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Challenging the ‘New Professionalism’: from Managerialism to Pedagogy?

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Abstract

In recent years there have been changes made to the conceptualisation of continuing professional development for teachers in both the Scottish and English systems of education. These changes have been instigated by successive UK governments (and more recently, by the Scottish Executive), together with the General teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS) and the General Teaching Council for England (GTCE). This paper argues that these changes have not provided a clear rationale for CPD, but instead have introduced tensions between the concept of teacher education and that of training. The need for a less confused understanding of CPD and its purposes is underlined, as is the need for school based approaches to continuing teacher education. Arguably, teacher education must move from technicist emphases to a model which integrates the social processes of change within society and schools with the individual development and empowerment of teachers.
Challenging the ‘New Professionalism’: from Managerialism to Pedagogy?
F. Patrick, C Forde and A McPhee

Introduction

In recent years, there have been significant changes in the conceptualisation and purpose of the continuing professional development of teachers in the Scottish and English education systems. These changes have taken place against a background of a neo-liberal set of discourses, initially promulgated by the first Thatcher government in 1979. The educational reforms undertaken by that government and by subsequent administrations (including New Labour) have confused rather than enhanced the underpinning rationale for the continuing professional development (CPD) of teachers.

As Livingston and Robertson highlight (2001: 185), ‘initial teacher education, as the first stage of professional education, is the foundation on which all further professional development is built.’ Initial teacher education (ITE) in the UK has been moved towards a competence based model, and this move has introduced certain tensions: do we educate beginning teachers or do we train them? Do we then build CPD into teacher induction and further professional development on a functionalist training model where competence is the goal, or do we facilitate critical reflection and enquiry with the aim of encouraging pedagogic excellence?

Arguably, CPD in Scotland and England does not rest on a coherent framework (see Livingston and Robertson, 2001: 186). As has been well documented in recent times, this lack of coherence manifests itself in tensions between competence based training and education. However, these tensions are also evident in the lack of fit between the competing discourses of professional autonomy and accountability, and between CPD that is undertaken willingly and that which is compelled. These tensions will be
explored in this paper within three contexts relevant to both the Scottish and English education systems. Firstly, the conceptual difficulties which arise from the competence based model as it relates to CPD and to the ITE/CPD continuum will be explored. Secondly, the implications of neo-liberal reformatory educational policy will be analysed in its effects on models of teacher development. Thirdly, assumptions about the rise of a ‘new professionalism’ as elaborated in current GTCS and GTCE rhetoric will be challenged.

**Continuing professional development?**

There are different conceptions of teacher professional development in the Scottish and English education systems. Similarities do exist but, at the risk of overgeneralisation, the Scottish system broadly holds to a long-standing ethos of teacher education (though this is currently shifting), while in England there has been a decisive move towards the ethos of training (see Section 2, *From Managerialism to Pedagogy*). By embracing the notion of training, the English system has removed many, though not all, of the tensions arising from the application of competence-based models to teacher education: these are perhaps more overt within the Scottish system. This section will explore some of these tensions with specific reference to the continuing professional development (CPD) of teachers.

There have been wide-ranging changes within teacher education in the UK since 1979. Neo-liberal policy has affected many aspects of education reform and has led to greater centralised control of initial teacher education/training (ITE/T) which has affected the form and content of ITE/T courses. Following from this, continuing professional development tends to be viewed as a further development of skills
adduced as relevant from ITE/T competences and standards for full registration. This
trend is evident in Scotland, but has been more marked in the English reforms.

Issues concerning the nature of teacher professionalism are not confined to the UK.
Carlgren (1999) cites the Swedish government’s lack of concern for teacher
professionalism; Koetsier & Wubbels (1995) discuss the accusation that teacher
training in the Netherlands has failed to prepare teaching students adequately for the
realities of the professional role; the personal responsibility for annual programmes of
continuing development is mentioned by Hansen & Simonsen (2001) in the
Norwegian context; and in Australia, Sachs (1997: 263) criticises the importing of
market principles and the drive for standards which has meant that ‘politicians and
bureaucrats are demanding greater conformity of education offerings which are
transparent and superficially testable’.

These aspects of political reform have also been introduced in the UK with significant
effects. Initial teacher education/training is no longer considered to be adequate on its
own: instead, career-long development must be ensured through agreed annual plans
of CPD for every teacher. But teacher education/training in the UK still ‘lacks explicit
justification of its aims and assumptions’ (Ovens, 2000: 178). Moreover, both systems
rest on a set of ill-defined suppositions of what it is to be a teacher professional: these
suppositions characterise not just initial teacher education/training, but the recently
introduced induction periods in Scotland and England, as well as underpinning
concepts of those forms of CPD deemed necessary to a teacher’s career. This is more
than an issue about the practicalities of content and delivery of professional
development, though these aspects are important: it is an issue that centres on how the
profession characterises itself through the CPD it offers. The type and quality of CPD provided by local authorities arises from how teaching is conceptualised: is CPD to enhance professional autonomy and practice, or is it to enhance performativity?

Continuing professional development in both systems thus rests on a dual ambiguity (autonomy-performativity), but more than this, it rests on tensions between the notion of competence, and the notions of effectiveness and excellence that can be said to be characteristic of any professional role. In Scotland the McCrone committee was set up in 1999 against a background of widespread and long-standing political, media and public criticism of teacher performance and following troubled pay negotiations between teacher unions and local authority employers. One of the concerns of the Committee was to address the perceived erosion of professionalism within teaching and to address the concomitant demoralisation of the teaching force. Its remit was to ‘inquire widely’ into what changes were needed in pay, conditions of service, promotion structures and continuing professional development to ensure ‘a committed, professional and flexible teaching force’ (McCrone, 2000: 1).

However, the McCrone committee undertook its investigations and produced its report explicitly within the context of improving standards of school education. The report also tied professional status to pay and conditions and this constituted a missed opportunity to redefine what Scotland expected of a professional teaching force. Indeed, following the changes instigated by the McCrone Report and subsequent agreement, the Scottish system of ITE linked to the induction year reinforces rather than challenges the moves towards performativity. ITE and induction models in the UK stress a specific and simplistic conception of professionalism: firstly, that the
professional is one who is competent and develops excellence only in respect of measurable pre-defined standards; secondly, that professional skills can be described readily, defined meaningfully and delivered through simple transfer (with values, attitudes, knowledge and understanding being classed as sub-sets of general teaching skills). As Hegarty notes (2000: 456), ‘excessive focus on competences’ tends to lead to ‘an impoverished notion of teaching which reduces it to the unreflective application of rules devoid of insight and creativity’.

Of concern is the way in which CPD is now following this tendency in an assumed continuum from ITE/T and induction with the danger that it will retain the competence ideology with the lack of response to critique that has characterised the competence-based movement. This disregard of critique has been seen in government policy on education in both Scotland and England. Policy in Scotland has been introduced via processes largely devoid of worthwhile dialogue with teacher education institutions (TEIs): this has had particular impact on how teaching is conceptualised as a profession within ITE and CPD. McNally argues (2002: 151) that:

Such an absence of dialogue with the critical face of HE has characterised the policy making establishment within Scotland for more than a decade… Even a willingness to engage with some of the softer extant ideas in the literature has been absent. If not actually suppressed, such input was not encouraged. As a result, potentially useful models of teacher development… did not inform initial thinking on the national project on professional development for teachers.
The reinstated Scottish parliament has instigated far-reaching changes through the Standards in Scotland’s Schools Etc Act 2000, but has done so within the ‘ideological perspective [politicians] held on teachers and teacher accountability’ (Weir, 2001: 75). Contrary to the recommendations of the Sutherland Report of 1997, TEI’s have no role within induction and a lessening role as providers of models of CPD which could move beyond standards, issues of basic delivery, and performance.

CPD within the Scottish system, as evidenced in the Standards for Full Registration, is not offered within a framework of the autonomous professional choosing which development best suits the demands and conditions of work together with her interests, aptitudes and abilities, but instead is presented narrowly as a tangible sign of commitment to professionalism. This commitment must be consistent and must endure for the length of a career, but is not seen to arise from the teacher’s sense of professionalism: rather the teacher is to be contractually obliged to undertake CPD, and CPD is arguably presented as both an incipient threat, (if the teacher does not undertake enough CPD they cannot be termed ‘professional’) and as less of an opportunity and more of a life sentence (see McWilliam, 2002: 298), where professional development must be undertaken and must be demonstrated to have been undertaken.

The tyranny of the professional portfolio has been brought to bear, particularly on newly qualified teachers, and the reflective practitioner within CPD conceptualised in simplistic terms. It is a well-rehearsed but important argument that reflection for the purposes of portfolio writing will not necessarily produce changes within practice or enhance professional development. Instead, it may move us towards a CPD culture
where reflection and attendance ‘produce a form of self-surveillance in which reflective practice becomes a managerialist orthodoxy’ (Clegg, 1999: 168). There is a danger within the UK systems that CPD becomes a process where teachers are not brought to think critically about practice and professionalism, but instead are brought to internalise prevailing notions of competence and outcome driven practice. With recent changes, this process of internalisation begins with ITE/T and the induction period, continues through obligatory CPD, and leads to circumstances that have the potential to ‘severely circumscribe the empowerment of the individual practitioner’ (Clegg, 1999: 172).

There is little within government policy, benchmarking or competences to help the practitioner develop their understanding of what it is to be a professional teacher. CPD often reinforces the notion of the teacher as deliverer of measurable standards. Furthermore, in both systems, CPD is characterised by the ‘short-term and the short course [replacing] the longer and more difficult programmes of study’ (Tomlinson, 1994: 49). A piecemeal approach to CPD denies teachers a coherent, long term strategy for development, and this is nowhere more evident than in CPD expectations for newly qualified teachers in Scotland.

Models of ITE/T and CPD in Scotland and England are entrenching the concept of the teacher as a quasi-professional and as a technician. Teachers must ask themselves if this is what they want. CPD might be one means to encourage a redefinition of professionalism which moves away from regarding efficiency and standards as a panacea, and away from regarding teaching as ‘commonsense’ instead of ‘theory-informed’ (see Sachs, 2000: 79). The danger is that CPD will further compound the
superficial notion of professionalism demonstrated in ITE/T competences and in standards for full registration, and that opportunities to step outside the government’s agenda and redefine professionalism through CPD will be overlooked.

The moves towards a narrowly defined, technicist view of the competent teacher have their roots in the educational reforms of three Thatcher governments. The impetus for, and the effects of, this shift will now be considered.

**From Managerialism to Pedagogy.**

Earlier, we referred to the impact of neo-liberal and reformatory discourses upon education and education professionals in the UK in the 1980s. The policy decisions taken in education then were of great significance, but have been discussed in detail elsewhere. However, Ball (1990) comments that the important point is that, analytically, education was no longer separated off from other areas of social and economic policy, becoming part of the mainstream of Thatcherite political ideology and policy.

One of the implications of this movement in policy was that much greater central control of education occurred. This led to the implementation of the National Curriculum, testing, league tables, devolved school budgets and local management of schools. In Scotland, as we know, the policy community in the educational sector operates in a different manner and the then Minister of State for Education, Michael Forsyth - himself an ardent Thatcherite in a country which had largely rejected the tenets of that philosophy (see Humes, 1995:49) - chose to implement curricular
'guidelines' rather than 'orders' in what could have been a wholesale transfer of the package of reform from south of the border.

The implications of the reforms for teacher development were in fact quite profound. To exemplify this, if the underpinning construction of the teacher is that of the autonomous expert who has knowledge of and responsibility for the learning of her pupils, and if these are in turn informed by a deeper and more subtle knowledge of learning; then quite different sets of guidelines/orders will be produced than for a teacher whose sole task is to carry into practice the advice and instructions of others, and whose input into the framing of curricula is severely limited (Carr, 1992; Ball 1995). The latter perception may be seen as de-professionalising (cf Bottery and Wright, 2000).

An emergent model in both systems of the UK over the last decade of the 1990s has been one in which professionalism is essentially determined not by autonomy or by the extent to which the teaching professional is informed, - but rather by the extent to which that professional is effective. And effectiveness, as we have stated, is defined in terms of performativity. Together with this, comes the concomitant aspect of managerialism. Ways have to be found to manage these professionals in order to maximise their output. The creeping onset of the discourse of managerialism in education during the 1980s and 1990s is in itself notable.

Perhaps one of the most widely known papers which characterised the effectiveness movement of the 1980s was that of Mortimore (1988). The underlying assumption of the effective schools movement was that the factors which made one school more
effective than another - given similar intakes - could be identified and could be used as a basis for change. This assumption continues to have credence in government discourses for 'failing schools' in England and Wales. Here, management of a 'failing school' may be taken over by staff from one identified as 'successful' or 'effective'; with the degree of success or effectiveness identified according to performance data. The school effectiveness movement has also made an impact on thinking in Scotland: in 1988, similar lists of 'effectiveness factors' - this time derived from the observations of HMI - were cited in both Effective Primary Schools (SED 1988) and Effective Secondary Schools (SED 1988).

Further, the outcomes based, data driven school effectiveness approach became embedded in professional development materials - originally characterised by the industrial discourse of 'staff training'. This discourse continues in terms of current national agendas (both UK and Scottish) and is seen in initiatives such as Raising Standards, Setting Targets (SEED, 1998-2000) which have bridged both a change in government and the devolution of power to the Scottish Parliament. This agenda continues in the National Priorities in Education for Scotland, established as a result of the Standards in Scotland’s Schools Act referred to in the previous section - where the first priority is

To raise standards of educational attainment for all in schools, especially in the core skills of literacy and numeracy and to achieve better levels in national measures of achievement including examination results.

(Learning and Teaching Scotland, 2002: section 1:1)
The attainment of this and the other national priorities is to be ascertained through a series of performance management strategies, including performance measures and quality indicators.

The teacher is no longer the autonomous, self directed individual, but rather someone who interacts at the boundaries of expertise, knowledge specialism and state control (eg Eraut, 1994). A good professional is defined as someone who excels in delivering the designated targets, who implements conscientiously and carefully the plans which others have defined for her/him and who constantly reflects upon the effectiveness of her/his performance. This, of course, is not unique to education: a similar situation may be discerned in other spheres of professional activity such as medicine and engineering (Goodlad, 1984). Professional development is that which enables the teacher to 'deliver' more effectively what has been decided. The question which has to be resolved is how this is best done.

In Scotland at least, it is possible to discern from the middle of the 1990s a second discourse which aligns more consistently with the model of professional autonomy and expertise. In 1996, a text was published which has had a great deal of influence on the thinking of Scottish teachers and on their development: 'Teaching for Effective Learning' (SCCC, 1996). This comparatively brief pamphlet - about the same length as 'Effective Secondary Schools' - concentrates not on managerialism, but upon pedagogy. It contains a wide ranging sweep of research on learning and teaching. It covers critical theories of learning, such as the theory of multiple intelligences (Gardner, 1993) and concepts such as the importance to learning of emotional development (Goleman, 1996). It is an excellent summary of basic principles of
effective teaching. From the perspective of our argument, the important thing is that it refers to the model of the informed and intelligent practitioner, not to that of the practitioner as managed deliverer.

It is, we believe, possible to discern the effect which such a paradigm shift has had on the professional development of teachers in Scotland. There has been an increase in terms of the availability of courses, both awards-bearing and school focused, which relate to theories of learning and in particular, to theories of brain learning, metacognition and accelerated learning. These have been provided by universities, local authorities and individual private educational consultants. There has been an enhanced awareness of, at least, the popular literature relating to these theories (for example, Armstrong, 1994; Jensen, 1994 and 1995; Lazear, 1999).

It is possible, on as yet an anecdotal basis rather than as the result of empirical research, to observe that this shift has had some effect on professional practice in our partner schools. As school experience tutors, we visit primary and secondary schools in Scotland and see some practitioners making use of brain-learning techniques on a daily basis. As university staff, we ensure that our own students are aware of the importance of understanding theories of learning in our courses. Yet we observe these phenomena on an uneven basis: not all the schools practise these techniques as yet, and schools often find it difficult to ally these techniques with drives for measurable outcomes.

Further, there is some evidence that in Scotland this shift has had impact at the policy level in that CPD is now seen as a necessary concomitant of teacher professionalism.
Although we have stated that the McCrone report constituted something of a missed opportunity to redefine professionalism outwith a competence based arena, the report did have some valuable comments to make on teacher professionalism in general. For example, it was argued that teacher CPD should not be simply a matter of implementation of the latest policy or managerial diktats, but that field professionals themselves should be the prime movers in determining their own development (Independent Committee of Inquiry, 2000).

However, programmes of advanced professional development such as the Chartered Teacher Initiative are apparently centred on the same tenets of professional values and commitments, professional knowledge and understanding, professional action and professional and personal attributes which constitute the basis of the standard for qualification at the end of initial teacher education and after the training year, for the standard for full registration. Thus, the continuum of professional development is seen as being made explicit. There are clearly aspects of performance management in that standards and benchmarks are laid out and that these have to be fulfilled in order for the relevant standards to be awarded.

So there are, in Scotland, two discourses relating to the professional development of teachers: that of managerialism and that of pedagogic excellence. Are these competing discourses, or are they complementary? We argue elsewhere in this paper that continuous professional development must result in improvement at the level of the classroom, and therefore at the level of the individual learner. Government statistics (and government spin) tell us that standards of achievement in schools are rising - so can any of this be attributed to improvements in pedagogy rather than the
results of managerialism? While there is some evidence that managerial aspects do result in school improvement (eg Mortimore, 1991), there is other evidence which suggests that long-distance auditing and policing by centralised agencies does not (Scott and Dinham, 2002). And there is also evidence that achievement in pupils can be raised as a result of CPD for teachers (Flecknoe, 2000). Reeves et al (2001) argue that it essential that the pedagogy of CPD itself is considered when addressing even the management training of head teachers, now interestingly re-invented as the Scottish Qualification for Headship, with the implications of the change in terminology being reflected in the approach which the materials adopt. This point is developed by Peter Wright (2002), who also argues that the learning of professionals is critical in the delivery of the desired outcomes. Reeves et al (2002) highlight the importance of the contexts in which this learning takes place - for example, collegiality and team working. Thus, there is a sense in which the discourses are not complementary but co-linear. We will now argue that the two discourses have implications for the conceptualisation of the teacher as a professional.

**The ‘New Professionalism’**

The managerial approach and the developmental approach signal competing constructs of professionalism which underpin the policy framework in Scotland. An example of this is the Quality Initiative in Scottish Schools, which highlights the process of self evaluation and development by schools and their teachers. The major element of this initiative is ‘How Good is Our School’, (SOEID, 1996) a set of performance indicators which are also used in the inspection of the performance of schools in Scotland. In this process the tension between a managerial and a developmental stance is evident.
Over the last two years the debate has noticeably evolved with much discussion about ‘the new professionalism’. We need to consider the implications of this notion for the continuing professional development of teachers: does this notion help resolve the tension between these two positions?

The McCrone Report refers to a ‘new professionalism’; this also features in GTCS discourse. However, there is little clarity in what the term ‘new professionalism’ means. Jack McConnell, then Minister for Education in Scotland in an interview for the GTCS Newsletter (2001) sums up the current construction of professionalism:

The theory is that you cannot be a professional unless you are continually developing your skills, knowledge and expertise, always searching for improvement. If you do not have that commitment then you are losing your professionalism (Scobie, 2001: 7).

Following the McCrone agreement there has been a proliferation of CPD opportunities for the various stages in professional development from the induction year through the standard for full registration, Chartered teacher, and Scottish Qualification for Headship which is set to become mandatory in 2005. These are significant attempts to make the provision of continuing professional development opportunities for teachers more systematic and coherent.

However, this proliferation of ‘inservice courses’ will not in itself achieve the improvement that is being sought with this range of initiatives. We need to consider
more fully the relationship between continuing professional development and improvement in class and school practice. If we examine existing trends in provision for continuing professional development, the focus has been on content of the curriculum. Perhaps this is understandable in the light of the fact that since 1989 Scotland has faced significant changes in curricular programmes at every level in education: for example the 5-14 set of curriculum guidelines in primary and early years of secondary education, Higher Still in the secondary sector and the 3-5 Curriculum Framework in the Pre Five Sector. More recently, attention has turned from the content of the various curricular programmes to issues related to teaching and learning – supporting a view that the discourse of pedagogy is gaining credence.

This change of focus is to be welcomed but much of this provision consists largely of short courses, is fragmented and reflects a traditional model of either external courses or the visiting ‘expert’ where the focus is on the understanding of a specific repertoire of skills. There is no doubt that the development of knowledge and understanding is a critical issue within any development programme. What is lacking in these examples and more pervasively in the provision for the continuing professional development of teachers in Scotland is a clear articulation of the nature of ‘teacher learning’.

Increasingly, there is a move from traditional course based provision to the recognition of the potential of work based learning within continuing professional development. Within both the SQH programme, the CT programme and the teacher induction programme, work based learning is the main process of development. Again, we need to be clear of what work based learning means. It is not simply learning that takes place in the work place, for example, the visiting expert talking to
staff on a specific topic or incidental learning that happens ‘on the job’. Drawing from work with the SQH, Reeves et al (2002) argue that work based learning programmes must focus on learning which enables teachers to develop and improve their practice. However, effective learning to ensure change and improvement of practice within the classroom is not simply a matter of designing relevant learning opportunities. For change to come about, we need to consider the context of the school.

While the ‘new professionalism’ emphasises the centrality of continuing professional development, McConnell’s statement (see above) sums up the construction of continuing professional development as a very individualised process: it is the responsibility of individual teachers to engage in it. Herein lies one of the significant tensions about the relationship between the individual teacher and the context of the school. Aspirations towards this perceived ‘new professionalism’ will be crushed if do the link between the development of the individual teacher and the importance of context of the school is not taken into account. The ‘new professionalism’ must become a lived reality. Two issues are of importance here: firstly, the relationship between teacher learning and the context of the school and secondly, the process of learning to change practice.

Stoll and Fink (1996), among others, identify the importance of a collaborative culture as crucial for the improvement of a school. How then is the issue of culture in relation to the provision of continuing professional development for teachers in school to be addressed? It is easy to identify the pervasiveness of a ‘negative’ culture as contributing to the failure of initiatives. However, it is necessary to consider how the providers of continuing teacher education work with schools to create the
circumstances for effective learning opportunities for teachers. The current discourses about the ‘new professionalism’, with the link to continuing professional development, are part of this process but this needs to be translated into a set of discursive practices in individual schools where policies, support and political backing by school managers and local authority as well as the providers, enable staff - particularly collaboratively - to acquire new knowledge and understanding, plan and apply these in areas of their practice in coherent ways in their practice and reflect upon these experiences.

Within Scotland, the development of the Chartered Teacher Programme might be seen as an ideal opportunity to enable schools and providers to establish these processes. The Chartered Teacher Programme is a six year development programme for experienced teachers. It leads to a joint award: an academic award (a master’s degree) and a professional qualification (chartered teacher status). Entry to the Chartered Teacher Programme will be open to any teacher who has reached the top of the main grade scale and who has maintained a CPD portfolio.

The intention of this initiative is twofold. Firstly, the programme is designed to enhance the understandings and skills of experienced teachers through a programme of structured development which will improve practice in the classroom. Secondly, it is designed to address the morale of teaching staff by creating a clear career pathway for those wishing ‘to remain in the classroom’. There are, then, considerable financial rewards for individual teachers who achieve chartered teacher status. However, the combination of qualifications and financial rewards may militate against the achievement of the first aim. The incentive is for the individual teacher and, as we
have argued previously, improvement has to be taken forward across a school. The
draft of The Framework for Professional Learning (1999) put forward for discussion
by the General Teaching Council in England (GTCE) has a strong element of
collaborative learning: individual action sits side by side with learning taking place
through networks in and out of school.

The problem, however, is more than a structural one and challenges the simplistic
equation between the provision of continuing professional development and
discernible improvement in the classroom. Programmes such as the Chartered
Teacher Programme and the Scottish Qualification for Headship as professional
qualifications must be accredited by the General Teaching Council Scotland (GTCS).
Similar accreditation is required of the providers of these courses, the universities
working in partnership with the local authorities. There is a danger in creating this
framework for the professional development of teachers with increased external
regulation, that such programmes become the quick means of policy implementation
rather than a more contextualised development process that is critical for the
development of a school. Humes (2001) argues for an increased emphasis in
professional development on enabling teachers to be innovative and on encouraging
risk taking. We need to build these into our understandings of this ‘new
professionalism’.

Developing a school based approach to continuing teacher education is not simply
about making opportunities available for staff to engage in continuing professional
development we need to take this one step further and consider the importance of the
affective domain in continuing teacher education. Much of the provision has been
technicist in its emphases: this approach to continuing teacher education fails to allow teachers to address the fundamental question that is posed by the term the ‘new professionalism’ that is critical if practice is to change and improve.

It is axiomatic that we are facing significant change at a societal and technological level. We need to acknowledge the impact of these developments on education. There will be change in what we mean by schools and change in what it means to be a teacher. Bruner (1990), in putting the case for a psychology of culture (‘folk psychology’), argues that there is a critical link between the individual and a cultural community he or she lives in:

(Values) are communal and consequential in terms of our relations to a cultural community. They fulfil functions for us in that community. The values underlying a way of life... are only lightly open to ‘radical reflection’. They become incorporated into one’s self identity and at the same time, they locate on in a culture” (Bruner, 1990:29).

Therefore the continuing professional education of teachers needs to enable them to consider as a founding idea: what kind of teacher they perceive themselves to be.

This simple but pivotal question is implicit in any change process but it is one which needs to be made explicit because it is only by considering this question that teachers can begin to contemplate its corollary in a changing set of circumstances: the issue is of how far, and in what ways, a person is prepared to change as a teacher. A teacher must consider his or her values in relation to the act of teaching and must be enabled
to grapple with the very personal aspect of this question. At the same time, the response has to be set within the socio-political context of the school in which he or she is a teacher.

Therefore it is mistaken to construct professionalism - this new professionalism - in terms of continuing professional development without fully expanding upon the purpose and nature of continuing professional development. To ignore this context gives rise to the danger of individualising the process, making it highly competitive, careerist and narrow - constructing the process of teacher development as the acquisition of a body of subject knowledge or a discreet set of skills which seem to address the latest policy priority. Instead, it is necessary, in constructing continuing professional development, to balance the social process of change and improvement in school with the individual development and empowerment of teachers.

The pedagogical approach, outlined above, which stresses professional knowledge, values and attitudes as paramount, may be seen as professionalising and brings us nearer to the model of autonomy. However, in the foreseeable future, there will remain substantial elements of direction (Bottery and Wright, 2000) and performativity. It remains to be seen how, or whether, teachers will be able to grasp this opportunity which has evolved: whether barriers in terms of ever increasing expectations and resultant outcomes will be raised - or whether there will be a renewed placing of confidence and trust in the profession in Scotland as the reforms work their way through. What is certain is that the teaching profession as a policy community will have a vital role to play in this process, and that, at the present time, there is a window of opportunity for this to occur.
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