cadre of education professionals – most of them teachers at one time – who are not employed by a school or a local authority or even by the government, but by a private sector company. The management of many local authorities has also been taken over by private firms, often after the previous public administration was found to be lacking (by a private service company inspection). The most detailed account of this penetration of a key public service by the private sector, funded by taxpayers' money, is provided by Ball (2007) in his book *Education plc.*

5.4 Conclusion

In this section we have considered a number of ways in which the organisation of teachers and their work has been changing. Firstly, there has been a process of greater casualisation with more deployment of short-term, part-time and supply posts. Secondly, there has been the introduction of greatly increased numbers of non-teaching staff into school settings. Thirdly, we have seen teachers being required to be much more active in their relationships with other professionals, particularly in health and social work. And finally, we have seen how employment through private sector organisations has become almost commonplace in state education. These are all examples of former boundaries being transgressed, and each of them has some impact on the way in which teachers see themselves and their work.

'Artists in schools can help raise pupils' self-esteem, enhance their learning of core skills, contribute significantly to the quality of school life and widen children's horizons.'

(Ofsted 1999)

6 Creative partnerships working in the classroom

In this section, we consider some examples of teachers working with creative partners in their classrooms and schools. Firstly we look at some of the existing published research, and secondly at some of the work currently under way.

6.1 Teachers working with artists

Previous sections of this report have considered questions of teacher identity mainly in general terms. We have seen both how significant questions of identity are in the working lives of teachers and how there have been shifts in these professional identities and also in changing relations with other workers in schools. In this section, we focus in to examine more closely the experiences of teachers working in creative partnerships with others. A range of approaches have been used, and these are reviewed and commented upon with the aim of developing an understanding of the factors that are important when considering how best to engage teachers with creative partners.

The longest established partnerships of this kind may be theatre-in-education projects, artists in schools, visiting musicians and writers and, sometimes, work with museums. Many such initiatives have relied on local funding, either from the school or the local authority or from regional or national arts bodies. It would be fair to say that in most such work, until very recent times, a number of assumptions have been made about how to approach the projects. In 1999, Ofsted published a review on artists in schools under the rubric:

> Artists in schools can help raise pupils' self-esteem, enhance their learning of core skills, contribute significantly to the quality of school life and widen children's horizons.

There has been a tendency in the past for the emphasis in this kind of work to be on short-term enjoyment and development, with less attention to longer-term learning or to sustainable cultural change in schools. In many ways, that is precisely the challenge that the work of CCE, through the Creative Partnerships programme, sought to take on.

In her evaluation of *Artists in Sites for Learning (AiSfL)*, Pringle (2002) reviews literature related to such work. She says:

The history of the involvement of practising artists in formal education has been charted by a number of writers. Burgess (1995), in a short history, identifies the early 1970s as the time when artists began to work in schools in the UK. A number of schemes were established to encourage the links between artists and schools, including the 'Artists in Schools' scheme set up by The Gulbenkian Foundation. The aims of these early schemes were broad and, interestingly, included providing employment for artists as well as enhancing schools' arts provision. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s projects involving artists in formal education developed and diversified to include a range of approaches and experiences, from the one-off visit to the longer term residency. (18)

In carrying out her evaluation of the particular project AiSfL, she sets out a list of possible relationships between an artist working in schools and the 'participants':

- artist as educator
- artist as collaborator
- artist as social activist
- artist as role model
- artists as researcher/enquirer.

Each of these approaches seems to have validity, but each one has slightly different implications both for the pupils and for the teachers. Indeed, it is interesting to consider whether the artist working in school sees her/his primary partners as the pupils/students or as the staff, including the teachers. If it is the pupils, then the teacher who usually has full responsibility for those pupils will need to adjust that relationship to allow 'space' for the artist to move into. On the other hand, if the artist sees the teacher as the primary partner, there again the teacher will need to work with the artist to find a mutually productive way of collaborating. In reality, in most situations there are likely to be elements of both sets of relationships, making the situation, at least potentially, very complex indeed. Given that each arrangement is (usually) time-bound and context-specific, the challenges are somewhat different for teachers than they are when establishing a way of working with regular education employees (teaching assistants etc).

Pringle also identifies that artists working in teaching and learning contexts are very often deploying skills and insights that overlap with those of teachers.

The extent to which artists are aware of or draw on particular pedagogic theories is not clear from the literature, although descriptions of their activities suggest they exemplify good 'teaching' practice, particularly in relation to creative and collaborative teaching and learning. (2002: 31)

Tarr (1996) reports on an in-service initiative that brought artists and teachers together to develop ways of collaborating effectively: She writes that as part of the process,

Artistes and teachers worked together in schools for a day, thus maintaining a classroom focused approach, which aimed to enhance and enrich the arts education of pupils in the schools represented. Through the process of reflection-in-action teachers and artistes were encouraged to theorise from their practice in order that they might develop their pedagogical perspectives of arts education.

Hall *et al*. (2007) offer a fascinating insight into the comparison of artists' and teachers' pedagogical practice (see also Hall and Thomson, 2007). They investigated the interaction of artists and teachers in one primary school. Effective partnership work, they conclude:

…relies on teachers and artists being willing to work together as partners, to respect one another's expertise and to give time to exploring theoretical standpoints and analysing pupils' work. (Hall *et al*., 2007: 617).

In a project funded by Creative Partnerships Nottingham in its early days, Morwenna Griffiths and Felicity Woolf trialled what they called 'an apprenticeship model' for learning for the arts. They were interested in the learning of pupils, artists and teachers in their scheme which suggests four stages of arts practitioner development: observer, participant, novice and independent. In relation to teachers and other staff, they reported

…a great deal of evidence that teachers, teaching assistants and school technicians had gained skills and confidence which will enable them to operate independently in new areas. We would interpret this as adult learners who have reached the stage of independent practitioner (Griffiths and Woolf, 2009: 570).

6.2 Recent research

Creativity, Culture and Education (CCE) has commissioned a number of studies from the National Foundation for Educational Research. In their evaluation of the first two years of Creative Partnerships (Sharp *et al.*, 2006) some findings emerged about what made for successful partnership work. The attitudes of school staff were found to be very important:

> Participants felt that staff attitudes were an important contributory factor. School staff had to be willing to invest time and interest in the projects and to be flexible enough to alter their practice in order to accommodate project requirements. Similarly, Creatives needed to be committed to the projects and willing to work with the staff to ensure that projects met school needs and realised their potential.

> Several of the participants spoke of the importance of "true partnership" between all involved. This meant that everyone (school staff, young people and Creatives) had a stake in the project and a commitment to making it work. It also meant the active involvement of young people as creative individuals, not just following a formula laid down by adults. (228).

This, of course, resonates with some of the comments made in an earlier part of this review (see sections 2 and 3).

One study (Downing *et al,* 2007) looked at how teachers share experiences concerning creativity and found that those they interviewed used a range of means to do this. A more recent NFER project, is entitled *Evaluation of the nature and impact of the Creative Partnerships Programme on the teaching workforce* (NFER, 2010). The report from this relatively large-scale study offers a useful typology of four different 'domains' of impact on teachers:

- personal impacts
- interpersonal and leadership impacts
- teaching and learning impacts
- career impacts.

It was the first two of these which were most prevalent for the teachers surveyed in the study. This can be seen from the list of the most commonly reported impacts on teachers which emerged:

- development of skills for working with creative professionals
- enhanced confidence to try new things and to 'have a go'
- provision of skills to help children to be more creative
- enhanced enthusiasm for their job
- development of the curriculum in their key stage, department or school
- communication and sharing of their learning with other teaching colleagues
- development of skills for leading projects.

The study found that the overall impact on teachers of their involvement with Creative Partnerships is overwhelmingly positive, and indeed, that much professional development is achieved through such work.

In pursuing the realisation of the full potential for the enrichment of educational experiences through teachers working in partnership with creative professionals, it will continue to be important to provide opportunities for both sets of partners (i.e. teachers and creative professionals) to engage in appropriate professional development. Much of this will be for serving teachers and artists, but there is also a need to consider how such work can be more routinely integrated into initial teacher education and training.

These five strands [teacher collaboration and enquiry, pupil voice, community engagement, exploiting new technologies and creative partnerships] may all contribute to the re-emergence of a confident professionalism among teachers that will be congruent with a reconstructed professional identity better suited to the twenty-first century. While acknowledging the need for public accountability in their work, teachers may also celebrate this new professionalism as being one that is based upon a recognition of their distinctive contribution to society through the education of children.

7 **Conclusion**

Through reviewing the changing experiences of teachers in their professional development and work over the twentieth century and into the current century, we have seen how their professional identities have been the subject of a significant amount of change. The historical commitment to public service, and often to a moral standpoint in their work, has been challenged as the definitions of teaching have become more precise – some would say formulaic and technicist. The scope for an enhanced form of professionalism has apparently diminished. However, parallel with this tendency there have been at least two other significant factors at play. One is a rhetoric of greater professionalism and of contributing to the development of a world-class education service that can play its part in supporting the country to compete in the global knowledge-based economy. Education has become more directly connected to the economy. But then, secondly, the professional demands on teachers have become more complex, especially in relation to working with other professions and in their accountability to parents and the community.

Their success in fulfilling these latter responsibilities includes success in implementing more creativity into the curriculum and in working effectively in inter-professional ways with and alongside others. This is propitious for the further development of creative partnerships in schools and classrooms.

In Section 4, a number of areas were identified that could be developed to enhance the overall professionalism of teachers' work. In conclusion, we now reiterate these and suggest what the implications might be for the development of further effective creative partnerships.

- teacher collaboration and enquiry
- pupil voice
- community engagement
- exploiting new technologies
- creative partnerships.

These five strands may all contribute to the re-emergence of a confident professionalism among teachers that will be congruent with a reconstructed professional identity better suited to the twenty-first century. While acknowledging the need for public accountability in their work, teachers may also celebrate this new professionalism as being one that is based upon a

recognition of their distinctive contribution to society through the education of children. This identity is more complex and multi-faceted than previously, because of the growing range of expectations and relationships that they now experience.

As more sophisticated forms of professional development are constructed to respond to these changes, it will be important that all five strands are taken into account. This will be crucial in initial teacher education, in early professional development – including the new MTL programme in England – as well as in CPD for experienced teachers and school leaders. In parallel with this, where creative partnerships are being developed and promoted, then firmly grounded opportunities for professional development should also be provided for those entering into these partnerships with teachers.

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