A Commerce of the Old and New: How Classroom Teacher Mentors Work in Multiple Activities

by

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ABSTRACT

A study of the literature relating to Initial Teacher Education (ITE) suggested that, while mentors had been studied as instruments of their partnership Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), there was little work which investigated the mentor as acting subject in ITE. Through an analysis of spoken and written data, this empirical study offers insights into how two teachers in a secondary school in England appeared to develop subjectivities to assist them in their work in ITE, in the context of the HEI partnership and government policy for ITE. A post-Vygotskyan Activity Theory (Engeström, 1987) and Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995) were used to explore the rules and conceptual and language tools that those teachers seemed to be drawing on when they worked as mentors. The study concludes that, even though the school or partnership appeared to offer few spaces for the development of robust identities, where a mentor had a pre-existing strong pedagogic orientation to mentoring, s/he was better able to construct a subject identity to help her work with students. Where a mentor lacked such a pedagogic orientation and drew on more managerial approaches, s/he experienced more tension in mentoring work and struggled to find an identity which might resolve those tensions.

For Albert, Clarice, and Nance – my senior mentors, much missed. And especially for Jack, the eternal student. This is 'taylor' made.

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GLOSSARY

The following acronyms are used in the text:

BERA British Educational Research Association.

CATE Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education

CDA Critical Discourse Analysis

CPD Continuous Professional Development
DES Department for Education and Science

DfE Department for Employment

DfEE Department for Education and Employment

DfES Department for Education and Skills

GCE General Certificate of Education

GCSE General Certificate of Secondary Education
GNVQ General National Vocational Qualification

GTC General Teaching Council
HMI Her Majesty's Inspectorate

ICT Information and Communications Technology

ITE Initial Teacher Education
ITT Initial Teacher Training
NQT Newly Qualified Teacher

Ofsted Office for Standards in Education

PGCE Post Graduate Certificate in Education

QCA Qualifications and Curriculum Authority

SATs Standard Attainment Tests
SEN Special Educational Needs

SENCO Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator.

TDA Training and Development Agency

TTA Teacher Training Agency

XMCA Ex Mind Culture Activity, the acronym of a discussion group relating

to activity theories which can be found at

http://communication.ucsd.edu/MCA

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

What we call the beginning is often the end
And to make an end is to make a beginning.
The end is where we start from. And every phrase
And sentence that is right (where every word is at home,
Taking its place to support the others,
The word neither diffident nor ostentatious,
An easy commerce of the old and new,
The common word exact without vulgarity,
The formal word precise but not pedantic,
The complete consort dancing together)
Every phrase and every sentence is an end and a beginning,
Every poem is an epitaph.

(Eliot, 1959 p. 58)

The empirical study reported in this thesis arose out of tensions I was experiencing in my work in an 11 – 18 school during a period of rapid change in education policy at the end of the twentieth century. It is framed within understandings of a post-Vygotskian Activity Theory and of Critical Discourse Analysis rooted in the work of Norman Fairclough, and focuses on how a small group of mentors develop identities to allow them to work in Initial Teacher Education (ITE).

1.1 Personal context

When this study was undertaken, I had been teaching English Literature and English Language in secondary school for fourteen years, having come late in my working life to the teaching profession. I learned how to be a teacher by being appointed to a post and then working for two years as a probationer with a full time table: I had none of the kinds of preparation for the work that is done on a PGCE (Post-Graduate Certificate of Education) course today. There was neither a curriculum nor any lists of competences to guide my trajectory towards qualification: I relied solely on my Head of Department and other colleagues to tell me

what areas of my work to develop. There was no theoretical input or directed reading which might have guided me in developing and articulating a personal pedagogy: it was assumed that either I did not need such work or that I could find my own way to any theory.

This induction to the profession has coloured my approach to ITE. When I hear students or politicians arguing that they cannot see the point of some of the more theoretical work that is carried out in the Higher Education Institution (HEI) part of the course, I feel quite frustrated: I know now (and intuited then) how valuable some of that work would have been to me at the time I was undergoing 'training', and how it would have helped me avoid some of the very basic errors which I made during my time on probation. Perhaps there is now more emphasis than some people feel there needs to be on the theoretical underpinnings for a career in teaching, but, as many teachers are finding, the interaction of theory and practice can lead to improved professionalism and job satisfaction, and, more than anything, to better understanding of pupils' learning needs.

Between 1987 (when I became a teacher) and 2001 (when I finally left the classroom) education within the UK seemed to be in a state of almost constant change. It often felt that, just as we had got used to one change in curriculum or organisation, another was being introduced, so that we never appeared to achieve any stability. In ITE, too, there were changes which might perhaps have been less apparent to those of us working in schools than they were to those in Higher Education, but which nevertheless affected the ways in which we were able to work. Constant change combined with pressure to push pupils towards high examination results for school league table position were cited as the reason why many teachers left the profession, while others complained of a lowering of morale and lack of motivation for classroom work. Given the nature of teaching, which makes demands on teachers to be able to switch roles several times a day, in a climate of constant change it is perhaps not surprising that so many seemed to go through a period of disaffection.

In 1996, I went to work in a state boarding school in the English Midlands, where I was Head of the English subject area, a pastoral tutor, English mentor in ITE, Senior Mentor (responsible for co-ordinating and leading ITE in a school), and organiser of weekly extracurricular activities. Trying to do all of this as well as absorbing and adjusting to the changes in curriculum and ways of working became very demanding and at times rather challenging. Talking to other mentors at meetings with partnership HEIs, it became clear that all of us were experiencing similar tensions as we tried to fulfil various roles which were in a state of change and occasionally in conflict with each other. I began to wonder how we negotiated our way through these different practices: what was prioritised, for example, and how did we decide what to prioritise?

Alongside the changes in our working practice there also appeared to be shifts in the language within which policy makers formulated their directions for education. I wondered how far these language changes were being adopted (or even understood) by teachers; whether they were shifting the ways that teachers conceptualised their work, or whether other teachers, like myself and colleagues at my own school, were struggling to understand the documents through which new curricula and policy directives were expressed. Discussions in partnership meetings again suggested that other mentors were experiencing some of the same difficulties, particularly in trying to manage the volume of documentation and the apparently new concepts that it introduced.

To help me fill in some of the gaps in my own teacher education, and in an attempt to find guidance on how to understand the changes I was observing, I turned to the literature on ITE. What I found there, however, appeared to focus on how mentors worked as instruments of the HEI; on how students developed during their PGCE year or on the models of mentoring which writers had found to be in use, rather than on how mentors, as acting subjects, managed the different aspects of their work in schools or negotiated potentially competing practices. The

apparent gaps led me to ask questions about mentors as subjects: how did they think, speak and act in their work in ITE?

1.2 Research aims and approaches

Once the opportunity presented itself to carry out a deeper investigation, I decided to investigate the language and conceptual tools used in ITE and to explore some of the ways that teachers who worked as mentors might negotiate or organize the potentially conflicting practices they worked in. I wanted to understand mentors' work in the context of the current thinking about the process of mentoring and the policies – from government to school level - which shaped their possibilities for acting in ITE. The literature appeared to acknowledge mentors as busy people but tended to write about them less as acting subjects than as instruments in ITE: I wanted to remedy this by placing the mentor at the heart of the study and investigating ITE from her perspective. To do this, I needed to develop a contextualising understanding of the policies and influences which might shape her work by further reading, and to gain access to mentors working in ITE.

The specific research questions which the study aimed to answer are:

- 1. What conceptual tools are pointed to, perhaps by representational meanings within their talk?
 - 2. What language tools in use in ITE do mentors appropriate or resist?
 - 3. What rules or expectations appear to afford or constrain mentors' work in ITE?
- 4. What oppositions, or dualisms, emerge in mentors' discussion of their work which might suggest tensions for mentors?
- 5. What mentor subjectivities are pointed to by identification meanings of a mentor's language (as revealed, perhaps, by assumptions, modalities and evaluations)?

1.3 Organisation of the thesis

Chapters 2 and 3 review the literature relating to the changes which occurred in education between 1976, when a speech by Jim Callaghan at Ruskin College set the agenda for change in education policy, and 2003 when the study took place. Chapter 2 aims to contextualise the study historically and politically, focusing on the development of educational policy during those years, and in particular, on how the control of curricula moved from being largely in the hands of teachers or HEIs, to being largely in the hands of government. The chapter concludes by identifying five major discourses running through and influencing debates about education policy: neo-liberal; neo-conservative; managerial; reflective practice and professionalism.

Chapter 3 narrows the focus to how ITE has been discussed in the literature during the same period, though much of what is reviewed relates to the later half of that period when HEIs and schools became partners in ITE and the idea of a set of defining competences for teachers emerged. This chapter aims to draw out not only how and why the process of ITE has changed over the years, but some of the models of teacher education which appear to have been in use. Approaches to ITE are organised around three perspectives: one which focuses on the learning relationship between mentor and student; one which considers how the school as a whole might participate in and benefit from involvement in ITE; and finally one which develops a sociocultural approach to teaching and learning which sees the school as a learning community within which the participants can develop understandings and skills which can be taken out into other schools or teaching environments. The implications of each perspective for working with students are considered.

In Chapters 4 and 5 I discuss the methodological approaches used in the study. Chapter 4 discusses the post-Vygotskyan sociocultural Activity Theory developed by Engeström (1987). Drawing on Vygotsky's understanding that all human activity is social and mediated, Activity Theory offers a fruitful and evolving heuristic for investigating dynamic systems such as ITE,

though as yet it appears not to offer a way of exploring those language tools which it paradoxically sees as the most important in any activity. In Chapter 5 I go on to suggest that Critical Discourse Analysis, which draws on Hallidayan understandings of grammar, might, in conjunction with Activity Theory, be adapted to fill the gap to investigate how language tools are used and understood.

Chapter 6 sets out the research design and methods, explaining how data were collected and detailing the instruments used in the research. As this was to be a sociocultural interpretation of the phenomena studied, data were collected not just from those mentors who were the focus of the study, but also from contextualising layers of the partnership and government policy within which they worked.

Chapters 7 – 10 offer an interpretation of the data, beginning with the outer contextual layers and working in to the focus mentors to show how any concepts and language of government policy for ITE might pass down through the HEI to the mentor and how far they might be appropriated or resisted. The concepts of teaching that emerge from the policy document used in the study and the ways of working in ITE which the document appears to offer are explored in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 looks at how the HEIs respond to some of the ways in which they are required by government policy for ITE to work and how far they appropriate or resist the language and concepts in which that policy is framed. It also looks at how the HEIs might conceptualise the work of the mentor and the kinds of working relationship they believe they have developed with them.

Findings relating to the mentors who participated in the research are presented in Chapters 9 and 10. The chapters bring out differences between mentors' and HEI tutors' understandings of the mentors' role in ITE and show how far the mentors are using the same kinds of language as HEIs and government to talk about their work. As the chapters reveal, the two focus mentors

are quite different from each other in their understandings of teaching, learning and mentoring, and these variations lead them along contrasting trajectories in their work.

The findings are drawn together as conclusions and the study's methods and methodological tools are evaluated in Chapter 11.

1.4 Definitions

Within the study **mentors** are those classroom teachers who have chosen to take students into their classes or departments and to help them develop the practical skills of teaching, though some may also point students to related theoretical learning. When mentors are referred to generically and in the singular, the feminine pronoun is used to avoid clumsy grammatical constructions. **Senior Mentors** are those teachers, usually senior managers in school, who have been given the specific role of co-ordinating and planning ITE within the school setting. **Government** refers to politicians and civil servants concerned with teacher education policy, with acknowledgment that the term masks the complexities of the interaction between state and the communities of policy and practice in education in England.

The activity in which mentors work with students is referred to as **Initial Teacher Education**, as I believe that novice teachers are educated (developed and 'led out') rather than trained. However, government documents and some writers refer to the activity as **Initial Teacher Training** and, where I quote such writers, their phrase is adopted.

The **Standards document** is frequently referred to, and indicates the combination of two government-issued texts intended to shape ITE in England and Wales. The first - *Qualifying to Teach: Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status and Requirements for Teacher Training* (ITA, 2003) – sets out the minimum standards to be reached by all those aspiring to be awarded Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) together with the requirements for those offering courses leading to QTS. The second – *Qualifying to Teach: Handbook of Guidance* (ITA, 2004) – is an adjunct to the first and offers ways that the requirements of the first might be interpreted and evidenced.

To avoid confusion in the way that 'student' is understood, the word **student** is used to mean the person who is preparing to become a teacher, and the word **pupil** to mean the teenaged person who is being taught in secondary school classrooms.

When talking about the mentors, their **pedagogy** or **pedagogic orientation** is sometimes referred to, by which is meant their understanding of what they aim to, or can, achieve, and what concepts guide them, when they work with learners.

The study includes an investigation of the **discourses** in use in ITE and of the **language** used by mentors. **Discourse** proved to be a slippery word in the literature: it was used to denote both language in use and the linking of language and concepts. However, as the study showed, language and concepts are not always linked when a speaker uses a word which appears to point to thinking within a particular practice. In the study, then, **discourse** is usually used to be synonymous with **jargon** in pointing to combinations of conceptual and verbal tools reflected in choices of language that take on one set of meanings within one discourse but which may have different meanings in another (a rugby **discourse**, for example, might use the words hooker, try, or conversion, to point to concepts which have a meaning in rugby which does not transfer to other contexts). The word **language** is used in other cases.

When discussing word frequency, the device of an **asterisk** (*) is used with the word (e.g. train*) to show that the word and its lemmas have been counted as a single word form. A **lemma** is here used to mean the base form of a word and its inflected forms (e.g. train, trained, training, and trainee).

CHAPTER 2

THE WIDER CONTEXT OF MENTORS' WORK: THE DEVELOPMENT OF INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION POLICY IN ENGLAND FROM 1979 AND THE EMERGENCE OF KEY DISCOURSES

2.1 Aims of the chapter

In this chapter, the literature which contextualises the affordances for teachers working in ITE is reviewed and an overview offered of the ways that the practice in England may have been transformed over the last thirty years. It became apparent from the review that education has undergone a continuous series of reforms which have attempted to change both the ways that teachers can work in the classroom and the language within which they can conceptualise their work. The reforms have apparently been designed to shift understandings of what it is that is being worked on in ITE by adjusting the rules and power relationships within the practice. As a consequence, the teacher mentor and other members of the teaching community have been repositioned within it. As the study shows, where some linguistic and conceptual tools have apparently been silenced, others have been drawn in which might alter ways of thinking about work in teacher education.

This chapter offers a broad brush picture of the historical and political context of those changes and identifies some of the key discourses to have emerged from the policy driven changes. It is not my intention to engage with overarching debates about the direction of education policy (e.g., Apple, 1995 and 2001; Fullan, 2000; and Mahoney and Hextall, 2000), nor

to rehearse the work of writers such as Ball (1994) and Wilkin (1996) who discuss the detail of the changes in education policy on schools and ITE. Rather, attention is drawn to some of the strands of thinking in policy making which gave rise to particular language threads running through policy documents today.

2.2 Intimations of change: Callaghan's Ruskin College speech 1976

There are three events in policy direction in the last thirty years which might be seen as nodal points in the development of an education policy for globalism: Callaghan's Ruskin College speech in 1976; the election of the Conservative government in 1979; and the election of the New Labour government in 1997.

Prior to 1976, although there was interaction between education and employment, schools and teachers had comparative autonomy to design curricula for their pupils, within the guidelines laid down by the Board of Regulations (Tomlinson, 2001). The first indication that teachers were about to have their autonomy in the classroom eroded came from the Labour Party in 1976, in a speech to Ruskin College, which Phillips and Furlong (2001) argue was the beginning of the reform process, marking the point at which the most powerful member of the education community – i.e., government - intervened to change the power relationships within the community of education practice. Before then, government retained some distance from the day to day aspects of education; since then, government has increasingly shifted that notion of the informed, agentive professional in education (and other public arenas such as health) by taking to itself the responsibility for making decisions about the purpose and organisation of education; the ways that education can be understood; and the curriculum content in schooling and ITE.

The key event signalled by the speech was a rejection of 'progressive' curricula, and a move toward linking the economy and education through greater government control of education (Phillips and Furlong, 2001; Olssen *et al*, 2004; Ozga and Jones, 2006). Elliott (1993b) argues

that this marked a turning away from rationalist approaches to education, which were underpinned by the idea that good practice derived from theoretical grounding, and the first indication of a move to social market approaches, marked by a concern with products, markets and consumers. Where rationalist views had located ITE within HEIs (universities and teacher training colleges), and ignored the induction phase of training (Elliott, 1993a, p. 16) social market approaches located ITE within schools, placing the emphasis on practical training, where learning outcomes were behavioural, quantifiable products expressed as competences within National Curricula.

2.3 Strands of thinking running through the Conservative reforms

The Conservative era 1979 – 1997 marked a radical change in education policy which made movement away from the principles on which that change rested difficult for any following government. Once in power, the Conservative government was quick to implement what Callaghan had only hinted at: the dismantling of existing approaches and systems in education and their replacement by market-led policies and procedures. Successive education ministers in the Tory governments from 1979 to 1997 argued that 'woolly minded progressive teachers' (Edwards *et al.*, 2002, p. 60) were responsible for Britain's economic and moral decline. Such rhetoric allowed them to do three things simultaneously: take control of education; discredit teachers, thereby weakening their influence in society; and create a scapegoat for Britain's ills. Rather than enter into discussions with teachers about education using shared language, government discussed education policies only in the language of business and the market which was at that time unfamiliar to many teachers.

2.3.1 Key policy influences

The Conservative government of this era rooted its policy making in neo-liberal, market driven policies and neo-conservative traditionalist views, many of which were later incorporated into later New Labour policies. Apple, (2001, p. 182) suggests that these views reflected the

underlying beliefs of the middle classes, who believed that 'technical and managerial approaches would solve moral and political problems'. This translated to the notion that the creation of a market in education would stimulate improvement in educational standards, albeit improvement as defined by neo-conservative and neo-liberal values. The early aim of the Conservative government's education policy was to allow the free market to deregulate teacher education so that competition would reinvigorate it and make it more cost efficient, though paradoxically this deregulation was to be achieved by initially increasing Governmental control. Later versions of the theory suggested that teacher quality would be guaranteed by linking teacher skills to pupil performance on standardised tests with benchmarks for teacher performance. Discourses alien to many teachers were used to promote policies which emphasised outcomes, products, quality assurance and accountability.

As Apple (2001, p. 183) points out, reform in education was international, though 'international' here means 'in the wealthier countries of the world'. Moves to market based approaches and the centralisation of control occurred in, among other countries, the US, Australia, New Zealand, and England. The idea was to create uniformity and a centralised system of control over teachers and teacher education, whilst using arguments based on deregulation and choice to justify actions. Whatever the justification, the effect was to create what might be called an extreme capitalist system, and to greatly increase the power of governments at the expense of the general population. Change purported to be for 'the public good' arguably demonstrated by increased prosperity (calculated as the means to possess more goods) and by supposedly increased standards in education (calculated by apparently better examination results). But as Lakoff (2004) suggests, what is presented as the case is often deceptive. In this case government appealed to its opponents by framing its arguments in language which appeared to offer what the opposition wanted. An example of this is discussed in relation to professionalism, in 2.7.3 below.

Apple (2001) argues that reform of teacher education was deeply connected to more general trends in education politics. There were apparently competing discourses in the reforms – one of competition, markets and choice, and another of accountability, performance objectives and national testing - which were concomitants rather than being in tension. Such discourses, he argues, were based on the notion of an imagined past which had been perceived as safe, at least by the middle classes (Apple, 2001, p.184) but which now appeared threatening because it might lead to educational and social decline. To make the imagined past safe once more, progressive trends had to be reversed.

Alongside the idea of making the present safe and like an imagined past, and to some extent in tension with the concept, was the idea that a modern workforce had to be flexible in order to embrace change, and capable of learning and knowledge creation in order to allow economic growth and competition in a global marketplace (Olssen *et al*, 2004; Ozga and Jones 2006). Olssen *et al* (2004) make the point that 'global capitalism involves the commodification of all kinds of human endeavour in order to produce surplus value and profit' (p. 5). As part of this process, education becomes 'vital, economically, to the addition of value on goods and services' and 'in this sense [...] becomes a central function of the state in the global order' (p. 13).

Education was thus seen by government and the business culture which supported it as essential to Britain's ability to compete in world markets. If education was the key to global market competition (Elliott, 1993b) and the neo-liberal vision of a deregulated system in which competition and education were embedded was to be realised, then initially - and paradoxically - education had to be regulated in order to create the shift to deregulation. Control of education had to shift from schools, in which teachers were perceived to have priorities which conflicted with government's, to a business-led government agenda which could make schools work to the demands of the market. In the process, those teachers who were more concerned for pupils' learning and self-development than for preparing a future work-force may have been alienated

as education appeared to become more about learning to be a human resource than about how to be a rounded social being.

The reform agenda set by government was difficult to resist. Some commentators, such as Apple, (1995, 2001) and Tomlinson (1994), criticise the reforms for their lack of research evidence. Reform, they suggest, changed the content, principles, structures and values of the education system, but not necessarily, in their opinion, for the better. Reform designed to reverse the perceived progressive trend, rather than being grounded in research findings, was rooted instead in a reconstruction of 'common sense'. The notion of common sense is difficult to pin down, and functions as a weasel phrase, making it ideal for political rhetoric: opposing arguments can be dismissed out of hand because any counter to common sense is, by definition, irrational. The concept then makes the formulation of coherent critique of policy more difficult.

2.3.2 Other policy agendas

Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001), commenting on change in the education reforms in the United States, point to two particular agendas running through reform: firstly, standardisation and teacher assessment based on performance throughout one's career; and secondly, a move to deregulate ITE by dismantling teacher education institutions through the creation of alternative routes into teaching. Although they base their analysis on reforms within the US, there are clear parallels with what was happening in England and elsewhere in the world. They argue that both agendas were driven by ideas, ideals, values and assumptions about what the purpose for pupils was of schooling; about the wider role of public education in a democratic society; and about the economic future of the nation. As in England, the US government had long linked economic prosperity to education, and with the creation of that link, justified the taking to itself control of education content and processes. With the strong ties established between the UK and US by the Thatcher government, it is not surprising that policy developed in one country tended to be mirrored in the other, though in the UK, Scotland had some limited autonomy in

the organisation of its education system which continued the long-standing partial independence of the Scottish education system from that of England and Wales.

2.3.3 Key discourses

Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001) develop the argument that discourses of education revolve around three 'warrants' (i.e., justifications, authorities, rationales): the evidentiary warrant, the accountability warrant and the political warrant.

The aim of the evidentiary warrant is to use what the evidence actually says about teacher education to 'make policy recommendations that will add value to the investment of state resources' (Cochran-Smith and Fries, 2001, p. 4). Here, they say, the debate focuses on the impact of teachers on learning as evidenced by empirical research. Both policy-makers and academics claim to be doing that research, with '[e]ach side endeavour[ing] to construct its own warrant but also to undermine the warrant of the other by pointing out in explicit detail where [...] errors have been made' (*ibid*, p. 6).

In England the same debate can be seen operating. On the one hand there is quantitative evidence collected by Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education) inspections within frames that permit only certain perspectives of what is happening to be revealed. Further, as emerged in *The Guardian*, Friday 4 February 2005, the Chief Inspector of Schools, in the period of Tory government and early New Labour government, would override the evidence of Ofsted inspectors when he wanted to present a different picture of a school from that shown in the evidence collected by Ofsted inspectors. Such admissions undermine the value of evidence-based action, and destabilise trust in evidence collected by other researchers within a variety of paradigms, which offer alternative and possibly wider perspectives of teacher work.

The 'accountability warrant' promotes a set of 'reasonable grounds' for action based on outcomes, results and outputs. '[R]ecommended policies are justified and rendered justifiable by the outcomes and results they produce' (Cochran-Smith and Fries, 2001, p. 7). 'Accountability'

has been a key word in the discourse of English education policy since the Conservative government in 1979 and points to systems driven by account books. It is within this warrant that New Labour's policies, discussed further below, with their emphasis on measurable outcomes, might be argued to fall.

The 'policy warrant' promotes the idea of a free market in which there is choice, flexibility, pluralism and innovation. The position is justified in terms of 'service to the citizenry and larger conceptions of the purpose of schools and schooling' (p. 10) and it appeals to 'the public' as arbiter. The policy warrant argues that 'choice, flexibility, pluralism, innovation and experimentation are the results of education reform when market forces are allowed to operate' (p.10), but is in tension with the constraints of rigid national curricula, league tables, Ofsted inspection and lists of competences for teachers.

These three warrants and their associated language are a helpful way of looking at a part of what has happened in England over the last twenty five years, but they do not give a full picture of some of the subtleties of the discourses operating within education. They omit a close discussion of the impact and purpose of much of the neo-conservative emphasis on 'tradition' and 'family values' (concepts which are very difficult to pin down): right wing policies which are designed to keep power in the hands of the ruling white middle classes through appeal to ideas which are intended to appear to be common sense to the majority of the population, whatever their status. Such policies in England, for example, led to the establishment of a National Curriculum for English which insisted that a canon of literature be taught which was not necessarily readily accessible to many pupils, and which reflected educated middle-class views of what constituted 'good' literature.

2.3.4 Pace of change

Policy making during the late 1970s and 1980s set a very rapid pace of change. Teachers were kept busy trying to implement the changes so that time was scarce to formulate reasoned

strategies for resistance or for slowing down the pace so that change could be made in the light of evidence. For many educators, (see, e.g., Tomlinson's 1994 collection of conference papers) educational policies should be based on clear principles, emerging from consultation with interested bodies, in particular, those which had to implement the policies. But this seemed to be incompatible with the Conservative government's aim to reprioritise the agenda for educational policy making. Teachers and HEIs who were unwilling to make this shift were constructed by government as threats to the economic well being of the country. Those opposed to the market driven policies wanted to develop alternatives based on a view of humans as social and communal beings operating in a system of education that allowed them to express and create the values of democracy (Tomlinson, 1994). Government appeared to prefer instead to impose policies which subordinated education to capital.

Policy agendas changed too: by 1994, Tomlinson was arguing that Conservative policies were outdated, seeing them as nineteenth century liberal individualism supplemented by nineteenth century moral authoritarianism and 'a nostalgic imperialism in which individuals accept a hierarchical understanding of their class, gender and 'racial' position and behave accordingly' (Tomlinson, 1994, p. 3). She aligns herself here with the strand of thinking that believes that education transcends individualism and creates the framework of a democratic society and that education is necessary within new work patterns where employees are constantly learning – an idea reflected in New Labour's concept of lifelong learning. For Tomlinson, education offers the promise of freedom: from ignorance, economic want, manipulation. It offers freedom to develop intellectual and practical capacities and exercise critical and informed judgements. But these freedoms can only be exercised by an act of will: if the individual does not have the volition or the ability to act, preferring to behave according to their hierarchical understanding of class, race and gender, then freedom is meaningless. In a society where curriculum content is prescribed by a government determined to retain control of

knowledge and information dissemination, freedom to make one's own critical judgements is curtailed.

2.4 New Labour, 1997 - 2006

From 1979 – 1997 government, via the media, berated educators for their failures and belittled their successes (Chitty and Dunford, 1999). When New Labour were elected on a policy agenda of 'education, education, education', the educational world hoped there would be a turning away from the market driven policies of the Right to the more socially just and equitable policies which were perceived as characterising Labour. What actually happened was a strengthening of commitment to market driven policies through concepts of knowledge economy and lifelong learning.

In their exploration of New Labour's attitude to culture, Buckingham and Jones (2001) argue that, like the Conservatives, New Labour were deeply committed to removing policy-making from teachers whom they perceived as having too much 'political' influence in the classroom. This suggests that there were deliberate attempts to silence the discourse of teachers as government appealed to the arbitration of parents and business, whose discourse government had adopted or fashioned. Under New Labour, a discourse of 'managerialism' emerged, which drew on the language of performance, accountability, standards and effectiveness (Fairclough, 2000a). Concepts of 'lifelong learning' and 'knowledge economy' were prominent as pillars of the government's policy on education, alongside policies of 'partnership' between government departments and business.

These policies were implemented through the technical and managerial discourses that had been appropriated from Conservative government. Education was carried out through delivery of programmes (rather than courses) which followed specifications instead of syllabi. Education managers were concerned with measuring output and quantifying results: they seemed to view education or learning as packages which were transferred or delivered from one person to

another. Accountancy metaphors increased: instead of checking pupil learning, teachers were to audit or carry out skills audits; instead of keeping records, they monitored, assessed, recorded, reported and were accountable for their pupils' performance. The person or groups acted upon, delivered to, measured or counted seemed to get lost in a numerical juggernaut. Targets were to be met, regardless of the ability of those who were being acted on in the classroom to meet them. As Rowland (2003) says, a regime was established in which:

...the teacher should force compliance upon the student, whose response should be one of servility and conformity to expectations...[R]esponsibility for learning (or lack of it) lies with the teacher, not the learner (p. 19).

The mechanism of inspection was retained in this strand of thinking, so that command and control of those directed to deliver the policies could be ensured and even increased, whilst the autonomy of the teacher in the classroom was further eroded (Buckingham and Jones, 2001). Rowland (2003) argues that there was 'a political assumption taken to be common sense [by Tessa Blackstone, then Minister of State for Higher Education] that the market will and should be in control' (p. 18).

The overall tone of Chitty and Dunford's (1999) collection of articles by teachers and other education professionals is that market place rhetoric is inappropriate to education, and there is disappointment that New Labour has not moved away from it. Similarly, comments made by teachers in Ball's (1994) investigation of how schools were responding to the changes in education ideology, suggest that teachers were uncomfortable with the notion of education as a marketable commodity operating on commercial lines.

All of this change – in autonomy, discourses and concepts of education - translated into transformed practice for teacher trainers, changes which are explored in the next section.

2.5 How policy translated into practice in ITE

2.5.1. Control of curriculum content

Until 1982, teacher education courses had been largely autonomous, with Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) planning and co-ordinating their own curriculum, usually in conjunction with local schools, who provided the opportunities for teaching practice. There were two main routes into teaching: via the one year PGCE (Post Graduate Certificate in Education) courses undertaken at University; or via the three or four year B.Ed (Bachelor of Education) courses (formerly Certificate of Education courses) undertaken at Teacher Training Colleges. The first stage of government control in 1984 was to establish the Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) (DES, 1984) to take over the role of accrediting courses of ITE from HEIs and colleges. From 1989, CATE also prescribed the content of teacher education courses through the introduction of a list of teacher competences (DES, 1989). The competences were followed in 1998 by the Professional Standards (DfEE, 1998), creating uniformity of, and centralised authority over teacher skills. The rationale for the competences was the 'need to develop a form of professionalism consistent with legitimate demands for public accountability' (Mahony and Whitty, 1994), reflecting teachers' concern that their professionalism was being eroded by government arrogating to itself the power to decide curriculum content. The competences and Standards were criticised by many teacher educators as being mechanistic and reductionist, focusing on aspects of teaching which were demonstrable and therefore measurable, but ignoring the importance of the personal qualities of teachers which were less readily defined, such as nurturing or professional judgment.

The original Standards were revised in 2002 and published as *Qualifying to Teach: Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status and Requirements for Initial Teacher Training* (TTA, 2003;

hereafter referred to as 'the Standards document'), and focused on the cognitive aspects of a teacher's work, such as knowledge and understandings. As the detail of the Standards document is discussed in Chapter 7, I shall only mention here that the revised Standards rationalised the original list of competences and shifted their priorities. By moving the Professional Values section from the end of the list of competences to the beginning and linking the remaining Standards to these foundational Professional Values, a more coherent model of the teacher was created with specific aspects of her work rooted within conceptions of what constituted professionalism. The revised document nonetheless retained its focus on the cognitive at the expense of the affective aspects of teaching, in spite of the view of professionals in the field who argued that 'teachers' professional development includes both cognitive and affective growth' (Elliott and Calderhead, 1993).

In Circular 9/92 (DfE, 1992), government had introduced the concept of partnership to secondary school ITE, putting schools in an equal working relationship with HEIs in the development and teaching of ITE courses. Within the partnership, schools were to have equal responsibility for the curriculum, teaching, recruitment and assessment in ITE, though funding was to be distributed by the HEI. In keeping with policies of marketisation and competition, HEIs were expected to compete for partner schools in some areas where there were large numbers of students and few school places for them. In 1998, the DfEE, through the TTA, introduced 'the Secretary of State's criteria' for the award of Qualified Teacher Status as Circular 4/98, which 'all courses of initial teacher education must meet': here the role of the schools was further developed so that they could become the key decision makers in the partnership.

2.5.2. The introduction of alternative routes into teaching

Mahony and Whitty (1994) argue that the New Right was concerned that teacher education courses, informed by 'spurious' neo-Marxist views of culture, were 'harmful political training grounds' (*The Spectator*, 27 Feb. 1993, p. 5) placing too little emphasis on learning subject

knowledge and classroom skills, and too much emphasis on what the New Right saw as the wrong type of educational theory. Courses, it was said, emphasised trivia and were obsessed by issues of race and equality, producing trainees with no respect for traditional values. Hence the drive to move teacher education from HEIs to schools, where, according to Lawlor (1990), trainees would learn by doing and not be subject to theory. However, there were practical problems to be overcome in handing over responsibility solely to schools. Not all schools wanted to take responsibility for teacher education. Of those which were interested in participating, the opportunity for a cash injection to struggling school funds offered a keen incentive to involvement (Furlong et al, 2000, p. 49), an incentive to be balanced against the disincentive of taking teachers away from classroom work to spend time with new entrants.

2.5.2.1. Articled Teacher Scheme

This was the first of the Thatcher government's experiments with new routes into teaching, introduced by DES Circular 18/89 and running from 1989 – 1994. It was an alternative to the PGCE route for graduates, who followed a two year course with eighty percent of their time spent in school and twenty percent of their time being devoted to theoretical aspects of teaching (Furlong *et al*, 2000, pp. 48 - 54). This route, operated through Local Education Authorities (LEAs), was designed to bring teachers into school quickly, to compensate for teacher shortages. It was generously funded: Furlong *et al* (2000, p. 54) found that it cost nearly twice as much to train a teacher through this scheme, though the quality of new teachers was little different from those who had come in through traditional routes. The significance of the scheme, suggest Furlong *et al*, (2000) was that the government learned lessons about how to implement school based training which they put into practice in the 1992 school-based models of teacher education.

2.5.2.2. Licensed Teacher Scheme

The Licensed Teacher Scheme was also introduced by DES Circular 18/89 and offered to new entrants from 1990. It was open to trainees aged 24 or over who had at least two years of higher education: that is, it was not necessary to have completed a three year degree course, but it was enough to have attended an HEI for two years. Like the Articled Teacher scheme, it was designed to meet demands for a shorter training period than the four years of B.Ed or other degree plus PGCE, and to encourage people who had begun a career elsewhere to bring their skills into teaching. Unlike that scheme, licensed teachers worked full time in schools and the content of their training was decided by their employer (Furlong *et al*, 2000, p. 55). As the emphasis in the publicity was on attracting non-graduates from industry, the agenda to force market methods into education may be seen behind the move to this kind of training, which would:

...offer a high-quality and cost-effective route into the teaching profession for suitable graduates who do not want to follow a traditional pre-service route, such as the Postgraduate Certificate of Education (PGCE), but would prefer a tailor-made training route coupled with employment as a teacher. It is also seen as meeting the needs of schools who wish to be directly involved in the training of their own teachers but do not want to develop a School-centered Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) scheme (DfEE, 1996a, p. 1).

The scheme was heavily criticized at the time by teachers and HEIs who felt that this route undermined earlier (DES, 1972) government commitment to making teaching a wholly graduate profession.

2.5.2.3. School Centered Initial Teacher Training

Further alternative routes into teaching were discussed during the 1990s. In 1993 School Centered Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) schemes were introduced, in which consortia of schools were to cluster to provide on-the-job training for new entrants, with theoretical training bought in from HEIs. Furlong *et al* (2000) argue that this was a deliberate challenge to the monopoly of HEI provision of ITE, giving schools control of the organization and content of the courses. The responsibility of the HEI was to ensure compliance with requirements for academic validation and accreditation.

The idea of trainees working alongside experienced teachers to learn how to do the job had clear advantages which had been acknowledged in the development of partnerships between schools and HEIs for training. However, it may be argued that without external stimulus to think about alternative ways of approaching the work, training in schools could become sterile. Particularly in schools with a stable staff, there seemed to be few opportunities for teachers to be exposed to new approaches or ideas, in spite of commitment to Continuous Professional Development (CPD) which was often disjointed and bite-sized rather than cohesive or developed. There was then the danger of teachers in effect cloning themselves; of the trainee simply replicating the approaches and methods of her teacher trainer. If, in addition to the narrow range of possibilities for growth within the school, the curriculum was also standardized, then there was the risk of the academic and intellectual challenges of teaching being diminished and mediocrity reproduced.

2.5.2.4. Graduate Teacher Programmes

The Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP) was introduced in 1998 and was an employment-based course designed to allow graduates who had work experience in another field, to come in to the profession and gain Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) while working as teachers. It was aimed at those entrants who could not, for financial reasons, follow one of the other routes into

teaching and therefore became popular with overseas candidates for whom training salaries and tuition fees would not be government funded.

The course lasted for one academic year, though it could be reduced if the learner was considered to be making exceptional process. The potential candidate for GTP was normally required to find a school willing to sponsor them in their training and then apply to be accepted by the TTA onto a GTP where they would work as a classroom teacher simultaneously with learning about teaching in collaboration with an HEI. Some institutions, either HEIs or schools, developed their own GTP course to which candidates could apply in the same way they would apply for PGCE. It should be noted, though, that there were relatively few GTP places available, restricting the possibilities for entering the profession via this route.

2.6 The move to partnership and its effect on HEIs

The literature shows HEIs redefining their role in ITE in the light of new policy agenda. Before the 1980s, HEIs worked within what Dale (1989) calls a 'licensed autonomy' which gave them a degree of freedom to design, lead, organise, administer and teach courses in ITE. With the establishment of CATE in 1984, which established rules for the content of ITE, Dale (1989) argues that HEIs began the move from licensed autonomy to regulated autonomy.

Although HEIs had been investigating ways of working in partnership in the 1980s (Benton, 1990), and government had encouraged work in partnership with schools from DES Circular 3/84, it was only from1992 that there was a legal obligation to involve schools as equal partners in ITE. By and large, this shift in the division of labour was welcomed by HEIs, but it gave rise to some confusion about precisely how the partnership would work (Furlong and Wilkin, 1991; McIntyre, Hagger and Wilkin, 1993; Furlong *et al.*, 2000). Ignoring for the moment the political background to the changes, which were purportedly designed to reduce the influence and authority of the HEIs (Lawlor, 1990; Wilkin, 1996), the institutions were concerned about how the work of teacher education would be divided between school and HEI, and about the

funding implications. At first glance, the new requirements appeared to reduce the HEI to the status of course manager and administrator, with the school responsible for the practical aspects of teacher education. The HEI had to rethink and renegotiate its role with schools who were forced into a similar rethinking of their position in ITE.

To some extent, the literature shows that HEIs aimed to retain their role in effective training (e.g., Darling-Hammond, 1999; Hopper, 2001; Lawes, 2002) through a range of provision for the partners in ITE, such as training for mentors; provision of theoretical support and encouragement of reflective practice, involving the iteration of practice and theory to develop teacher learning. Furlong *et al.* (2000) argue that HEIs wanted to foster a version of professionalism which entailed reflective practice, but they were actually positioned as promoters of a version of professionalism defined by government and expressed through the Standards.

In a similar vein, Allsop (1994) suggests that far from opening opportunities for dialogue within partnership, the rhetoric of government effectively silenced it. Instead, HEIs became responsible for creating the discourse of partnership through meetings with and training of mentors. Roth (1999), however, points out that there was potential for a more developmental role for HEIs as teachers of teachers, showing them how research could be used to develop their teaching. Brisard *et al* (2006) in their study of partnership in Scotland, report that HEI tutors there considered that they had a strong role to play in a collaborative model of ITE (Furlong *et al*, 2000), with tutors going into schools and working with both mentors and students to develop learning and practice for both.

The literature, then, draws attention to tension between managerialist and pedagogic approaches to ITE, tension which was powerfully demonstrated in the evidence collected for the present study.

HEIs have often been placed as theorisers of education, with schools as practitioners with less time or will to theorise (e.g. Calderhead and Shorrock, 1997, p. 188). They have been seen as separate institutions whose role was to develop different aspects of the student teachers, a conceptualisation which might sit uneasily with a concept of partnership. This perspective suggested that HEIs had a wider view of education and of the needs of learners - including the learning of their partner mentors - than schools; and that they had greater knowledge of how learning could be developed (Hopper, 2001). From these arguments flowed various potential roles for the HEIs within the partnership: as the main pastoral carers; as support for the student's learning and development by showing students how to use research in their teaching and personal development; and as the shapers of professional learning about and within the field of education. As such, they retained academic authority and status within ITE, rather than seeing it diminished, as some government advisers (Lawlor, 1990) had intended (Wilkin, 1996, Furlong et al., 2000).

Yet, through these changes, HEIs were given the additional and potentially contradictory role of policy enforcers via the mechanism of accountability (Brisard *et al*, 2006, p. 55). Government ensured HEIs' compliance with policy and the policing role through the mechanism of Ofsted, which graded HEI courses according to how well the HEI managed the work within schools. Government funding of HEIs was then influenced by Ofsted grades.

Furlong et al. (2001) found that three models of partnership were emerging by 1996. In the first model, partnerships were truly collaborative, with both partners sharing responsibility for design, content and implementation of the course. Based on the model developed in the Oxford Internship Scheme (Benton, 1990; Furlong et al, 1988), the model saw teachers and HEIs as having equally legitimate professional knowledges which students were encouraged to explore critically and view as shaping each other. The scheme aimed to develop a joint

curriculum and introduced the concept of the mentor 'as a new role to be explored' (Furlong et al, 2000, p. 80).

At the opposite end of the partnership spectrum was the model of the complementary or separatist partnership in which the school and the HEI were each responsible for their own area of the course, but with no 'systematic attempt to bring these two dimensions into dialogue' (Furlong *et al*, 2000 p. 78). This was the model which Furlong *et al* (2000) argue is the one envisaged by DfE Circular 9/92. The model was characterised by the lack of opportunities for discussion of joint approaches and by clear definition of areas of responsibility with little or no integration of professional knowledge bases (Furlong *et al*, 2000).

The third model which Furlong et al (2000) posit is HEI-led partnerships, in which the HEI designed, administered and guided the course, and the school offered opportunities to put into practice what was learned in the HEI. Schools thus became resources for creating learning opportunities for students and quality control to ensure equality of experience was a high priority (Furlong et al, 2000, p. 117). It is this model that Furlong et al (2000) suggest became the standard model for one of two reasons which they label 'pragmatic' and 'principled'. The pragmatic reason for choosing the HEI led model was that insufficient schools were willing to take the responsibility of a more collaborative model of mentoring, while the principled reason was that one or both of the partners were committed to models of teacher education which did not sit well in a collaborative partnership. Furlong et al, (2000) suggest that elements of the three models of partnership can be found in most of the partnerships they studied though they argue that they rarely exist in their truest forms.

In the literature - much of which is written by teacher educators working in research-led institutions - HEIs are seen as the leaders in a partnership which was intended to place them as, ideally, co-creators of the ITE course, and as a minimum, as taking direction from the teacher mentors with whom they worked.

2.7 Key discourses

The literature on policies relating to ITE (e.g. Ball, 1994; Ball *et al*, 1994; Chitty and Dunford, 1999; Hodgson and Spours, 1999; Locke, 2001; Wilkin, 1996) suggests that there are possibly five main strands of discourse running through current education policy and practice: the neo-conservative and neo-liberal strand which come together as a social market perspective; the managerialist strand; and the strands relating to professionalism and reflective practice.

The Conservative government's reforms, which began in the 1980s and were continued by New Labour, were based on two core strands of thinking: neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism. To some extent, as Cochran-Smith and Fries, (2001) point out, these are essentially contradictory ideologies: the one advocating forward movement in line with market forces, and the other advocating stasis, holding on to 'traditional values', whatever they may be seen to be.

2.7.1 Social market

The neo-conservative and neo-liberal policies led to a social market approach to education, giving rise to the instrumentalisation and technologisation of education. Education became 'production technology governed by product specifications in the form of tangible and measurable targets' (Elliott, 1993b, p.21). Knowledge, skills and understandings became commodities whose value depended on their utility to consumers (Elliott, 1993b). In this approach, only output was important: input was irrelevant, but output had to be measurable. The only output which mattered was behavioural, that is in terms of behaviour in tests, rather than conceptual (Elliott, 1993b).

From the neo-conservative strand emerged language to do with 'tradition', 'national' culture, moral 'values', all of which would maintain and foster a cultural elitism. Such ideas gave rise to a National Curriculum in which were embedded the (for some, e.g. Ball, 1994) elitist notions of what was appropriate for children to learn to become good citizens of their nation state. The

educational aim of developing the good citizen is difficult to argue against, but the concept is illdefined and, although much contested and debated, it remains ambiguous (Kerr, 2004).

Interwoven with these ideas were those of neo-liberalism, which promoted market forces and introduced competition, targets and the language of business to education. Instead of cooperation between schools, a culture of public-relations glossy self-promotion, alongside league tables and Ofsted inspections, forced schools into competition with each other for league table position, which would draw in pupils and therefore funding.

2.7.2 Managerialism

Managerialism as a discourse is more evident in the language of New Labour. It grew out of the neo-liberal marketisation discourse and tends to focus on such concepts as globalisation, partnership, stakeholders, accountability, quality, effectiveness, standards and reform (Fairclough, 2000a). Olssen *et al*, (2004) argue that:

...neo-liberal policies of accountability and managerial control, with an emphasis on role definition, planning and reporting, treat teachers and academics as workers rather than professionals and thereby diminish their commitment to the values and principles which ought to define the field of educational practice (p. 197).

Managerialism, this suggests, is antithetical to a particular concept of professionalism which is based on values and principles, which in turn, suggest Olssen *et al* (2004), should define educational practice.

2.7.3 Professionalism

Teacher autonomy to design curricula for their pupils was initially curtailed by the National Curriculum, though there were still creative teachers who were able to subvert the imposed

curriculum. But the loss of autonomy led to a further debate within education: that of professionalism (e.g. Goodson and Hargreaves, 1996; Locke, 2001; Gore and Gitlin, 2004).

Lawn (1999) believes that, because the concept of professionalism is linked to notions of public service, it is inappropriate to talk about a teaching 'profession': for him the notion suggests outdated ideas and associations of caring. He argues that, while the concept of professionalism emerged from, and was appropriate to, the 1950s - 1970s, when teachers were seen as carers and innovators and were trusted by society, the shift to intensive management of people in the 1990s and the restructuring of work in schools meant that teaching was redefined as 'flexible and re-skilled competence based labour' (Lawn, 1999, p. 104) and was therefore incompatible with professionalism.

Locke (2001), drawing on Sachs, (1998), argues that central to notions of professionalism are three concepts: expertise, altruism and autonomy. Expertise, he feels, is the possession of particular and exclusive knowledge and practices. Whilst at one time it could be said that teachers were perceived to have this expertise, as the curriculum and working practices of schools have been increasingly defined and policed through regimes of inspection and performance management, some teachers feel themselves to be deskilled (Apple, 1995). In the same text, Apple further argues that the technical control of teachers has been accompanied by 'intensification' – work overload, the loss of time for breaks for thinking, talking things through with colleagues, professional reading and so on. It should be noted though, that more recent changes (the Teacher Workforce Remodelling Agreement, TTA, 2003, implemented during 2004 - 2005) in teacher workload have re-assigned some of the more routine administrative work undertaken by teachers to give them time for thinking, discussion and professional development.

Altruism according to Locke, (2001) is an ethical concern for one's clients: in the case of teachers, for their pupils and other learners. This might be played out through affective models of teaching in which teachers see themselves as nurturers of their learners.

Autonomy, understood as freedom to act in the way the teacher deems most appropriate, is the aspect of professionalism which appears to have been most eroded by managerialist policies. For Locke (2001), there is a tension between autonomy and accountability, which raises questions about to whom teachers are accountable. They are contracted to the state through their schools, and they have responsibilities to their pupils and parents. Tension occurs when the work practices required by government are in apparent conflict with teachers' perceived duties to their pupils and parents.

Locke (2001) goes on to argue that teachers have had all these three key markers of professionalism (expertise, altruism and autonomy) eroded. Teachers have considerably less freedom to design their curriculum than they had before 1976, though the balance is beginning to shift with proposals contained in legislations currently in Parliament (DfES, 2006). In professional practice, autonomy is lost as policy directives translate into achievable learning outcomes (Locke, 2001 p. 6-7). There is for teachers a loss of control of skills, content, rhythm and pace of work' (*ibid*). They have no independent professional body, such as the Law Society or General Medical Council, to act as advocate and consultee in the policy shaping process, though perhaps the establishment of the General Teaching Councils (GTCs) is a step towards remedying this. Without self-governance or a co-ordinated policy voice, it is more difficult for them to argue that they have the autonomy and expertise that Locke (2001) suggest are at the core of professionalism.

Rather than autonomy, however, it may be more appropriate to think about agency as a marker of professionalism. Autonomy perhaps does not acknowledge that the individual is always in dialectic with the social, and tends to collocate with ideas of erosion when autonomy is

reduced. Agency understands the individual not as the agent of another person or persons, but as an acting and thinking individual in the context of the social practice in which she operates. In this understanding, the teacher is not understood as someone who is diminished by social regulation but as one who retains some freedom to comply with or resist the constraints of legislation.

The debate about professionalism may have arisen from the fact that teachers and government appear to have arrived at their understandings about professionalism from two Teachers' understandings of professionalism were based on a different perspectives. comparison of their work and status with that of lawyers and doctors, whereas government appeared to be conceptualising professionalism for teachers as similar to that for the Armed Forces or Civil Servants where the employee is regarded as an apolitical agent of government, and so required to carry out the political will of the government of the day. Teachers have traditionally neither defined nor positioned themselves as Civil Servants, though it is arguable that they have always been so in that they are the agents of government in carrying our education policy. Successive governments from the 1980s onwards have manoeuvred teachers by erosion of traditional power, union power, and status - into a position where they can no longer offer the kinds of resistance to policy thinking that they traditionally did (Buckingham and Jones, 2001). On the other hand, it may be argued, too, that government actions are intended to give teachers greater professional status through codification of a body of knowledge and range of skills combined with a recognisable career path and thus shifting them from agents of government to knowledgeable and informed agentive actors.

Apple (1995) says the State

' can legitimate its own activity by couching its discourse in language that is broad enough to be meaningful to each of what it perceives to

be important constituencies, yet specific enough to give some practical answers to those who, like teachers, 'require' it' (p. 19).

A reading of the Standards document suggests that the British government is playing just this game. By taking the word 'professionalism' and offering a definition of teacher professionalism which has legal status, it has removed the construction of the concept from the domain of teachers, and made it work for its own purposes. Though some of those purposes may overlap with teacher purposes, teachers no longer have ownership of the concept and its use. In the new managerialist education system, which is used to ensure 'implementation and compliance by an increasingly resistant profession' (Locke, 2001) 'professionalism' appears to be understood by the powerful voices as conformity with directives and learning to mechanise teaching. Teacher professionalism is increasingly constituted within a discursive field of knowledge-power (Robertson, 1996, in Locke, 2001), which means that 'words and concepts which define teachers' work can change, and teachers can unwittingly find themselves repositioned as non-experts by other powerful interests' (Locke, 2001, p. 20).

More recent erosions of status have been achieved through government use of the word 'profession' and its lemmas (the root 'profession' with its various suffixes: professional, professionalism, professionally) in ways which exclude the notions of autonomy that teachers are so keen to associate with professionalism: what constitutes professionalism for teachers in the government's view is now defined by the Standards document.

2.7.4 Reflective Practice

In a similar way, argues Smyth (1991) the notion of 'reflective teaching' has been taken over and institutionalised by government. Following Schön (1987), teachers' concern to develop as reflective practitioners ran parallel with the changes in education implemented by the Tory government of the late 1980s and 1990s. The concept of 'reflective practice' arose from

consideration of what constituted 'professionalism'. For Schön (1987), as for Elliott (1991), part of being professional was the ability to reflect on one's work in order to improve it, so that there was a constant cycle of action, observation, reflection and planning. Part of the reflection and planning process involved theorising about the work, and from notions of the reflective practitioner developed ideas of the action researcher, who would observe her work in schools, identify areas of possible improvement, and, using a theoretical basis alongside practical actions, would develop a plan to improve her practice.

Pollard (2002) argues that reflective teaching is concerned with aims and consequences and requires 'attitudes of open-mindedness, responsibility and wholeheartedness' (p. 13). It is a cyclical practice involving reflection, planning, making provision, acting, collecting data, analysing data and evaluating data which therefore 'requires competence in methods of evidence based classroom enquiry to support the progressive development of higher standards of teaching' (*ibid*).

For Pollard (2002), reflective teaching is 'enhanced through collaboration and dialogue with colleagues' (p. 20) though Osterman and Kottkamp (1993, p. 185) emphasise the individual aspect of reflection: while they agree that reflective practice is about self-awareness and change, they focus on the 'respect for the right of individuals to exercise self-direction'.

Tabachnich and Zeichner (1991) like Pollard, understand reflective teaching as a social activity, arguing that '[m]eanings for the results of teaching and learning are grounded in and confirmed by social relations within a particular social context' (p. 11). They offer three perspectives of what might constitute reflective teaching. Firstly, it may be retrospective in order to help planning: teachers may '[look] back at social interactions and [try] to make sense of them in order to plan for future teaching' (p. 11). Secondly, it may anticipate learning situations and attempt to shape them. Finally, they suggest, it may be that reflective teaching is a process of dialectic between teaching and learning, acting and thinking; that 'reflective teaching

is within the process of teaching and learning, in which ideas and behaviour interact to shape one another' (p. 11).

From this literature, then, it appears that concepts of personal power and action, and of behavioural and organisational change, characterise the discourse of reflective practice.

2.8 Summary

A rapid pace of change has characterised the work of teachers during the last twenty five years. Much of that change is driven by government policy makers who draw into debates about education discourses and vocabulary which may have previously been unfamiliar to teachers in their own discussions and descriptions of their work. Alongside these discourses run teachers' own discussions about professionalism and reflective practice, which HEIs have tried to lead and which have been appropriated and possibly re-interpreted by government.

CHAPTER 3

HOW MENTORING IS VIEWED IN THE LITERATURE ON ITE

3.1. Introduction

Having reviewed some of the literature relating to the political context of changes in ITE, I turn in this chapter to the literature which points to some of the ways that those working in ITE have developed their practice in response to policies. The literature on ITE, usually authored by academics working in HEIs, is most prolific from about 1990, when practitioners were trying to make sense of the ways that schools and HEIs could work together to foster student teacher learning. Through initiatives such as the Oxford Internship Scheme (Benton, 1990); the School Based Training Scheme - a DES sponsored research project - (Furlong *et al*, 1988); and the MOTE (Modes of Teacher Education) study (Whiting *et al*, 1996; Furlong *et al*, 2000) HEIs and schools had, during the 1980s, explored how they could work in more collaborative ways. Building on some of the results from the research, and drawing on neoconservative opinion (e.g., Hillgate, 1989) that teacher education should be based more in school than in HEIs, Circular 9/92 (DfE 1992) made partnership compulsory for those secondary schools working in ITE.

Through this chapter, some of the understandings of mentoring which have emerged from reflection on work in partnership, and the ways of thinking about ITE which characterise them, are drawn out. As some linguists argue that language shapes and is shaped by understandings of concepts (e.g., Thomas and Wareing, 1999), attention is briefly drawn to

some of the language used in the literature to discuss ITE which might shape and reflect the way that participants act in and think about the activity.

The discussion organises the literature around three perspectives which I call the 'relationship', the 'whole school'; and the 'sociocultural'. The first two perspectives, it is suggested, foreground mentor roles or student and school learning needs, and conceptualise the mentor as an instrument of student learning with the school understood as a locus for experimentation with theories learned in HEI. The third, sociocultural perspective, is moving towards conceptualising ITE as a process or activity system in which the different elements of the activity are interrelated and understood in relation to each other. The chapter concludes by arguing that while each perspective brings into the discussion of ITE its own important tools and lenses, none of the models yet offers a full understanding of the complexities of ITE, and each is silent about the mentor as the subject of potentially competing practices.

3.2. Perspectives on mentoring

3.2.1. Relationship lens

A large body of the literature focuses on the relationships which might develop between mentor and student in ITE. Mentoring is seen as essentially a process and a close learning and teaching relationship (Calderhead & Shorrock, 1997; Roberts, 2000). It is a process of helping; teaching and learning; reflection and career development; and a relationship which is supportive (Roberts 2000, p. 145). Those writing about the relationships within mentoring tend to focus on the affective, and draw on discourses of nurturing.

For Fletcher (2000, pp. 1-2) mentoring is also a blend of process and relationship. It is a one-to-one relationship which empowers the learner and enhances her practice if done well. It is a 'combination of coaching, counselling and assessment' in which trainees are guided and supported; and is 'enabling, reassuring, directing, managing and instructing'. It 'builds self esteem, confidence and readiness to act': it is a 'process whereby skills change' and which

enables teachers to change and cope with change. It entails interaction, flexibility, responsiveness and sensitivity (p. 4).

3.2.1.1. Qualities and skills of a mentor

Those involved in teacher education may be seen to act as gatekeepers to the profession (Calderhead, 1996) as well as being learning friends. Mentoring, therefore, needs sensitive, reflective practitioners who are honest in their work with students, and who can help students develop the skills of reflective practice. Edwards (1995) and Calderhead & Shorrock (1997) would add that they need to induct students into appropriate discourses so that the students can participate in planning their learning, though Calderhead & Shorrock (1997) found in their study that 'teachers often lacked the language or ability to articulate their understandings of their work' (1997, p. 201). Edwards and Collison (1995) found something similar: teachers did not have 'easy and rapid access to the language associated with teaching and learning' (p. 277).

A mentor needs certain skills, one of which, as Fletcher (2000) points out, is the ability to work with adult learners. There is a common, but arguably mistaken, assumption that those teachers who are good with pupils will also be able to teach adults effectively, although adult learners have different needs because of their more extensive prior learning and learning skills. Whereas a teacher is responsible for teaching a set curriculum to a *group* of children in the knowledge that those children will take the same public test on their learning, a mentor is responsible for developing the *individual* skills and knowledge of an adult who aims to be a teacher, to allow any inherent abilities of that adult to be shaped into teacherliness. That work may be done within the framework of competences, which may be understood as a curriculum for ITE, but the list of competences specifies only what the student teacher must be able to do by the end of a period of training and allows for flexibility in how the student teacher is

shaped and developed. It does not specify a body of knowledge about teaching which must be learned and then tested, unlike a subject specific syllabus for pupils.

Additionally, the assumption, which Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) points out is not necessarily accurate (HMI, 1991, p. 25), that a good teacher will make a good mentor presupposes that a good mentor will have the ability to analyse the process of teaching in order to be able to guide the student effectively. The mentor has to be able to articulate her own educational knowledge and personal understandings of education, and to help the student begin to do the same thing during the course of the practical experience in school (Field, 1994). The danger of analysing one's skills too closely, though, as Tomlinson (1995 pp. 72-3) points out, is that the process is potentially deskilling.

Different students have different learning needs, so a good mentor for one student will not necessarily appear so to another. The very good mentors are aware of differing learning needs and are able to adapt their work with students to meet individual learning strategies as well as needs (Calderhead and Shorrock, 1997).

Mentors, then, need to have an understanding of the ways that adults as well as pupils learn and the ability to identify and make explicit a range of teaching strategies (Fletcher, 2000). They need to be able to recognise the stages in learner development in order to adapt their mentoring (Furlong and Maynard, 1995), and for that they require good observation and listening skills (Fletcher, 2000).

Kessels and Korthagen (1996, p. 21) see the mentor as a teacher educator:

...there to help the student see, not to teach the student a number of concepts. One is there to help the student refine his or her general perception, not to provide the student with a set of general rules. One is there to help the student make his or her own tacit knowledge explicit, to help the student capture

the singularities of the experience, to find the rightness of tone and the sureness of touch that only holds good for the particular situation.

Implicit in this argument is that the student already has ideas - however naïve - about how to be a teacher, and needs a mentor to act as a pilot through her practice, drawing attention to strengths and weaknesses of the ideas selected.

As time is mentioned as the key resource in mentoring (e.g. Bush *et al*, 1996; Carney and Hagger, 1996), one of the most important qualities a mentor should have is the ability to manage her time so that the student feels she is getting the attention and space that she needs.

In Jones' (2001) research into mentors' perceptions of the attributes which would enhance the relationship between mentor and student, all twenty five mentors in the dataset placed 'supportiveness' at the top of their list, with the ability to offer constructive criticism coming a close second for twenty three of the twenty five in the sample. Other important qualities included practical experience, patience, honesty and collegiality. Perhaps surprisingly, a sense of humour was rated least important by the mentors.

Fletcher (2000) agrees that the mentor has to be able to support, challenge and educate the student, and goes on to argue that the mentor must be both personally and professionally engaged in the work and willing to open her own work to scrutiny. She must be willing to make sacrifices, changes and challenges, and be able to communicate her own knowledge.

Rather than listing particular qualities, Calderhead & Shorrock (1997) focus on skills and dispositions to suggest that a good mentor is a 'competent practitioner able to discuss a variety of practices' (p. 201) and who 'understands professional development' and is 'willing to appraise their own practice' (p. 201). They reflect a coaching approach to mentoring in their requirement that mentors be able to set targets for their students.

Edwards and Collison (1996) see mentoring as an active process, a form of teaching. It is not an instinctive activity, but a set of learned, or acquired, skills. It needs 'constant and creative interaction between learners and contexts' (p. 7). They agree with Russell and Munby (1991) that mentoring can become the 'joint exploration of *puzzles in practice* in which mentors and students open up professional practice through action research (Edwards and Collison, p. 7).

Jones (2001), summarises the qualities of a mentor as an amalgam of adviser, trainer, assessor, counsellor, model, colleague, teacher, partner and friend, in order of importance. She needs to be someone who can support and offer constructive criticism and practical experience; who is patient, reliable, tolerant and honest; who can work collegially and has good organisational skills. Bush et al. (1996) concur, listing essential mentoring qualities as the ability to form good interpersonal relationships; good listening and feedback skills and the ability to model good pupil-teacher relationships (p. 131). They also add that a good mentor has 'no formal hierarchical relationships': by which I understand them to mean that the school in which they work has a collegiate rather than hierarchical ethos. Perhaps the ability to work collegially mentioned by Jones (2001) and Calderhead & Shorrock (1997) is a better way to express this quality: the mentor does not perceive herself to be the student's superior, but accepts the student as an equal colleague. Given that one of the things a mentor has to do is to assess the student, there may be conflict for the mentor who is working collegially with a student who is considered not to have made sufficient progress in their student year to be able to be awarded Qualified Teacher Status (QTS). The ability to award or not award QTS makes the mentor more powerful than the student and thus potentially creates a hierarchical relationship ab initio. However, a skilful mentor will minimise the awareness of that hierarchy and encourage the student to feel that she is an equal colleague.

3.2.1.2. Models of mentoring

Furlong and Maynard (1995) suggest that there are three models of mentoring: the apprenticeship model, the competency model and the reflective practice model.

3.2.1.2.1. The apprenticeship model

Furlong and Maynard (1995) suggest that this model, like the next - the competency model – can be seen as rooted in the idea that the learner can acquire a set of competences. The apprenticeship model is one advocated by those like O'Hear (e.g. 1988) and the Hillgate Group (1989), who believe that students should learn 'on the job', in contact with good, experienced teachers. It involves the concept of collaborative teaching – joint lesson planning, observation, team teaching - which is a strong and potentially powerful element of mentor work, but arguably not all of it. It is, I suggest, potentially a limiting approach to the work of a teacher and would tend to train teachers to work in particular schools and school systems. As a purely functionalist approach, it is severely limited if it does not encourage students to think through what they are doing or to widen the scope of their thinking about teaching and learning. For Furlong and Maynard, (1995) it is a naïve approach.

To Calderhead & Shorrock (1997), to understand the process of learning how to teach as teacher training suggests a mechanistic approach, akin to 'craft apprenticeship which involves mastery of well defined routines' (p. 192). They argue that the process is better conceptualised as teacher education. However, they also suggest that to distinguish between the two terms may not be helpful as it masks the interplay of both aspects of the work (p. 192). This view suggests that teaching is a combination of mastering routines and having the intellectual engagement with both the routines and the immediate situation to know when to implement them.

3.2.1.2.2 The competency model

The competency model is the second of Furlong and Maynard's (1995) models of practical training based on a list of pre-defined competencies. The model understands the teacher as having knowledge, skills and dispositions which can be acquired through practical training with a mentor in school.

Bullough (1997) feels that competency models oversimplify teaching, ignoring the 'personal, idiosyncratic and probably unmeasurable' learning outcomes (p. 21). Furlong and Maynard (1995, pp. 26-36) tend to agree, suggesting that it is a utilitarian and behaviourist model which only trains people what to do without necessarily understanding why they are doing it. Calderhead & Shorrock (1997) are more sympathetic and argue that mentoring is akin to coaching in that '...a coach observes, discusses, breaks tasks down into performable parts...' (p. 199), as a mentor breaks down the task of teaching into its component parts to help the student learn the work in stages. A list of competencies for teachers might then be understood as this breaking down the work into component parts.

Van Huizen et al (2005, p. 268) define the competency model as:

...a public (supra-personal) standard for teaching as a framework for teacher education, [...] explicit about objectives and assessment criteria, [...]emphasizing the need for teacher education to bear fruit in effective performance in the daily practice of teaching.

The language of the competency model tends to be managerial and is embedded in 'designs for personal profiles describing the essential qualities required by teachers' renewed and extended roles' (van Huizen *et al*, 2005, p. 268).

It is this model which seems to be the current basis of initial teacher education in England, materialised in the Standards document, the government produced list of competences which new entrants must meet in order to gain QTS. However, the Standards do require teachers to be able to reflect on and evaluate their work for continuous development.

3.2.1.2.3 The reflective practice model

Furlong and Maynard (1995) advocate a third model - the reflective model - in which the mentor supports learning by gradually moving from being a role-model and instructor to being a co-inquirer.

Van Huizen et al, (2005, p. 270) suggest that in reflective practice:

...professional repertoires are not established once and for all and are not given from outside a practice, but have to be continually reappraised, reaffirmed, or modified by questioning experiences in the light of standards of evaluation.

This is both an advantage and a disadvantage, they argue. The paradigm singles out those qualities (which they do not go on to enumerate) that are 'regarded as the core qualities of the professional teacher' (van Huizen *et al*, 2005, p. 270) and combines the concepts of teacher as researcher (Stenhouse, 1975) and teacher as reflective practitioner (Schön, 1987) but at the expense of any reference to 'any substantive image of teaching to which reflection and enquiry are to be addressed' (van Huizen *et al*, 2005, p. 270).

Although the concept of the reflective teacher is still being negotiated, it may broadly be said that the focus in the model is on the student as learner with the mentor's role conceptualised as supporter and initiator of that learning while involving the student in her own learning processes. The student is encouraged to engage not only with the what and how of teaching, but to ask questions about why she works as she does. In this way, she has the

tools to develop her practice, respond to change, and be innovative in her work. As a continuing learner herself, she becomes a good model of learning for those who are learning from her.

3.2.1.2.4. Other models

For most of the writers, it is important that the mentor is a critical friend while being able to offer emotional support to the student when things go wrong. As Calderhead & Shorrock (1997) point out, it is not helpful to the student to have a mentor merely commiserating with her when things have not gone to plan: the mentor needs to step in and help the student evaluate the situation and work out how to avoid the pitfalls next time.

The idea of a nurturing relationship emerges in some literature (e.g. Field, 1994, drawing on her own 1992 study of how supervisors saw their role).

For Anderson and Shannon (1995, following Anderson, 1987), mentoring is:

...a nurturing process in which a more skilled or more experienced person, serving as a role model, teaches, sponsors, encourages, counsels, and befriends a less skilled or less experienced person for the purpose of promoting the latter's professional and/or personal development. Mentoring functions are carried out within the context of an ongoing, caring relationship between the mentor and the protégé (p. 29).

However, as Field, (1994) highlights, this leads to conflict for the supervisor between the role of carer and the role of judge of student performance.

3.2.1.3. Summary of relationship lens

Seen from this perspective, mentoring is about the kinds of relationship which are established between mentor and student, and how those relationships might assist the learning

of the student. Attention is directed to the qualities of the person who acts as mentor and to her ways of thinking about working with new entrants to the profession. There are two dominant strands of language in use: one drawn from the affective domain which is used where nurturing is the dominant concept; and another drawn from the cognitive and behaviourist domain which is used where developing competence is the dominant concept.

3.2.2. Whole school lens

From this perspective, mentoring is viewed as essentially a whole school task. The lens directs attention to what participation in mentoring means for the whole school in terms of ways in which the whole school is able to participate and of the ways that the school can learn through working with students. The focus is sometimes rather more on what the student can do for the school than on how the school and the student might learn collaboratively.

For some writers, (e.g., Devlin, 1995) a whole school approach is necessary so that account may be taken of the impact of involvement in ITE on other members of the school community, and in particular, on pupils. For writers such as Fletcher (2000) it is essential because mentors require the support and guidance of colleagues in their work; for others, such as Edwards and Collison (1996) it is because learning is a dynamic interaction between learners and contexts, and for yet others, such as Glover and Mardle (1996) it is because participation in ITE is a mutually beneficial learning relationship.

3.2.2.1. Pupil response and the constraints on mentoring

Where the school is more concerned with the impact of the student on the whole school, those concerns tend to focus on the effect on pupils of being taught by a student. Carney and Hagger (1996) found that pupils tended to respond positively to being taught by students as they perceived lessons to be 'more fun' and 'less serious' than lessons with their usual class teacher. Pupils felt that as the students were younger than their own teachers they could relate more closely to them, and that students were more likely to be approachable and to

develop better relationships with pupils. A few pupils felt that their usual class teacher had greater subject knowledge and could prepare them better for exams.

The school view that the welfare of pupils is important and comes before mentoring emerges in several texts. Devlin, (1995); Shaw, (1995); McIntyre and Hagger, (1996); Carney and Hagger, (1996) and Fletcher, (2000) acknowledge that the primary concern of schools must be the pupils: the education of pupils is at stake when a school is involved in mentoring. Brooks *et al* (1997) in their study of 200 schools' involvement in ITE found that:

[s]chools most emphatically did not regard ITE as their raison d'être, viewing the education of their pupils as their principal concern. It is questionable whether they would be willing to sustain long-term anything which jeopardised that (p. 176).

Williams and Soares (2002, p. 105), point out that:

[i]t seems clear that while schools wish to play an active and very important role in the training of teachers, they continue to see this as subsidiary to their responsibility to pupils.

Fletcher (2000) notes that in some schools:

[i]nitial teacher training is recognised as being important but not as important as educating pupils in classrooms, and specifically not as important as raising scores in government league tables for public examinations (p. 141).

Brisard et al's (2006) study of Scottish partnerships also found that pressure to raise pupil attainment was in tension with the mentors' desire to work in mentoring, while Carney and Hagger (1996) note that in their study mentors were

...especially conscious about the effects on examination classes, and it is school policy that interns do not engage with these groups (p. 111).

Not all schools follow such a policy and there is an argument that some students, bringing the fresh approach noted by Carney and Hagger (1996), may prepare examination groups better sometimes than the usual class teacher.

Although Collison, (1998, pp. 175 - 6) says that there is:

...a legitimate and understandable fear amongst teachers that accepting responsibility for the education and training of teachers will cause them to neglect their 'real' job of teaching children,

she goes on to advise that 'this need not be so'. Devlin, (1995), too, reports that the mentors in her study were 'ambivalent about the effect of school-based teacher training on pupils', though with Shaw (1995) and McIntyre and Hagger (1996) they agree that pupils tend to gain from the participation in ITE.

3.2.2.2. Participation for mutual development

Where the school is motivated to participate in ITE as a means to professional development, the literature suggests that the school tends to see the student as a novice entering an organisation, - either department or school - bringing with her fresh ways of thinking about teaching but also needing the expert guidance of experienced practitioners.

At its best, whole school mentoring provides learning for the wider school community which includes parents and governors. Cooper and Batteson, (1998, p. 168) suggest that:

...a mentoring process which enhances the personal professional knowledge of both mentor and trainee could be a catalyst for whole school development. It could help to develop a philosophy, climate and organization in which individual members, including parents and governors, are encouraged to continuously learn and develop.

For most writers, though, whole school mentoring has a narrower focus. Wilkin, (1992) identifies two different models of mentoring. Mentoring as 'the development of subject presentation' focuses on the creation of a good subject teacher. Mentoring as 'needs analysis' focuses on helping the student to gain access to the skills of teaching through an analysis of the student's individual needs. The first model is limited by its narrow focus on the subject area alone, ignoring the teacher's roles in the wider community of the school. The second model directs learning to what the student needs to become a career teacher with transferable skills. If a student is shaped and developed as an individual through careful analysis of what she needs to learn to become an effective life-long teacher, then she has a solid grounding on which to build a career.

Elliott (1993c) views teaching as a practical science in which the relationship between theory and practice is interactive, and argues for a way to increase the practical element of ITE courses whilst retaining a theoretical input. He calls his approach 'hermeneutic' and acknowledges its roots in Schön's (1987) ideas of 'reflective practice'. For him, ITE is a:

...matter of facilitating the development of teachers' capacities for situational understandings as a basis for wise judgment and intelligent decisions in complex, ambiguous and dynamic educational settings (p. 19).

In order for students to learn how to be part of an organisation, they need to learn within a school context, argue Elliott and Calderhead (1995), drawing on their work with articled teachers. They believe that teaching and learning are both cognitive and affective and that student teachers need to develop both aspects. For this to happen:

...an appropriately supportive school environment may be necessary to foster cognitive and affective orientations to teaching amongst novices. A total school environment, including leadership from the head, an acceptance of professional debate and challenge as well as encouragement amongst the staff, may be essential characteristics of a school if a student is to develop those essential orientations to practice (pp. 39-40).

According to McCulloch and Fidler (1994), ITE must include preparation of students both for teaching, and induction into a community. In other words, there should be a focus not only on how students learn to work in the classroom, but on how they learn to be part of the teaching community. Edwards and Protheroe (2004) found evidence that one of the ways they learn to be part of the school community is through feedback with a narrow focus on ensuring that 'students were doing what was necessary to ensure curriculum coverage and pupil progress through the planned curriculum' (p. 194).

As part of this preparation for working in the teaching community, argues Jones (2001), students should be given opportunities to 'respond appropriately to the complex and

unpredictable mechanisms of human interaction' (p. 92), though she suggests that mentors in her own study are not necessarily providing advice to students which will allow them to do this, an omission which Edwards and Protheroe (2004) also note. Edwards and Collison (1996) comment that many student teachers tend to be 'desert-islanded' with their mentors during the training period so that they have few opportunities to learn how to be part of the wider school community: the mentor needs to be alert to this process and to draw students into the teacher community. Although Edwards and Collison (1996) are writing about students in primary settings, where they are working with a single teacher all day, the same may nonetheless be true of students working in secondary settings, where they may be working within a department but perhaps not being part of the wider school.

The literature suggests that mentors working within the whole-school model often view their work in mentoring as part of their own professional learning. The benefits perceived to accrue to the school from involvement with pre-service teachers tend to relate to teacher professional development as much as to the effect on pupils. Carney and Hagger (1996, p. 110) report that the schools in their study noted the benefits as:

- increased attention to and resources for individual pupils
- new insights into the nature and needs of individual pupils
- enhanced communication within departments.

For individual teachers working as mentors, they found that benefits of being involved in ITE were:

- developing expertise as a teacher
- developing management skills

- developing thinking about teaching
- greater collegiality
- new dispositions and satisfactions

(Carney and Hagger, 1996, p. 114).

Brooks et al (1997) found that, although 96% of the 108 Subject Mentors in their study stated that the work made greatly increased demands on their time, they nonetheless found the work worthwhile because of the professional development and job satisfaction it provided. Many of the participants (68% of 105 Senior Mentors and 76% of 108 Subject Mentors) in their research also reported increased management skills derived from involvement in mentoring.

For Devlin (1995), mentors identify one of the key benefits of mentoring as bringing fresh ideas and ways of working to their teaching. Other mentors perceive it as career enhancement or progression (Fletcher, 2000), in spite of there being no formalised career path in ITE.

Roberts (2000), summarising the different models of mentoring in his review of the literature on the topic, concludes that it leads to:

the discovery of latent abilities; performance improvement; retention of staff; growth in mentee confidence; personal growth for both parties; increased awareness of the role of the organisation; increased effectiveness and self-actualisation (p 160).

Tomlinson (2001) argues that when the mentor is working on the student, she is, at the same time, working on her pupils through the student. He posits a 'Russian doll' model of working in which 'mentors [...] assist student [teachers] to become able to assist pupils to

learn' (p.21). Edwards and Protheroe's (2004) research suggests that Tomlinson's view may be partially right: their study of student teachers in primary schools found that the mentor tended to use the student to teach the pupil, a process they conceptualise as 'teaching by proxy' (*ibid*, p. 1).

Tomlinson (1995, p. 9) conceptualises teaching, of which mentoring is a form, as 'an activity designed to promote learning' which cannot be done in isolation from teachers, learners (i.e. human actors), context (resources, place and time), intended learning outcomes (which make the activity purposeful), and a knowledge of the process of the activity. Teaching, and mentoring, is in this view a conscious and purposeful interaction between a group of people who have acquired knowledge, skills, and understandings, and a group of people who are aiming to acquire those same knowledge, skills and understandings. It is afforded or constrained by what resources, including time and space, are available, and by the intended outcomes of the activity. Teaching and learning are in dialectic: teaching is about learning and learning happens because of teaching: they are 'a purposeful form of social interaction' (Tomlinson, 1995, p. 11).

3.2.2.3. Summary of whole school lens

Within this model of mentoring, the key concepts and discourses relate to the school as a learning community and a belief that mentoring is a form of professional learning in which the whole school participates. The student learns how to be a member of a school system rather than using the school as a site for trying out what has been learned in the HEI.

While the writers here are moving towards a view of mentoring as a relationship between the student, the mentor, the school and the wider community, there is evidence that they are not yet drawing on the kinds of conceptual and language tools which might help them understand and explain how the actors, layers of context and resources might interact to offer a richer understanding of ITE. It is suggested that the third perspective of the activity might overcome some of these issues.

3.2.3 Sociocultural lens

Wertsch *et al* (1995, p. 11) argue that the goal of the sociocultural approach to studying human activity is:

...to explicate the relations between human action, on the one hand, and the cultural, institutional, and historical situations in which this action occurs, on the other.

For Edwards, (1998, p. 217):

...the key features of a sociocultural approach are the relationship between learning and identity, the construction of knowledge in use, communities of practice and the importance of conversation.

This perspective, then, understands ITE as preparation of students both for work in the classroom and for being a member of a school which is part of a wider professional community. Work with the student is viewed as collaborative and focuses on helping the student to improve their teaching (Edwards, et al, 2002). There is a contextualised dialectical relationship between the student and the other members of the community as they work together on shared objects such as pupil learning and student development.

The literature on ITE in this area is still rather thin. Some writers such as McCulloch and Fidler, (1994) discuss the process of enculturation but lack the combination of concepts and language of sociocultural perspectives. Zeichner and Gore, (1990) view learning to teach as

dialectical, in that the student shapes and is shaped by the school in which she is a learner. They discuss what they call teacher socialisation, defined as 'that process whereby the individual becomes a participating member of the society' (p. 1). They identify three types of socialisation: functionalist, interpretive and critical. In functionalist socialisation, the individual student is initiated and integrated into what is perceived to be a stable society. There is no dialectic between the school and the novice teacher and no joint learning. In interpretive socialisation, the individual is able to question and ask for explanations of what is happening in the society, and therefore to shape their understanding of the society they are to join, though they are not perceived to shape the society and there is no joint learning. In critical socialisation, the individual is a product of, but also helps to create, the society she is to join. This type of socialisation sees ITE comes close to the sociocultural view but is rather narrower.

The sociocultural view of mentoring is discussed by Edwards (1998), Putnam and Borko (2000), Edwards et al. (2002), Edwards and Protheroe (2004) and van Huizen et al. (2005). Its view of learning is rooted in Vygotskian theory and its developments and argues that learning is a dialectic between the internal psychological processes of the individual, and the external environment of the social. It is situated in physical and social contexts; is social in nature and is distributed across the individual, other learners and tools. In this view, the focus is on how interactions between individuals on the one hand, and social groups, materials and representational systems on the other, create knowledge and learning. Communities of practice change through the ways of thinking (concepts), ways of saying (language) and ways of acting (practices) that new members bring to the practice. The individual and the social are in dialectic and produce learning. The view:

...does not set out from opposition between organism and environment (or individual and society) but from the idea of a unified system in which these two elements are joined together in a dialectical relationship (van Huizen *et al*, 2005, p. 271).

Learning, then, may be understood as coming to know how to participate in the discourses and practices of a community; as enculturation into ways of thinking; and of dispositions, with the discourse communities within practices reciprocally providing the cognitive tools of ideas, concepts and theories which individuals appropriate to make sense of their experiences (Putnam and Borko, 2000).

Putnam and Borko (2000), drawing on concepts of communities of discourse (Fish, 1980; Resnick, 1991) and communities of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991), argue that it is perhaps only within authentic activities, by which they mean those similar to what actual practitioners do, that students can develop as learners. Learning is seen as intertwined with ongoing practice in an expansive cycle, so learning is most effective when done with a teacher, coach or mentor sitting alongside during practice to draw out the student's learning and prompt further development. Edwards and Protheroe (2004) believe that:

[i]n a participatory version of learning we need to attend to how learners learn slowly to interpret situated cues and possibilities and learn to respond to them while they participate in social practices (p. 228).

They believe that, because students are uncomfortable working in what they see as risky activities - a reluctance which impedes their learning – they might learn more effectively from

'working alongside a more experienced teacher in a safe place from which one might learn to explore the potential for action in classroom events' (p. 230).

Yet in their study of mentoring in primary school in the UK, they saw:

...very little team teaching where mentors work alongside student teachers, enabling their peripheral participation and access to teachers' decision-making while teaching (p. 228).

However, as Putnam and Borko (2000) point out, it is not always practical to have someone working alongside the learner and the presence of the mentor or coach does not always help the learner to think in new ways.

For pre-service teachers there has traditionally been reliance on field experience in classrooms as sites for learning combined with HEI based learning. This approach has led to a combination of practical and reflective learning which can be difficult to acquire in other ways. This traditional approach, say Putnam and Borko, (2000), draws partly on the apprenticeship model but lacks the stable and continuing environment that apprenticeships provide. What is needed, they suggest, is an approach that combines the situatedness of the practical experiences in schools with an avoidance of 'the "pull" of the traditional school culture' (p 8). For Edwards and Protheroe (2004) what is needed is a way to develop 'a capacity to make increasingly informed interpretation of classrooms and to develop increasingly wide repertoires of appropriate responses' (p. 231).

An important part of learning those responses and repertoires is learning the ways of saying, or discourses, that frame them. Learning to teach is as much learning the language of teaching, or being enculturated into discourse communities, as learning to act in the community so that the student can 'think, talk and act like a teacher' (Putnam and Borko,

2000). The challenge for ITE is to find ways in which experiences in school can help students become critical and reflective participants in discourse communities, especially where they work in very close relationships with just one or two teachers who form their own mini community such as a subject department (Putnam and Borko, 2000).

Edwards and Collison (1996) argue that mentoring should be 'one important element in the dynamics of a developing school' (p. 6) and express concern about models of mentoring that result in mentors and students or newly qualified teachers being isolated from the broader school community and the expertise distributed across it. Mentoring is viewed in their model as an active process, a form of teaching carried out through 'constant and creative interaction between learners and contexts'. (p. 7). The sociocultural approach argues that:

...the language and conceptual tools of social, situated and distributed cognition provide powerful lenses for examining teaching, teacher learning and the practices of teacher education in new ways (Putnam and Borko, 2000).

The social and distributed nature of cognition is a tool for assisting thinking about how to ensure that conversations within discourse communities are 'educationally meaningful and worthwhile' (Putnam and Borko, 2000, p. 12). It is a way to overcome the divide between theory and practice by viewing teaching as 'intertwined collections of more specific patterns that hold across a variety of situations' (Putnam and Borko, 2000, p. 12). Researchers, as part of the community of practice, are intertwined in the learning processes of students, helping to shape their learning experiences. A counter argument may be that, within a learning community, other participants, such as the HEI, may, by prompting reflection and by offering alternative perspectives, foster a disposition for thinking through how learning may be transferred to other situations.

Van Huizen et al (2005) are interested in how to overcome dualisms inherent in ITE such as learner/teacher; theory/practice. They argue that through the process of internalising social functions:

...the individual needs an environment presenting and modelling an ideal standard of achievement and providing supporting conditions for a successful approximation of this standard...(p. 272).

By seeing the individual student as a learner in a learning community, whose work towards the goal of becoming a teacher is mediated by experts and models, the divisions between individual and group, learner and expert, theory and practice are dissolved and rather than being barriers, become trajectories. They suggest that any programme of ITE should be based on six principles (van Huizen *et al*, 2005, p. 273 - 276):

- learning through participation, that is, through evolving participation in a social practice;
- orientation towards ideal forms, that is, basing learning on 'central cultural meanings attached to core activities' (p. 274) and allowing the ideal forms to 'serve as criteria of competence and objects of commitment' (*ibid*);
- attuning a public standard to personal motives, understood as an interaction between the critically evaluated 'publicly valid forms of teaching' and the 'personal ideas and motives' (p. 275): i.e., a form of reflective teaching;
- interaction of performance and assignment of meaning, that is, the 'interplay between action and meaning' (p. 275);
- development of professional identity, which, they argue, is, in the Vygotskian view, the overall aim of teacher education;

 learning from emotional experiences. Their argument is that since identity construction involves the integration of the intellectual, emotional and volitional, ITE should acknowledge all three (p. 275).

This six point programme, they argue, integrates other earlier ways of thinking about ITE into a 'more comprehensive and theoretically more satisfying ensemble' (van Huizen *et al*, 2005, p. 276).

There appear, then, to be two strands of socio-cultural approach. One approach works with a participatory view of learning and can be useful if aligned with a notion of ITE as a form of apprenticeship into existing cultures. More recent approaches, however, have raised questions about how useful such a view is for training professionals who can work in a range of settings and create new understandings for themselves and the community in which they participate. Edwards and Protheroe (2004) sense that, at present, mentors' knowledge:

...is heavily situated, for example, as knowledge of these particular pupils, knowledge of how the curriculum is sequenced in this school and knowledge of what might be attempted within the constraints and opportunities of accepted professional practice with this set of colleagues (p. 229).

It is suggested, then, that there is a need for a socio-cultural understanding of ITE which grapples with questions of how knowledge can be transferred between settings and which takes more strongly into account what people bring into settings and practices.

3.2.3.1. Summary

Although there is as yet only a small body of literature looking at teacher training through this lens it appears to offer a way of overcoming some of the difficulties of seeing mentoring through either relationship lenses or whole school lenses. The model appears to avoid directing the gaze to individual aspects of ITE in isolation from its other aspects, rather viewing ITE as a unified system of macro-, meso- and micro-level activity. Those writing about ITE in this way see the student as undergoing a process of enculturation into a community of discourses and practices assisted by an experienced practitioner. It sees ITE as a process involving human action, communication and meaning making which is continuous and leads seamlessly into later learning in the Newly Qualified Teacher (NQT) year and then on into Continuous Professional Development (CPD). Learning is a product of (modelled) practice and teaching is about providing modelled learning occasions. The learner is viewed as being on a trajectory towards a goal, and as working within a social and cultural system. In this perspective, the issue of seemingly contradictory opposites (teacher/learner; internal/external; macro/micro; cognitive/affective) is apparently overcome by seeing the pairs of opposites as in dialectic tension from which learning emerges.

3.3. Conclusions

The literature reviewed so far suggests that teaching as a profession is about the activity of learning (Tomlinson, 1995); about knowing how to offer different responses at different times and apply underlying theoretical principles using a specialised vocabulary acquired over a long period of training. Mentoring is seen as a blend of practice, theorising and developing creativity in assisting people to become teachers.

There is a tendency to focus on opposites in tension with each other. For Calderhead & Shorrock (1997) there is a tension between the theoretical and practical aspects of mentoring, between the need to understand and the need to perform, which is exacerbated by the fact that teacher education is carried out across two key locations: the HEI, which is frequently perceived by other members of the ITE community to offer theory in isolation from practice, and school, which is sometimes perceived by HEIs to offer practice often divorced from articulated theoretical underpinnings.

The literature outlines the background to the current situation in ITE and reflects on the process of mentoring from the perspectives of (most frequently) the student or (less often) the HEI. When the mentor is placed as subject of discussion, it is to investigate either the qualities she brings to mentoring or the ways that she can work with the student. Her work in the wider community of teaching and mentoring is often sidelined.

The largest part of the body of literature relating to mentoring deals with the relationship between mentor and student, but there is increasing awareness of the need to pull out from the close up on that relationship and take a wider angle look at the relationship between individual student and school community learning needs. Such a perspective, however, continues to place the student as the subject of the investigation.

At present the gaze in the literature is directed to the ways that mentoring can be mutually beneficial, with the caveat that pupil learning must be prioritised over student learning. However, none of the current lenses through which mentoring is discussed seems to offer a composite picture of how HEI, school, mentor and student can work together in ways that overcome the binaries of theory/practice; school/HEI; student/mentor; student/pupil or mentor/teacher, though the sociocultural lens appears to be attempting to do that.

Mentoring, then, remains a concept in the process of negotiation. What seems to be agreed is that it is both a relationship and a process, occurring in schools with practising teachers and students who are learning how to become teachers and which involves, in various degrees, coaching, modelling good practice, fostering independence and creativity, support and assessment.

What the literature does not yet do is show how mentoring and teaching are compatible activities and how teachers can negotiate their work in both activities to minimise tension between any contradictory rules, discourses and aims. Another absence in the literature on mentoring appears to be an investigation of the language used in practices - understood as

ways of acting - on which mentors draw in their work. There is acknowledgement that mentors need to induct students into the discourses of schools (Edwards, 1995; Edwards and Collison, 1996; Calderhead & Shorrock, 1997) so that they have a language through which to talk about their own learning, but there does not appear to be discussion of the discourses mentors draw on; how far mentors appropriate the discourses of their partnership(s) or those of the Standards document, though it should be noted that there is an emergent debate about how teachers may be resisting some policy discourses (see e.g. Boag-Munroe, 2005).

The study, then, attempted to open spaces for these aspects of mentoring to be more closely examined.

3.4 Research objectives

This study aimed to explore, through the language, concepts and rules used in ITE, some of the ways that teachers who work as mentors might negotiate or organise the potentially conflicting practices they work in. The objectives of the research were:

- to have begun to identify and describe the main conceptual tools the mentor draws on in her work
- to have begun to identify and describe the key language tools in use in ITE and to highlight the ones that the mentor appropriates or resists in her work
- to have begun to identify and describe some of the rules which shape mentors' work
 in ITE
- to have explained some of the ways that teachers who work as mentors might negotiate the potentially conflicting practices they work in
- to have begun to understand the mentor as acting subject rather than instrument in the practice of ITE.

CHAPTER 4

THE ANALYTICAL FRAME: ACTIVITY THEORY

4.1 Introduction

The review of the literature on mentoring in Chapters 2 and 3 led to the suggestion that most of the descriptions used so far to try to understand the work of mentors and the place of mentoring within the school were limited: they tended to offer only a partial understanding of the complexities of the practice. The socio-cultural approach, however, appeared to be trying to capture the practice of mentoring as a complex, dynamic system of interactions between the individual and the social, historical and cultural context in which mentors worked. It directed the gaze to the kinds of tools which the individual used in order to work as a mentor, and as I was particularly interested in the concepts and language which the mentor used in her work, in the rules she followed, and in the ways that she negotiated a trajectory through the different activities in which she participated, the sociocultural approach, and particularly Activity Theory, appeared to offer a methodology through which to better understand the interaction between the acting subject, the practices she participated in and the tools she selected. This chapter offers an outline of how the theory has developed and how it frames the research study, and suggests that at present there is a significant absence in the theory which has necessitated the addition of a further heuristic to enable the aims of this study to be realised.

Summarising the ideas of Marx and Engels, Frolov (1984, p. 7) defines activity as:

...a process in the course of which man reproduces and creatively transforms nature, thereby making himself the subject of activity and the natural phenomena the object of

his activity. [...] Activity is a concept connoting the function of the individual with his surroundings. Psychic activity [...] mediates, regulates, and controls relations between the organism and the environment. Psychic activity is impelled by need aimed at the object which can satisfy this need and effected by the system of actions. [...] The highest form of activity is man's deliberate effort to transform his environment. The activity of man has a social complexion and is determined by the social conditions of life (p. 8).

Activity Theory, beginning in the thinking of Vygotsky (1978, 1986) and progressively developed by Leont'ev (1977, 1981) and Engeström (1987) *inter alia*, expands these understandings of activity. It cannot yet be said to be a completed theory: as it is used and reflected on in a range of fields, it continues to be refined and developed.

4.2 Vygotsky's concept of mediated activity

4.2.1 Activity

Activity Theory originated in 1920s Soviet Russia with Lev Vygotsky's attempts to explain learning processes in terms of Marxist accounts of labour and dialectic. He argued that man shaped and was shaped by his environment:

The dialectical approach, while admitting the influence of nature on man, asserts that man, in turn, affects nature and creates through his changes in nature new natural conditions for his existence (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 60).

Cole (1996) suggests that this process:

...implies that humans inhabit "intentional" (constituted) worlds within which the traditional dichotomies of subject and object, person and environment, and so on, cannot be analytically separated and temporally ordered into independent and dependent variables (p. 103),

or, as Ratner (1991) says, Vygotsky argued that humans actively transform themselves in the process of transforming their natural world. In this view, pairs of opposites cannot be understood separately from each other: to understand one of the pair requires understanding of the other. Therefore, in terms of ITE, for example, in order to understand the mentor, it is necessary to understand the student and *vice versa*.

Vygotsky went on to argue that the interaction of the acting self with the objective world - activity - was mediated by artefacts or tools: he elaborated here on Engels' idea that tool use in human labour transforms the self and changes nature (Cole and Scribner, 1978). The relation was expressed as one between human agent or actor and the object of activity mediated by cultural means or artefacts. He conceptualised a triad of subject-tool-object (Fig. 1) to model how the subject-object antithesis was resolved: the tool, created by man, in turn created the essential link between subject and object, bridging the divide between them.

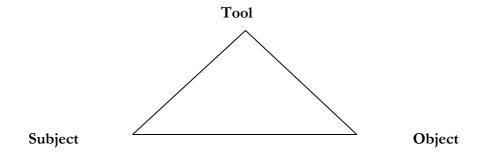


Figure 1: Vygotsky's model of mediated activity.

Cole (1996) understands this to mean that 'human psychological processes emerge through culturally mediated, historically developing, practical activity' (p. 108), simultaneously with 'a new form of behaviour in which humans modified material objects as a means of regulating their interactions with the world and one another' (p. 108).

4.2.2 Thought and language

The key tool that man used was, believed Vygotsky (1986), language: speech and other sign systems were used by humans in order to influence their own actions. However, in spite of arguing the importance of language in activity, neither Vygotsky nor later Activity Theorists have developed a means to systematically investigate language in activity. This lacuna is discussed in **4.4.1.3.** below, following a discussion of the development of Activity Theory.

4.3 Leont'ev's development of the theory

4.3.1 Activity

Building on Vygotsky's idea that all human activity was mediated by tools, Leont'ev (1978) focused on the dichotomy of the individual and the social and argued that their dialectic, mediated by activity, resulted in the development of personality or identity. Being, for Leont'ev, was a system or hierarchy of successive activities: it developed through activity. In this view, then, to fully understand a mentor, I would need to identify all the activities that a mentor participated in during the course of a life. However, such a goal is unrealistic in a small-scale study, and so this research focuses on a snapshot of a process of becoming, and in particular, on how the mentor shapes one aspect of her being.

Activity was social and undertaken to fulfil a need: a need was a prerequisite for activity and provided the object and motive for it (Leont'ev, 1977). It was, too, a 'highly dynamic system characterised by constantly occurring transformation' (Leont'ev, 1977, p. 5).

Activity was a 'non-additive unit of the material life of the material subject' (Leont'ev, 1977, p. 2) and a part of social relations, obeying the system of relations of society: 'Social conditions carry in themselves the motives and aims of activity, the ways and means of its realisation' (Leont'ev 1977, p. 2).

Society was considered by Leont'ev to be a unity of actual interlacing patterns of particular activities. Human individuality was based on social activity (Axel, 1997). In the course of a lifetime, an individual participates in several activities which shape their personality or identity. In order to understand the individual:

...[i]t is necessary to identify the particular "knots" or units of activities, which constitute an "ensemble" in individuals' *personalities* [Axel's italics] because it is on the basis of their personalities that they relate to and develop particular activities (Axel, 1997, p. 137).

Applying this to the present study, in order to understand the individual teacher and how she worked within ITE, it seemed necessary to know about what Axel (1997) calls the 'knots' of the mentor's activities which contributed to her identity as a mentor. In other words, to look at the mentor's work in ITE in isolation from her work in other activities would lead only to a partial explanation of her actions in ITE.

The essence of activity for Leont'ev (1977) was that it had an object, i.e. that which is being worked on by the participants in the activity, which might, for example, in the case of this study be a student's development trajectory. The object defined the activity, and activities were distinguished from each other by their objects, which appeared in two forms. The first was the 'independent' form, or the object as it appeared in the external world. The second was the 'mental image of the object as the product of the detection of its properties which [was] effected

by the activity of the subject', (Leont'ev, 1977) understood as the subjective, ideal form of the object which has been internalised through activity. The subject's interaction with the objective world was mediated, and the mental image of it formed, by activity. However, for Leont'ev (1977, p. 5):

...the product to which activity is [...] directed does not yet actually exist. So it can regulate activity only if it is presented to the subject in such a form that enables him to compare it with the original material (object of labour) and with its intermediate transformations. What is more, the mental image of the product as a goal must exist for the subject in such a way that he can act with this image – modify it according to the conditions at hand. Such images are conscious images, conscious notions or, in other words, the phenomena of consciousness.

The object of the activity, then, exists only as an image in the mind of those acting on the object, and it is to this image of the object that activity is directed.

Leont'ev (1977) attempted to explain how the individual contributed to collective social activity. Having argued that activity was social and motivated by an object, he moved on to argue that in the course of working on that object, individuals worked towards goals inherent in the object through actions which could be broken down in to operations. Actions were the key components of activity and were processes which obeyed conscious goals: the goals determined what the individual's actions would be. However, goals and the motives which inspired them were not direct correlates and actions were not separate things included in activity: rather activity was the sum of the participants' actions, and those actions could be a chain of operations.

This interaction of activity, actions and goals might be modelled as in Figure 2:

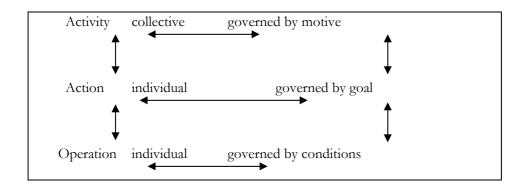


Figure 2: A model of object-oriented activity as proposed by Leont'ev (1977)

Actions, said Leont'ev, could become activities when they were carried out for their own sake, rather than in the furtherance of work on a more distant object, in other words, when the action acquired a motive. Conversely, an activity could become an action by losing its motive and being incorporated into a new activity. In the same way, actions and operations were transmutable.

In terms of ITE, the interrelationship of activity, action and operation might translate into the activity of teacher education with the object of preparing new entrants to the profession, and the motive of ensuring a future supply of teachers; actions might include modelling teaching with the goal of enabling the student to teach proficiently and the operations might include talking through a lesson plan for a model lesson with a particular group at a particular stage of their learning.

4.3.2 Meanings and language

Leont'ev (1977) went on to explore how individuals transform material objects to subjective ideals. He argued that the transformation from material object to subjective ideal was achieved through language, 'which is the product and means of communication of people taking part in production' (Leont'ev, 1977, p. 7). Language, according to Leont'ev, 'carries in its meanings (concepts) a certain objective content, but content completely liberated from its materiality' (*ibid*).

Thus, meanings refract the world in man's consciousness. The vehicle of meaning is language but language is not the demiurge of meaning. Concealed behind linguistic meanings (values) are socially evolved modes of action (operations) in the process of which people change and cognise objective reality. In other words, meanings are the linguistically transmuted and materialised ideal form of the existence of the objective world, its properties, connections and relations revealed by aggregate social practice (Leont'ev, 1977, p. 9).

Language, in this view, is the material expression of meaning, which is socially produced and developed historically. Meanings in the individual acquire bias or partiality and become personal meanings or sense (Leont'ev, 1977). Concepts are abstract meanings, existing within the minds of individuals and society and expressible through language.

Leont'ev then, identified the interconnectedness of meanings, concepts and language but, while stating that 'meanings are studied' (Leont'ev 1977, p. 9) does not appear to have gone on to suggest how those meanings might be systematically studied.

4.4 Engeström's Activity Theory

Engeström's model draws on and expands the ideas of Vygotsky and Leont'ev. Miettinen defines it as an 'object – oriented, culturally and socially mediated system with division of labour and rules that regulate interaction between participating individuals' (Miettinen, 1998, p. 424). It is this model of Activity Theory which is used in this study, rather than his later Developmental Work Research theory (captured in the papers collected in Engeström, 2005) which extends this model to a methodology for understanding cognitive development in workplace settings through investigation of learning trajectories: this study is focused more on how the language, concepts

and rules are used to work on the object of the activity than on understanding how learning is occurring.

Activity, argues Engeström (2000b) is the longer-term system within which shorter term actions and operations (Leont'ev, 1978) take place along the way to reaching the overall outcome of the system. Moving between the levels of the system is a core principle of Activity Theory according to Engeström. To Vygotsky's model of the subject working on an object, using tools or artefacts to achieve an outcome, Engeström (1987) added the idea that activity is bounded by social, historical and cultural rules, takes place within a community, and is carried out through a division of labour, modelled as in Figure 3 below:

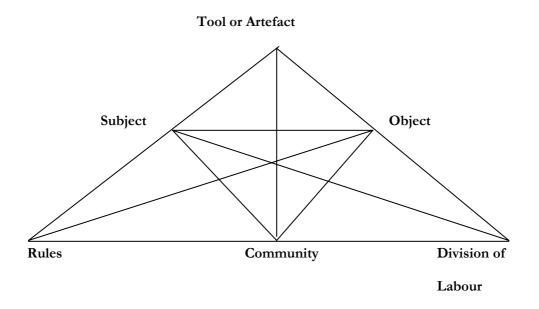


Figure 3: Engeström's (1987) model of activity

He suggests that the 'triadic structure' may be seen as 'depicting *individual actions* which are the visible tip of the iceberg of *collective activity*' (Engeström, 1990, p. 172).

Drawing on and quoting Lektorsky (1984, p. 137) he argues that:

...the subject constructs the object, "singles out those properties that prove to be essential for developing social practice" using mediating artifacts that function as "forms of expression of cognitive norms, standards and other object-hypotheses existing outside the given individual".

The sections which follow attempt to unpick some of this definition drawing the organising principles from Engeström (2001, pp. 136 – 7).

4.4.1 '...collective, artifact-mediated, and object-oriented activity system...'

This section begins by looking at how the object of activity shapes and is shaped by the subject, which is the second element discussed. From there the concept of mediating artefact or tool is explored.

4.4.1.1 The object of activity

Vygotsky (1978, 1986) and Leont'ev (1977) defined activity as object-oriented work. In this view, an activity is defined by its object which is the mental image of a social need (Leont'ev, 1977). Engeström says that the 'object gains motivating force that gives shape and direction to activity' and that '[t]he object determines the horizon of possible actions' (1999b, p. 381). Miettinen (1998) offers a similar understanding, arguing that a community with a common object is an activity system: it is the object which expresses the motive and purpose of the activity.

The object of an activity is worked on collectively, and has a collective motive. Individual work on the object is at the level of actions which are goal oriented and have an individual motive (Leont'ev, 1977). The object is '...what connects my individual actions to the collective activity.' (Engeström, 1999a, p.31).

Engeström (2005) argues that:

The object carries or embodies the true motive of the activity. Activities are systematic formations which gain durability by becoming institutionalized. But activities only take shape and manifest themselves through actions performed by individuals and groups (p. 93).

Activity is therefore seen as a series of actions undertaken by an individual or groups of individuals within a wider community. In the context of ITE, actions might be undertaken by individual mentors or groups of tutors who, together with government, HEIs and schools, are part of the community of ITE. The actions undertaken by the individuals might have the goal of developing a student teacher, whereas the motive of the activity undertaken by the whole community of ITE might be to ensure a future supply of teachers.

Because the object only exists as a mental image it is difficult to capture, though it may reveal much about the system in which it is located. Yet one of the most difficult issues in investigating activities is identifying the object of an activity. Engeström (2005, p. 279) finds the object 'slippery and transitional', having an 'animate and transitional nature', and being essentially immanent: it keeps changing as knowledge or circumstances change. It is the 'problem space', often fuzzy and indistinct, at which activity is directed:

Objects resist and bite back; they seem to have lives of their own. But objects and motives are hard to articulate, they appear to be vague, fuzzy, multi-faceted, amoeba-like and often fragmented or contested. The paradox is that objects/motives give directionality, purpose and meaning to the collective activity, yet they are frustratingly elusive (Engeström, 2005, p. 93).

Kaptelinin (2005) sees 'subjective and objective phenomena as being fundamentally inseparable' (p. 5) and the object of activity as the 'crucial link' relating them to each other. For him:

...the object of activity has a dual status: it is both a projection of the human mind onto the objective world and a projection of the world onto human mind (p. 5).

This view, he argues, leads to a perception of the human mind as 'biased, striving for meaning and value' in an objective world which is a 'place full of meaning and value' (p. 5). In this view, acting on the object begins to reveal its possible meanings, i.e., it expands the understanding of the object. Expansion of the object shifts the system, so the object is constantly in the process of being understood or worked towards. The concept of 'the object of activity' then becomes crucial to any understanding of activity as, in effect, it becomes the 'sense-maker' (p. 5).

The term 'object' in Activity Theory derives from the German 'Gegenstand', which, literally translated, means 'object' in the sense of a 'thing'. It can be contrasted with the German 'Objekt', which also translates literally as 'object' but has different connotations. 'Objekt' might be understood as a grammatical term or philosophical concept, whereas, as 'Gegenstand' incorporates the concept of 'against' (gegen), it might be better understood as a thing which exists outside or opposite to, the subject. Lektorsky (1999) argues:

In order to create or change the 'inner' or subjective phenomena, it is necessary to create some objective thing. A process of *objectification* is a necessary presupposition for the existence and development of the inner world. Thus, what is most important about the features of human beings is that these features are not naturally given, but instead mediated by artificial objects produced by human activity. These artificial objects are

produced by one particular human being for another (one or ones). In other words, they are means of interindividual relations (p. 67).

The subject may have constructed an image of the object (*Gegenstand*) but it also exists in the material world, independently of the subject. The essence of the object in the sense of '*Gegenstand*' is something in the environment that has been 'selected for construction, rearrangement and transformation' (Miettinen, 1998, p. 424). So, for example, in the activity of ITE, if the HEI for the moment is placed as the acting subject (and discussion of this concept follows in **4.4.1.2**), then the object on which the acting subject is working might be the student teacher and the motive of the work (Leont'ev, 1977) might be to 'reconstruct, rearrange or transform' (Miettinen, 1998) the student so that she becomes a fully qualified teacher. Unless there is interaction between acting subject and object which incorporates some kind of change, then the object is not the defining object of an activity system.

Miettinen's (1998) argument that an object is something 'selected for construction, rearrangement and transformation' implies that there is a deliberate, conscious decision on the part of the subject and the community to which she belongs to work on the object. Engeström (1990) supports this view of the object as deliberately chosen: we deliberately make something our object by imagining, hypothesising, perceiving or acting upon it.

Action by the subject on the object is threefold, according to Miettinen (1998): it is first constructed by the subject and community; then rearranged, and finally, through rearrangement, transformed. To take the example once more of the HEI working in ITE: the ITE community and the subject HEI together construct the mental image of the object, perhaps the student's development. The work that the subject HEI and ITE community do together on the student rearranges the construct of the student and eventually transforms not only the student as object but also the other elements of the activity. Because of the interdependent nature of the

relationship between subject and object, transformation of the object implies 'simultaneous transformation of the subject' (Miettinen, 1998).

Engeström (1999a) suggests that the object follows a trajectory from the point in time when the need for transformation arises to the moment when the object has been transformed: i.e. the activity is temporally located. Because of the amorphous nature of object, and because it is acted on by a community, there is usually a lengthy period between the two points. Researchers may decide to look at a moment along the line of that trajectory, as in this study, or to take snapshots of several moments to chart progression towards fulfilment of the need.

Objects are objects by virtue of being constructed in time by human subjects.' (Engeström, 1990 p. 107). Foote (2002) argues that the object is material and socially constructed through a dialogical process. She goes on to define the object as a 'collectively constructed entity, in material and/or real form, through which the meeting of a particular human need is pursued' (Foote, 2002, p. 134) In this view, an object can be a physical entity that is being developed collectively, such as a machine, and at the same time it is a socially constructed concept of what the object is to become, constructed according to the cultural and historical context in which it is perceived or acted upon. So a student for example, has material existence but is simultaneously constructed as a conceptual object in ITE. What is constructed is a shifting, temporally and spatially bound idea of the student rather than the material person, and the transformation which the activity is to effect aims to bring the material and the ideal closer together. Object construction is, according to Miettinen (1998), a 'complex and continuous effort by the community to create and maintain the social meaning and purpose of [an] activity'. (p. 423).

In summary, then, the properties of the object only become evident as a result of mediated constructive activity (Miettinen, 1998). Mediation between subject and object is a key element of Activity Theory. As the object is transformed, so the activity and its elements are also transformed, and the process of construction continues. Because the object defines the activity,

and the activity is constantly being transformed by the learning of the participants as they work on transforming the object, it (the object) must remain unstable and distant.

4.4.1.1.1 Application of the concept within the study

For the present study, paying attention to the object the mentors were working on might provide a clearer understanding of the other elements of the activity in which they acted. The difficulty seemed to be that mentors appeared to be working in more than one activity: because teachers' work is complex it requires them to move in and out of different activities during the course of their working day. It was therefore important to begin to understand how the mentor negotiated a pathway through the different activities, and specifically, what tools she used to help her. However, the object of the activity of ITE tended to remain elusive, and only began to emerge as the layers of data were analysed. That is, the understanding of the object which emerged developed from an understanding of the other elements of the activity, rather than the other way round as had been anticipated.

4.4.1.2 The subject of activity

The object of activity is constructed in dialectic with the subject of an activity - the person(s) from whose point of view the activity is seen (Vygotsky, 1978). Activity Theory allows the object to be seen from the perspective of a subject which is either an individual or a small group, i.e., a small particle of the whole community working on an object.

The concept of the subject, however, is less elusive than the object. Stetsenko and Arievitch (2004) approach it through the concept of the self, which appears to parallel Leont'ev's 'being'. They argue that the self is an agentive individual (p. 476) essentially inseparable from its social context (p. 475) for whom material social processes engender subjectivity (p. 476). They suggest that the self is neither a mental construct nor a social one, but an 'ontological unity of interindividual and intra-individual processes' (p. 476), that is, the self shapes and is shaped by responses to the social.

They go on to highlight three approaches to defining the subject and its formation within the Activity Theory tradition. Firstly, they argue, there is the approach which sees the self as a mental construct, profoundly shaped by social factors such as roles, positions and interactions (pp. 477-478). Secondly, the social constructivist approach sees the self as located within the social and produced by discourse, in which the individual psychological processes are ignored and the focus is on the collective dynamics of the activity elements (pp. 478-479). Finally, there is the approach which sees the self as formed by dialogical processes between individuals, in which 'social discourses are theorised as cultural tools used by agentive actors who author and orchestrate their own selves' (p. 480) and in which the 'ultimate reality of the self' is 'internalized forms of rhetorical activity' (p. 480).

For Stetsenko and Arievitch (2004) none of these descriptions of the self and subjectivity is quite adequate. They prefer to follow Leont'ev's (1983) view that subjectivity is formed:

...from the collective practical involvements of humans with the world around them and as subordinate to the purposes and goals of these practical involvements (p. 484).

That is, subjectivity is a product of collective work on an object, a 'crystallization of activity processes' (p. 484) which is not just socially constructed or psychologically developed.

The subject of an activity, they argue, is then one facet of the self oriented to work on the object in activity. In this view, the self is seen as a collection of subjectivities from which one can be selected to enable work on an object: when the subject shifts to work on a different object, a different subjectivity is selected. If this is so, then teachers who move between activities in the course of their daily work are constantly moving between subjectivities according to the activity they are working in.

For Chappell (XMCA, 2003), the term 'subject' is associated with scientific experiments while Diamondstone (*ibid*) links the term to language and see the subject as 'one who takes up the 'I' position in language'. Lemke (XMCA, 2003) points out that within Activity Theory, the subject is:

...defined by its participation in activity, and in the whole of the activity and by its relations to all the points of the 'triangles', not just by its relations to other subjects or human participants.

Walkerdine (1997) appears to agree with Stetsenko and Arievitch (2004) that being a subject is not the same as being a person. A subject for her is defined and constrained by context which is discursively constructed: 'the discursive practice is the place in which the subject is produced. This, note, is not the same thing as an actual person' (Walkerdine, 1997, p. 63).

The subject in this view is an aspect of the self, i.e. a subjectivity, which allows a particular view of the object and particular ways of working to transform the object. The subject of an activity is neither passive nor disembodied: there is a person or group of people occupying the subjectivity, acting to transform the object of the activity. This has led Chappell (XMCA, 2003) to reflect on, and finally reject, the idea of the subject as the 'agent' since 'agent' has connotations of 'intentionality, disposition and significance'. However, the concept of 'agent' may carry with it connotations of acting on behalf of another, which may not be helpful in considering the subject of activity. It may perhaps be preferable to talk about the subject having agency, or being agentive so that the sense of the acting subject is foregrounded.

Precisely how subjectivity is formed in the activity depends on the other 'points of the triangle' as Lemke (XMCA, 2003) says, as well as on the subject's ontogenesis. Walkerdine (1997) sees the subject as discursively constructed which means that in Activity Theory terms the

individual cannot act on the object in isolation from other people working on the same object, and that the key mediating tool used by both the individual and the other members of the practice is language, which shapes the understanding of the object and the relationship between the individual and the social in the activity. This view offers possibilities for an exploration of language to be a way into understanding the elements of the activity and the dynamics of the system. However, Activity Theory does not provide a heuristic for such an investigation: a lacuna discussed in **4.6.1** below.

4.4.1.2.1 Application to the study

Given that the subject of an activity could be either a single individual or a small group, it would be possible to investigate the activity of ITE from the position of either an individual or a cluster of teachers. By investigating the individual language and actions, which Leont'ev (1977) argues are motivated by shorter term goals, a picture could be built up of how the individual mentors in the study negotiated their different activities and, by comparing and contrasting different subjects, of the mentors' ways of working.

4.4.1.3 Tools and signs

Vygotsky (1978) suggested that activity was mediated by signs and tools. Tools may be material and external, such as a hammer, map or pen; or they may be conceptual, mental representations, such as theories (Engeström, 1999b). The tools used in mediation may also be things which have been the object of activity in the past, or which may become so in the future, though in the activity being investigated, they are simply a means to achieving an end.

Tools as 'transitional, fluid entities' are used to work on and transform the object of activity and in the process are themselves transformed (Engeström, 1990, p. 189). In the process of transformation, they leave traces of their past use which might determine how they are used in the future: such traces may be expressed as rules which guide how the tool is used (see **4.4.2.1** below).

Cole (1996), drawing on Wartofsky (1973), suggests there are three types of artefact – his preferred name for tools. He organises them according to their materiality or abstractness into primary, secondary and tertiary artifacts. Primary artefacts are those material tools, such as a hammer, pencil or pen which are used directly to transform the object. Secondary artefacts combine materiality with abstract, and are 'representations of primary artifacts [sii] and of modes of action using primary artifacts' (Cole, 1996, p. 121). They include such things as maps, diagrams, models, or directions. Tertiary artefacts are entirely abstract, what Wartofsky (1973) calls 'imagined worlds', for example the use of an ideology for understanding the world.

This understanding of tools is useful for drawing attention to the kinds of tool which might be available to the subject, but poses the question of how tertiary artefacts, which are more abstract, can be identified and understood. A more helpful way to understand tools, one which perhaps makes them easier to identify and understand, is through Engeström's (1999b) model.

Engeström (1999b) posits four kinds of artefacts or tools: the what, how, why and where to (pp. 381 -2). Tools are not fixed as one type of tool: rather they become a type of tool according to the function which they fulfil on a particular occasion of use.

The first kind, (p. 381) - 'what' tools - is used to 'identify and describe objects', though when a 'what' tool has a different function, it may be seen as one of the other kinds of tool. A 'what' tool might be a word such as a noun, which has the function of labelling an object or of identifying it as one thing rather than another. In ITE it might be tools, such as language and concepts, which are used to describe or understand the object of the activity.

The second kind, 'how' tools (p. 381), are used to 'guide and direct processes and procedures on, within, or between objects'. To continue the analogy in language, a 'how' tool might be a syntactical rule which says how a sentence might be constructed. Alternatively, in ITE, a 'how' tool might be a policy document, such as a Mentor Handbook which guides the ways that the work on the object can be carried out. The concept of 'how' tools appeared a particularly helpful

one as it focused attention directly on those tools that mentors might use to guide their work between objects, or to negotiate their way through multiple activities.

'Why' tools (p. 381 -2) are 'used to diagnose and explain the properties and behavior (*sii*) of objects'. In the case of ITE, a diagnostic tool, a 'why' tool, might be a lesson observation, which is used to find out what the student has already learned, and what her learning needs are. An explanatory tool might be a theoretical approach or a rationale for working in a particular way, such as a research methodology.

Finally, 'where to' tools are used 'to envision the future state or potential development of objects, including institutions and social systems' (p. 382). Such tools might be ways of thinking about the direction of professional development and viewing it as an ongoing process of professional growth.

Thinking of tools in this way focused on their function and offered potential for insight into the ways that mentors understand the object and into how they are working on it.

For Vygotsky (Cole, 1996) the 'tool of tools' was language. He argued that it was through language and signs that humans became enculturated and learned to function within a society. Language and signs were used by humans to achieve their goals; they were the medium of intersubjectivity. Seeing language as a key tool in activity means that an investigation of language, assisted by Engeström's (1999b) categorisation of the four types of tool, would lead in to an understanding of other elements of the activity of ITE. Yet here again was the recurring lacuna in Activity Theory: there did not appear to be a way of investigating how language tools were used. However, before discussing how it might be breached, there are other useful concepts to investigate which show how and how far language use is discussed within Activity Theory before drawing the threads together in section **4.6**.

4.4.2 Multi-voicedness

Engeström (2001a) argues that activity is multi-voiced because it is social and because it is constantly evolving. Activity, therefore, has not just the worked-towards future, but also a past, which leaves its traces within the activity: in the language, rules, tools and participants in the activity.

Activity is never undertaken in isolation: it occurs in the context of the rules – in the sense of laws, cultural and social norms and regulations - which govern the subject and community in the activity and the way that work is divided within the activity. The rules, community and division of labour are discussed in turn in the next three sections.

4.4.2.1 Rules

Rules are defined by Engeström (2000a) as 'explicit and implicit rules, regulations, norms and conventions that constrain actions and interactions within the activity system.' Although he sees rules as constraints, it may be that they can also open possibilities for action: by limiting one thing, something else may be freed.

Rules might be understood as 'how' tools (Engeström, 1999b, p. 381) which 'guide and direct' work on the object. They guide how other tools might be used as well as how the object might be acted on.

Rules can be expressed in various forms, such as statutes, policies, norms, or practices. Different types of rule have different status: for example, more widely applicable rules such as statutes which carry the force of law may consequently shape possibilities for action more powerfully, than, say, locally made rules which direct how a student might work through lesson observations.

Rules may be explicit or implicit. The latter posed issues for the study: whilst the explicit rules and conventions of the activity might be more readily identifiable in documents and some

interview data, the implicit ones could be more difficult to tease out, though some might be revealed through analysis of the silences or presuppositions in the language of the activity.

4.4.2.2 Community

Engeström (2000b) defines Community in activity as 'multiple individuals and/or subgroups who share the same object and who construct themselves as different from other communities.' Within the activity of teacher training, the community is quite large, and each of its members, though working on a shared object, may have different individual goals in the activity: parents, for example, may prioritise good examination results over developing the new teacher. Pupils themselves may have a variety of goals, ranging from raising their status among their peers by attempting to disrupt classes, to achieving the highest exam results they can. These goals may be in conflict with the object of training the new teacher, and it may be argued that part of the mentor's task is to identify and balance these goals, often using rules to help her do so.

Where the goals of the community are in harmony with the goals of the subject, her work is made easier, and she may feel supported in her activity. However, the study was interested in how the teacher negotiated any conflicting goals, again, turning to an investigation of the tools – and in particular the language tool - used in the activity to help tease out these negotiations.

4.4.2.3 Division of Labour

Division of Labour is defined by Engeström (2000b) as 'both the horizontal division of tasks between members of the community and the vertical division of power and status.' The concept derives from a Marxist theoretical view of working relationships and sees horizontal divisions as a matter of who does which task. Division of labour may also be vertical or hierarchical, based on relative power.

While it was likely that an investigation of the power relationships which operated within the community of ITE might reveal some of the tacit tools that mentors use, there was also a concern that an investigation of a classroom teacher mentor's work through the lens of power

hierarchies might silence ways that teachers work collegially, rhizomatically (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) or through 'knotworking' (Engeström, 2001a), metaphors which offered the promise of a richer understanding of the ways that participants interact within activity. It seemed possible that the two dimensional division of labour model might be inadequate for capturing the possible subjectivities of the mentor and the ways that she moved through different ones according to which activity she was acting in.

4.4.3 Historicity

'The principle of historicity' says Engeström (1999a, p. 25) is 'understood as concrete historical analysis of the activities under investigation'. He goes on to argue that the history of an activity is important to understanding how present work on the object is shaped, and how the object is understood. However, he points out that the history investigated has to be manageable, in other words, that parameters have to be placed round the unit of history which it is deemed reasonably possible to investigate. Deciding on the unit of history though is not without problems (Engeström, 1999a). He suggests that the individual as a unit of history reduces history to ontogeny but that the culture as a unit over-generalises history. He offers the community as an appropriate, manageable unit of history which moves beyond ontogeny (p 26). In the study, the history of the activity of ITE was presented in outline through the literature review in Chapter 2.

The historicity of communities is evident in the rules which constrain or afford possibilities for action within the community (Engeström, 2001b). Such rules can prevent actions which have in the past been found to be detrimental to the aims of members of the community; or they can create opportunities for actions which have been found beneficial. In the same way, the historicity of tools generates rules for their use which create pathways of participation for those involved in the activity.

4.4.4 The central role of contradictions as sources of change and development

Engeström (1987) calls tensions within the activity 'contradictions', and argues that they lead to interesting dialogue in the search for what *is*. Contradictions, says Engeström:

...are not the same as problems or conflicts. Contradictions are historically accumulating structural tensions within and between activity systems [...] [C]ontradictions generate disturbances and conflicts, but also innovative attempts to change the activity (Engeström, 2001a, p. 137).

Like Engeström, Kozulin (2000) understands contradictions as the 'moving force' in development, that is, the resolution of contradictions leads to systemic change in the activity.

Activity Theory is interested in this dialectic and its impact on the social systems in which it arises, and explores the contradictions which occur between the various elements of the activity, and which drive the activity transforming it into a new one with its own contradictions.

Engeström (1987) posits four kinds of contradiction. Primary contradictions occur between the use value and the exchange value within each element of the system. In the context of ITE, this might for example mean a contradiction between a teacher's desire to be involved in teacher training because she enjoys bringing new entrants into the profession (use value), and the desire to achieve good results from the pupils in order to sustain a particular pay level (exchange value). Secondary contradictions occur when a new element enters the system from outside and causes conflict between two elements of the system: for example, the introduction of new rules relating to teacher training which might cause conflict between the subject teacher and one of the members of the community. Tertiary contradictions occur when a culturally more advanced motive and object is introduced into the system and a new system emerges but in conflict with the vestiges of the old system. For example, the system of teacher training changes, but the

teacher finds it difficult to adapt to a new discourse or ideology at work in the new system. If several tertiary contradictions occur in rapid succession then the subject may not be able to adapt rapidly enough to each emergent system: the study aimed to investigate whether this was the case for mentors. Finally, quartenary contradictions arise between the changing central activity and neighbouring activities in interaction. An example may be that changes in the teacher education system might cause conflict between the activity of ITE and the activity of teaching.

4.5 How Activity Theory was helpful in the study

Activity Theory seemed to offer a useful frame within which to explore some of the ways that mentors think and act when they are working in ITE. It offered a heuristic which focused the gaze on the elements of activity, and in particular, on language and concepts as tools used by mentors to work on objects and through the tools, to reveal what the mentors understood they were working on in ITE. It also offered a way to understand a mentor's work as a dynamic process with historical and cultural traces, which was constantly evolving, by looking at a snapshot of a moment in that evolution.

By focusing on what was said and done in the activity, both by and to the mentor, it might be possible to build a picture of the mentor as a constructed subject and to see how she chose to, or was able to, work with student teachers.

One way to model how the activity system as conceptualised by Engeström (1987) was useful in addressing the aims of the present study would be to place the mentor as the subject of the activity of ITE and her (theorised) object as preparing student teachers for work in school. She uses language and concepts to help her work on her object, and contextualises her work within rules, including the Standards document (TTA, 2003) which afford or constrain her work on the object. She works within a community of HEIs, schools, and mentors, parents, and the wider society, in which the work of preparing the student teacher is divided up both horizontally and vertically – horizontally between partners, and vertically between government as represented by

the TTA at the top of the hierarchy and the mentor lower down. The subject's position is represented schematically in Figure 4 (below) to clarify some of the issues and their relationships.

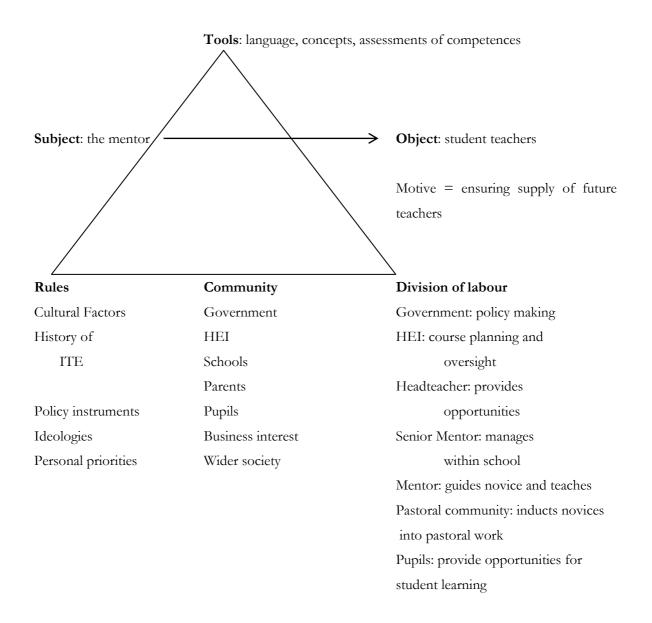


Figure 4: A possible understanding of the activity system of the mentor

4.6 The limitations of the theory

As highlighted in the discussion of the theory, although activity theorists agree that language is the key tool used to mediate activity, little has been done to investigate language in activity. As

language is a tool within activity, it seemed logical to follow Lakoff (2004) in understanding the subject and language as shaping and being shaped by each other:

Language uses us as much as we use language. As much as our choice of forms of expression is guided by the thoughts we want to express, to the same extent the way we feel about the things in the real world governs the way we express ourselves about these things (p. 39).

So the choices we make from the language tools at our disposal can reveal mental processes and concepts, and help us construct and shape the world we live in, just as material actions shape it.

Language is what subjects and groups of subjects – communities – use to construct their knowledge and identities, which in turn help them to construct language. Differences in understandings about the world may be exacerbated by differences in use of language. Yet the knowledge of the subject can only be accessed by another subject through semiosis, so any presentation of another subject's knowledge or mental processes can only be subjective to the person making the interpretation. The present study aimed to capture the processes by which mentors appear to integrate their work in different activities through investigation of their mental processes. In particular it was interested in their conceptual tools and how they were expressed through language tools; both language and conceptual tools being mental processes which are often transient and, by definition, subjective in use. In Activity Theoretical research, it is only possible to capture one's own perceptions of what others reveal their mental processes to be, and therefore one's own view of those processes may differ from the view of the person whose processes are being studied. In effect, the subject of the activity under study (Activity A)

becomes the object of the researcher's activity (Activity B) of studying Activity A, as represented in Figure 5 below, and can only be understood in terms of the elements of Activity B.

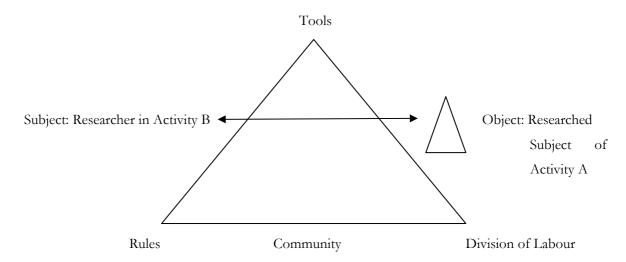


Figure 5: The researched as the object of activity

The implications of this are that it is only possible to offer an interpretation of the researched phenomenon, though if further study by other researchers is carried out on that same phenomenon, it may lead to a richer and more robust understanding of it.

Markova (1979) points out that:

language [is] a system of socially elaborated means for carrying out the activity of communication [...]. Communication is activity directed toward resolving tasks of social intercourse. [...] We thus understand the activity of communication to be the general form of a specifically human activity, whose particular manifestations are all the types of interaction of each individual with others, as well as with the objects of the world around him (p.16 - 17).

This suggests that material activity cannot be understood separately from communicative activity, which is embodied in sign systems, the chief of which is language.

4.6.1. Language and concept formation in Activity Theory

For Vygotsky (1986) and other linguistic determinists such as Sapir (1971), language and thought are intimately connected: if there is no word for something it cannot be thought about, and if something has not yet been thought about there is no word for it:

A word without meaning is an empty sound; meaning is therefore a criterion of 'word', its indescribable component (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 212).

Frolov (1984) argues that consciousness and language are inseparably linked, though not identical:

Language is instrumental in the development of abstract thought and its generalisation. However, language and thought are not identical (Frolov, pp. 216 – 7).

They are further linked because language is the means of preserving information which then directs actions:

Knowledge, denotation and meaning are preserved in language and direct and differentiate man's sentiments, will, attention and other mental acts combining them into a single consciousness (Frolov, 1984, pp. 81 - 82).

Vygotsky (1986, p.107) appears to combine the two strands of Frolov's argument and suggests that 'real concepts are impossible without words, and thinking in concepts does not exist beyond verbal thinking'.

Vygotsky's exploration of the relationship between thinking and speech was first made widely available in *Thought and Language* (1962), and in the papers collected in *Mind in Society* (1978). He believed that thinking and speech had different origins, but that at some point in time they had become intertwined. In order to become speech, thought underwent a series of transformations. Thought, argues Vygotsky, is not only expressed through words, but comes into existence through words (Vygotsky, 1986 edn., p. 218), so that thought is a verbal process. Thought 'tends to connect something with something else, to establish a relation between things' (*ibid*) and, though coming into existence through words, undergoes many changes as it turns into speech (Vygotsky, 1986, pp. 218-9). The meaning of every word is a generalization or a concept (p. 212). Concepts:

...emerge [...] and take [...] shape in the course of a complex operation aimed at the solution of some problem [and] for the process to begin a problem must arise that cannot be solved other than through the formation of new concepts (p. 100).

That is, concepts arise through activity.

Words direct mental operations and the functional use of a word plays an important part in concept formation: real concepts are impossible without words (p. 107). Here Vygotsky is following his core concept of mediated activity: as the subject acts on an object, she uses tools – material, conceptual or language – as needed for the work. This argument suggests that exploration of the words used by subjects should reveal the ways the subject has available for thinking about objects.

However, words are simply signs which need interpretation, therefore it is not simply the word which needs to be investigated but the meaning signified by the word.

For Vygotsky, language, or more precisely, semiotic mediation, is the major mediating tool in any activity. Semiotic mediation occurs through the fusion of word and thought, which produces verbal thought, of which the smallest unit is meaning. Meaning is both an act of thought and an inalienable part of a word: therefore, meaning belongs in both thought and word and so the method to follow in exploring verbal thought is semantic analysis (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 6).

Meaning is socially constructed, and is therefore derived from context:

Unless the formed meanings are thus validated through the practices of other members of the community there would be no possibility for the creation of intersubjectivity (Hasan, 1996, p. 23).

However, as Hasan (2005b) points out, Vygotsky developed no theory of context: his focus is the relationship between subject, object and mediating sign. What constitutes 'context' in meaning making is a troublesome question, not least because any answer can take the enquirer into ever-widening circles with increasingly remote relationship to the meaning explored. One answer to the question of what constitutes context is offered by Engeström (1987), who adds to Vygotsky's Subject – Tool - Object the elements of Rules, Community and Division of Labour as contextual elements in activity, as discussed in **4.4.2.** These units of analysis may be used in exploration of language: there are grammatical and social rules within activities which afford or constrain the language choices which can be made within the activity. There is a community within which the language is used, and there are horizontal and vertical relationships within the community which allow or inhibit language choices (Boag-Munroe, 2004).

Vygotsky argued, say van der Veer and Valsiner (1991), that the best way to investigate language was through the concept of word-meaning, which he believed embodied the union of word and thought. He began his investigation of word meaning with his observation of children

using egocentric speech, that is, vocalised speech directed at themselves, to help them understand activity. As with learning, Vygotsky observed that speech moves from external to internal: as the children mastered an activity, egocentric, external speech became internalised, unvocalised inner speech:

Initially, speech follows actions, is provoked by and dominated by activity. At a later stage, however, when speech is moved to the starting point of an activity, a new relation between word and action emerges. Now speech guides, determines and dominates the course of action; the planning function of speech comes into being in addition to the already existing function of language to reflect the external world (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 28).

Inner speech, though, has a different grammar from ordinary speech: because it is not intended to be heard, it tends to be 'fragmented, abbreviated, and shows a tendency towards predicativity, that is, towards omitting the subject of the utterance' (van der Veer and Valsiner, 1991, p. 366).

Having arrived at this point in his argument, Vygotsky then wanted to clarify how inner speech and thoughts were interrelated. He believed that a thought could be expressed in more than one way and that a single utterance could express more than one thought: 'one utterance may stand for various thoughts' (van der Veer and Valsiner 1991). Thoughts, in Vygotsky's view, were 'identifiable entities' that could be expressed in words (van der Veer and Valsiner, 1991). However, when used between people those words carried denotive meaning which in the view of van der Veer and Valsiner 'will be inevitably changed and shades of meaning – personal senses – will be lost' (van der Veer and Valsiner, 1991, p. 369).

Here then is a difficulty for any researcher trying to access personal thinking through its external expression in words: how can personal sense be drawn from the external expression of a thought which uses socially understood meanings?

Vygotsky summarised the position as follows:

The thought is not only externally mediated by signs, but also internally by meanings. The whole point is that direct communication of minds is impossible, not only physically, but also psychologically. It can only be reached through indirect, mediated ways. This road amounts to the internal mediation of the thought first by meanings, then by words. Therefore the thought can never be equal to the direct meaning of words. The meaning mediates the thought on its road towards verbal expression, that is, the road from thought to the word is a roundabout internally mediated road (in van der Veer and Valsiner, 1991, p. 369).

This argument, believe van der Veer and Valsiner (1991), points to Vygotsky believing that 'thoughts can only be understood from an examination of the underlying forces that caused them', a position which Jones and Collins (2006) appear to endorse. The underlying forces which Vygotsky appeared to be contemplating were 'emotions, drives, needs and motivations' (van der Veer and Valsiner, 1991). The relation between words and thought is a process, a 'movement from thought to word and back again' (van der Veer and Valsiner, 1991). This seems to be as far as Vygotsky took his investigation of the relationship between thought and word: he appears to stop at highlighting the dialectic between thought and word and does not go on to suggest how the individual's thought as expressed in words might be understood socially.

Hasan, (2005b), though, takes issue with Vygotsky's choice of the word as the unit of analysis:

...Vygotsky's analysis of language focused most often on the unit word and its characteristics. The natural unit for semiotic mediation is not the word, but text/discourse – language operational in a social context (Hasan, 2005b, p. 83).

Hasan's choice of the 'text/discourse' as the unit of analysis overcomes some of the issues relating to Vygotsky's lack of contextual analysis of meaning: if the 'text/discourse' is looked at, meaning derives from the context of the co-text and of the discourse to which the text belongs: as Hasan (2005a, p. 7) points out, a word can 'only take shape, it can only have the status of a semantic unit by virtue of its relation to lexicon and grammar on the one hand and context on the other' ('grammar' here is understood as the way that language is organised from word to text level).

Stetsenko and Arievitch (2004) take up Vygotsky's view of language as a key tool and argue that:

...language represents a tool par excellence as it emerges out of and serves the purposes of coordinating, planning and organizing the complex processes of collective production and deployment of tools (p. 482).

They go on to argue that 'tools come to reify the collective experiences [...] that can be passed on to subsequent generations' (*ibid*): that is, that words acquire connotation in addition to denotation, which affords and constrains the way in which they can be used and creates rules about the contexts in which they can be used. That being so, it is important to investigate the language used within activity to reveal how those language tools construct the elements of the activity for the participants and how the participants are then able to use language tools within the activity.

Though language was seen to be so important in mediating activity, neither Vygotsky nor those who developed his theory of tool mediated activity went on to develop a systematic way of investigating how the tool was used, though according to Minick (1996), Vygotsky suggested that the word constituted the formation of a new functional relationship between memory and speech.

Vygotsky was interested in the dialectical relationship between language on the one hand and thinking and learning on the other. For him, 'the meaning of a word represents such a close amalgam of thought and language that it is hard to tell whether it is a phenomenon of speech or a phenomenon of thought.' (1986, p. 212). He concludes that

...the meaning of every word is a generalisation or concept. And since generalisations and concepts are undeniably acts of thought, we may regard meaning as a phenomenon of thinking... [Speech] is a phenomenon of verbal thought, or meaningful speech – a union of word and thought. (*ibid.*).

However, language and signs have their own context and ontogeny, which have developed from cultural contexts. Because 'changes in language use are an important part of wider social and cultural changes' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 5), an analysis of discourse should reveal the sociogenesis of the language tools of the activity, and leave a trail which marks out the development of the activity.

The relationship between the social, cultural and historical context and the individual in this theory is mediated by artefacts, the key one being language. Leont'ev (1977, p. 9) argues that 'meanings refract the world'; that they are 'the linguistically transmuted and materialised ideal form of the existence of the objective world' and 'the generalization of reality that is crystallized and fixed in its sensuous vehicle, i.e. normally in a word or word combination' (Leont'ev, 1981, p.

226). If then language is the material expression of meaning, and meanings are the expressions of ideal objective forms, an investigation of the language used in activity should reveal the meanings which those involved in ITE make within the activity. The problem becomes how to investigate the language in a systematic way. Although several contemporary theorists investigate language in activity (e.g., Hasan, 2005a; Mäkitalo and Säljö, 2002, Wells, 1999, Mercer, 2000 for example) none have gone on to develop a systematic approach to language analysis using Activity Theoretical approaches.

Engeström comments on the polyphony and multi-voicedness of activity, drawing attention to the interrelationship of acting and saying, but he adds that this is an area of investigation that remains to be addressed in Activity Theory (Engeström, 2001a, p. 135). This interrelationship might perhaps be seen as an interrelationship of activity systems. One way to begin to think about how language in activity might be explored is by thinking of language as an activity in itself (Boag-Munroe, 2004). In this view, language is seen as a 'saying' activity alongside and inseparable from a 'doing' activity: the two activities are viewed as different aspects of the same thing.

In earlier papers (Boag-Munroe, 2004; Boag-Munroe, 2005), following Vygotsky's (1986) argument that thought and language come together in word meaning, it was suggested that analysis of the language activity would offer a more detailed understanding of the elements of the activity under study, and therefore a more delicate (Halliday, 2004) awareness of both the material and psychological ways that the subject understands and works on the object.

Language as an activity has a subject who works on the object of expressing concepts, and who is positioned by the other elements of the activity; it uses the tools of words, sounds, letters, genres, which in turn afford or constrain ways of working on the object; it has its own rules, which allow particular structures (such as sentences, texts, genres) to be formed and have meaning; and language is contextualized in time, place and communities. It also, arguably, has its

own concepts, which might be understood as ways of understanding language. For example, one way to conceptualise how language might be understood is through Chomskian Transformational Grammar; another way might be through Hallidayan Systemic Functional Grammar. Still others, for example Jones and Collins (2006) might argue that neither of these conceptualisations is satisfactory for understanding language in use.

In the view suggested here, the language activity and the practical activity under study are not only reflective of each other, but they also shape each other, as represented in Figure 6 (p. 102). However, even with this view of the interconnectedness of practice and language, it was considered necessary to supplement Activity Theory with another heuristic or approach to help analyse the language activity systematically. The next chapter explains the choice of Critical Discourse Analysis as a theoretical frame for analysing language in use.

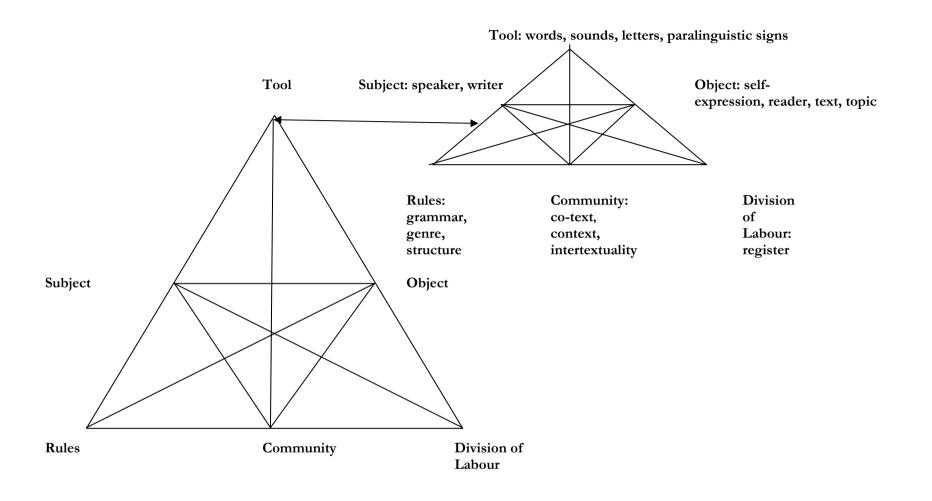


Figure 6: Language as an activity

CHAPTER 5

THE ANALYTICAL FRAME: LANGUAGE ANALYSIS

5.1 Outline

Having proposed that language might be seen as a perspective on activity – foregrounding the language aspect – there still remained the question of how to interrogate and interpret the language data collected. This chapter considers what was required from a heuristic for language analysis and explains the choice of Fairclough's (1995) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as that heuristic.

Before going on to develop the reasons for selecting CDA as a an analytical tool, the use of the terms 'discourse' and 'language' as used within the study are briefly clarified. 'Language' is used to point to the verbal tools such as words which a speaker or writer selects to communicate thoughts to another person: they may or may not be used to indicate participation in a discourse. 'Discourse' is used in the study to mean a combination of verbal tools, ways of organising them (such as idioms or genres) and concepts, that is, language in combinations which point to a speaker or writer thinking, acting and speaking from a particular perspective.

5.2 What was required of the chosen heuristic

A frame for analysing the language of activity was needed that viewed language as activity, as the discourse aspect of acting accompanying the material aspect of acting. The frame should see itself as inter- or trans-disciplinary. Van Leeuwen (2005, p. 13) argues that:

... texts which discourse analysts analyse, form part of social practices – but only part. They realise all or some of the *actions* that constitute the social practices – but they tell us nothing about the agents and patients of the actions or about their place and time.

In this view language and action are connected, but analysis of one does not provide an analysis of the other. Complementary approaches are needed in order to arrive at a richer picture of language in action. Van Leeuwen (2005) argues that discourse analysts can identify patterns and trends in what is written and spoken, but they cannot offer an explanation of the practice in which the discourse occurs, therefore discourse analysis and other analytical systems - drawn from social theory or ethnography, for example - need to work alongside one another to give a more complete picture of a practice. In sum, he says, discourse identifies the issues and ethnography explains them.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) similarly argue that 'discourse analytical research should be seen as only one aspect of research into social practices working together with other social scientific methods' (p. 61).

The challenge, then, was to find a way to analyse the language aspect of ITE which was epistemologically compatible with Activity Theory and:

- helped to tease out the relationship between mind, language and society as revealed through language in use
- allowed me to explore how the macro policy-making level of education was enacted through the discourses in use at the micro level of education policy implementation
- emphasised how power is enacted in discourse.

5.3 Critical Discourse Analysis: overview

In attempting to develop a heuristic to help me frame my analysis of language, I turned to the work of writers working within a neo-Marxist position, for whom social, cultural and historical

context was important in accessing meanings within text, and for whom language was a key shaper of social reality. In particular I turned to Critical Discourse Analysis, a label for a broad spectrum of approaches to analysing language in social settings with the common aim of investigating how power relationships are reproduced in and by discourse and defined by van Dijk (2003, p.352) as:

...a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. [...] critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

Blackledge (2005) summarises CDA as 'fundamentally political in its orientation, interdisciplinary in its scholarship and diverse in its focus' (p. 3). He sees the 'salient characteristic' of CDA as being 'that it pays very close attention to the detail of textual features, which may serve to either confirm or contradict one's initial hunches about a discourse' (p. 3). In addition, CDA, says Blackledge (2005, p. 4) sees language as social practice, and, following Weiss and Wodak (2003, p. 10) discourse as both structured by and structuring actions. It was this 'very close attention to the detail' of the text and the view of language as social practice that made CDA seem particularly attractive.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997, pp. 271 - 80, and summarised in the following list drawn from van Dijk, 2003, p. 353) offer eight tenets of CDA:

- 1. CDA addresses social problems through a concern with the 'linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures' (Titscher *et al*, 2002, p. 146).
- 2. Discourse is a form of social action.
- 3. Discourses reproduce society and culture in a dialectical relationship.

- 4. Discourses are historical and can only be understood in relation to their context.
- 5. Discourse does ideological work.
- 6. Power relations are discursive.
- 7. The link between text and society is mediated, or manifested, e.g. through 'an intermediary such as the socio-cognitive one which Wodak (1989) suggests' (Titscher et al, 2002).
- 8. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory.

CDA researchers, like Vygotsky, view language as social, cultural, historical and active, though where Vygotsky discusses language in its broadest sense, CDA demands discourse as its focus. The difference may be that language is the sum total of the tools of lexis, grammar, and phonology, whereas discourse is those elements organised into 'orders' (Foucault, 1970), or hierarchically ranked patternings of lexis, grammar and phonology, or 'genres' and 'styles', of language in use.

Language as a human activity is used by acting subjects in particular social, cultural and historical contexts to mediate work on an object. As Rymes *et al.* (2005) argue, '[c]onversational narratives are a complex weave of individuals' unique concerns and recycled institutional discourse' (p. 197). That being so, they go on:

...analyzing narratives in the lifeworld – the everyday stories people tell – and deconstructing the different discourses present in these narratives allows CDA researchers to deal with real world issues and develop critical meta-awareness (Freire, 1970), demystifying the social construction of reality, making social interaction a place for norms to be challenged and changed, and bringing the individually situated deliberations and the person into focus within a context of critical discourse analysis (p. 197).

If language is a uniquely individual tool, which may share features with other individuals' language tools, an account of how language is used within activity should be able to draw out both the commonalities and the subtle differences between individual use and social use of those tools.

Van Dijk (2003) argues that actions, both individual and collective, are controlled by mind, and therefore control over the mind – understood as the mental aspect of the individual subject - leads to control of actions. Ways of thinking are constructed by language, or more specifically, discourses: thus, who controls the discourses within activity, controls the possibilities for the mind and actions of others. This focus on how discourse shapes the other elements of activity seemed to be what was sought for investigating how far the dominant discourses in ITE shape or control the concepts and actions of mentors.

Although Engeström (2005, p. 143) rejects the CDA approach on the grounds that it 'seems to derive from an insistence on discourse as a privileged and moreless [sii] self-sufficient modality of social conduct and interaction', it may nevertheless offer a complementarity to Activity Theory that goes some way to resolving or filling some of the silences found in Engeström's theory.

5.4 Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis

Where I argue (Boag-Munroe, 2004, and Chapter 4 of this thesis) that language is an activity inherent in all other types of activity, and that Activity Theory needs to develop to reflect this, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) argue that discourse analytical research should be seen as 'only one aspect of research into social practices working together with other social scientific methods' (p. 61) and that the 'general objective [...] is to have as clear a sense as possible of how the discourse works in relation to "other things" '(p. 62). Discourse analytical research begins 'from some perception of a discourse-related problem in some part of social life' (p. 60). The analyst needs to have 'at least a broad sense of the overall frame of the social practice which the discourse in focus in located within' (p. 61).

Chiapello and Fairclough, (2002, p. 186) were concerned with how language shapes practices, and with:

..how a dialogue between two disciplines or frameworks may lead to a development of both, through a process of each internally appropriating the logic of the other as a resource for its own development (p. 186).

Fairclough (2003) sees 'social life as interconnected networks of social practices' (p. 205) and defines social practice as 'a relatively stabilized form of social activity' (*ibid*). Each practice consists in the elements of activities; subjects and their social relations; instruments; objects; time and place; forms of consciousness; values and discourse (p. 205), elements which are dialectically related. CDA, he argues, is 'analysis of the dialectical relationships between discourse [...] and other elements of social practices' (p. 205). In other words, his focus is on the language aspect of activity where Activity Theory's focus is more on the dynamics of acting and using tools in activity: where one theory foregrounds language, the other foregrounds material practice, but both start from the position that language is important in social practice.

It seemed helpful, then, to link two theories that appeared to complement each other in order to be able to offer a more complete and delicate explanation of the social practice under study, though as Fairclough (2003, p. 14) points out 'there is no such thing as a complete and definitive analysis of text'. The same is true of material activity in an Activity Theoretical understanding.

Fairclough draws on Halliday (2004) for whom 'text' constitutes social identities, social relationships and systems of knowledge. Text in the Hallidayan perspective is 'a piece of language in use' (Butt *et al.*, 2000) or 'a harmonious collection of meanings appropriate to [...] context' (*ibid*, p. 3). In this view, context shapes meanings, just as it does for Activity Theorists.

Halliday (2004) views language as having three functions: interpersonal, ideational and textual. Fairclough draws on these concepts to argue that language functions simultaneously:

- ideationally, to represent experience in the world and to constitute systems of knowledge and belief
- interpersonally, to constitute social interaction between participants and to constitute social subjects and social relations
- textually, to tie parts of the text together and to tie text to context (Fairclough, 1995, p.
 6).

Text 'has both texture and structure' (Fairclough, *ibid*), with texture being derived from the way that meanings in text are interwoven. This idea of the textural in text is useful for understanding how material and discourse practices are two ways of looking at the same phenomenon: where for Activity Theorists the smallest meaningful unit of analysis of work is activity, with six elements forming the unit, so text can be seen as the smallest unit of analysis of language, having context, grammar and word elements woven together to form the text.

Fairclough's web page¹ states that his form of CDA includes 'the place of language in social relations of power and ideology' and that his research is based on the:

...theoretical claim that discourse is an element of social life which is dialectically interconnected with other elements, and may have constructive and transformative ('performative') effects on other elements' (*ibid*).

His focus is on discourse rather than language, and he understands discourse as 'use of language seen as a form of social practice', and discourse analysis as 'analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice' (Fairclough, 1995, p. 7). In his view, analysis 'requires attention to

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www.ling.lancs.as.uk/staff/norman/res.htm accessed 14 Oct 06

textual form and structure at all levels' (Fairclough, 1995, p. 7). This position contrasts, he says, with other views of discourse analysis, such as those of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), which suggest that discourse analysis is analysis above sentence level. He argues (1992, p. 4) that 'any discursive event[...] is seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice and an instance of social practice'. Because '[d]iscourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct or constitute them...and position people different ways as social subjects' (p. 4), it seems to be essential to an understanding of an activity that its discourses are analysed to arrive at a richer understanding of the elements of the activity: subject, object, rules, community, and division of labour.

In Discourse and Social Change, (1992, p. 6) Fairclough presents Urry's (1987) argument that:

...there has recently been an upsurge in the extension of the market to new areas of social life: sectors such as education, health care and the arts have been required to restructure and reconceptualize their activities as the production and marketing of commodities for consumers... In education, for example, people find themselves under pressure to engage in new activities which are largely defined by new discourse practices (such as marketing), and to adopt new discourse practices within existing activities (such as teaching). This includes 'rewordings' of activities and relationships, for example, rewording learners as 'consumers' or 'clients', courses as 'packages' or 'products'. It also includes a more subtle restructuring of the discourse practices of education – the types of discourse (genres, styles, etc.) which are used in it – and a 'colonization' of education by types of discourse from outside, including those of advertising, management, and counselling.

This echoes the argument in Chapter 1 that the discourses of education have changed, and perhaps have been changed, quite markedly over the last thirty years; changes which appear to have been brought about through the mechanism of increasing numbers of documents disseminated by government which both frame the rules of the activity and are a product of the activity. The new discourses disrupt the practices which previously characterised the activity, and are intended to change ways of thinking about education. As Fairclough (1992, p. 5) suggests: 'changes in language use are an important part of wider social and cultural changes'.

If this is so, then an analysis of the discourses in activity should reveal the extent to which ways of acting on the object of the material practice of ITE are changing, and how far the new discourses are shaping the mentor as subject in the activity.

5.5 Central concepts in CDA

Fairclough's (1995) approach to CDA offers concepts and methods which seemed to be particularly helpful in exploring language within activity. In summary, he is concerned with discourse as part of social activity (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999) and with the relationship between texts and the social repertoire of discursive practices, which he sees as the link between text and social practice. Discursive practices are the socio-cognitive aspects of production and interpretation, concerned with how repertoires of genres and discourses are exploited within Orders of Discourse (explained in **5.5.1** below) for text production and interpretation (Titscher et al., 2002).

Fairclough (1995) analyses discourse from three perspectives or levels: those of individual text; discursive practice and social practice. He places the individual text (such as an interview transcript) in the context of discursive practice (the available materials that the text has to draw on and the affordances or constraints that they offer) and the discursive practice is again seen within the context of social practice, drawing out the ideologies, social and power relationships involved in the text.

The discursive practice level links text to social practice and is concerned with Orders of Discourse and Intertextuality, discussed further below. The relationship might be modelled as Figure 7:

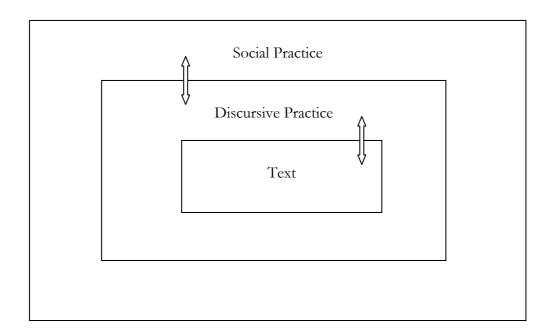


Figure 7: Interrelationship of text, discursive practice and social practice

At the textual level, Fairclough is concerned with investigating structure and content. He offers a frame (Fairclough, 1989, pp. 110 - 112) for exploring text 'for people who do not have extensive backgrounds in language study' to guide interrogation of text to tease out the discourse types drawn on in the text and the assumptions made by the participants. Such a frame seemed to offer a useful way of investigating the research data, and was adapted as shown in Appendix 1, (discussed further in Chapter 6).

Analysis at textual level (which asks questions about text types) was omitted from the frame as the text in the present study is either the transcript of an interview (in the case of data from

mentors and tutors) or Government directive (in the case of *Qualifying to Teach*) and each form is outlined in the analysis section of this thesis.

The following sections offer an outline of the concepts that were found to be most helpful in thinking about the analysis of the data and which assisted in placing consideration of language in the context of Activity Theory.

5.5.1 Orders of Discourse

Fairclough draws on Foucault (1970) in developing his idea of the Order of Discourse. He describes this as 'the social order in its discoursal facet' (Fairclough, 1995, p. 10); the 'set of discursive practices associated with an institution or social domain' (Fairclough, 2000b, p. 170); 'a distinctive articulation of discourses, genres and styles' (Fairclough, 2005, p. 53) which are 'ideologically shaped by power relations in social institutions and in society as a whole' (Fairclough, 1989, p. 17). Orders of Discourse are a network of social practices in their discoursal aspect within which an activity takes place.

By 'set of discursive practices' Fairclough is understood to mean the range of discourses which are formed on the basis of specific areas of knowledge or expertise (for example, legal, medical or meteorological discourse). Genres are text types and are related to types of activity and their purpose, for example, interviewing, explaining, storytelling. Therefore, within a single activity, such as schooling, there may be found discourses of education, subject area, management or counselling, which are revealed in genres such as reports, lesson plans, schemes of work, inventories, or interviews. Finally, styles are understood as perspectives or subject positions through whose lens the text is authored or created or shaped. Each of these elements is discussed further in **5.5.1.1-3** below.

Orders of Discourse shape and are shaped by their shifting relationships with other Orders of Discourse, and are contested, i.e. accepted by some users and disputed by others, which leads to the emergence of competing practices. Fairclough (2000b) sees the concept as 'open' and

allowing a 'focus on the shifting nature of and the boundaries between discursive practices' (p. 171). Within Orders of Discourse there are hierarchical relationships between discourses and between genres. The task of the analyst is to identify which are the powerful and which are the silenced discourses and genres in any text.

A useful way of perceiving Orders of Discourse is as a configuration of design elements (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000), which can be drawn on to design new text: each element has its own history and meanings which it brings with it into the redesigned text. This view underscores the creative and individual aspect of text production, and analysis should reveal how the subject's identity is formed.

In the context of this study, the concept of Order of Discourse was helpful in drawing attention to the range of discursive practices in which the mentor participated and to their interconnectedness. The concept had potential to offer a way to understand the acting subject working through an order of discourse on her object, as in Fig. 8.

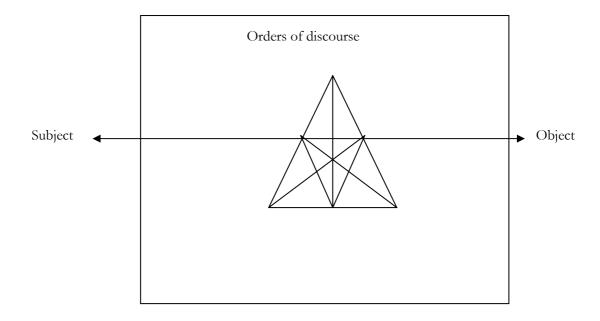


Figure 8: Relationship of subject, Order of Discourse and activity

Orders of Discourse are, then, understood to be a relationship between discursive practices, genres and styles in dialectic and each is outlined in the following subsections.

5.5.1.1 Discursive practice

In Fairclough's view, discourse is a way of representing aspects of the world (Fairclough, 2003): not only the material aspects, but also the mental and social aspects of the world. Discourse is a perspective on the world, representing the world as it is, as well as representing possible worlds (Fairclough, 2003, p. 124). Discourses can compete or complement, since they represent 'relationships between different people' (*ibid*). So within the activity of ITE there may be several discourses, such as assessment, management, cognitive, affective, Science subject area, History subject area for example. Some of those may be in competition with each other, (perhaps assessment and affective) others may operate together and complement each other (perhaps assessment and cognitive).

Participation in discursive practices points to particular perspectives on the world, and therefore to possibilities for ways of working on an object. In the analysis of the data, the aim was to tease out which discourses mentors drew on and which they resisted to suggest an understanding of mentor identity and of the tensions they might be experiencing in their work.

5.5.1.2 Genre

'A genre is a type of language used in the performance of a particular social practice' (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 56). Genres are particular combinations of text types and structures, such as interviews, advertisements, recipes. They are variable in how stable they are: some are relatively fixed, such as genres of academic writing; others are more fluid, such as emails. Because the participants in this study were not given the opportunity to demonstrate the range of genres on which they might be drawing, it is not a concept that is drawn on to any great extent in the discussion of the data and therefore the concept is not further developed here.

However, it is important to the concept of Order of Discourse that they are understood to be in dialectic with styles and discursive practices.

5.5.1.3 Style

Styles are 'the discoursal aspect of ways of being, identities' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 159). They are linked, according to Fairclough (*ibid*) to identification, the process of identifying oneself and being identified by others. Within texts, identity is realised through the use of personal pronouns and can be individual or collective – 'T' and 'we'. Personal lexical choices contribute to style and therefore identity: for mentors in the study, perhaps, this might manifest as choices which point to affiliations (for example, a lexical field of business language) or uncertainties (for example, frequent use of uncertainty markers such as tag questions). Styles, then, are personal uses of language which point to subject identity and which might be pointed to by computer quantification and concordancing of language data.

5.5.2 Intertextuality

Trask (1999) argues that intertextuality is a way of understanding that 'text does not exist in isolation and cannot be fully appreciated in isolation; but instead a full understanding of its origins, purposes and form may depend in important ways on a knowledge of other texts' (p. 132). Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) draw on Kristeva's (1986) concept of texts as interwoven seeing intertextuality as 'the combination in my discourse of my voice and the voice of another' (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 49). Fairclough suggests that embedded within texts are social, cultural and historical patterns which are drawn on whenever a new text is created, so that text is never entirely new, but a redesigning of earlier texts and textual resources (Fairclough, 2000b). He proposes that:

[i]ntertextual analysis links the text and discourse practice dimensions of the framework and shows where a text is located with respect to the social network of orders

of discourse – how a text actualises and extends the potential within the orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1995, p. 10).

He goes on to suggest that:

...[i]n the intertextual analysis of a text, the objective is to describe its 'intertextual configuration', showing, for instance how several text types may be simultaneously drawn upon and combined. It follows from what I have said that actual texts can have extremely complex intertextual configurations, though they can also be relatively simple (Fairclough, 1995, p. 15).

In later work, Fairclough (2003) offers a more complex understanding of the term. Intertextuality is concerned with 'quotation', that is, the range of both synchronic and diachronic texts and text types which a new text draws on. Intertextuality looks at how a text uses quotation as direct, reported, summarised or précised speech and at what Fairclough (2003, p. 49) calls a 'narrative report of a speech act', e.g., 'She made a prediction'.

Intertextuality also occurs through assumptions: presupposition, entailment and implicature. Assumptions point to texts which inform thinking and concept formation. Presuppositions tend to show that the subject author is taking for granted shared understandings with the text recipient and reveal subject identity, while entailments point to something which the subject assumes to be a consequence of what is said. Implicature is an assumption drawn from what is not explicitly stated but which is present in the meaning of the words or structures selected.

It seemed, therefore, that the concept of intertextuality might be useful in helping to understand both mentor identity and the conceptual tools she used; in pointing to discourses which were being woven in to the activity of ITE, and in revealing who brought the discourse to

the practice. It appeared to offer possibilities to investigate Engeström's (1999a) multi-voicedness and historicity in activity by drawing attention to the complexity of the interrelationship of voices within the activity, or to look at (at a very basic level) how discourses in use in activity drew on historical discourses of ITE (e.g., those highlighted by the review of literature in Chapter 2) as well as on language drawn from other activities in which mentors participated. Through such analysis, it might be possible to understand how subjects were constructed and how they negotiated their work in different material practices. If some of the interwoven strands could be teased out, it may then be possible to understand who was bringing a discourse into the activity; which activities the subject was moving between; what understanding of ITE the subjects were drawing on, and who was appropriating or resisting new or dominant discourses.

5.5.3 Modality

Modality in Critical Discourse Analysis is what subjects commit themselves to in terms of truth and certainty (Fairclough, 2003). It is a relationship between an author and a representation, or, in Activity Theoretical terms, between subject and object. It is evidenced in text through modal verbs, such as can, will, might, should, ought to; and through exchange types and speech functions.

Epistemic modality (that which points to degrees of truth and certainty) emerges, too, through the use of certainty and uncertainty markers. Phrases such as 'I'm sure' often point to a degree of certainty, whereas tag questions – a statement followed by a question which reverses the positive or negative polarity of the statement (e.g., You broke that, didn't you?) – often point to uncertainty. The phrase 'I think' also frequently marks a degree of uncertainty. It seemed, then, that sensitivity to the use of such markers by mentors might be useful in pointing to how secure they were in their use of conceptual tools.

However, as Fairclough (2003) points out, modality is 'a very complex aspect of meaning' (p. 168), and the concept was drawn on in the study at only a simple level, by looking at more obvious examples of epistemic modality which might point to subject identity.

5.5.4 Evaluation

Evaluation is an expression of what subjects perceive to be good, bad, desirable or undesirable. It is most evident in adjectival and adverbial phrases, but can also be evident in other lexical choices where connotation points to evaluation. For example, the sentence 'She skipped all the way to school' connotes a positive attitude to school as a desirable place to be; whereas the sentence 'She trudged all the way to school' uses a negatively connoted verb to express school as an undesirable place to be.

Evaluation, like modality, appeared to be a useful tool for understanding the subject mentors and their attitudes to their work and for understanding how government shaped the possibilities for mentor identity through the Standards document.

5.5.5 Types of Meaning

Fairclough (2003) argues that there are three types of meaning: action, representation and identification which are co-present in text. The three offer useful lenses for looking at text in different aspects.

5.5.5.1 Action meaning

Action meaning is that which 'a text has as a part of the action in social events' (p. 225). It is usually represented in processes which show the kind of interaction taking place: offering, showing, telling, asking, for example. It draws attention to text 'as a way of (inter)acting in social events' (p. 27) and can be seen as incorporating ways that social relations are enacted (p. 27). It was not at first clear how far this concept would be helpful in understanding mentors' work, but it seemed to offer a way to understanding how mentors interacted with other people; about who or what they acknowledged or didn't, and about the ways that others were acknowledged – were

they seen collegially or hierarchically. Information gained from the action perspective would perhaps play in to how the Activity Theory elements of Rules, Community and Division of Labour in the activity of ITE could be understood.

5.5.5.2 Representational Meaning

Fairclough (2003) defines representational meaning as 'meanings which appertain to the representation of the world in texts' (p. 225) and says that:

[w]hat can be represented in clauses includes aspects of the physical world (its processes, objects relations, spatial and temporal parameters), aspects of the 'mental world' of thoughts feelings, sensations and so forth, and aspects of the social world (p. 134).

Representational meanings, suggests Fairclough (2003) might be revealed through the combination of an author's choices of process (loosely, actions) and the objects of those processes: in other words, what do people do; to what; when, why and how. He suggests that representational meanings can be investigated by asking about presences or absences in texts; about degrees of abstraction; the way the events are ordered and any explanations which are offered for the way of acting.

An investigation of representational meanings could perhaps play in to the Activity Theory element of Tools, and offer insight in particular into the conceptual tools and rules which mentors used. Representations might offer understandings not only about the tools with which they worked in ITE, but also about how mentors understood the activity of ITE and its object. They might also point to the goals towards which mentors were working.

5.5.5.3 Identification Meaning

Identification meaning, says Fairclough (2003, p. 225) is that which 'appertains to the textual construction of people's identities'. Identification meanings are inherent in judgments and evaluations as well as in the truths and certainties to which mentors might commit themselves. Therefore an investigation of the evaluations and both epistemic and deontic modality within the data should point to how the Subject element of the activity was constructed.

5.6 Critique

Hammersley (1997) argues that CDA may be naïve in that it attempts 'to locate discourse within a particular conception of society' to which it adopts a 'thoroughgoingly "critical" attitude' (p. 237). He suggests that this 'critical' attitude is understood by critical discourse analysts as a 'comprehensive theory that will provide the basis for political action to bring about radical and emancipatory social change' (p. 238). Perhaps he overstates the case here: some analysts may be seen in this light but they may also be using CDA as a tool for drawing attention to ways that language embodies concepts and understandings of power so that users can be more aware and agentive language users. As MacLure (2003) points out (p. 187):

Critical discourse analysts have achieved considerable success in showing how the discursive 'fabrication' of identities and realities works through the textual fabric itself – that is, the 'stuff' of everyday talk, reading and writing.

Hammersley (1997) goes on to argue that the 'philosophical foundations [of CDA] are simply taken for granted as if they were unproblematic' (p. 244) and subsequently he rejects CDA as relying on a 'naïve sociological model and [involving] an overambition that undermines sound research' (p. 245) problems to which, he says, Critical Discourse analysts 'seem blind' (p. 245). Hammersley's strong stance against CDA may perhaps make him as guilty as those he criticises of seeming blind to any strengths and well-argued cases which CDA may have.

Jones and Collins (2006) appear to share Hammersley's view of CDA as naïve and take issue with Fairclough's (2003) apparent assertion that language can be interpreted through a 'checklist' of concepts. They argue that language can only be understood in terms of the occasion on which the particular instance of language use takes place, and that:

...the political significance and ideological orientation of the document in political terms cannot be established by looking for 'relations between the discourse moments of different practices and different orders of discourse' (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 63) but is something that emerges as we work out how the document is contributing to political events at a particular conjuncture and, in so doing, penetrate ever more deeply to the heart of the relevant problem. [...] The ability to make such an evaluation, therefore, depends on what and how much we know and understand about the factual events and circumstances making up particular political conjunctures (Jones and Collins, 2006, p. 37).

But Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) are not arguing, as Jones and Collins appear to suggest, that discourse and context are not integrated. One of Chouliaraki and Fairclough's fundamental arguments is that social practice and text interact at discourse level, and nowhere do they suggest that any text can be fully understood without understanding of the context in which it was created. Discursive practices, they argue, link text to social practice, speaking to acting, and therefore to understand a text means to understand the social practice or context in which it is created. Context contributes to the meaning of text, but meaning is also created at the level of words and structures, through (among other aspects) connotation, presupposition, entailment, metaphor, deixis: meaning which is amplified and clarified by contextual understandings at textual, discursive, social, cultural and historical levels.

Jones and Collins (2006) also reject Fairclough's (1989 and 2003) offering of a checklist of linguistic features, arguing that such tools are 'unreliable' as they view the linguistic features of text as somehow different from the activity in which the text is created. To some extent I agree with their position here: there are dangers in believing that working through a checklist of linguistic features can reveal precisely what the creator of the text intended to mean, nor will every analyst understand the text in precisely the same way. The interpretation of text is, by definition, subjective, and depends on how contextual factors are understood by the analyst to affect the text. There is no direct correspondence between the use of the pronoun 'you', for example, and the meaning 'everyone', though sometimes that may be what is understood by the word. However, certain features of text – lexical choice, dominance of word classes, grammatical structures, for example – can point to certain ways of thinking which then must be understood against the conditions and contexts in which the text was produced.

One premise of this study is that language and activity are inextricably linked, and so to look at the physical action of activity is simply to look at the activity from one perspective: to form a deeper understanding of the activity, it has to be looked at from the language perspective too. A checklist, while perhaps a less than perfect approach, offers an initial means to externalise and talk about ways of understanding language that are deeply internalised, seemingly instinctive. If it were not possible to explain how meaning is created or understandings are arrived at through description and explanation of language, then it would be impossible to teach people how to create texts for particular meanings in particular situations.

Jones and Collins (2006) argue that there is an issue relating to the choice of metalanguage for language description but as Blackledge (2005) points out, any chosen metalinguistic frame brings with it its own perspective, its own affordances and constraints on the ways the language under study can be understood: that alone should not be the reason for rejecting a method of discussing meaning creation. If analysis of political text is 'simply a matter for political analysis and

judgment' (Jones and Collins, 2006) then how is that analysis to be expressed? At some stage, there has to be a choice of language for talking about the language of the political text: in this study the choice of the metalanguage of CDA has been made with awareness of its limitations.

5.7 Other language approaches drawn on

This study aimed to investigate language at its delicate levels to inform an interpretation of the broader structures, which in turn informed the answers to the research questions. Fairclough's suggested approach, as outlined in Figure 8, (p. 114) focuses on some of the more delicate levels, but evidence of particular key words used in government discourse was needed together with an investigation of how far they were filtering into teacher discourses. For this, techniques which might be used in Corpus Linguistics (e.g., Stubbs, 1996; Hunston, 2002), such as a computer concordancing programme, might be used to identify, sort, and count word usage to open up the text for investigation of meanings.

5.8 Summary

CDA offered additional concepts through which to understand the participants in ITE, and through which to identify and explore the elements of activity. In particular it provided important ways to access the identities that mentors constructed to allow them to work in ITE; it opened up the language used by them to show how they entered or avoided discourses and offered access to how they thought about their work. Together with the concepts from Activity Theory it offered the potential to gain a richer understanding of the mentor as acting subject negotiating the potentially competing concepts and discourses which might shape her work.

5.9 Research Questions

The conceptual frame for the research structured the following research questions to guide the exploration of some of the ways that teachers who work as mentors might negotiate or organize the potentially conflicting practices they work in:

- 1. What conceptual tools are pointed to, perhaps by representational meanings within their talk?
 - 2. What language tools in use in ITE do mentors appropriate or resist?
 - 3. What rules or expectations appear to afford or constrain mentors' work in ITE?
- 4. What oppositions, or dualisms, emerge in mentors' discussion of their work which might suggest tensions for mentors?
- 5. What mentor subjectivities are pointed to by identification meanings of a mentor's language (as revealed, perhaps, by assumptions, modalities and evaluations)?

Since the answers to the questions depended on an analysis of language in use the next stage was to design the research so that language data could be collected from mentors and other participants in ITE.

CHAPTER 6

DESIGN AND METHOD

6.1 The aim of the study

The purpose of the study was to explore some of the ways that teachers who work as mentors in ITE might negotiate or organize the potentially conflicting practices they work in, through an investigation of the language they used to talk about their work in ITE which might point to any concepts and possibilities for acting which shaped their work. The objective of the study was to begin to understand the mentor as acting subject, rather than as an instrument in the preparation of ITE students for work in classrooms, and to explore some of the ways that the mentor as acting subject might negotiate a pathway through potentially conflicting activities to resolve any tensions she might feel in her work. The research focused on how mentors' subjectivities or identities were constructed by what they said and did, and by what others said or did with them. In Activity Theory terms, the language tools of the activity were investigated to see whether they might shed light on the ways that mentors might be thinking, acting and being in ITE.

6.2 The research questions

These research aims, together with the theoretical framing of the study, suggested the following questions:

- 1. What conceptual tools of the mentor are pointed to, perhaps by representational meanings within their talk?
 - 2. What language tools in use in ITE do mentors appropriate or resist?

- 3. What rules or expectations appear to afford or constrain mentors' work in ITE?
- 4. What oppositions, or dualisms, emerge for mentors' in discussion of their work, which might suggest tensions for mentors?
- 5. What mentor subjectivities are pointed to by identification meanings of a mentor's language (as revealed, perhaps, by assumptions, modalities and evaluations)?

6.3 Initial planning

Because the questions focused on the language in use in activity, which would be analysed using a CDA frame, the research needed to be designed to allow the collection of language data from mentors. It seemed important to gather spontaneous language use, rather than language which the participants had had time to consider and shape, so that it might better reveal the concepts or discourses on which they instinctively drew.

In addition, the Activity Theory frame of the study required evidence which placed language use in context. To do this, evidence would need to be collected from other participants in the activity of ITE, such as other mentors in school, HEI tutors and government. As with mentors, spontaneous language in use was required from the participants it was possible to speak to, but the same kind of language data could not be collected from government. Instead, written government data which framed policy on ITE and which was freely available on the internet was examined. However, to use a written document alongside spoken data meant that caution would have to be exercised when comparing language styles, as the written document, being a formal policy document serving a different purpose, would probably be in a higher register than the spoken data.

Data were sought which might point to the kinds of evaluations, modalities, assumptions and concepts that participants in the activity of ITE drew on, which suggested that spoken data might best be collected through the mechanism of interviews, which allow 'access to what

is inside a person's head' (Tuckman, 1988, p. 213) and make it possible to find out 'what a person likes or dislikes (values and preferences) and what a person thinks (attitudes and beliefs)'. The research interview might be seen as a kind of 'conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research relevant information' (Cannell and Kahn, 1968, p. 527), though as Kvale (1996, p. 126) points out:

[t]he conversation in a research interview is not the reciprocal interaction of two equal partners. There is a definite asymmetry of power: the interviewer defines the situation, introduces the topics of the conversation, and through further questions, steers the course of the interview.

Kvale (1996) argues that interviews vary according to the aims and purposes of the interviewer: interviews may be very rigidly or loosely structured with a range of positions between those extremes. Nonetheless, there are degrees of control which the interviewer can exercise. The purpose of the interviews in this study was to allow the participants to talk freely about their work in ITE, which suggested that control of the topics of the interview should be balanced by some space in which the participants could talk about their work in their own way. As Nisbet and Watt (1984, p. 78) argue, interviews should be constructed loosely to allow each participant to respond in their own unique way, so a semi-structured interview was designed for each of the participant types in the study. The semi-structured interview allowed a degree of freedom to each participant to talk about their work in the ways that felt most comfortable for them, whilst at the same time ensuring that broadly similar questions were asked of each type of participant for comparison.

Cohen, et al (2000) suggest that an 'interview guide' approach is useful where 'the topics and issues to be covered are specified in advance, in outline form' and the 'interviewer decides [the] sequence and working of [the] questions in the course of the interview' (p. 271). Since comparable data were needed, the interview guide offered itself as a useful tool. To design the guides for each type of participant, an interview question rationale (see Figure 9 below for the one used for mentors and Appendix 3 for the one used for Senior Mentors) was constructed following Wengraf's (2001) model, from which interview guides (Appendices 4 – 6) were constructed to guide interviews so that the broad topics for discussion were pre-selected but interviewees were afforded some space within the interview to shape their own ways of responding. By placing the central research questions alongside the theory question, it was possible to check that the questions included in the interview were firmly tied to the aims and methodology of the research.

Figure 9: Interview question rationale for mentors based on Wengraf's (2001) model

Central Research	Theory Question	Interview Question for Mentor
Question	•	
1. What do teachers perceive to be the object of their activity in classrooms?	1. What is the object of the activity of mentoring for the teacher?	 Tell me about what you want to achieve with your trainees. Where do you want them to be as teachers by the end of their training with you? How do you feel if they don't achieve this? What made you want to do the job? What job satisfaction do you get from it?
	2. What is the object of the activity of teaching for the teacher?	 Tell me about why you came into teaching: what did you hope to do for your pupils? Tell me about a pupil that you got greatest job satisfaction from. What do you find most satisfying/frustrating about being both a mentor and a classroom teacher?

	3. Who else is involved in	
	the mentoring activity?	 Tell me who you go to for help or guidance with your mentoring work. Do they share your view of teacher training? How does this make you feel?
	4. Who else is involved in the teaching activity?	Who helps or supports you in the school with your work with pupils?
	5. Do they share the objects of the activities?	What kind of support would you want your colleagues to give you in your work?
	6. Do they have the same perspective on the work?	Are there any occasions when you feel that maybe your colleagues in school don't appreciate what you are trying to do? How do you deal with those times?
2. What are the conceptual tools that teachers develop for their work in Initial Teacher Education?	 What language do teachers use to talk about their work with trainees? What ideals do teachers use in their 	 Tell me about your work with trainees: perhaps talk through a mentoring situation that worked well for you. Could you say what it was that made the situation successful for you? What did you get out of it? How did it make you feel about the work? What about a situation that you felt was not successful? What made you feel that it was unsuccessful? Where do you think
	mentoring role?	 it went wrong for you? Did the unsuccessful experience change our view of mentoring at all? Did you feel that there was something someone could have done to help you through it?
3. What are the conceptual tools that teachers develop for their work in the classroom?	 What ideals underlie their work with pupils? What language do teachers use in their work with pupils? 	 Thinking about your work as a classroom teacher, with pupils, now: can you tell me about an event or situation that made you feel really good about your teaching? What did you gain from that event or experience? Did it make you think at all about why you became a teacher? If so, in what way?
4. Are there any contradictions between them?	1. To what extent are teachers' objects when working with pupils the same as those for	 What causes you any stress or tension in your work as both a subject mentor and classroom teacher? Does your work as a mentor help your

5. Are there any contradictions between government policy on Initial Teacher Education and classroom teachers' objects?	working with trainees? 2. Are there any conflicting rules which cause tension for teachers? 1. Is government pulling teachers in directions they are reluctant to go in because they hold a different view of the ends of education?	 work in the classroom? How? If you could change something about the present system of teacher training, what would it be? Do you agree with the way that teaching seems to be developing in this country? If the Education Minister came and asked your advice on what would be the most effective thing government could do to help teachers, what advice would you give him?
6. Are there any contradictions between teachers' conceptual tools and Government conceptual tools?	1. To what extent are the conceptual tools of government and teachers the same/different?	 When you're working with your pupils, what are your priorities for them: their welfare, personal development, getting them through exams – what? I heard the other day that there's been a suggestion that schools should be able to bring in people from businesses to help them in the running of schools. Do you think this is a good idea? Will it benefit your pupils?
7. What tools are developed by teachers to resolve those contradictions?	1. How do teachers bring the two aspects of their work together to minimise tension?	 When you're feeling tired and frustrated at the end of a long week in the classroom with students in, and the Head calls you in to tell you that a parent has complained that Nellie is being taught by a student and she wants her daughter to be taught properly, how do you answer his concerns? How would you deal with colleagues who complain about having students in school? How do you balance the need to obtain good exam results with you work with trainees?

To obtain a permanent record of the spontaneous language in use which could be analysed in detail, a tape recording of the interviews was planned using a small portable recording device which would be unobtrusive and minimise self-consciousness on the part of the interviewee, thus allowing them to talk as naturally as the artificial circumstances allowed.

6.4 Time scale for the study

The study was planned, as in Figure 10, below, to take place over a period of five years. The first two years were completed part time, and I was then awarded a scholarship for two years from the university of Birmingham to work full time on the project. In the event, an additional year was needed to write up the project as leave of absence was taken to deal with life events.

PHASE	ACTION	TIME
1	Map the territory: read what has been done in the field,	Oct 2000 – Sep 2001
	uncovering silences, focusing aims.	(working part time)
2	Develop the questions; continue reading in the area of ITE	Oct 2001 – Sep 2002
	and research methodology. Begin writing initial draft of	(working part time)
	Literature Review.	
3	Design the study: shape the case, develop the instruments and	Mar 2002 – Sep 2002
	find participants. Continue reading in the area of ITE and	(working part time)
	research methodology. Select probable conceptual frame.	
	Write up draft design and method chapter.	
4	Develop and carry out small scale pilot study in volunteer	Sep 2002 – Feb 2003
	school.	
5	Refine questions, design and instruments in the light of the	Feb 2003 – Mar 2003
	pilot	
6	Data collection.	Mar 2003 – Dec 2003
7	Data analysis. Refine conceptual frame in the light of what	Mar 2003 – Dec 2004
	emerges.	
8	Write up.	Jan 2005 – Sep 2005

Figure 10: Time scale of the study

6.5 Pilot study

A pilot study was carried out at Larchwood School to test the proposed instruments for data collection and analysis. For the pilot, two mentors (one a Senior Mentor) with whom I worked in an ITE partnership offered to participate and invited one of their colleagues in another subject department to join them. The pilot was constructed to allow an investigation of two mentors working within the school context for ITE provided by the Senior Mentor.

Interviews lasting approximately an hour each were carried out with the three mentors (subject mentors Jack and Tilly and Senior Mentor Shona) following the interview guides and were recorded using a small portable recording device. However, the disadvantage of working with only an audio recording of the interview was that it did not capture the paralinguistic features, such as tone, pitch gesture, or posture of the interviewee, which often add subtle meanings to content, though broad brush notes of some of these factors were made after the event.

The tapes of the interviews were professionally transcribed and sent to the interviewees, who were invited to indicate any segments of the interview that they did not wish to be used in the pilot. Once they had replied with their permission to use the data, the data were analysed using the first version of a frame drawn from Fairclough (2003) (at Figure 11, below) and a computer concordancing programme, *Wordsmith*, which allowed me to count word frequency and to investigate how words were used in co-text.

LEVEL OF	WHAT IS EXPLORED	QUESTIONS TO ASK	INSTRUMENTARIUM
ANALYSIS			
Whole text in	The research questions	1. What views of	Activity Theory
context- the	_	mentoring does this	Critical Discourse Analysis
meaning		text reveal?	
which		2. What view of	
emerges from		classroom teaching is	
structural and		revealed?	
fine analysis		3. What emerges as the	
		object of teachers'	
		activity?	
		4. What tensions can be	
		identified between the	
		different views of	
		mentoring and	
		classroom teaching?	
		5. What conceptual tools	
		do teachers develop to	
		resolve those tensions?	
	1. List texts to be	1. How can the texts be	1. Metalanguage of
	analysed	grouped?	systemic functional

					linguistics
	2.	Localization;	2. a. What social event is the text part of? b. Is the text part of a chain or network of texts? c. In what circumstances was the text produced?	2.	Prior knowledge of textual features and their significance
Structure analysis – overview analysis to highlight features which contextualise, identify and describe features of the whole text/groups of texts	3.	Readership – understood as the person who reads/hears/receives the text.	3. a. Who is/are the intended reader/s of the text? b. What existential, prepositional or value positions does the author assume that the reader holds? c. How is the intended reader positioned in the text? d. To what institutional framework does the reader belong?	3.	Fine analysis of text to support answers to questions
	4.	Authorship — where author is understood as the person or institution whose views/instructions/id eas are presented in the text	4. a. To what existential, prepositional or value positions is the author committed? b. What is the relationship between author and reader? c. To what institutional framework does the author belong?		
	5.	Difference and how it is dealt with;	5. a. by openness or acceptance of difference? b. by accentuation of difference, conflict, power, struggle for control? c. through willingness to overcome difference? d. through focus on commonality? e. as a means of forcing change		

6.	Accessibility.	6. a. How easy is it for the intended reader to obtain the text? b. How easy is it for the intended reader to engage with the texts?	
7.	Discourse	7. a. What discourse strands run through the text? b. How are those strands entangled?	
8.	Intertextuality	8. a. What other texts or voices are included in the text? b. Whose voices are conspicuously absent? c. How are other voices textured in relation to the authorial voice; to the reader and to each other?	
9.	Historicity	9. a. How does the text relate to what has happened in this field in the past? b. How does it relate to contemporary events?	
10.	Broad generic category and its characteristics;	10. a. Is the text situated within a genre chain? b. Is the text characterised by a mix of genres?	
11.	Format	11. Is the text written? Spoken? Presented in some other form?	
12.	Summary of the themes and topics of the text.	12. a. What is the broad subject matter of the text? b. What topics are covered? c. What topic/s is/are conspicuously absent?	
13.	Purpose or cause	13. Why has this text been	

	of the text.	e text. produced?	
	14. Evaluation.	Evaluation. 14. a. To what values d the authors comm themselves? b. How are value realised in the text?	
Fine analysis at (level): Textual	1. Graphic layout;	hic layout; 1. a. How is the text laid out on the page? b. What combination of text, graphics or other features are used? c. Are headings, such headings, other similar markers used to guide the reader through the text?	systemic functional linguistics
	2. Structure of the text	2. a. In what order does the material appear? b. How are the idea linked? c. What is the logic of the text? d. What are the higher level semantic relations in the text? (e.g. problem-solution)	of textual features and their significance
	3. Themes addressed (more analysis)	e delicate themes and sub-topics?	3. Computer programme (Wordsmith) which offers concordancing, word listing, and content comparison facilities
	4. Representation of social events		questions at most delicate level of analysis will provide evidence or guidance for 'coarser' levels.

	5. Genre;	(active/passive; personal/impersonal; named/classified; specific/generic) e. How are time, space and time-space represented? 5. What specific genre	
	c. Gene,	features emerge within the text?	
Clause	6. Register – understood as 'level of formality';	6. a. How formal/informal is the status of the text? b. How formal/informal is the language? (use of idiom, lexical choices, etc.)	
	7. Style.	7. a. What styles are drawn upon in the text? b. Is there a significant mixing of styles? c. What features characterise the styles used?	
	8. Exchanges, speech functions and grammatical mood;	8. a. What are the predominant types of exchange — activity? Knowledge? b. What are the predominant speech functions? c. What types of statement are there? d. Are the exchanges, functions or types of statement what they appear to be? Are demands couched as statements, etc?	
	9. Modality	9. a. What do authors commit themselves to in terms of truth (epistemic modalities) and obligation/necessity (deontic modalities)? b. Are modalities	

Word		modalized or categorical? c. What are the markers of modalization?	
	10. Semantic/grammatical relations	10. a. Are semantic relations between clauses predominantly: • causal; • conditional; • temporal; • additive; • elaborative; • contrastive/concessive?	
	11. Metaphorical language	proportion of nominalization and process use? 11. a. How is metaphor used within the text? b. What metaphors are used? c. What contradictions are set up by the choice of metaphor?	
	12. Jargon – understood as language specific to a particular profession, group, philosophical perspective.	12. a. What jargon is used? b. To what group/philosophy does it point?	

Figure 11: Initial frame for analysing language data, following Jäger, (2000) and Fairclough, (2003)

To prepare the data for computer analysis, the interviewer's comments were deleted and the remaining data saved in text format to be processed by two programmes within *Wordsmith*: the counting programme and the concordancing one. Once the data had been processed by the counting programme, any words which appeared to be frequently used were further investigated through the concordancing programme which showed the word in use in context.

Information gathered from these programmes was then investigated in the light of the language analysis frame. The pilot study showed that, while the semi-structured interview was useful in encouraging participants to talk about their work, there was further design work to be done to sharpen the kinds of question asked and the interviewer's technique. The portable recording device was useful as a means of obtaining an accurate record of what was said, but it had limitations when the interviewer spoke softly or when there was external noise: data tended to be inaudible in these circumstances and care was needed in placing the device between interviewer and interviewee so that it could pick up what was said without being intimidating.

The language analysis frame proved to be cumbersome in its initial form and contained some prompts which proved not to be useful ways of reflecting on the data. Following the pilot, the frame was revised to tighten the focus on the aspects of language identified in Chapter 5 which might be useful tools and to reduce the number of prompts which had pointed to aspects of language use which was unlikely to be found in the data (Figure 12 below).

Level	Vocabulary	Grammar
Experiential: asks how the speaker's choice of words express her/his experience of the natural or social world	 What classification schemes are drawn on? Are there words which are ideologically contested? Is there rewording or overwording? What ideologically significant meaning relations are there between words? 	 What types of process and participant dominate? Is agency clear? Are processes what they seem? Are nominalizations used? Are sentences active or passive? Are sentences negative or positive?
Relational: expressing social	Are there any euphemistic	What modes are used?Are there features of

relations	expressions? • Are there markedly formal or informal words?	relational modality? i.e., does one participant have more authority than the others, as expressed through deontic modality? • If the pronouns we and you are used, how?
Expressive: expressing social identities and evaluation of the reality the text relates to	 What expressive values do words have? 	 Are there features of expressive modality? i.e., what is the author's evaluation of truth as expressed through epistemic modality?
General	 What metaphors are used? What binary oppositions emerge? 	 How are sentences linked together? Are complex sentences characterised by subordination or coordination? How does the author reference inside and outside the text?

Figure 12: Revised frame for guiding language analysis

The mentor was placed as the acting subject of the activity of ITE (and as acting language user in the discourses of ITE) so that the practice could be understood from the perspective of the individual mentor as actor. This required a research design which would allow the mentor to be placed at the heart of the study and to be understood within her context, i.e., the school in which she worked, in the context of an HEI partnership, in the context of government policy for ITE. This is represented diagrammatically at Figure 13 (overleaf).

Because at the heart of the study was an instance of a particular phenomenon, a case study suggested itself as a way to investigate the mentor. It is 'a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence' (Robson, 1993, p. 52) which is undertaken 'with a view to providing an in depth account of events, relationships, experiences or processes occurring in that particular instance' (Denscombe, 1998 p. 32). Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) suggest that a case study allows the researcher to focus on individual actors or groups of actors

and understand their perception of events, and to 'locate the 'story' of a certain aspect of social behaviour in a particular setting and the factors influencing the situation' (p. 317). Miles and Huberman (1994) add that a case looks at the object of study in a bounded context.

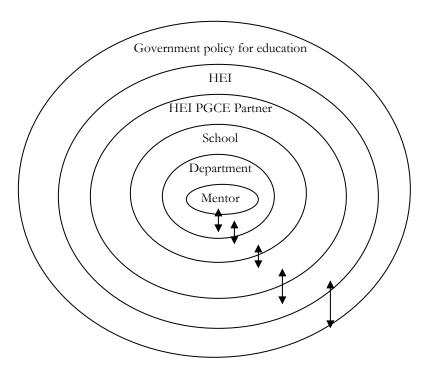


Figure 13: The mentor in context

These definitions suggest that at the heart of the case is a single instance - such as a person, group, institution or activity - of a phenomenon, such as mentoring, which is being investigated in order to develop greater understanding of an aspect or aspects of that phenomenon and its relationship with its context. It is essentially an exploratory strategy (Robson, 1993, p. 53), a 'study of a specific instance designed to illustrate a more general principle' (Cohen *et al*, 2000). The understandings of case study here suggested that such an approach would provide the opportunities needed within which to collect the data sought.

According to Denscombe, (1998) the case exists before the study, so that it can be seen as a naturally occurring phenomenon. For Miles and Huberman (1994) however, the case is the unit of analysis and needs to be bounded or defined, a view which Schostak (2002) shares: he argues that framing the case is problematic as there are no natural boundaries but only artificially imposed ones. The case is framed by the researcher rather than being a self-contained sphere. It is possible that both positions may be partially correct: some cases appear to have natural boundaries, such as schools, while others may need to have boundaries defined by the researcher, such as a unit of time. In both cases, though, the researcher needs to specify precisely where the boundaries are so that data can be appropriately collected and analysed within specified constraints.

However, an activity theoretical account of ITE looks at the activity from the perspective of a single mentor's or a group of mentors' perspective, but understands the subject as being in dialectic with an object, tools, rules, community and a division of labour. There appeared then, to be some tension between case study and Activity Theory: how could the subject of activity, which was inextricably linked to the other elements of activity, be seen as a bounded phenomenon? One way to understand the subject as case is to understand it as embedded in its real world situation (Adelman, Jenkins and Kemmis, 1984) — in this instance, the activity. Another way perhaps to understand the subject of activity as a case is to understand her as a bounded phenomenon in the sense of being an individual-subject-working-in-an-activity. In this way, the sense of the activity system is retained alongside the sense of the individual as bounded phenomenon. The individual case is bounded by the subjectivity of the actor in the activity.

Because a case study is a study of a single instance, the results cannot usually be reliably extrapolated to a wider community, who may be working in different temporal, geographical,

historical and institutional contexts. On the other hand, by focusing on a single instance of a phenomenon, Denscombe (1998) argues, the researcher can gain insights which would not emerge from a broader study: the close examination of the particular draws out the fine detail which allows the researcher to 'unravel the complexities' (*ibid* p. 30) of the relationships and processes being investigated, and to show how the different parts of the activity affect each other. It offers the opportunity to 'catch the complexity and situatedness of behaviour' (Cohen *et al*, 2000, p. 79) through an investigation of 'bounded phenomena and systems' (*ibid*) and therefore provides the frame within which to take snapshots of moments in an on-going process. It seemed therefore that, as the pace of change in education has been, and continues to be, so rapid during the last twenty years, that the findings from the study would best be viewed as a stage in an ongoing study of mentors' work and its related discourses.

In Activity Theory terms, the object of this study was the mentor investigated as a subject in the activity of ITE, itself a bounded context, modelled in Figure 14, below:

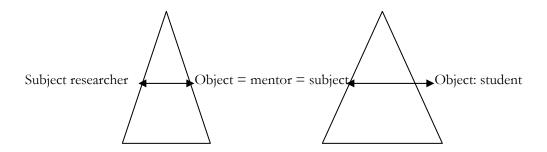


Figure 14: Interrelationship of activities of research and ITE

Seen in this way, the study is the subject researcher's interpretation of the activity being investigated which has implications for the study's validity. However, as Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 29) suggest, a study with multiple cases adds confidence to the findings, and strengthens the precision, validity and stability of the findings. That being so, it was decided to design the study as four cases, each of a single mentor, to provide a range of perspectives on the activity and on how mentors worked. Although the number of mentors in the study was still too small to allow generalisations, it would at least allow the development of a richer understanding of mentors at work, and the identification of possible patterns of thinking and acting among mentors in specific contexts.

The study was designed to comprise four mentors, two working in one school and two in another. Each school worked within a different partnership. Although there was some merit to working with schools in the same partnership, by selecting schools in different partnerships, it was possible to identify any similarities between partnerships which would add strength to conclusions about the ways that mentors thought and spoke.

As contextualising information is important to an Activity Theoretical understanding of the material practice, and to a Critical Discourse Analytical understanding of discursive practices, contextualising data was needed. The study was therefore designed so that such data could be collected from other participants in ITE: the Senior Mentors in each school, HEI Tutors and government.

The study, then, placed each mentor within the context of her HEI partnership and both partnerships were investigated in the context of government policy for ITE, as represented diagrammatically in Figure 15, overleaf.

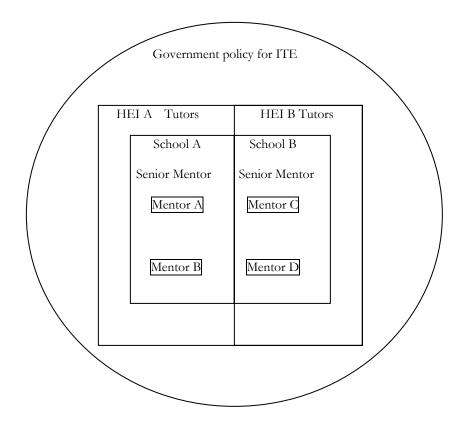


Figure 15: Design of the study

6.6 Selection of participants

Mentors were selected by negotiation with Senior Mentors in schools. An initial plan to select schools through participation in a focus group looking at the effect of participation in ITE on mentors was discarded because at the time the mentors and Senior Mentors in partnership meetings argued that they were struggling with an excessive workload and were reluctant to participate in any activity which did not appear to have a direct and transparent impact on their day to day work.

The schools were eventually selected opportunistically. In the case of one school, anonymised as Lowick High, the Senior Mentor, with whom I had collaborated in teacher education, was contacted, and asked whether she and any of her mentors would be willing to

participate. This school belonged to the (anonymised) Ledshire University partnership for ITE. During a visit in my role as external moderator for the (anonymised) Midshires University partnership the Senior Mentor of the second school, anonymised as Middlemarch High, had expressed a strong interest in the work, which he believed might assist him in his aim of developing ITE in the school and fostering a community of practice: it seemed appropriate to take him up on his offer to be involved.

Within each school two mentors were selected with the assistance of the Senior Mentors and invited to participate. Mentors from the English subject area – my own area of expertise – were explicitly excluded from the study to avoid over-identification with the subjects (Kvale, 1996). Within those constraints, the Senior Mentors suggested mentors who had agreed to participate. With the guidance of the Senior Mentors, Hilary, an RE mentor, and Gordon, a Science mentor at Lowick High; and at Middlemarch High, Celia, a Science Mentor, and James, a Business Studies Mentor were selected (all names are anonymised). The gender balance was serendipitous and ignored in the study, though the findings pointed to possibilities for exploring how gender might have influenced ways of working.

Having selected the four cases, the participation was sought of the relevant HEI Tutors with whom the two schools were in partnership, all of whom generously agreed to participate.

In the course of my work as a mentor in both partnerships, I had met both Hilary and James on several occasions and was concerned that there was the possibility of over-identification with them. However, the analytical instruments used in the study (discussed in **6.9** below) helped to mitigate any effects of over-identification.

6.7 Types of data collected

The range of data available for collection was potentially huge and could have included video data for analysis of ways of acting as well as speaking; interview data; written documents

relating to work in ITE; observation of meetings and so on. Because CDA was being used to investigate data, and because of the requirement for language use to be spontaneous, it was decided to narrow the range to language data which could be managed in the time frame while at the same time ensuring that there was sufficiently rich data from mentors and their context to be able to offer a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the mentor as acting subject and the tools and rules she selected to help her in her work.

Two kinds of language data, written and spoken, were initially collected using the frame at Figure 16, below, to guide the gathering of data. Although it was planned to use the written data (in the form of policy documents and mentor briefing notes), it was eventually decided that the limited and patchy material available contributed insufficient evidence to be of reliable use. Because only a limited range of written data were collected, it became clear that the concept of intertextuality (5.5.2 above) would not be as helpful to this study as first supposed: it seemed that without a representative range of written policy documents any investigation of their intertextuality would be unreliable.

Similarly, it was planned to interview senior managers within schools, but this proved not to be possible as those invited declined on the grounds of heavy workload.

ORGANISATION/PERSONNEL	WHAT I WANT TO KNOW	WHAT THIS WILL TELL ME
Higher Education Institution	What rules is the institution operating within	• About any tensions created for the mentor by the rules they have to
Midshires University	What rules do they make for mentors in schools	work within How far the Higher
Alan Barbara	How far do the rules take account of the wider context of the mentors'	Education Institution sees the mentor as multiroled
Ledshire University	work What kinds of school does the institution work	Social context of teacher trainingCommunity within which
Fran	with in terms of social	the partners work
Colin Ellie	background?	• Power relationships

	1		1	.,.,
	•	Are there minimum criteria for becoming involved in teacher training?	•	within the partnerships Potential for tensions for those involved in the partnership Eventuals the culturals
(n=5)	•	Are they in competition with any other training organisations for students?	•	Expands the cultural, historical and social context of the work Suggests conceptual tools
	•	What is the organisation of the staff on the course?	•	in use Offers a language for exploration
	•	Who takes responsibility for what aspects of the course?		
		Who has the ultimate say about whether the trainee passes the course? How has the course		
		changed since the introduction of school-based training?		
	•	What motivates involvement in training?		
School Senior Management	•	What status does Initial Teacher Education have	•	Expands view of the
(Planned, but potential participants		within the school?		rules relating to mentoring within the
declined)	•	What drives the school's		school
		involvement with training?	•	Suggests conceptual tools in use
Lowick School		What policy documents	•	Offers a language for
300000000000000000000000000000000000000		are there outlining the school's overall aims?	•	exploration Offers information on
	•	What policy documents		the community within
Middlemarch High		are there relating to targets and standards within the school?	•	which teacher training takes place. Might highlight any
	•	Is there a copy of the		tensions for the subject
		contract with the Higher Education Institution?		mentor in her work arising from how the
	•	What policy documents		wider school views
		are there relating to students in subject departments?		mentoring.
	•	How do subject departments view		
(n=2)		students within the department?		
	•	How do pupils respond to trainees?		
	•	How do parents respond		

Senior mentor (Data gathered but not used as not sufficiently rich to add to contextual data) Lowick School Isabel Middlemarch High Will (n=2)	to pupils being taught by students? • What documents are used to assist the work of teacher training? • What agreements are there within the community of mentors about how mentoring will happen? • What drives involvement in mentoring? • How does mentoring fit alongside classroom teaching and any other roles they have within the school?	 Offers language in use for analysis Says something about the organisation of mentoring, as well as the rules in operation. Might suggest areas of tension. Suggests conceptual tools. Might suggest any tensions the mentor experiences.
Subject mentor Lowick School Hilary Gordon Middlemarch School James Celia (n=4)	 What handouts or worksheets are used in mentoring work? What policies are in place to help them in their work in teacher training? What drives the involvement in teacher training? How do they go about the work of teacher training? Where do they go for help if they need it? How do they fit the work alongside all their other responsibilities? What do they hope will be the point or benefit of being involved in teacher training? What will it help them achieve? 	 Draws out the rules the mentor perceives self to be working within Draws out conceptual tools. Offers a language for analysis Suggests roles and functions of mentor. Highlights division of labour. Highlights any tensions between mentoring work and other duties. Might indicate the object of the activity.

Figure 16: Data collection frame

Collection of written data from Government was limited to those published by the TTA which set out the Standards for Qualified Teacher Status (QTS), - i.e.,: Qualifying to Teach: Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status and Requirements for Teacher Training (TTA, 2003) and Qualifying to Teach: Handbook of Guidance (TTA, 2004) (together referred to as the Standards Document) - as these were the key working documents in use within partnerships, linking Government, HEIs and mentors. These data were collected from the official website of the TTA and were just coming into use at the time of the study: the previous document had referred to 'competences' rather than 'standards': participants tended to use both words when referring to what was expected of students.

Other, spoken, data were collected from the focus mentors (n=4), from the contextualising Senior Mentors (n=2), and HEI Tutors (n=5). It was subsequently decided that only data collected from HEI Tutors and government would be used as contextualising data as it was believed that it was within these two layers of context that mentors' possibilities for acting might most be shaped.

6.8 Ethics

Kvale (1996) suggests that the ethical guidelines for interviewing are summarised as 'informed consent, confidentiality and consequences' (p. 153). To ensure that the research was as ethical as possible, the guidelines of the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 1992, and updated 2004) were followed in gaining consents to participation from all those interviewed.

To help ensure informed consent (Kvale, 1996; BERA, 1992) the purposes and aims of the research were explained to interviewees before data were collected and verbal permission sought to record interviews (BERA, 1992, guideline 7). Recordings were professionally transcribed and sent to the participants for review before data were analysed to give

participants the opportunity to withdraw any comments they did not want to be used, though few and limited deletions or amendments were in fact made.

Confidentiality was offered by anonymising all participants and participant organisations, following BERA (1992) guideline 13.

Once data had been analysed, the findings were sent to the participants for their comment and approval: where replies were received, any requests from participants not to use data they felt was confidential were acted on. Copies of papers for conferences and publication were sent to participants before the event so they had the opportunity to withdraw consent for the data to be used in that way if they wished to.

In the case of government data, only what was freely available over the internet and as paper documents in the public domain was used.

6.9 Methods of data collection

Each of the participants was interviewed once during 2003 using the interview guides at Appendices 4 – 6. Interviewees were generous with their time given that they had classes to teach or students to meet: each interview lasted between an hour and an hour and a half. Permission was sought verbally to record the interviews and reassurances given that thoughts would remain confidential, confidentiality being achieved as far as possible by anonymising identities of schools, partners and participants. Few notes were taken in the course of the interview in order to create the feel of a conversation. The portable recording device was relied on to capture what was said, though some notes were written as soon as possible after the interview as reminders of contextual factors and impressions of the ways that speakers spoke and acted.

A disadvantage of relying on mechanical instruments for data collection proved to be the reliability of the instrument selected. A scheduled interview with an HEI Tutor was dogged

with technical problems: the recording failed, losing an excellent discussion, and circumstances conspired to prevent the planned repetition of the interview. Although some notes had been taken of the original interview, they were unusable in the kind of analysis undertaken.

All interviews were professionally transcribed, the transcriptions checked and returned to interviewees to indicate their willingness for data to be used. Once permission had been received to use the data, it was analysed as in **6.10** below.

6.10 Methods of data analysis.

The methodological frame for language analysis was Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, discussed in Chapter 5. Once the language analysis had pointed to the assumptions, modalities, evaluations, dualisms and relationships within the data, the findings were to be further explored through the lens of Activity Theory to explore the dynamic relationship between concepts, discourses, subjectivities, and rules in use in the activity of ITE.

For the CDA analysis, a detailed reading of the words and structures used and by whom was required. In order to verify some of the subjective impressions of certain aspects of the readings - such as frequency of word use - with quantitative data, a computer counting and concordancing computer programme was used (*Wordsmith*), designed specifically for this kind of analysis of linguistic data and often used in the field of Corpus Linguistics (Stubbs, 1996; Hunston, 2002). The programme allowed participants' lexical choices and the frequency of their occurrence to be identified, counted, and compared to provide evidence of frequently mentioned concepts and tools, modality and discourse markers and to point to further aspects of language use for exploration.

However, words, like other phenomena, occur in context and often co-occur in phrases. The context of word and phrase occurrence was explored through the concordancing aspect of the *Wordsmith* programme. Where words were identified as being used with high frequency

the concordancer was used to investigate the contexts of the word and phrase use and, from there, identify any patterns.

Beyond word level, a frame drawn from Fairclough's (1995) model of Critical Discourse Analysis, discussed in Chapter 5 and outlined in the frame Figure 11 (p. 132, above), was used to guide analysis of both written and spoken data. Fairclough's discussion of the language of New Labour (Fairclough, 2000), was used to draw up a list of words which appeared to characterise, or mark, the managerial discourse which appeared to be favoured by New Labour. In addition, woven in to the discussion of mentoring, there appeared to be dominant lexical fields (or clusters of words) relating to learning processes, one of which could broadly be characterised as a cognitive field, the other, affective (Clark, 2006). These lists are reproduced at Figure 17:

Managerial Discourse	<u>Cognitive</u>	Affective
Account*	Know*	Feel*
Achieve*	Understand*	Sensitive*
Assess*	Think*	Respond*
Benchmark*	Believe	Aware*
Choice*	Organise*	Attention*
Deliver*	Reflect*	Responsible*
Demonstrate	Identify*	Listen*
Design*	Assess*	Respect
Effective*		
Efficient		
Goals		
Manage*		
Monitor*		
New		
Outcome*		
Partnership*		
Perform*		
Target *		
Train*		

Figure 17: List of words taken as markers of managerial, cognitive and affective approaches

Using the *Wordsmith* programme, a numerical analysis was carried out and comparison of the use of each of the words in participants' texts to see whether any patterns of usage could be identified within and across each of the three layers of the study, that is, mentors, HEI Tutors and government.

Different levels of analysis were applied to different data. For the focus participants – the teacher mentors – analysis was at micro-level, investigating word use and syntactical structures, to draw out a finely detailed understanding of the ways that they were working in their activities. For the HEI Tutors and government, analysis was slightly less detailed.

Once the interviews from the mentors had been analysed in detail, it became clear that two of them (in the study called Celia and James) offered rich data to which that from the other two (called Hilary and Gordon for the purposes of the study) added very little in the way of deeper understandings. Hilary and Gordon, as experienced mentors, appeared to have internalised their mentoring skills and developed more robust mentor identities than Celia and James, who were still working towards understandings of their work in ITE. It was therefore decided at that stage to focus on the data from Celia and James and how they were in the process of forming mentor identities.

6.11 Criteria for assessing the integrity of the research

Cohen, *et al* (2000) argue that research should be both valid and reliable and that validity and reliability have many forms, according to the type of research being conducted. Following Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) they argue that in qualitative research, validity 'attaches to accounts, not to data or methods' (Cohen, *et al*, 2000, p. 106).

However, as argued above, (p. 142) an Activity Theoretical account of an activity can only be the subject researcher's interpretation of the researched object, which is in turn a subjective understanding of an activity. If the findings of the research are interpretations of data, then it

becomes problematic to ask about the research's 'validity' which seems to point to the objectivity of the research. Discussions of interpretive research therefore need to look to other concepts when commenting on research rigour which do not seek to pretend that the findings might be objective.

Bassey (1995) suggests that 'quality' might be one such concept, understanding it as a construct which can be 'described but not measured [...] discussed but not defined with precision' (p. 119). He suggests that the research has quality if it is rigorously conducted and reported and offers insights which will help educators to improve the quality of education. This last is problematic if he is suggesting that research is only conducted in response to requests for knowledge from educators. If research is only carried out in response to such requests for knowledge, there is no space for asking questions, the answers to which might not have immediate applicability. Yet research conducted to answer questions which have not yet been asked can often have impact at a later stage.

Robson (1993) uses a combination of terms to decide whether a piece of research is 'trustworthy', by which he means that the findings 'are 'really' about what they appear to be about' (p. 66): that is, that the research captures what it hopes it is capturing. Trustworthiness for Robson involves reliability: i.e., the research design and methods are logical and coherent; the research can be repeated with the same results and the opportunities for bias or error are minimised. Yet again, the reliance on absence of bias may be problematic in research which starts out to look at a phenomenon from a subjective position.

However, the issue of generalisability is also problematic, not least because some studies, and in particular small scale case studies, are intended as explorations of a field in order to find out what issues might be involved in a particular phenomenon: there is little or no pretension

on the part of the researcher that results might be extrapolated to other cases. In such cases, suggests Robson (1993):

...the kind of rich or 'thick' description provided in a well written case study report can make contact with the more implicit and informal understandings held by readers who are able to see parallels with the situation in which they work or otherwise have knowledge about (p. 73).

In other words, if the data collected and analysed within the case study is sufficiently detailed that readers can identify at least with aspects of the research, that will satisfy the criterion of validity.

One approach might be to assess the internal validity', the degree to which the findings can be sustained by the design, methods and data in the study; (Cohen, et al, 2000) or the theoretical validity which may be a way to show the integrity of research. Theoretical validity, they argue, is 'the extent to which the research explains the phenomena' (p. 107). This study is anchored in theory – Activity Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis: through the study theoretical understandings of subjectivity and language use in activity were developed and different aspects of the subject explored to understand how they might fit together. Wardekker (2000) argues that Activity Theory methodology sidesteps many of the issues raised by the other writers on validity by investigating a moment on the road to 'truth', and accepting that what is seen as 'truth' or 'knowledge' in that moment might change in the light of new learning. 'Truth', therefore, is gradually revealed and contextually bound.

In sum, the word 'integrity', which suggests honesty and openness of approach, academic rigour, and a sense of the completeness of the finished product seems to be the appropriate way to describe what is looked for in research and this study has sought to achieve integrity through theoretical validity; by ensuring that the structure of the work was clearly exposed, and by making connections between the elements of methodology and method coherent and well formed.

6.12 My own position as researcher

One of the key issues in education research methods is the extent to which the researched group can remain unaffected by the work of the researcher. There seems to be general agreement (Cohen, et al, 2000; Robson, 1993; Mertens, 1998) that where views and opinions are being sought, the researcher may inadvertently influence the researched through the direction or wording of questions; by prompting thought about processes which were previously not reflected upon, and because the researched subject often wants to please (or disrupt) the researcher.

From an Activity Theoretical perspective, the researcher cannot avoid changing the practice which she is studying as she enters the activity and prompts reflection on it. The researcher is working within a different activity system from the researched (Fig. 17, p. 153), one which is defined by a different object. This second activity may cause tension, or contradictions within the first activity system, which prompt reflection and learning within it. There is, then, a dialectic between the researcher and the researched which leads to further learning or development and therefore changes the activity under study.

As the presence of the researcher in the researched site necessarily changes the site and ways of working within it, it was necessary to be aware of the potential effect of my perceived identity on the participants.

In the case of the mentors, there was a possibility that I might be constructed as an academic who came from an HEI with whom they were in partnership: they may consequently have felt a sense of obligation to co-operate and some wariness about what they could say. If I were perceived as an academic, this might influence the language through which they chose to express their views, and this could prove problematic as it was examples of the language they would normally use when talking about their work that were sought. There was also a possibility that mentors would view me as a conduit to the HEI, believing that they could pass on any ideas or grievances they might have through me. It was therefore necessary to clarify for them from the outset that I could not act in that role.

I was known to all participants as a former mentor and Senior Mentor in a partnership school, and therefore as knowing something about the way that both partnerships worked: I was not a neutral inquirer. There was, therefore, potential for my own views of people and partnership to intrude, both within interviews and through my analysis, though the data analysis methods did to some extent mitigate the issue of bias by taking language out of the context of person and partnership through the *Wordsmith* count and the word level analysis.

The participants' responses depended to some extent on how they perceived my position in their partnership and on the working relationships we had developed in the past. In the case of Lowick School, I was a former colleague of the Senior Mentor and a stranger to the two mentors, though both talked apparently comfortably to me. At Middlemarch School, I had been invited into the school by the Senior Mentor, who was also a Deputy Head, as part of his agenda to understand some of the changes in working practice that he believed were occurring

in the school. However, the mentors at Middlemarch appeared keen to be involved in research which they hoped would help their professional development and I felt I was treated more as a colleague with specialist knowledge in this school.

Within the HEIs there were other issues to be faced. All participants were helpful and offered their time generously. Yet the fact that my working relationships within one partnership had been more successful than they had been within the other did, I believe, affect the way that interviews developed: my own ease with those tutors made interviews with them feel more open. I was concerned then, that issues of status and bias might affect how the interviews were developed and how the data were interpreted.

Nonetheless, my role was to stand back from the personal as far as possible and to try to identify patterns of thinking and working across the spectrum of participants. I planned to ensure that my selection of analytical instruments minimised the effect of this potential bias: the *Wordsmith* tool was particularly helpful here because it broke down grammatical patterns and forced attention to lexical items and phrases in isolation from their grammatical and personal context.

6.13 Findings

The findings from the study are presented in Chapters 7 - 10, beginning with the outer layer of context – government policy for ITE - which shaped the possibilities for work for the other participants in the study.

CHAPTER 7

THE STANDARDS DOCUMENT AS A FRAMEWORK FOR ITE

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to tease out some of the rules which might be used in the activity of ITE; the kinds of concepts evident in the policy texts which lie at its heart - Qualifying to Teach: Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status and Requirements for Initial Teacher Training (TTA, 2003) and the Handbook of Guidance, (TTA, 2004) together referred to as the Standards document - and how far the discourses identified in Chapters 2 and 3 appear to be drawn on in creating the policy document. Following an overview of the document, the possibilities created by these elements for shaping the identities of the mentors are discussed.

7.2 Overview of the Standards document

The Standards document combines sophisticated presentational features and language to create a complex handbook which, nonetheless, aims to be user-friendly in setting out rules for the conduct of ITE and standards for the achievement of QTS. The document sets out models for both teaching and teacher education which are closely interwoven, but which might be usefully disentangled in order to understand the vision that government has of both practices. Throughout, the process is referred to as 'training', which reflects a particular understanding of teacher preparation, though it may be argued that 'teacher training' is a more familiar term to many in the document's audience.

The document is in two main parts: the first part sets out the minimum Standards which teachers are 'required' to meet before they can qualify; the second and third parts, described as

'guidance', amplify the requirements, setting the parameters of possible meanings for the Standards and indicating how 'training' is to be carried out. Between them, the two parts of the document set out the values, concepts and rules within which ITE and classroom teaching appear to be understood by government.

The target audience for the document varies according to section. Section One, *Qualifying to Teach*, offers the rationale for the provision of the list of Standards and is aimed at:

...anyone who is involved in initial teacher training, including trainee teachers, qualified teachers and those who employ and support newly qualified teachers (TTA, 2003, frontispiece).

Noticeably absent from the list is specific mention of HEIs, SCITTs or other non-school contributors to the education of new entrants: they are subsumed into the 'anyone who is involved in initial teacher training', which not only renders them invisible as partners in training, but also opens up possibilities for there to be contributors to training from sectors other than education. Similarly, the range of possible employers of teachers appears to be widened to 'anyone who employs teachers' suggesting that it is anticipated that teachers may be employed in contexts other than schools.

Part One of Section Two, the *Handbook Part 1*, is aimed at 'providers, [...] schools, trainees and employers' (TTA, 2004, p. 1): again, HEIs and SCITTs are rendered invisible by being unidentified as other than a provider. The inclusion of 'employers' as an additional audience in this part of the Standards document suggests that employers other than schools have an interest in qualified teachers, but it leaves ambiguous who these other employers might be. As the term is more generally used in market contexts, by implication the marketplace becomes a stakeholder in teacher education though without a clearly specified interest.

The audience for Section Three, the *Handbook Part 2*, is stated to be '...mainly ITT providers, although it may be of interest to trainee teachers and others' (ITA, 2004, p. 1). Although the focus here is HEIs and SCITTs they are, once again, unnamed, subsumed as 'providers' - a problematic term in itself, suggesting a one way transaction in which there is little sense of the affective and cognitive interactions of learning or of the mutual shaping of provision that would be anticipated by a socio-cultural position.

The sense of target audience in the document appears to set up tensions. Although it appears to be written for those who prepare new teachers, i.e., predominantly the Higher Education Institutions and School Centred partnerships, it does not directly address them, rather seeming to marginalise them in the practice of teacher education.

7.3 Presentational features

The presentation of the Standards invites the reader to see the document as easy to read - and by extension easy to understand - through the mechanisms of font, colour use and text organisation. A sans serif font, often associated with modernity and clarity (Luna, 1992; Wikipedia, 2006), is used throughout the documents, suggesting a fresh approach to and clearly reasoned thinking about ITE. Three font sizes are used: a large one for main headings; a smaller one for the opening sentence or sentences of the section and the smallest for the main text: thus the eye is led easily into the text and searching within the Standards is facilitated. Text is organised in columns with numbered paragraphs and abundant white space which contributes to the impression of a text that is organised to be easy to navigate. The white space suggests that it is anticipated that the text may be read interactively, with the reader using the wide margins for annotation.

Colour is similarly used throughout the document to clarify the organisation of the text and help the reader track ideas or strands through it. Main headings are in yellow, initial sentences in turquoise and the main text is in black, the colour scheme being used to create a sense of cohesion as well as to guide reading. The turquoise colour is used to highlight or banner headings in the detailed Standards section of the documents, and the yellow to highlight 'contents' boxes underneath photographs which may be coloured or black and white. The photographs are of teachers and pupils who appear to be enjoying learning activities together in classroom situations, suggesting an interactive view of the work of teachers and their relationships with pupils.

Through the mechanism of graphology and organisation, then, the target audience is constructed as potentially a busy person who needs a working document which is easily accessible, clearly presented, and well organised. However, though the presentational features of the document make it appear reader friendly and readily usable, the language choices create more complex layers of meaning. In particular, there is an assertion of power which runs through the document which establishes a hierarchical division of labour within which the rules, concepts and identities for participation in ITE are to be understood.

7.4 Rules and power expressed through the Standards document

There is an assumption that, in order to understand how to train teachers, it is first necessary to understand what makes a good teacher, and on that basis the document begins by outlining a model of a good teacher through a list of descriptors of skills, qualities and knowledge referred to as Standards. However, ownership of the Standards lies with the Secretary of State rather than with those who will implement it and his power is asserted through the legal status of the document, set out at the beginning of the text on a frontispiece:

The Standards in this document [...] have the same legal standing [as an earlier document] [...] They set out the Secretary of State's Standards which must be met by trainee teachers...

A comment in the *Introduction* to the first part of the document reinforces the statutory nature of the Standards by stipulating that:

These Standards are a rigorous set of expectations and set out the minimum legal requirement (TTA, 2003, p. 4).

The first part of the document contains the 'Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status and Requirements for Initial Teacher Training' (TTA, 2003). The concept of obligation, expressed as 'Standards' and 'Requirements' is thereby established *ab initio* and points to a set of rules which are intended to be powerful tools in the activity.

Power within the documents is expressed mostly through modality and in particular deontic modality used to express obligation through processes such as 'must', 'need to', or 'required to' and to offer the possibility of choice through processes such as 'might', 'may' or 'could'. Figure 1 shows the occurrence of modal operators within the texts: generally, those modals suggesting the strongest obligation appear more than those offering a weaker obligation. However, 'may' is ambiguous: it appears to offer choice, though is often used to express obligation, the implication being that the consequences of not acting in the suggested way will be unwelcome.

Word	Could	May	Might	Must	Need	Should
Occurrences	76	170	85	125	213	85
(/43,184 words)						

Table 1: Occurrences of deontic modality in the Standards document

Further obligation is pointed to through the use of processes and nominalisations such as such as 'require/requirement' (196 occurrences); 'responsible/responsibility' (58) and 'ensure' (111), which oblige participants to act in the activity in particular ways, the key ones of which are discussed below.

The central rule to emerge from the documents is that schools and their ITE providers are to work in partnership to prepare the student teacher for work in the profession (TTA, 2003, p. 17). From this rule are derived others which allocate responsibilities to providers. The Requirements section of the document (TTA, 2003) sets out what HEIs, subsumed as 'providers' of Initial Teacher Training, 'must' do in relation to working with students before and during their preparation as teachers.

Most of these obligations relate to management, administration and assessment of the course and the partnership, establishing a paradox whereby the HEI as provider is obliged to involve schools in the training (TTA, 2003, p. 17, R3.1) at the same time as being given the responsibility to make partnership work (TTA, 2003, p.17, R3.3), thereby appearing to establish the HEI as the more powerful partner.

The role of the HEI in ITE is set out in brief in the first part of the Standards document through a set of rules expressed as obligations using strong deontic modality. The second part of the document – the *Handbook* (ITA, 2004) – expands on the rules expressed in the first part and offers further detail on the ways in which the rules might be understood. For reasons of space, the discussion here is limited to the way the rules shape the role of the HEI in the ITE partnership.

As a 'provider' the HEI is required to carry out particular tasks in the activity. It 'must' ensure that trainees have the appropriate entry requirements and that the partnership is working 'effectively'. It is obliged (it 'must'), in consultation with partner schools, to 'design the content, structure and delivery of training...'(TTA, 2003 p. 16), and assess the course. However, there

may be tension here for HEIs as providers who have limited influence over what happens with students in schools and yet are made to take full responsibility for it.

The HEI must organise and administer the courses; assess students and moderate mentors; distribute funding; benchmark, monitor, assess and evaluate the course against local and national provision; provide access to resources; and lead the partnership by initiating the collaboration between school and HEI. In the case of the last requirement, the HEI is additionally responsible for drawing up the contract of partnership. The HEI is in this way positioned as the rule enforcer, financial manager and administrator of the activity.

All these requirements suggest a tension in the concept of partnership: if the HEI is given the responsibility for the administration, management, organization and assessment of the course, then, it may be argued, it is less a partnership of equals than an alliance of experts with power being distributed unequally. Power on the one hand appears to lie with the HEI in designing and assessing the course (albeit with the help of mentors), and in the distribution of funds; on the other hand, power might be seen to lie with schools who are not obliged to involve themselves in ITE, and over whose classroom work with students HEIs have only a limited influence. In addition, the consequences of not meeting the requirements are more serious for HEIs than they are for schools, especially in terms of funding. As will emerge in the next chapter, this arrangement causes tensions for those working in HEIs.

7.5 The conceptual tools drawn on in the Standards document

The main conceptual tools drawn on by the document are outlined in the *Introduction* to *Qualifying to Teach* (TTA, 2003). It was anticipated that they might be revealed through representational meanings within the text (Fairclough, 2003): that is, through the ways in which the world is represented through agency and space-time. According to Fairclough, (2003) this suggests an investigation of combinations of processes, participants and circumstances, or statements of who does what to whom (or what), when and where.

The key concepts to emerge from the Standards document seem to be those which relate to:

- The construct of the teacher
- Teaching as an activity
- The role of the HEI or training provider

Two other key concepts – of professionalism and continuing development – are discussed in section **7.6** below.

The *Introduction* to the Standards document offers an overview of how each of these is conceptualised, while the actual Standards develop that overview. However, before going on to explore the concepts, it is important to point out that within the study there appear to be different understandings of 'teacher'. The first understanding is of the qualified classroom teacher with two or more years experience and is the one which is probably the most common, though it does not form part of the present study. The second understanding is of a qualified person who works in the classroom with pupils and who also works with new entrants to the profession: this is the teacher who is the focus of the study, referred to as 'mentor'. The third understanding of 'teacher' is the ideal model that students are working towards with the help of the mentor: it is this understanding which is pointed to by 'teacher' in the Standards.

7.5.1 The construct of the teacher

Within the Standards document, teachers are conceptualised above all else as 'other': they are referred to by the third person plural pronoun 'they' throughout the Standards document, suggesting that the Standards are not written by teachers for fellow teachers, and that therefore teachers may not have ownership of or input to what constructs their practice. This sense of alienation is reinforced by the statement at the start of the document (see **7.3** above) that these are 'the Secretary of State's Standards' which teachers 'must' or 'are required to' meet. From this position, teachers may be conceptualised as tools for implementing policy.

The teacher is 'optimistic about what [her] pupils can achieve' (ITA, 2003, p. 3). She has skills as well as knowledge and understanding of pupils, subject matter, and of how learning is developed, and has 'high expectations' of pupils and their achievement. Statements about teachers are mostly expressed as 'they know/understand/are aware of/demonstrate/can/are able to' processes drawn from the cognitive domain and acted out within the classroom on pupils who are the object of their actions. This suggests a concept of the teacher as a person whose actions are directed to the goal of pupil learning and whose actions draw largely on cognitive tools.

Teachers are further conceptualised as members of a community which is concerned for pupils' learning and which therefore has high expectations of teachers, though the degrees of obligation are slightly different for teachers than for the community (teachers 'must'; others 'are entitled'):

It recognises the important part other people play in pupils' learning: in the classroom, the home and local community.

Just as teachers must have high expectations of their pupils, so pupils, parents and carers are entitled to have high expectations of teachers (TTA, 2003, p. 3).

Teachers are seen as influential in society, and they 'can and do make huge differences to children's lives' (TTA, 2003, p. 3). They are represented as models of 'behaviour, attitudes, [and] values' (ibid, p. 7) for pupils as well as being those responsible for pupils' understanding of the curriculum. Teachers have the qualities of respect and consideration for pupils and are able 'to communicate sensitively and effectively with parents and carers' (TTA, 2003, p. 7)

The choice of lexical fields drawn from a managerialist discourse (e.g., assess, achieve, deliver, effective), constructs the teacher as acting within a managerialist discourse and practice. Because

the Standards are the basic operating document within the practice of ITE, it may be difficult for mentors to resist the managerialist discourse in their everyday work: how far the mentors in the study actually appropriate or resist the discourse is discussed in Chapter 9.

Participants in the process of learning to teach are characterised as 'trainees' and 'providers', with the processes of teaching and learning combined as 'training'. 'Training', although the more common label in ITE for many years, suggests a model of teaching as a skill which can be taught through apprenticeship in which tasks are mastered through repeated practice. Training is 'provided' through schools, HEIs and other schemes, though the use of 'provided' implies a one way transaction. Training is also conceptualised as 'deliverable', suggesting a package, bounded and complete in itself, which is handed over with the minimum of interaction between deliverer and recipient and reinforcing the distance connoted by 'provider'.

Language use in the Standards document helps construct the model of the teacher particularly by masking agency through the use of nominalization, passive voices and military metaphor. Agency is masked by nominalizing processes – 'know' becomes 'knowledge'; 'understand' – 'understanding'; 'expect – expectation', for example – which hides the actor and renders the process inactive. Being a teacher thus appears to mean acquiring a toolkit which can be used in a classroom. The presentation of the Standards as a list of skills and values which are possessed or acquired by the teacher contributes to the conception of teaching and teacher training as a mechanical practice rather than a nurturing process.

Drawing on military metaphors is, from personal observation, a favoured mode of expression especially among young business men. Anecdotal evidence suggests that it has been noticed in government policy documents since the early 1980s, a time when the Prime Minister and media were focused on war in the Falklands and when market discourses were penetrating education policy. Five such metaphors in particular are evident in the Standards document: deploy (12 uses), train and its lemmas (trained, training, trainee, trainer) (1029), objective (50), target (28)

and hit the ground running (1). Together they suggest conflict and the preparation of troops for battle, rather than co-operation and preparation of teachers to assist learning.

In addition, the relationship between business language and military language suggests a masculine and warrior-like approach which may be appropriate for competitive business but which may not sit comfortably in many conceptualisations of teaching and learning, particularly those in which one might expect to find evidence of a focus on affect.

In summary, teachers are presented as skilled and knowledgeable professionals who use a toolkit of strategies to work with others on the object of pupil achievement. They are involved in continuous learning and they behave in ways which are consistent with their professional status (as understood in the Standards - see 7.6.4 below) in their relationships with colleagues, pupils and the wider community. They work in military-like ways within a discourse of managerialism to teach pupils and provide training for new entrants to the profession.

7.5.2 Teaching as an activity

The premise of the Standards document is that teaching is a profession in which there are high standards which must be met by those wishing to teach. The three ideas are linked in the *Foreword* which begins with an assertion in large point font that '[t]he teaching profession has never been in better shape. Teaching standards – already high – have been improving year on year...'(TTA, 2003, p. 1).

Teaching has 'professional values and practice' which are reducible to eight statements, set out as the initial Standards which underpin those which follow.

Teaching is a demanding (TTA, 2003, p. 1) activity which has pupil achievement and standards as its objects, and high expectations as a key tool. It is undertaken within a community which includes parents, carers and 'everyone else who has a stake in the education of our children' (TTA, 2003, p. 1) – a broad generalisation which might include the majority of the population, but which may be a way of including employers in the activity.

It is a 'creative, intellectually demanding and rewarding job' suggesting that those who do the job are intellectual and creative – though in what way is left to the reader to decide - and are looking for 'reward' from their work. It seems to be assumed by the writer that 'reward' will be understood by the reader as not just financial reward but also emotional or intellectual reward.

Because the work is creative, intellectually demanding and rewarding, says the *Introduction*, 'so the standards for joining the profession must be high, too'. There is here a conflation of concepts: through the mechanism of the adverbial 'too', creativity, intellectual demand and reward are equated with standards which are all together understood as 'high'.

Teaching appears to be presented as a predominantly cognitive activity through processes such as know, can, understand, select, identify, record, monitor and assess. Processes from the affective domain appear less frequently, as shown in Table 2, below.

Affective Markers	Number of	Cognitive Markers	Number of
	Occurrences/43,184		Occurrences/43,184
Attention*	6	Assess*	255
Aware*	55	Believe	1
Feel*	5	Identify*	45
Listen*	1	Know*	227
Respect	17	Organise*	27
Respond*	18	Reflect*	25
Responsible*	58	Think*	10
Sensitive	10	Understand*	137
Total: 8 words	170	Total: 8 words	727

Table 2: Comparison of occurrence of cognitive and affective markers in the Standards document (words marked * indicate that the word and its lemmas have been counted)

Teaching – and teacher training - is conceptualised as an activity which is capable of being inspected, managed and quality assured, all of which processes imply measurability, accountability and managerialist approaches. Teaching, then, is seen as an activity to which business or market

concepts can be appropriately applied, which may entail that other aspects of the market – competition, for example – are part of the conceptualisation of teaching, though no argument is presented as to why or how these concepts might help pupil achievement.

7.6 The discourses drawn on in the Standards document

Because of the legal status of the document, rules for the use of language tools and for the preparation of new teachers often appear to be in the hands of Government. However, there appears to be some scope for resistance at individual level, as discussed in Chapter 8. In this section, attention is drawn to the key discourses to emerge from the documents.

7.6.1 Managerial discourse

As discussed in Chapter 2, the discourse of global economics frames other key discourses within government policy, in particular, the discourse of managerialism (Olssen *et al*, 2004). Ozga *et al* (2006) point out that for the World Bank, education has a key role to play in global economics. One way that government can influence the ways that education is thought about is by writing policy implementation documents in discourses deriving from the dominant discourses of policy making, such as managerialism.

Managerial discourse incorporates market discourse and presupposes that all work is market-oriented and manageable. Key words within the discourse, drawn from Fairclough (2000), Mahony and Hextall (2000) and Walsh (2006) are clearly identifiable within the Standards document: occurrences are listed in Table 3, below.

Keyword	Occurences/43,184 tokens (2,455
	types)
Account*	54
Achieve*	104
Appropriate*	72
Assess*	255
Benchmark*	11
Choice*	16
Competent*	16

Deliver*	15
Demonstrate	170
Design*	36
Effective*	99
Efficient	4
Expectations	54
(High expectations)	20
Goals	8
Manage*	70
Monitor*	34
New	19
Outcome*	10
Partnership*	73
Perform*	34
Quality	45
Relevant	168
Standard(s)	430
Successful	17
Target *	28
Train*	1029
Total	2850

Table 3: Occurrences of key markers of managerial discourse (words marked * indicate that the base form and its lemmas are counted as one word).

The markers of managerial discourse comprise 6.6% of the total number of different words used in the Standards document, which suggests that education is being understood by government as, at least in part, a managerial practice. As government appears to be the dominant voice in education at the moment, the use of managerial discourse rather than teachers' education discourse within which to frame policy suggests that education is conceptualised by government as commodified and marketised.

When interrogated, many of the words and phrases drawn from dominant discourses in government policy appear to be content-empty and are often accepted unquestioningly because they appear to be common sense though they may be understood in different ways by the different members of the ITE community. These 'hollow words' (Füredi, 2006) or 'empty' words, as I shall call them, tend to be drawn from managerial discourses and include 'standards',

'high expectations', 'effective', 'relevant', 'successful', 'appropriate', 'quality', 'competent'. The high incidence of the word 'standard*', may be explained by the fact that the document is setting out the Standards for ITE and refers to them in the preamble of the text as well as cross-referring between Standards. Nonetheless, it is suggested that to call the list of attributes of a trained teacher 'Standards' is a way of playing into policy discourses of managerialism which pervade public policies: it seems to be directed towards ensuring that non-education stakeholders believe that right from the start of their career, teachers have a particular (implicitly high) level of knowledge, skills and values which can only 'drive up' pupils achievement.

By using ambiguous or empty words and phrases such as 'quality', 'creative*', 'effective', 'successful', 'competent', or 'provider', the authors can control meanings and understandings within the documents, which can shift as required. Similarly the use of apparently 'common sense' language such as 'Standards', 'efficient', 'effective', 'high expectations', 'responsible*', 'professional', is difficult to argue with. No teacher sets out to be inefficient or unprofessional, but by including the modifiers, the idea is created that there might be such teachers.

7.6.2 Partnership

As discussed in Chapter 2, according to Fairclough, (2000) the concept of partnership is key in New Labour discourse. Within the Standards, it is embedded as central to the way that ITE is organised and to how teaching is understood. It emerges explicitly as partnership between schools and HEI providers for ITE; and implicitly as partnership between teachers and 'the local community', 'parents or carers' or 'other people'. However, as discussed in 7.4 above, the idea is problematic as it is used in ITE: although it is presented as a concept, there is little evidence of a real discourse of partnership. Rather, the concept is mandated as an apparent means of working together in practice, while the language tools for instrumentalising the concept are absent.

7.6.3 Professionalism

Professionalism in teaching appears to be asserted rather than argued: the document uses the word and its lemmas 108 times (in a total of 43,184 words) with seven of those occurrences appearing in the *Foreword* (TTA, 2003) on p 1: teaching is presupposed to be a profession and that presupposition is reinforced by repetition of the concept in relation to teaching. Asserting that teaching is a profession gives apparent status to teachers while allowing the idea to be used Humpty Dumpty-like to mean what people want it to mean. The government's view of what is involved for teachers in being 'professional' emerges from the organisation of, and assumptions in, the document: the Standards are organised so that the 'professional values' appear first in the text and underpin the remaining Standards.

The Professional Values and Practice Standards – S1.1.- S1.8 (ITA, 2003, p. 7) – set out the kinds of qualities which demonstrate teachers' professionalism: respect and consideration for others; contribution to 'the corporate life of schools'; motivation; commitment to the work of the school and finally the ability 'to take increasing responsibility for their own development as teachers'. The discussions of professionalism in Chapter 2 suggested that one of the key elements of professionalism was informed decision making which might be understood to include agentive decision making about what is learned, when and how. It seems, therefore, that there is some attempt in the Standards to construct teachers as professionals in ways which might meet teachers' own understandings of the word.

7.6.4 Reflective Practice

Reflective practice within the Standards document is conceptualised as professional development. Teachers are expected to take 'increasing responsibility' for their professional development (TTA, 2003, p. 7) The use of the modifier 'increasing' suggests that, at least at the start of their career, teachers are unable to take full responsibility for their own learning, and there is no suggestion that they will be able to take full control. Who has shared responsibility

with them for their development after initial training is left open: it may be their colleagues, managers or the TDA (Training and Development Agency, formerly the TTA).

Teacher education is linked with professionalism by being labelled 'professional development', and is seen as a continuum which begins with Qualified Teacher Status (TTA, 2003, p. 3). By describing teachers' learning trajectories as 'professional development' government is warranting the teacher as a professional, albeit within an understanding of the term which might be contested by some. Nonetheless, it may reflect a desire on the part of the government to go some way to meeting teachers' desires to be understood as acting participants in education.

Teachers are expected to play 'an active role in their early professional development and performance management and that of their colleagues' (*ibid*). It may be argued that this link between development and performance management is an uneasy one, though a counterargument might be that there is a clear link between improving one's classroom work and taking responsibility for acquiring the learning needed to do that.

The issue of teacher professional development feeds into two particular discourses, both of which express heavily managed approaches to learning. The first is the government's discourse of 'lifelong learning', which is, among other things, a mechanism for developing flexibility in the national workforce so that workers can be moved between practices more readily (Olssen *et al*, 2004, p. 190). The second is the teachers' discourse of 'reflective practice', discussed in Chapter 2. In its present form, an individual teacher's reflective practice may feed back into the whole school but much of the direction of the reflection is achieved through performance management rather than through consideration of the social practice of learning.

7.7 How the Standards documents afford or constrain mentor subjectivities

As the document makes clear, government policy positions teachers – and mentors are teachers first - as working for the good of society as a whole, in consultation with 'other people'

who have a stake in education. Teaching is firmly rooted in the wider society through statements such as 'Teaching is one of the most influential professions in society' (p. 3) and through references to the 'local community' (p. 3) as having 'an important part to play in pupils' learning'. The local community is 'entitled to have high expectations of teachers' (p. 3) which entails the community having a say in the way that teachers work with pupils. Teachers are therefore seen as people working to foster pupil achievement in accordance with society's wishes.

However, teachers as mentors are absent from the Standards except as 'school partners'; 'school-based tutors' or 'staff' with whom providers work in partnership and their roles are left largely undefined. The focus is rather on how providers manage those mentors with whom they work: that is, mentors are seen as material tools which appears to limit their agency.

The main function of those involved in ITE is to ensure that student teachers are able to meet the Standards for QTS using the rules set out in the Standards document. In Figures 18 and 19 I attempt to model government's understanding of teaching and teacher education, as revealed in the Standards document, in the Activity Theory heuristic. Notably absent from the 'Community' of either model is the General Teaching Council for England, an organisation which was established to meet teachers' need for a representative body such as those which represented the legal and medical professions and which might, in that capacity, be expected to take an active part in the practices of teaching and teacher education in England.

7.8 Some concluding remarks

The Standards document presents a view of the activities of teaching and teacher education which appears to draw heavily on a managerialist perspective of the activities. It seems to minimise or even ignore, affective aspects of the activities, particularly in ITE, such as those identified in **3.2.1**. It presents, rather, a particular view of the ideal qualified teacher and ways that those involved in ITE might manage and organize courses which should create qualified teachers. Because it avoids these affective aspects of the training, there is potential for tension

between the government perspective of the activity and the individual perspectives of mentors and HEI providers. The next chapter offers some insights into how the HEI tutors in the study appear to see the activity of ITE; draws out the ways that they seem to appropriate or resist the rules and tools provided by the Standards document, and suggests how they might conceptualise the mentor.

Figure 18: Government construction of teacher subjectivity in the activity of teaching as revealed by the Standards document

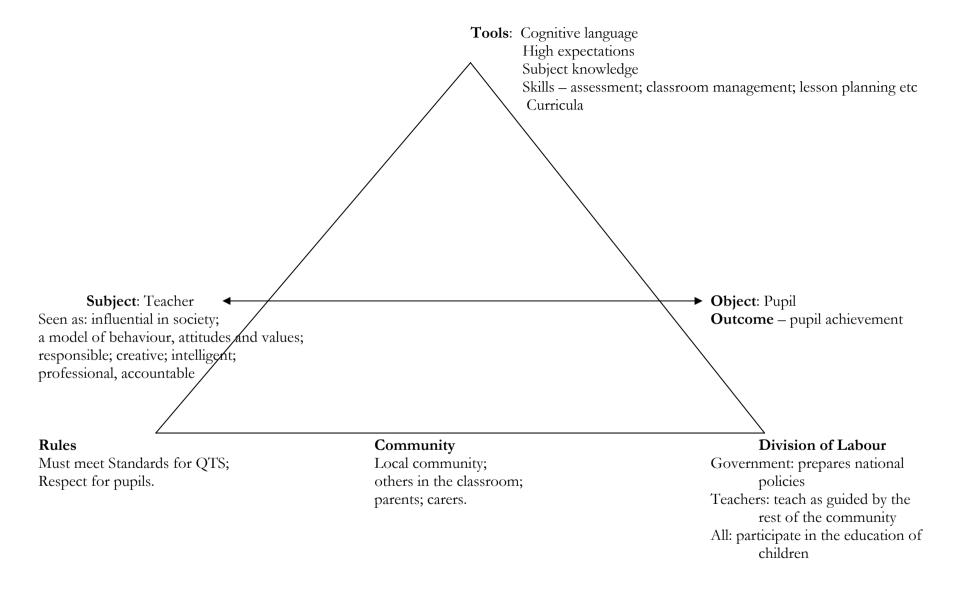
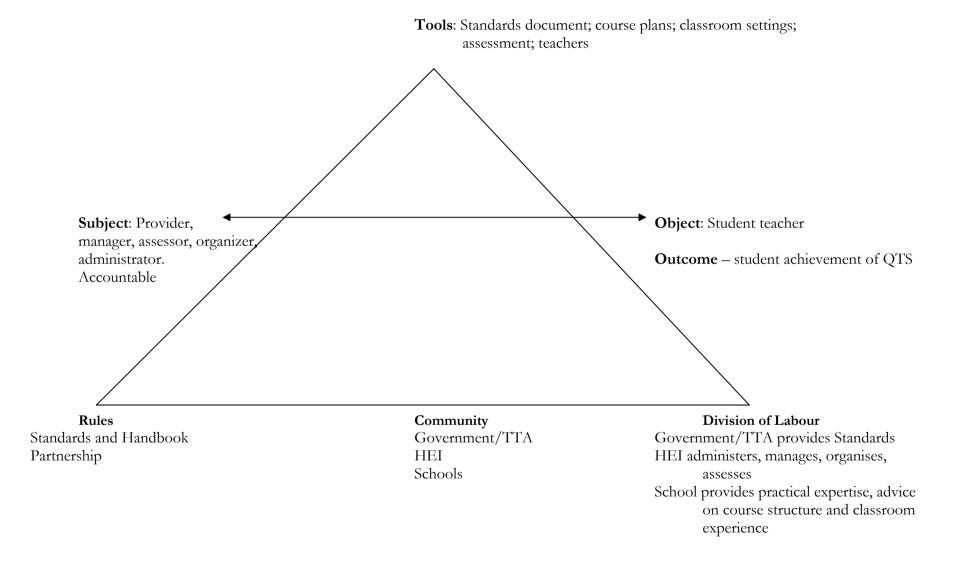


Figure 19: Government construction of HEIs as subjects in the activity of ITE as revealed by the Standards document .



CHAPTER 8

HOW TUTORS IN HEI UNDERSTAND MENTORING ROLES

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to show how far the Course Tutors in the two HEIs in the study drew on the rules, concepts and language of the Standards document in their discussion of mentoring and whether they bring other tools and rules into the activity of ITE to afford or constrain mentor identities. In addition, through the analysis and discussion, attention is drawn to any tensions that emerge for the HEI tutors between their rules, tools and concepts, and those of the Standards document.

The focus is on the data collected from Midshires University as the partner HEI to Middlemarch School, where Celia and James, the two mentors discussed in Chapters 9 and 10, work. However, some data from Ledshire University is drawn on to highlight the different ways of working in PGCE partnerships and to refine understandings of what it means to work in ITE from the perspective of the participants from the two HEIs.

8.2 Outline of the two HEIs

8.2.1 Midshires University

Midshires was set on a campus on the edge of a Midlands market town in a rural county. It was a small establishment that had begun as a teacher training college in the 1950s and developed to become a university post-1992. It seemed to have retained much of the ethos of a small teacher training college, though it had expanded into other specialisms.

The focus of the work in the University was teaching, but, increasingly, research was carried out there. However, at the time of the study, the PGCE Course Tutors were more strongly focussed on teaching than research. Unlike their colleagues at Ledshire, they reported no tension between teaching and research roles.

The two tutors from this partnership, who are called Alan and Barbara for the purpose of the study, both began their careers as classroom teachers and spent several years in that role, though, like all the tutors in the study, both had left the classroom before compliance became such a powerful rule in schools. Though neither had a doctorate at the time of the interview, both had Masters level degrees. Attention is drawn to this because the mentors interviewed for the study had a perception of HEI tutors as being academics working at a high theoretical level with little experience of the 'realities' of the classroom.

8.2.1 Ledshire University

By contrast with Midshires, Ledshire University was set in the leafy suburbs of a large industrial Midlands city, and, although campus based, was a much larger pre-1992 institution with a strong research ethos. The data suggested that this emphasis on research created tension for the Course Tutors here as they tried to balance the pressures to research with those of teaching.

Three tutors from Ledshire were interviewed: Colin, Ellie and Fran who were all Course Tutors, though Ellie had the additional role of specialist mentor trainer. Ellie was the only participant in the study to have a doctorate, but like all the other tutors, she had begun her career in education as a classroom teacher.

8.3 Rules used by the HEI

Rules for acting in ITE in use in both HEIs appeared to relate mostly to how partnerships were formed and sustained, and to how work was distributed within the partnership.

8.3.1 Partnership

Barbara seemed to understand the partnership as a three way one between tutor, mentor and student, while Alan discussed partnership as a contract between school and HEI. For the Ledshire partnership, it was a contractual relationship between school and HEI: Fran, Course Tutor, Ledshire, described the process by which schools became partners with Ledshire. Schools within the local area were invited each year to participate in ITE, and schools could respond to the invitation with offers of partnership in specific subjects. Offers were accepted according to how many students began the PGCE course, so subject areas could be over- or undersubscribed. The course leader at Midshires described a similar process in that partnership.

For all the tutors there appeared to be a rule that they must work with the schools who volunteered to work in partnership for ITE. There was no duty for schools to involve themselves in ITE and HEIs were concerned that there was a shortage of schools who would work with them. This became problematic for the tutors because they needed so many placement schools that they could not afford to turn away any volunteers. This played out as the HEIs having to make compromises in what mentors were asked to do with students and emerged as potential tension for students between what the HEI wanted them to do and what the school wanted them to do. Alan, for example, was aware that:

...we do get schools that tend to constrain significantly [what students can do but that] because we are expanding our numbers we cannot afford to [not use weak mentors]. What we need to do is make weak mentors into proper mentors.

(Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires)

Barbara endorsed this point of view. When asked whether she could move a student from a school where she was not getting the training Barbara hoped for, Barbara responded:

We haven't got enough schools to do it. We certainly haven't got enough placements given. [...] We don't have a surplus of schools so it really is not so much 'How do I select?'. It is 'How do I try to improve ones I wouldn't otherwise have been using?'.

(Barbara, Course Tutor, Midshires)

8.3.2 Partnership and Division of Labour

The data appeared to show that those rules the tutors most drew on related to how the work would be divided between the mentor and the HEI. The main set of rules used by both HEIs to frame their work was the Standards document and a core requirement in the Standards was that schools and HEI providers worked in partnership. In the data from the Midshires tutors, this seemed to be played out both as encouraging mentors to share practice:

I got a couple of mentors who I know did particularly good programmes [...] to talk at professional mentor meetings about what they did and then we got people interviewed and said 'Just share what you actually do'.

(Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires)

and as working collaboratively:

...I do try very much to bring them into it and regard it as a partnership in that we have a supportive role, mutually supportive roles. We work collaboratively and they [mentors] do have a huge responsibility both to work within the constraints set down by the Teacher Training Agency and the Standards and so on.

(Barbara, Course Tutor, Midshires)

However, within the partnership there appeared to be distinct roles for the mentor and for the HEI. The Midshires Science tutor involved the mentors in the writing of handbooks but saw it as her responsibility to take the initiative in writing and producing them.

I decided that we had got to the point where the best way to go back over some of this stuff without the long-serving mentors feeling 'Here we go again' was to involve them in producing some new materials for a new mentor handbook. So the focus for the mentor meeting this year has been [...] 'I want us to focus on the issues between this part of the placement, this part of the year, and I have got a few questions to support it, but ultimately I want to take away what you're telling me and use that to go into a mentor handbook. If you see these as issues, let's see if we can get the advice and put that into the first section of the handbook'. So we've done that on two occasions. And I am putting these together.

(Barbara, Course Tutor, Midshires)

Barbara's pronoun use here may point to rules that appeared to underpin how she viewed the division of labour with mentors. Although on the surface she seemed to be trying to show how she worked in partnership by giving an example of how she and mentors have both ('we') contributed to the handbook, her pronoun and process use demonstrated that she saw it to be her job to manage and lead the group working on it. She said 'I want us...', suggesting that she was taking the lead in the collaboration; then 'I want to take away...' and 'I am putting these together', pointing to processes in which she was the only actor. She went on to shift between describing what 'I' do and what 'you' (mentors) do, suggesting a view of division of labour in which jointly agreed ideas were materialised by Barbara. She then slightly modified this

understanding by suggesting that the mentors gave direction to her to do the administrative work in the partnership:

They have been very good, but the first meeting we talked through all the issues and ultimately they said 'Most of the stuff is in there somewhere. What we want is a two page laminate that says "Page...Week one...These are the key issues, this is where to find the stuff in the handbook. We don't want more. We don't want another handbook to tell us about it. We accept it is there somewhere. We just want the easy user guide, the way in".

(Barbara, Course Tutor, Midshires)

At Ledshire there appeared to be a similar division of labour. Colin, Course Tutor, Ledshire said that the HEI provided for mentors 'various documentation in terms of guiding mentors how they support their students' as well as 'a structure to train the students'. His focus was on enabling mentors to teach students:

It is how you enable [...] the mentors to allow them to teach students, not just be friends. And a connected...a sort of more basic issue just to even do with support is how you enable new mentors for instance to comment analytically on the pedagogy of lessons.

(Colin, Course Tutor, Ledshire)

For Colin, then, the role of the tutor was to support and enable the mentor who was teaching the student, suggesting the Russian doll model posited by Tomlinson (1995). His pronoun use – 'you' – suggested that he was reflecting on how this was done by most tutors, and pointing to a

model of the tutor as enabler. However, where Tomlinson (1995) saw the tutor as teacher, Colin appeared to see his role as 'very much [...] to be the support element. It's about being supportive to the mentor'.

When it came to making unpleasant decisions, Ellie (Ledshire) appeared to feel that HEIs were almost manipulated into making them. She commented that:

In terms of the power relationship, I tend to feel that we have the power in, it sounds awful, but we have the power and the mentors do not want it, in the sense that if there are problems or if anyone has to say anything nasty to the students, that is when we are called in with the power.

Barbara (Midshires) suggested that as the HEI tutor, she had greater authority in the training relationships than the mentor. Following her discussion of the preparation of the handbook, she went on to say that she felt she needed to remind the mentors of the dual aspect of her own role: being a 'tough enforcer' as well as a helper:

Because one is me reminding them of, if you like, the tough end of the contractual obligation and the other is being helpful when the need has arisen from their perspective instead.

(Barbara, Course Tutor, Midshires)

This led her on to talk about how she saw the handbook as being a tool for reinforcing authority, and more specifically to be a tool for mentors to use to show that the mentor and tutor were working together:

We say it every year but I felt for the sake of the mentor who ends up with the less sensitive or the less good trainee. I wanted it in writing so that they could use my authority if you like, to say 'Look. It was in the book. I am not being tough: this was what the course expects of you'. I mean, the mentors were too nice sometimes to invoke it, but I am actually trying to give them a framework that they could invoke to make their life easier if they need.

(Barbara, Course Tutor, Midshires)

There appeared then to be some tension in the ways that Barbara used the tool of the handbook. Not only was it a memorandum of the agreed roles of the partners, but it was also a rule book to guide mentors' work; a tool through which partnership could be negotiated; and a tool which both tutors and mentors could use to enforce desired behaviour. The handbook became a way of apparently avoiding collaborative construction of work in mentoring and became instead a symbol of division of responsibilities within the partnership: a way of directing how mentors might work on students rather than a memorandum of how student needs might be responded to.

There appeared, however, to be different understandings of the tutor – mentor relationship among the tutors at Ledshire. Fran commented on what she called managerial approaches:

I always hesitate to push mentors too far. I don't know it's my business really. Some of my colleagues are much more managerial with regard to their mentors. And I don't know whether my mentors would welcome that. I've never asked them. Perhaps I should.

(Fran, Course Tutor, Ledshire)

She here appeared to suggest that she was reluctant to direct mentors in their work, while at the same time appearing to avoid working with mentors to reach an understanding of what the mentor role was.

Ellie (Ledshire) appeared to work within Furlong and Maynard's (1995) reflective practice model. She felt that 'mentors seem to have a bit of difficulty [...] actually looking at possible strategies forward' with students and that it was her responsibility to 'work out an action plan and actually put down a list of things that the student needs to do' suggesting that she understood the role of the university tutor as being to take a longer perspective of the student's learning needs and to point to ways that the mentor could shift her ways of working to better guide the student. Once again, however, although there was a suggestion in Ellie's approach that she wanted to collaborate with mentors to assist the student, there is nonetheless a sense that tutors and mentors have different roles in ITE.

8.3.3 Mentor development

There appeared to be some tension within Midshires about whose role it was to develop mentors. Alan believed that not all tutors at Midshires saw it as their role to develop them, though he himself did take on that work. Barbara (Midshires) and Fran (Ledshire) appeared to enter this role but to conflate mentor development and professional development. When talking about a school which had not been offering students the kind of development they would like, Barbara said:

And so I saw on this occasion it was my opportunity to do some real mentor training in parallel with supporting the students and I have said that to the students as well, "There's an issue here. I don't want it to go on any longer and with your co-operation I'll try to move the mentor forward as well'. But it's always going to be like that.

(Barbara, Course Tutor, Midshires)

The use of 'real' in Barbara's comment suggested that she did not regard the usual twilight mentor meetings (those sessions held shortly after the end of the school day) as meaningful work with mentors. Once again, though, her comment pointed to the idea that the tutor's role was to develop mentors to act on students, pointing to a view of the mentor as instrument in ITE rather than co-learner. In this apparently directive model of the tutor-mentor relationship, then, there are few spaces in which the pedagogic role of the mentor can be developed: her agency is limited and her learning needs ignored.

Fran, Course Tutor, Ledshire, was uncertain about where responsibility to develop mentors lay:

...the degree to which we need to take responsibility at the university end of things for developing those mentors because [...] one is not actually developing them as mentors, one is developing them as practitioners. Where should that responsibility lie?

(Fran, Course Tutor, Ledshire)

However, Ellie and Colin seemed to suggest that within the PGCE course at Ledshire, there appeared to be agreement that at least some of the responsibility for developing mentors lay with the tutors, and in particular with a specialist Mentor Trainer. Mentors must have attended the training sessions before being allowed to work with students:

They have to come on the initial mentor workshop unless sometimes if they have done their mentor training with another institution, we would accept that.

(Ellie, Course Tutor, Ledshire)

Mentor training, led by Ellie as specialist trainer, involved:

...Two twilight sessions, 5 to 8, generic twilight sessions which are really just getting the surface of looking at what their responsibilities are, how the partnership works. Starting off with our expectations and trying to create joint expectations about basic things like lesson observations and a weekly mentor meeting, and also what is actually...what their expectations of a newly qualified teacher at the end of the PGCE course might be. So trying to set goals in place.

(Ellie, Course Tutor, Ledshire)

Although Ellie suggested that the preparation to be a mentor involved jointly agreed rules and concepts or expectations, she nonetheless pointed to HEI rule-making as she commented that she began the training by establishing the HEI expectations as a frame for the joint construction of ways of working.

Ellie was keen to foster a discursive approach to preparing mentors – she comments 'I think for me one of the most important things at that stage is actually to keep saying 'we' meaning all of us, not 'we' the university' – but was frustrated that training took place at the end of the academic year before the handbooks were prepared. In her role as subject tutor, she felt that training was 'a case of getting to know the people and getting them to know us. Handing out specific [subject] paperwork'. 'Paperwork' here appeared to refer to the various handbooks in use in the partnership, which, though developed over time in discussion with mentors, were, once again, given to mentors as a set of rules and guides.

Mentor training, then, appeared to mean induction into the HEI's ways of understanding teacher preparation and schools' role within that practice.

8.3.4 Other rules

In Ledshire, where the pressures to produce research appeared to be stronger, Colin suggested that his rule was to prioritise work in ITE over producing research:

So for instance if you think like me, if there is a tension between getting an article done or even writing for the PhD that is not... that is never prior over a student who is in trouble.

(Colin, Course Tutor, Ledshire)

Ellie, too, commented on the tension she felt between the research and teaching aspects of her work:

I was saying, I need more research time just to read and build up some conceptualising and I did. And I was told people only produce one article a year and I am thinking, 'My god! I will be lucky if I do one in two years if I am going to do something really good'. And it is product, product, product. Trundle it out and never mind the what the quality is.

(Ellie, Course Tutor, Ledshire)

Both HEIs in the study draw heavily on the requirements for QTS in the Standards to guide their work. For example, Alan (Midshires) was concerned to ensure that students were able to teach the whole age range and be independent in the classroom across that range. However, there appeared to be some tension for him here about the effect of the rules on schools, with whom he appeared to identify through his use of 'we':

...the Standards say that the students have to teach the whole age range and because we are so heavily Ofsteded as schools, that's one of the things that they bang on about. You know mentors have actually been confronted with that on a fairly regular basis [...] the new Standards say that you have to be able to teach independently at each key stage, so that's a little more difficult to do now.

(Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires)

Barbara (Midshires) also used as a rule the obligation of mentors to attend twilight meetings, though she acknowledged that there was some tension between her understanding of the rule and the mentors':

The ideal for me would be that if they were a mentor they come to every meeting because there were issues to do with the beginning of the year and what experiences the students have in the first bit of the year which impact on how you interact with them in the second part of the year. And yet there will still be schools who will only come after Christmas because they only ever have students in the second placement.

[...] But the way it was done in the twilight sessions here there was an element, even though they get the money, there was an element of 'It was optional for me' in their mindset...

(Barbara, Course Tutor, Midshires)

8.3.5 Summarising remarks

Rules that HEI tutors drew on in the activity of ITE related mostly to how partnership would be managed and organised. The Standards document seemed to provide rules which appeared to be important in providing the basic management and administrative frame within

which ITE could take place. However, though some tutors espoused a concept of collaboration with mentors, they tended to use more managerial concepts of partnership. This left few spaces for work to develop the pedagogic purposes of mentoring with mentors.

8.4 Language used by the HEI tutors

In this section, the data relating to language is discussed in three main areas: cognitive and affective markers; managerial discourse and other language features. In the light of the language used by the tutors, evidence of the conceptual tools they appeared to use is discussed in **8.5**.

8.4.1 Cognitive and affective markers

From the reading of the literature, and in particular that relating to the relationship model of mentoring, it had been anticipated that Course Tutors might be concerned with both the cognitive and affective aspects of student and mentor development, which might be revealed through language choices. However, a *Wordsmith* analysis of each tutor's interview data seemed to suggest that Course Tutors were more focussed on the cognitive aspects of learning than the affective as shown in Table 4 below.

Affective markers	Number of occurrences/44,611		Cognitive markers	Number of occurrences/44,611	
	(Government in			(Government in	
	brackets/43,184)			brackets/43,184)	
Attention*	0	(6)	Assess*	11	(255)
Aware*	5	(55)	Believe	8	(1)
Feel*	49	(5)	Identify*	4	5)
Listen*	3	(1)	Know*	192	(227)
Respect	10	(17)	Organise*	16	(27)
Respond*	37	(18)	Reflect*	5	(25)
Responsible*	5	(58)	Think*	423	(10)
Sensitive	3	(10)	Understand*	40	(137)
Total: 8 words	112	(170)	Total: 8 words	699	(727)

Table 4: Use of cognitive and affective markers by HEI tutors

The high incidence of 'think' should be interpreted cautiously: a concordancing of the uses shows that all tutors used the phrase 'I think' frequently to signal that they were expressing an opinion. For example, in the case of those tutors with the highest usage of the word 'think' (Alan, Ellie and Fran), in Alan's case, only nine of his uses of 'think' related to encouraging thought processes in others rather than signalling an opinion; in Fran's case, it was three and in Ellie's, four. When tutors did use 'think' in the sense of encouraging thought in others, it appeared to point to the concept of reflective practice, for which, argued Alan, as far as the tutors were concerned, there was too little time:

And that was the problem in teaching: you do not often get the chance to sit down and think about what you were doing. [...] They will be much better next year with their student teachers because they will have thought through what they could do and why they could do it...

(Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires)

Although tutors appeared to be suggesting that the affective processes of care, support, and nurturing were important to a mentor's work, the *Wordsmith* analysis suggested that they did not draw much on affective language, though 'support*' emerges quite strongly in both institutions: Alan uses the word 6 times; Ellie, 10; Fran, 3; Colin, 7 and Barbara 10, though not necessarily in reference to mentors' work with student teachers.

For Barbara, (Midshires) support was mutual between mentor and tutor: it was 'a partnership in which we have a supportive role, a mutually supportive role', although she did later in the interview talk about support for the student too. Alan, though, seemed to summarise how the tutors saw the balance of cognitive and affective approaches when he said:

Which was lovely – don't get me wrong. The emotional support bit was I'm sure much needed but actually we want them to learn to teach better. So we were trying to see if we could use the paired placement to improve the actual range and diversity of the teaching as well just to give them emotional support.

(Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires)

8.4.2 Language of the Standards document

Since the tutors drew on the Standards document to guide their work in ITE, it might be expected that they were appropriating the language of the Standards when talking about their work. Ellie, Course Tutor, Ledshire feels that the paperwork in use in the partnership reflects the Standards document:

But I have to say that I am a bit concerned that our paperwork is moving more towards just quoting the TTA and ticking the boxes, whereas at least we did used to translate it.

(Ellie, Course Tutor, Ledshire)

However, as was apparent in Table 5 below, a computer word count of tutors' interview data suggested that the key words which point to the discourse of managerialism - which was strongly apparent in the Standards document - were rarely used by the tutors.

	Mid	shires	Ledshire			Government
Keyword	Alan/12,816	Barbara/8,395	Colin/3,531	Ellie/11,639	Fran/8,230	/43,184
Account*	1	0	0	0	0	54
Achieve*	0	0	0	4	0	104
Assess*	1	1	1	5	3	255
Benchmark*	0	0	0	0	0	11
Choice*	0	0	1	10	3	16
Deliver*	0	2	0	0	1	15
Demonstrate	0	0	0	0	0	170
Design*	6	0	1	0	0	36
Effective*	2	0	1	1	0	99
Efficient	0	0	0	0	1	4

Goals	0	1	0	1	0	8
Manage*	2	4	2	8	5	70
Monitor*	0	0	0	1	1	34
New	4	16	5	18	5	19
Outcome*	0	1	0	0	0	10
Partnership*	10	4	1	5	4	73
Perform*	2	0	0	0	0	34
Target *	2	5	1	2	1	28
Train*	12	29	16	19	15	1029

Table 5: Comparison of the use of key words from the Standards document by tutors and government (* indicates that the word and its lemmas were counted)

'New' – identified by Fairclough (2000) as a key word in New Labour discourse, appeared less frequently as a lexical item in the data from the tutors than in government data, but was nonetheless one of the key words that they did appear to use. However, closer scrutiny of the data shows that when the tutors did use the word, it was likely to be linked with new mentors, people, ideas, TTA Standards, forms and handbooks: that is, it described changes in personnel and material tools rather than in concepts or structures. The shifting personnel and paperwork to which the tutors pointed suggested that there was a sense of instability within the partnerships, and in fact all tutors commented on how mentors rarely stayed long in the post.

The appropriation of the metaphor 'train' was perhaps unsurprising given that colleges specialising in the preparation of teachers were for a long time known as Teacher Training Colleges. It might therefore be argued that the concept of training for teachers has long been embedded and that other descriptions of the activity, such as 'preparation' or 'education' may be more recent terms used by some in education to contest what was implicit in the concept of training.

'Manage' as a process was used in two distinct ways. Collocated with 'to' it was a synonym for 'succeed'; as a transitive verb it pointed to an action done to another person or object. 'Management' was modified by tutors by either 'middle' or 'senior' and only occurred four times in relation to behaviour or classroom management, whereas government data showed that

'management' was used mostly in relation to classrooms. It appeared from this that although the concept of management appeared in the HEI data relatively frequently, it had more to do with job role than with the business concept of managing situations.

Although tutors did not use the word 'effective' in their discussions of the mentors and teachers they worked with, they did apply the modifier 'good' to them. In the same way that 'effective' was an apparently empty word, 'good' often appeared to be semantically empty when applied to mentors or teachers: what constituted 'good' was defined only in limited ways to include concepts of creativity, subversion and lack of passivity (8.5.2).

8.4.5 Other language features

A *Wordsmith* analysis of the tutors' spoken data and the Standards document written data showed that the average length of tutors' lexical choices ranged from 4.13 to 4.01, compared with the average length of government choices: 5.25. This suggested that tutors preferred shorter, simpler words than government, for which one explanation may be that they had developed linguistic styles which were more suited to work with children. They also tended to prefer non-Latinate language (as for example 'good' rather than 'effective'), again, suggesting styles developed through work with children. However, the Standards document, being a written document might be expected to use a higher register language than tutors' spoken interviews.

8.5 Conceptual tools used by the HEI tutors

The conceptual tools that the tutors drew on in mentoring could be clustered round four main models: of teaching, teachers, mentoring and mentors. The data appeared to suggest that models of teaching informed the other models: what made good mentoring practice derived from comparisons and contrasts with good teaching practice.

In this section, the models that emerge from the HEI data are set out with the aim, in Chapter 9, of comparing and contrasting these models with those of the Standards document and the mentors in the study. When reading some of the comments, though, it may be useful to bear

in mind that data were collected in 2003, shortly before new pay structures and workforce remodelling for teachers were introduced.

8.5.1 Models of teaching

Central to Midshires' tutors' models of teaching were concepts of enjoyment of working with people and in particular with children. For Alan, teaching was first of all about working with people and having the independence and autonomy to design one's own ways of working. Having acknowledged that the comparatively low pay structures in teaching were compensated for by longer holidays, he commented:

... I have always wanted to work with people. The notion of being stuck in an office job having hardly anyone to talk to would drive me potty. I think that there's a lot of independence [...] probably more so in those days but even so even now once you get in the classroom with your door shut and your lesson plans and your kids...It's about what you do...

(Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires)

Alan narrowed down his generalised concept of teaching as working with people, to understanding it as working with children to make a difference to their lives. He believed that 'education could change the world rather than just reproduce it'; that children 'were fun' and should be challenged to 'think properly' – though he did not expand on what that entailed. He was interested less in engaging pupils with his subject matter than with converting them, as he put it, 'into better people in inverted commas'.

For Barbara, (Midshires) too, 'being excited about the kids' and working with children to make a difference to their lives was central to her understanding of teaching:

...ultimately, my bottom line was my concern for the kids and the experience they get.

[...] It was what has kept me involved in education all that time: a crazy desire to make a change at the individual level. The sort of thing I scoff at when I see it written on an application form. And that was the fire that drives whatever I am approaching and where I am coming from. [...] In terms of pedagogy it was to do with meeting the needs of the individual learner, whatever that happens to mean. [...] It was making a connection with individual children and making a difference.

(Barbara, Course Tutor, Midshires)

Barbara here showed that she had appropriated some of the language of the Standards document – 'individual learner'; meeting the needs of the individual learner' – but suggested that, while she could slot the phrases into coherent sentences, she was doing so without understanding the underlying concept: 'In terms of pedagogy, it was to do with meeting the needs of the individual learner, whatever that happens to mean'.

Alan spoke on several occasions about the importance of debate in teaching. He believed that, particularly in the sixth form:

...you use the lessons for debate, discussion to encourage them to go and read and study themselves [...] I know you English teachers...but where else would you get people discussing things like cloning and issues of morality relating to abortion or contraception or health? I mean there are such a lot of issues biologically that you could get kids to debate and take a real interest in if you bother to structure them.

(Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires)

Learning then appeared to be about independent investigation and entering debates; teaching appeared to involve finding ways to foster independence and engagement with debate.

Alan understood teaching as safe, institutionalised performance:

The other thing about it I suppose was that it is an acting kind of job and I have always loved acting, but I have always been too cowardly to take it up as a career because it is so unsafe. It is not a secure career and teaching in some ways was the next best thing because you are acting, you are performing all the time and that was fun: I like that. I do say on interview when they come, 'You know, you do recognise that a) you are going to be institutionalised, and b) you are going to be performing. If you do not like either of those things, stop now.

(Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires)

His pronoun use in the second sentence – the generalising 'you' – suggested that he believed the concept of teaching as performance and institutionalisation to be shared by his colleagues, though other tutors do not mention this aspect of teaching, perhaps because it is not a priority for them.

For Alan, good teaching was developmental, an idea which appeared to point to the concept of reflective practice. Although the concept was rarely labelled as such, it emerged from discussion of thinking (as in **8.4.1** above) or of development, a word which Barbara collocated with 'professional' on two occasions. For both Barbara and Alan, development was a process undertaken by both students and mentors. Fran (Ledshire), too, talked about development of the mentors in the partnership (**8.3.4**) suggesting that for her and the Midshires tutors, what was happening for students and mentors was what Engeström might call expansive learning, taking what had been previously learned and expanding it through reflection and examination of processes.

Within the Ledshire partnership, most of the discussion concentrated on issues relating to mentoring rather than to teaching. However, their models of good teaching appeared to be about having high expectations of learners and providing support as learners worked towards their goals, as emerged through their discussion of what made a good mentor.

8.5.2 Models of teachers

Tutors in Ledshire focused much more in their discussions on the work of mentors and tutors than on their models of teachers and teaching, where Midshires' tutors talked explicitly about classroom work. Discussion in this section therefore draws exclusively on the Midshires tutors' comments.

Teaching seemed to be understood as inspiring children, and this was best done by teachers who had a broad range of interests, suggested Alan. Barbara, too, aimed to inspire as a teacher, or 'if not inspire, at least share something of my values in a personal way'.

Tutors in Midshires suggested that teachers saw children as fun and were interested in the wider lives of their pupils rather than just how they learned the subject:

...there are a lot of people who came in to teaching [...] during the period I was in schools who are devoted to their subject rather than to the notion of educating children. So they are looking for ways to make their subject interesting and they are not worried about other aspects of children's lives and they do not seem to take an interest in the kids in the same kind of way [...] and the ones that do not want to will prove to be a difficulty if you do not take some other kind of interest in them to keep them on side...

(Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires)

Teachers also tended to be seen as 'safe' (Alan) or 'dinosaurs' (Barbara), though Alan believed that, while they were not risk takers, 'good' teachers learned how to subvert:

And I also think teachers generally are...I am hoping that on the whole, teaching attracts people who are safe. I did not go in to acting: why not? Why didn't I risk it? Because I preferred the safe option and I think most of my colleagues over the years I would say that was true of: there are not many great risk takers and there are not many great rebels in the system, though there are some. [...] I think good teachers learn to subvert, but that is partly because you are institutionalised. Actual rebellion in an institution, if you are in a small minority, is quite difficult, but subversion is easier.

(Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires)

Alan here seemed to be pointing to some tension between the teacher as an autonomous, independent individual who could make her own decisions about how she worked and the teacher as part of a professional institution constrained to act in the same ways as other members. Barbara, similarly, appeared to conceptualise at least some teachers as safe, - or as she called it 'dinosaurs' - because they wanted to be passive receptors of what the HEI tutors gave them to work with and made no effort to move themselves away from their safe routines:

My major worries are departments which have got very little diversity of practice. Staff who, with a grin, admit they are dinosaurs – to the [students] as well – and make no effort to encourage them to do the things we need them to do.

(Barbara, Course Tutor, Midshires)

In Alan's view, good teachers were active and creative and focused on pupils needs. Rather than take materials off the shelf, they prepared their own and were willing to adapt them to meet the needs of the context in which they were to be taught.

We have a group of people who are more willing to be told what to do and happy to be told what to do [...] and actually I think that makes for dull teaching [...] if you just take a published book and just do it as written I think that was the best way to kill anything because it is not you; you are not adapting it, you are not modifying it; you are not thinking it through properly yourself. You are therefore not engaging the children.

(Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires)

However, one of Alan's concerns was that teachers no longer had ownership of the materials they were required to use:

The problem is that you are given resources but you have been told how to do it and you are not given the freedom to contribute in quite the same way.

(Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires)

This appeared to be true of some of the mentors in both partnerships: Barbara and Ellie gave them a handbook to guide and regulate work with students but appeared unaware of how far the mentors followed the guide. Although both Barbara and Ellie believed that they gave mentors freedom to contribute to the development of the partnership resources (the handbooks), in effect, the books were written for them.

On the other hand, Hilary (Lowick) offered some evidence that mentors may offer students different advice from that of the HEI tutor: she commented on a student who would take the register at the start of a class:

First thing I say to my students is, I tell my students 'You don't have to get this information. Get them in get them working and, when they're working, then do it. Because if they're sitting waiting for you to get your register out and mark it, if they're in the right frame of mind, they'll be hanging off the ceiling. Get them in, get them working and then say right, we'll do the register now.

Tutors' concepts of teaching and teachers appeared to be carried in to their concepts of mentors and mentoring. Often by implication, they suggested that good mentors would help students to teach in the ways that the tutors saw as 'good', though as suggested in earlier discussion, this concept is ill-defined.

8.5.3 Models of mentoring and mentors

These two are dealt with together here as it proved difficult to separate the process and the person in Midshires' discussion of mentoring.

In the Ledshire partnership the emphasis was more on the qualities they hoped to see in the person. For Ellie, who appeared to work within Furlong and Maynard's (1995) reflective practitioner model, the ideal mentor had:

...high standards for the students' teaching and the pupils' learning [...] but who also provides a lot of support so that they can achieve. I think [she is] someone who can work towards things [and is] somebody who is trying to work it out for themselves,

who has actually got a vision and is actually going to help the students move towards it but still feel comfortable with themselves and still feel comfortable striving.

(Ellie, Course Tutor, Ledshire)

Fran (Ledshire) added to this that she would, in contrast to Alan at Midshires, want the mentor to:

...be more attuned to how to develop students as teachers of the subject and developing their subject knowledge and subject application (to use that old terminology).

(Fran, Course Tutor, Ledshire)

Colin (Ledshire) also drew on Furlong and Maynard's (1995) reflective practitioner model of the mentor as someone who had to be:

...a very good practitioner for a start. [...] But I do think if you're going to be successful you have to be a good practitioner, you need to be a reflective teacher, anyway. I think you also have to care, you have to have pastoral skills. And you have to give it time.

(Colin, Course Tutor, Ledshire)

Almost all the tutors drew attention to the possibility of tension between the aims of those working in ITE and the aims of classroom teachers. At Midshires, Alan, like Colin at Ledshire, believed that because schools were under pressure to achieve results, they were often unwilling to

allow students to be creative or independent in their planning and resource use. He seemed to understand them as working by proxy (Edwards and Protheroe, 2004):

Because they have got a way of working that has got them where they...if it is a school with good results you know...therefore don't rock the boat, do it this way. And that is quite difficult to deal with from our area because they are often very good schools for students to be in but the student is not...I have scientists in some departments who tell students 'This is our scheme of work...you will stick to...this week we'll do that'. We have to go in and kind of negotiate at length about the need for [the student] to be able to design lessons of their own [...] And people are very frightened that that will somehow reduce the results that children get...

(Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires)

However, as he also pointed out, there is research evidence that student teachers help to improve results in schools:

There is actually some research the TTA has done: the more students you take... there is a trend that the results are better so actually the individual teacher's view that their kids will be at risk is not borne out.

(Alan, Course Tutor Midshires)

He believed that those schools which 'were interested in learning [...] will be teaching differently', and, this implied, more effectively.

Both tutors at Midshires appeared to have a model of mentoring which drew on the affective and the cognitive. Barbara talked about a mentor who was very caring and supportive and seen

as 'a really lovely person' but who did not appear to move students on in their learning. Summing up what she seemed to be saying, I suggested that it was important to her that:

...the mentor is up to date and sort of a reflective practitioner. Someone constantly willing to try out new ideas and new approaches to teaching and to move forward, and the caring aspects are secondary to that.

Barbara replied 'they are not secondary, but in that particular case they were not an issue'. Later she added:

Well people like me want the best sort of mentors, who have got an empathy with and understanding of people but who have got a huge conviction for best practice with a lot more time to work. That could involve almost half timetable working on a one to one or one to three or something tiny like that. But you are almost into the master craftsman apprentice model then. It's unsustainable financially.

(Barbara, Course Tutor, Midshires)

Barbara appeared to be suggesting in these comments that not all teachers could be mentors.

Alan similarly includes the affective aspects of mentoring in his model:

So in terms of what makes a good mentor: somebody who is willing to learn; somebody who can recognise the difference between working with adults and children; somebody who is not frightened when a student gets it wrong and who recognises the odd bad lesson is not going to wreck children's chances. [...] And at the same time has got a

general interest in learning and is willing to give time: that is, like being a good teacher who is willing to give time.

(Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires)

He went on to add that he was moving towards the more distributed concept of the mentoring department – such as that of the socio-cultural model (Putnam and Borko, 2000) - so that the student worked with a team rather than with a single mentor. He firmly believed that teachers with management responsibilities should not act as mentors because they did not have the time to give the students. He believed that those who were still fairly new to teaching – in their third or fourth year as teachers - made the better mentors as they had time and limited responsibility for other areas of school work. Mentoring then became part of career development which demonstrated an interest in teaching and learning and helped teachers reflect on and deconstruct what it was about what they were doing that made their lessons successful.

8.5.4 Summary of concepts

Tutors in the study appeared to have two models of mentors: the ideal, with whom they would work collaboratively, and the actual, with whom they worked almost hierarchically. The tutors therefore appeared to experience some tension between their pedagogical orientation to learners (mentors, students and pupils) and the way they were constrained to work with mentors by the Standards document: because they were held accountable for the work of mentors, they tended to adopt managerial, directive ways of working which positioned the mentors more as tools than as collaborative partners.

8.6 Towards an Activity Theoretical account of tutors' work in ITE

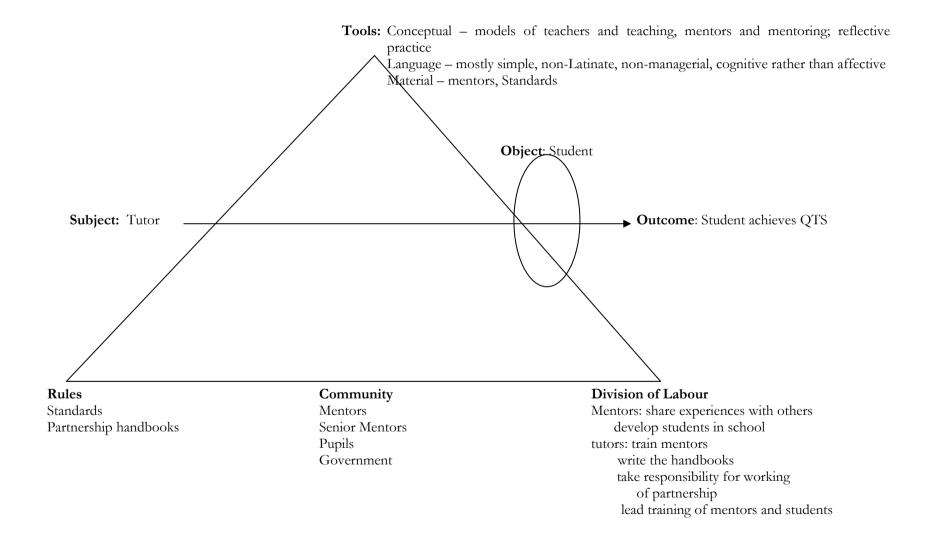
The focus of most of the tutors on the students' needs suggested that they have as their object in ITE the student, and that the mentor was conceptualised as a tool to help them work on the object. However, they also at times appeared to place the mentor as the object of activity,

in that they often appeared to be working on how to mould the mentor into the kind of teacher trainer they wanted for work on the student. Perhaps the apparent contradiction here might be resolved by conceptualising the object of the tutors' work as the mentor with the outcome of improved learning experiences for the student.

Language within the HEIs appeared to reflect the tutors' background as classroom teachers in that they tended to use short, non-Latinate words. They did not appear to be drawing on either the discourses or even the lexical choices of the government's Standards document. However, the data from the tutors were collected as spoken accounts of their work which is likely to adopt less formal language than a written document such as the Standards document.

Figure 20 overleaf summarises the way that the activity of ITE seemed to appear from the HEI perspective. Emerging from a comparison of this model and the government model at the end of the previous chapter were clear tensions between models of partnership and ITE which potentially posed issues for mentors. In the next chapters, two mentors' understanding of the activity is discussed alongside how they constructed subjectivities for themselves which afforded their work in it.

Figure 20: A possible model of activity of ITE from the perspective of the HEI participants



CHAPTER 9

CELIA, SCIENCE MENTOR, MIDDLEMARCH

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the data collected from Celia at Middlemarch School, a 13 – 18 mixed comprehensive in a village on the boundary between a rural farming county and a large industrial conurbation is discussed. Celia had been a teacher for ten years - all her working life - but had worked at Middlemarch and in the Midshires ITE partnership for only two years.

As she explained her background, it became clear that she had ambitions for her future: she had been Head of Year in her previous school but had given up the role on the birth of her first child. Then she 'struggled with the idea that I wasn't in my old position' and moved to Middlemarch to take up 'a position as Head of Biology'. At the time of the interview she had just transferred from a full-time to a part-time contract following the birth of her second child so that she could spend more time with her young family, but she was anticipating returning to full time work some time in the future. There was a sense of a teacher who was keen to progress in her chosen career and who was developing a profile to help her do that – having been a Pastoral Year Head and Subject Leader she was now developing her expertise as a teacher educator.

Celia had not been a mentor for very long: she was in her second year of working with students at Middlemarch School and additionally had responsibility for NQTs in the Science Department.

In the sections which follow, I discuss the rules, language and concepts which appeared to shape Celia's work in ITE, and draw out some of the tensions that she seemed to encounter in her mentoring and between her lives in school and home. I conclude with a discussion of how her identity as a mentor appeared to be shaped by these elements. First, though, I consider what motivated Celia to be a teacher and mentor, as this appeared to inform much of her discussion of her work.

9.2 Motivation for participation in mentoring and teaching

When asked why she wanted to be involved in ITE when she already had a heavy teaching load and responsibility for NQTs in the department, Celia replied 'Get bored otherwise'. Celia suggested that her motivation for participation in ITE was 'selfish': she was thinking about how it might be useful in the future. When asked whether she would give up mentoring she said:

...part of it's selfish, because you're thinking, "That leads to something later on' and you don't necessarily want to do part-time teaching all your life.

She enjoyed working with students in the mentoring role as she felt that it made her think, suggesting that reflecting on her work was important to her:

> I like...what I like about it is, I've been teaching for ten years and I like the fact that it makes you think. It makes me think about my lessons more watching them do their lessons.

Her pronoun use suggested that she believed that it was a common experience that work in ITE prompted thinking about work: she generalised the process by using the pronoun 'you'. However, the thinking about lessons (which Alan had regretted the lack of space for: **8.4.1**) was a more personal experience, expressed as 'me' and 'my'. She switched back to the generalising 'you' when she commented on her mental processes while observing the student:

But you suddenly think of different ways you could have done it, even though you probably would have done it in the way that they did it. But it gives you time to think about it a bit more. So I like that side of it and that's what I get out of it basically.

She went on to suggest that part of her motivation for involvement was linked to developing and keeping herself fresh as a teacher:

I think one of the best things is...I think, hopefully, it hasn't got me bored or stale.

She offered a similar explanation for her participation in teaching – 'I think teaching is the same selfish thing'. The theme of personal benefit as motivation, then, appeared to run through what Celia said, yet underneath this there was also much evidence of a rather unselfish person: she gave up a lot of personal time to work with both pupils and students, and felt strongly that part of being a teacher was 'doing something extra'. Certainly, at times she appeared to be saying that she acted in both practices for personal advantage – either to develop her career or to enhance her relationship with pupils – but these goals arguably also advantaged those whose learning she was assisting.

9.3 Rules

Celia formulated rules which shaped her work in both classroom teaching and ITE, and additional rules which helped her prioritise the different activities in which she participated. Rules tended to be expressed through deontic modal verbs such as 'got to' and 'have to'.

Most of the rules which were apparent in her talk related to her work in mentoring, though she did draw attention to some basic rules for working as a teacher.

9.3.1 Rules for working as a teacher

As Celia spent much of her teaching time in a science laboratory, she was concerned for pupil safety and so her rules for working in the classroom related mostly to creating safe conditions. She felt that there had to be structure and rules in the classroom to allow teaching to happen - though she did not elaborate on this - , and for safety in practical work: these rules tended to emerge from her discussion of how she worked with students. The rule which most clearly appeared to shape Celia's work in the classroom was that she must not be boring. She made several comments about 'hopefully not boring [pupils] to death' and about keeping herself from becoming stale which appeared to guide both her participation in mentoring and the way she interacted with her pupils. These comments are discussed further in 9.5.

9.3.2 Rules for working as a mentor

Celia had no formal training to be a mentor. She did not appear to have knowledge of the policy handbook which Barbara (Course Tutor, Midshires) thought that mentors relied on and which she had compiled as a substitute for a more interactive relationship. Consequently the process for Celia was directed by instinct rather than by any rules developed within the partnership or from other people's experience: And the first time I did it I literally went on gut feeling and you don't ever know if that's right or wrong. I've never had any feedback if it's right or wrong but I'm doing what I think's best. But you just don't know, do you?

Her comment here suggested that Celia was looking for a more interactive relationship with her tutor and felt frustrated at not having the kind of contact which might foster her development as a mentor. It further pointed to ways the tutor worked and suggested that the tutor's focus was on the student and her own role in developing the student: Celia as mentor seemed to feel invisible to the tutor and as though she were not perceived as participating in the student's learning processes.

Celia had a pedagogical concern in not being willing to pass a weak student. She commented that even though there was a shortage of teachers, she would not be tempted to pass a failing student, because it was not fair to the profession.

No. I wouldn't think... I wouldn't do that. I think in the long run more people are affected [indecipherable] so being borderline, do we necessarily want them as teachers? Because they do cause problems for you.

Here she seemed to be expressing her agency in a partnership that seemed simultaneously to invite and suppress discussion of practice through its managerialist ways of working. There appeared to be an additional rule relating to time allocated to mentoring, which seemed to cause some tension for Celia and which pointed to ITE as being outside the pedagogic priorities of the school. She knew that the university wanted mentors to allocate an hour a week to a tutorial for students:

My one thought – I have to get this checked – is giving them time. Supposedly we are meant to give them an hour a week. Where is that time coming from? You end up giving your dinner time. It becomes these little half hour snippets and time...They want to do it. It's either dinner time to do it...

The tension here appeared to be at least partly created by her rule that she did not stay at school beyond the end of the teaching day, though all the mentors interviewed for the study commented that time was an issue for them too.

A further rule for mentoring related to the groups to which students could be allocated and pointed again to ITE as outside the school's pedagogic priorities. It also pointed to a perception that pupils were human tools to be used in the practice of ITE:

We've only got Years 9, 10, 11, but we don't give them Year 11 so there is only 9 and 10. And you don't give them bottom groups in 9 and 10 anyway, so there's very few groups you can actually [...] You can't risk GCSEs on a student. They don't get Year 13. We try to do some but really team teaching rather than taking over the group completely.

Although this rule was also common to all the mentors in the study, it appeared to be in contradiction with the rule in the Standards document that students must experience teaching across the whole age and ability range, and tended to confirm what Alan (Course Tutor, Midshires) had noted as a tension for the HEI. Learning did not, then, appear to be seen as an activity in which the whole school participated: it seemed to be directed instead at pupils, with students being invited to practise how to act on some pupils' learning.

9.3.3 Rules for prioritising work

The guiding rule here for Celia was that she was a mother first. She tried to fit her work in teaching and ITE around being at home at particular times for her children. For example, she knew that twilight sessions for mentors were held but had not attended any because she prioritised being with her children after school:

...I don't go to any of the afternoon, evening things that were three times a year. Rupert goes as Head of Science because I went part time to spend more time with my kids and I am not leaving them after school to go to those, which are a crap time for me.

However, this rule was balanced with the belief that 'we all have to do something extra', though what she did was shaped by the prioritisation of motherhood. She would not work after the end of the school day, so instead, she gave additional time to work during the normal school day:

I can't do trips away; I can't do after school. So all I can do is try and give it more time in school.

From other incidental comments made during the interview about how she worked, it became clear that Celia gave a lot of time before and between lessons, and during lunch breaks, to working with students and pupils:

I come in early to do work and [students] assume that you will be there and I give up...Even though I wasn't actually being paid at that time...It's very

hard to say 'I've come in to do some work' because I feel I have given up a lot of hours...

Although her expression was a little muddled here, she appeared to be trying to say that she spent a lot of time beyond her contracted hours in school which she reluctantly sacrificed for students, suggesting that when asked to, she would place her personal planning and preparation as a lower priority than assisting students' planning and preparation. Her comment seemed to suggest that she felt a sense of isolation in her mentoring activity because the school was not providing spaces in which she could meet her pedagogic priorities with students.

Having organised her teaching and mentoring to fit in with being a mother, Celia further prioritised those activities so that, where there was a potential conflict, pupil learning was prioritised over student learning needs:

The majority of your time you give the focus to the teacher taking your lesson because you have...You don't want to interrupt. You want them to take charge and if they don't take responsibility...But clearly, the education of others has to come first.

For Celia, then there was a clear hierarchy of activities. Work on the lower ranked activity (mentoring) was shaped by rules for working in the higher ranked ones (teaching and motherhood).

9.4 Language choices

9.4.1 General preferences

Celia's language tended to be simple and non-Latinate. Her average word length was 3.83, lower than that of any of the HEI tutors (the lowest here was 4.01) and lower than that of government data (5.25). Stylistically, her discussion – a total of 6,382 words - was characterized by her use of uncertainty markers: hedges ('sort of', 'kind of', - a total of 24 occurrences); 'I think' (56 occurrences); 'hopefully' (17 occurrences); weasel words ('probably' - 16, 'obviously' – 6, 'certainly' - 2) and false starts (23). Most of the uncertainty markers occurred in her discussion of her mentoring role, suggesting that it was here that she felt less sure of herself and her role.

Her awareness of her pupils may also explain a preference for using non-Latinate lexis, in particular dummy verbs such as 'do' and 'get' in verb groups where other lower register verbs might be equally available. For example, she talked about 'doing a lesson'; 'doing teaching'; 'doing A-level'; 'get them bothered'; 'get targeted'; 'got me bored'. Similarly, she used content-empty nouns such as 'things' and 'stuff': 'all that shouting stuff'; 'doing teaching and things' rather than labelling more precisely.

9.4.2 Cognitive and affective language

A Wordsmith analysis of Celia's lexical choices (in Table 6 below) suggested that, like government, her focus was more on the cognitive aspects of her work than on the affective: she used even fewer of the verbs which appear to suggest affective processes than did the Standards document.

Cognitive	Government	Celia/6,382	Celia/6,382	Government	Affective
Markers	/43,184			/43,184	Markers
	•			,	
Assess*	255	0	0	6	Attention*
Believe	1	1	2	55	Aware*
Identify*	45	0	8	5	Feel*
Know*	227	31	2	1	Listen*
Organise*	27	2	0	18	Respond*

Reflect*	25	2	5	58	Responsible*
Think*	10	88	2	17	Respect
Understand*	137	3	0	10	Sensitive*
Total: 8	727	127	19	170	Total: 8

Table 6: Comparison of Celia's use of affective and cognitive markers with government use

At one stage in the interview I suggested that, on the evidence of what she had said so far, she was passionate about her job. She replied, 'I've never really thought of it as passion'. Yet the CDA analysis showed that she was concerned with how people related to each other in what might be considered affective ways: she talked about relationships with pupils in ways which revealed an interest in them as people with wider interests. The findings relating to pupils are discussed further in **9.5** below. Relationships with students, however, were discussed only minimally and mostly in terms of their learning. Again, this is developed in **9.5**.

The high frequency of Celia's use of 'think' is partly explained by her use of the verb in the phrase 'I think' (56 occurrences), but she was also concerned with how mentoring made her think about her work, (discussed further in **9.5**) suggesting a teacher who might be reflective even if she didn't express it through the higher register term.

9.4.3 Standards language

The *Wordsmith* analysis (Table 7 below) shows that Celia did not use many of the key words which characterised the Standards document. This may be unsurprising, as Celia did not attend meetings at the university. However, as neither of the tutors from the university used much of the language of the Standards document either, had she been able to discuss her work with the tutors, it seems unlikely that she would have absorbed the language of the Standards through contact with the HEI.

Keyword	Government	Celia - Science	Midshires Alan	University Barbara
Total number of words in text	43,184	6,382	12,816	8,395
Account*	54	0	1	0
Achieve*	104	0	0	0
Assess*	255	0	1	1
Benchmark*	11	0	0	0
Choice*	16	1	0	0
Deliver*	15	1	0	2
Demonstrate	170	0	0	0
Design*	36	0	6	0
Effective*	99	1	2	0
Efficient	4	0	0	0
Goals	8	0	0	1
Manage*	70	1	2	4
Monitor*	34	0	0	0
New	19	3	4	16
Outcome*	10	1	0	1
Partnership*	73	0	10	4
Perform*	34	0	2	0
Target *	28	1	2	5
Train*	1029	1	12	29

Table 7: Comparison of Celia's use of Standards language with government and tutors

Celia did comment that she found the language of the Standards used in the assessment report forms from the university alienating:

It was like a real put down for the actual students. Ways like more categories and a bit more 'good', 'okay' and 'crap'. They were like the kind of categories. So no. I wrote back [to the university] about that actually. I didn't like how it was worded. I wouldn't give those to my students to feed back. It seemed a bit horrible that a teaching university would use those for its students. [...] If you did it in any more detail than the tick box and had a more formal report I think it would be even harder to do. These things like 'criteria' and 'learning styles' and just the phraseology. It's the same thing where you say 'Use a text book; why don't you try doing this'. It's the same thing, but you don't call it your learning style. That's what I mean.

There's a whole lot of them isn't there? Sort of phrases that you use when you're writing reports that I wouldn't necessarily use ...but it's the same kind of thing in effect. You just don't phrase it in a certain kind of way. 'Teaching outcomes' and all that kind of thing. The phrase 'to go in your plenary' and all this. How you end your lesson. That kind of thing. It just brings you back into those kind of terms and you're actually reporting back on them which I wouldn't necessarily use if I was talking to them one to one. I think it is appropriate to who you're talking to. I don't think you can necessarily use that language. It's just easier to be clearer to the pupils or students when you're reporting back. The whole academia side. You kind of always think of this University as this intellectual long word. It sounds like 'She can do...Have you done 2.2 on your list of criteria?' Because [Barbara] works with it every day.

This was an unusually long piece of uninterrupted speech from Celia, and the length contributed to the sense that this was something she felt strongly about. Through it, the HEI was constructed as 'other' through the use of third person pronouns and through a conception of it as 'academia' or 'intellectual' which in turn pointed to a conception of school as neither of those things.

The segment also suggested that, while she recognised that there were different registers to be used on different occasions, she nonetheless appeared to feel that the language of the Standards document was unnecessarily alienating and not helpful to her in developing a relationship with her students in which she could help them progress. The lack of organisation in her speech and the struggle to express herself as clearly as she wanted, seemed to point to someone who felt uncomfortable with the very formal, high

register language of the Standards document. She seemed more comfortable with the everyday language that she used in her classroom with her pupils, and felt more confident when she could use the same language in her work in ITE.

9.5 Celia's conceptual tools

Celia's conceptual tools appeared to be informed by a degree of self-consciousness. Near the beginning of the interview, as she was talking about the subjects she taught, and in particular her confidence in her subject knowledge, she commented, I am too worried about myself. This concern appeared to shape her relationships with pupils and her conceptual tools in both teaching and mentoring, as emerges in the discussion below.

9.5.1 Models of teaching

Celia believed that 'if you are teaching something you are confident in, I don't think it matters what you teach'. This seemed to suggest that she understood teaching as a skill which, once acquired, could be applied to any subject in which the teacher had sound subject knowledge.

She appeared to have a transmission model of teaching: being a teacher was about passing on her interest in and passion for her subject. When asked about why she became a teacher she said:

It's just good to pass things on because I am genuinely interested in science but I think it's trying to pass it on and hopefully not bore them to death.

The transmission of enthusiasm and interest in her subject was prioritised over behaviour management which appeared to be conceptualised as engagement with pupils. The idea of 'engaging the kids' was important to her: it occurred four times in eight adjacent sentences, suggesting that this was an important aspect of her work.

It's not really about the rules and the discipline and all that shouting stuff.

[...] But hopefully how you deliver the subject will engage the kids enough to try and stop discipline becoming too much of a problem.

Celia's use of 'deliver' here, suggesting an adoption of the language of the Standards document, was unusual: lessons were more usually conceptualised as things which were 'done'.

She felt that her skills as a teacher were deeply internalized:

Some of the things you kind of deal with without even realizing you even know how you do it basically.

Once again, her statement was hedged ('kind of', 'basically') and qualified ('some' 'even') pointing to the tentativeness that characterised so many of her statements: she often appeared reluctant to offer certainty when talking about her own skills and abilities. Yet she used the generalising pronoun 'you', suggesting that she saw the deep internalisation as a universal experience. However, as Field (1994) argues (p. 39 above), as a mentor, it is important to be able to bring the internalised knowledge and skills to the fore and explain them articulately in order to be able to assist student learning.

Exam results were important to Celia, but not the main object of her work in teaching. Her desire for pupils to do well in exams stemmed less from consideration of school league tables than from the relationship she had established with the pupils and the way she wanted to be seen by others:

Exam results are clearly important because you have worked hard with those kids. They're important because the department and the school and all that kind of thing. But on a personal basis you want them to do well because you've worked with them for the last two or three years. So I think, clearly, the Head has a different importance but on a personal level you really did want them to do - those kids you've seen work – as well as you want. And it does reflect, it reflects directly on to you and people will grade you accordingly. And just like the kids you don't want to be put down or whatever. [...] I think exam results are important.

Rather, the motive of teaching for Celia appeared to be linked to her self-image:

I think it's about positive feedback. You getting positive feedback from the kids. I think teaching is the same selfish thing, as in, if we do like...if they got that, or I enjoyed that or they've got something from it or you've given them their homework and they're actually...they rush home and get involved in it. So I do think teaching is a second hand way of us getting praise back in ourselves. We're helping them, but then they give you something back. I don't know how they give you it back, but they do.

In this way, teaching became a dialectical process of Celia assisting pupil learning, and pupils assisting Celia to construct her subjectivity.

9.5.2 Relationships with pupils

Celia stressed the importance of engaging pupils and saw establishing a good relationship with them as leading to engagement:

You have to kind of fully engage the kids and get them bothered to listen.

[...] But the kids here, you have to build relationships with them and then you have to fully engage them, particularly in science...

She was willing to spend non-contact – and often additional time beyond her contracted hours – with her pupils:

And I have just had... dinner time...they are top set Year 11, but we've just had a lovely dinner time doing coursework together all dinner time.

Her use of the pronoun 'we' and the adverb 'together' here suggested a collaboration between pupil and teacher in learning. Her willingness to give up her non-contact time to exam preparation with her pupils suggested that she enjoyed their company and wanted them to do well, but that she also wanted them to enjoy the learning.

She expressed an interest in the pupils as people, mirroring Alan's (Course Tutor, Midshires) belief that good teachers were interested in the wider lives of the children they taught, though Celia expressed it as part of what motivated her to teach:

I think kids in high school keep you younger in a different way. Fashion. You know what the music is. You just kind of get...And I think that's quite nice actually. You don't feel like you are completely boring. You have to keep up with them in a way.

She introduced again in this comment the theme of not being boring, which emerged as part of what she perceived to be the benefit of mentoring (9.2) and of how she shaped her relationship with pupils (9.5.1). Not being boring was an issue for Celia and appeared to shape her identity with her teaching and mentoring relationships quite strongly.

9.5.3 Summarising remarks: Celia as a teacher

Celia's concern for her pupils and their development pointed to a strong pedagogic orientation, though she appeared to lack the pedagogic discourse through which to work with students or to develop her own understandings.

As a teacher, Celia believed that she had developed a positive relationship with her pupils. She appeared to construct part of her identity around how the pupils perceived her, and was keen to learn about their interests. Although she did not consider herself to be 'passionate' about her work, her enthusiasm for working with young people was very apparent in her expressed her interest in them as people and learners. She argued that she was keen to stay fresh and interesting for her pupils as well as for herself, suggesting that she was a reflective teacher even though she might not put it in those words.

She appeared to have developed a transmission model of teaching, wanting to pass on both her knowledge and her enthusiasm for her subject, and was willing to spend time with pupils beyond that which was timetabled, partly because she enjoyed the company of her pupils and partly because she believed that this was a way she could give her 'extra' to the school. The 'giving extra' suggests an agentive, professional approach to her work derived from an understanding of professionalism which is linked to the notion of service (Lawn, 1999) and altruism (Locke, 2001).

9.5.4 Model of mentoring

9.5.4.1 Theoretical model

Because she had not trained as a mentor and did not attend mentor meetings, Celia had developed her own way of working with students drawing on her pedagogic concepts. She appeared to have a pragmatic interventionist model of mentoring. Rather than structuring or scaffolding learning, she had a responsive or reactive approach through which she transmitted ideas and guidance that they could use as they appeared to need it, as well as ensuring that students could work safely:

But I think you just slowly start giving hints and tips. [...] and because it's a practical subject, I think the organisation of the practical. [...] You do classroom management because obviously there's a lot of practical.

9.5.3.2 Structure of student learning

Rather than developing their reflective practice, Celia's approach appeared pragmatic, perhaps evidencing her lack of mentor training, and she seemed to lack a coherent structure through which she could scaffold learning. She stated that she wanted to start the process of student learning in stages, suggesting that she drew on her pedagogic concepts to understand the need for structure, but added that she preferred to deal with situations as they arose as in Furlong and Maynard's (1995) apprenticeship model of mentoring (discussed in Chapter 3, p. 42). She felt that what she called the 'drip drip' approach was important:

You start off in stages I guess, don't you? You sort of team teach [...]...and there were so many things you could say. But I think you just slowly start giving ideas and hints.

Her language here was rather tentative - the use of 'I guess' 'I think' and the tag question 'don't you' suggested that she was looking for reassurance that she had developed appropriate rules for her work.

She went on to argue that:

...I think what I've tried to do was do those things in steps rather than overloading them all at once, which you could do really. And then just give as situations come up and bring about revolutions [sii] of how you would deal with it.

However, Celia appeared to suggest throughout the interview that this model was somehow unsatisfactory to her. She appeared to be searching for guidance from her tutor on how to move on in her mentoring and develop her model, thus suggesting that O'Hear (1988) and the Hillgate Group (1989) may have underestimated what teachers and mentors are looking for in a learning relationship in ITE.

9.5.4.3 Student independence

Celia's focus on pupil learning was evident in the way she worked in the classroom to add in those bits of preparation that students often forget and reflecting her view that the focus in mentoring should be on teaching as a practical activity. Although she wanted to give students a degree of independence in the classroom, Celia remained with the student in the teaching space – a science laboratory – managing and organising resources discreetly in the capacity of assistant. She felt that the student had to be supervised to ensure pupil

safety and therefore the student was never really alone in the classroom. She seemed to suggest that though she wanted the students to be autonomous, she remained in the background to 'do the bits they forget':

I think what I tend to do, particularly when they first start was ...you're always in the background [indecipherable] making sure they've got the piles all there for them and to rush off and get the paper. And I don't think they are necessarily aware of you being there in the classroom doing all these other things for them. So you are always looking after the kids and the teacher. [...] You never really leave the class.

However it was achieved, the rule appeared to be that the mentor stayed in the background and allowed the student to take control of her group. As Celia said,

You don't want to interrupt, you want them to take charge and if they don't have the responsibility...

She seemed to act as a kind of nanny here to rescue students from their lack of forward planning. Her comment on students' lack of awareness of what she did suggested that she was not using these occasions as opportunities for student development, perhaps because her concern appeared to be more for the pupils than for the student:

So you are always looking after the kids and the teacher.

Once again, the use of the generalising pronoun 'you' suggested that she presupposed this way of working to be the way that any other mentor worked.

9.5.4.4 Assessment

Celia believed that students only failed if they were 'quite bad' as she felt that there was such a shortage of science teachers. Her discussion was very hesitant and characterised by false starts, suggesting uncertainty again. Underpinning her assessment of students was a belief that there was such a shortage of teachers that the HEI was reluctant to fail students:.

My first thing was...I just generally don't know who...I don't believe they fail people very much. [...] It's quite sad because we're so desperate for teachers, particularly in sciences... chemistry teachers...

She appeared to suggest here that it was Midshires University's responsibility to pass or fail students on the course, which might appear to confirm Ellie's (Course Tutor, Ledshire) view that mentors tended to abrogate responsibility for making the difficult decisions (8.3.2). However, in Celia's case, a further comment slightly refined this understanding by showing that she saw herself as being in a position to make recommendations about passing or failing: if she believed a student was in danger of failing, she discussed the situation with her colleagues first and then advised the HEI of her concerns:

...I would have discussed it quite a lot in the department and then with [the Senior Mentor] [...] so I think it would have...I would have thought it out quite a lot but then you would go to the other teachers, the other science

and biology teachers really, and then get on to the university. But I would have to be quite confident it wasn't my view.

Her comment also suggested that, contrary to what she believed in her comments in **9.5.5.2** below, she had a closer relationship with her colleagues in school for ITE than she did with her external partners.

9.5.5 Mentoring relationships

9.5.5.1 With students

Celia said very little about her relationships with her students beyond a simple comment about how good they were. When asked whether she viewed them as colleagues, she replied, 'Not at first. No I wouldn't say they were colleagues at first'. Rather she felt that she was 'Hopefully, a practical guide. That's what I kind of see myself as'.

She had not been mentoring for long – this was her second year – and appeared to be adjusting to working with adults. She commented on one relationship that she found difficult to negotiate as her perception was that the student – a trained doctor – had greater subject knowledge than herself, contributing to the picture of Celia as uncertain about the security of her own subject knowledge.

One of them was a doctor, trained as a doctor, given it all up. And is coming to do Biology with me and I'm thinking 'Oh, my God!'. But then, she is still not a teacher and she was uncertain of herself. But I was really nervous at first with that.

Because there were no spaces within either the school or the partnership to support it, Celia appeared to be struggling to develop a more robust mentor identity as someone who was secure in her knowledge both of her subject and of how to assist student learning and development.

Celia believed it was important for students to have a realistic picture of teaching and she discussed this in terms of being 'open and honest' in her work:

[I] try to show my flaws as well as, 'Well this is true and happens to all of us' and to be open quite a bit. Hopefully they'll see that as not a flaw but something that happens to all of us and how to deal with it. So hopefully being honest was the biggest thing.

9.5.5.2 With other members of staff

Celia appeared to turn to colleagues only when she needed advice about the extent of students' progress. She believed that she could sort out most problems herself, but that occasionally she needed the support of 'somebody higher up'. In those cases she turned to her Senior Mentor, Will, rather than her immediate subject line manager:

Most problems you can sort out yourself. There are a few problems where I have to flag up somebody higher up and I would probably go to Will. My Head of Science, probably not very much.

However, her willingness to go to Will with problems was constrained by her perception that Will was 'unbelievably busy. He is not in any way happy, Will'.

She commented that she would have liked more recognition from her colleagues about what she was doing in ITE. She felt that much of what she did was undervalued:

...I do feel I spend a lot of hours with these students and unless you're actually that person doing it, people aren't noticing. [...] At least somebody saying they are recognising...I think if you do a trip or you do the after school clubs, that stands out and everybody notices. But if you are doing it in school time it's not necessarily seen as much.

Once again, the generalising 'you' suggested that she saw this as a common experience for mentors.

These comments from Celia once again seemed to point to the school as an environment in which the pedagogic aspects of mentoring could not be developed in ways she would like.

9.5.5.3 Expectations of tutors

Celia had most to say about her expectations of the partner HEI tutor. She struggled with the lack of visits from the tutor, who was herself a part-time employee (though Celia did not know this). She appeared to think that the tutor should be visiting to ensure that she was doing her job correctly and perhaps to reassure students too. There was a sense of disappointment that the HEI had not been sufficiently interested in her work to come and see it, suggesting that Celia's own understanding of the division of labour had not been met:

One of [my students] I have not had observed at all by [Midshires] and one was observed for one lesson. I am not particularly knocking but anything could have gone on. They don't know me. [The tutor] came at the end of the practice and it's the first time that anyone has met me. And it was like quite a long way down the line[...]. I'm sure she didn't know what I was

saying to the pupils or the students. Hopefully now she's found out it's not so bad. But she didn't know. She was trusting me and they had that practice come and go. Presumably every time they build up a relationship with the mentors but she'd never met me and it was my second year of doing it.

Celia then appeared to be looking for reassurance from the university that her ways of working with students were good enough, though she did not appear to feel the need to seek similar reassurance within school. She seemed to suggest here that she viewed mentoring as risky, and sought the safety that Alan (Midshires) believed teachers looked for in their work. In school, though, she saw mentoring as 'something to get on with', which might suggest that she felt isolated in her mentoring, and that, having no-one she could turn to for assistance, she had to rely on her own resources.

Nor did Celia appear to be satisfied with the kind of relationship that the managerial approaches of the HEI tutor afforded: in her desire to create safety, she appeared to want a more nurturing relationship with the tutor within which she could risk asking questions and become agentive in mentoring.

9.6 Some concluding remarks: towards an understanding of Celia's subjectivity in ITE

Celia presented herself as apparently lacking in confidence: she made several remarks which pointed to a need to be reassured that she was working in appropriate ways, and that she wasn't 'boring'. When she did feel confident about her work, she was happier to 'get on with it' while enjoying being reflective about the processes of teaching.

The motive of Celia's work in both teaching and mentoring appeared to be personal development, and much of what she did was guided by how she could sustain the image of

herself that she believed she needed to maintain her self-esteem. In her teaching, she focused on her relationships with pupils as a guide to how she would work with them: she placed passing on her knowledge of and enthusiasm for Biology as a higher priority than achieving exam results, and was concerned to learn from pupils about teen culture so that she could feel young and not be boring. Her work in mentoring was similarly motivated by a desire to keep her thinking fresh, although she was also nervous of working with adults and in particular with those she thought had greater subject knowledge.

In addition she saw part of her personal development to be preparation for future career choices: she committed a lot of her personal time to mentoring students and NQTs so that she could prepare for developing her career once her family had grown up.

Celia experienced some tension in the rules she created for herself: she believed that she had to do something more in school than just teach, but this conflicted with her rule that she would only work part-time so that she could spend time with her family. She resolved this tension by offering mentoring as her 'something extra' and working with pupils and students during non-contact time, with additional, uncontracted time spent in school to fulfil her duties in ITE.

Her language tools suggested that she was more uncertain about her work in ITE than in her teaching. There were tensions for her in her relationship with the HEI, caused partly by her unfulfilled need for reassurance from the HEI and partly by her rule to prioritise mothering over mentoring. Because she did not attend mentor meetings, she felt that she did not have the material or conceptual tools produced by the HEI on which to draw when planning and organising work with her students. Celia had expectations of the role of the HEI tutor in ITE which did not appear to be matched by the HEI tutors' understanding of their role, but which Celia might have adjusted had she elected to attend any of the training sessions.

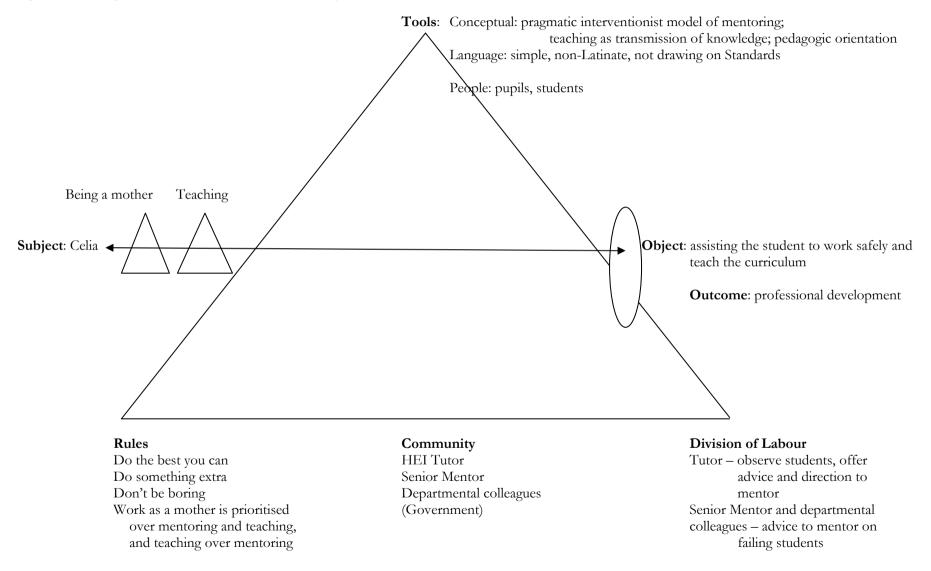
As a mentor, Celia appeared to be in the process of developing her own model of mentoring, guided mostly by her pedagogic orientation. She was new to the work and, because of the way that she prioritised her activities, was drawing on very limited guidance from the HEI. She appeared to construct herself as a teacher with skills and information to transmit to new teachers. Her model appeared to be a kind of pragmatic interventionist one: she passed on hints and tips when the students appeared to need them. She appeared to construct her students as insufficiently skilled or knowledgeable to be able to help pupils achieve good exam results, or maintain safety in the classroom, which might create tensions for the students and HEI tutors who needed her to provide the experience of independent teaching of all ages and abilities.

Celia can be seen as expressing her agency as a teacher through some rule-bending: she elected, for example, not to go to mentor meetings and used her lunch breaks for working with students and was not willing to be an agent, or instrument, of the HEI in ITE, as Barbara (Midshires) appeared to construct her. It was evident from her comments that there was tension for Celia between the identity she constructed for herself and the identity which the partnership appeared to construct for her.

Figure 21 overleaf attempts to draw together the strands of the discussion of Celia, placing her as the subject of the activity of ITE. The model reveals several contradictions, notably between the activity of mentoring and the activities of motherhood and teaching which she prioritises; between the community and herself as subject of the activity; and between her rules and the object. She is making limited connection with the partnership system so that her understanding of the division of labour is flawed and her concepts of mentoring are restricted. Action on her object is refracted through the more dominant activities of motherhood and teaching and is therefore weakened, which dialectically

weakens her subjectivity as a mentor as the object cannot act back on her subjectivity in the ways suggested by Stetsenko and Arievitch (2004).

Figure 21: A conceptualisation of Celia as subject of the activity of ITE



CHAPTER 10

JAMES: BUSINESS STUDY MENTOR, MIDDLEMARCH

10.1 Introduction

In February 2003 when James was interviewed, he had been a mentor for two years and a teacher for seven, all of them in Middlemarch School. He had come to teaching from industry, where he had worked in Training and Human Resources, though he had additionally spent some time teaching in prisons and with Adult Education courses. At the time of the interview, he still appeared to be struggling to make the adjustment from working with adults to working with teenagers and was thinking of leaving the profession.

James had started work at Middlemarch School on a contract to teach a 70% timetable, though he had quickly moved to 100%. He commented in the course of the interview that as an NQT he had appreciated the additional non-contact time with students, much of which he spent at home as he lived nearby. His subject areas were Business Studies, which he taught to General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) and Advanced levels, with Leisure and Tourism offered as a General National Vocational Qualification (GNVQ) up to age 16. In addition he contributed to teaching the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) curriculum. He was the sole member of the Business Studies department in the school and, as emerged during his interview, felt rather isolated, a feeling which was reflected in his use of the pronoun 'T' (572 uses) as the subject of processes, rather than 'we' (72), or the generalising 'you' (250) which might reflect identity with a wider community. This sense of isolation may have contributed to his willingness to

participate in ITE, in which he would be able to work with another person who shared his subject specialism.

The interview with James took place against the background of an earlier meeting when I was an external moderator for the school's partner HEI, Midshires university. I had observed him working with a struggling student, whom I call Patrick, and during the interview James referred back to his experience with Patrick on several occasions. Much of what he was trying to say about the experience was left implicit because he presupposed that I knew or understood the situation to which he referred because of my earlier involvement.

The interview began with a rather negative discussion of his work with pupils and moved through discussion of his experience of mentoring to a shifted perspective on his work. From being a more personal confused exposition of the reality of his work, he shifted to a more idealised view of what he appeared to believe ought to be happening in teaching and mentoring. What then emerged from the interview was the sense of someone who did not really enjoy what he was doing; who was struggling to reconcile two working practices – industry and school - and who, as a result, offered a rather negative perspective on his work.

The analysis of the interview data relating to James begins with a discussion of the rules that afforded or constrained his work, though they were more difficult to access and appeared to come from his expectations of pupil behaviour derived from the managerial concepts he had brought into school from industry. The discussion of rules is followed by a discussion of the concepts he appeared to bring to his work, which in turn seemed to shape his motivation for teaching and mentoring as well as his language choices. The language tools he appeared to draw on are discussed and the chapter concludes by offering an understanding of James' subjectivity.

10.2 Rules

10.2.1 Rules for working as a teacher

James' key rule for working with pupils was 'You've got to get these kids through exams', suggesting that the object of his classroom work was pupil exam success, which he understood as 'jumping through hoops':

I hate to say it, but my whole life is driven by this group of youngsters going for that exam, that group for this exam and that group for that exam. And I think it's awful that we're dominated by this. I have got to make you, who have no interest at all, jump through a hoop.

Even taking into account that James taught a subject which was generally taught only to examination classes, there was a sense of James feeling powerless here: as a teacher, he seemed to suggest, he had no choices about how he could work with pupils to develop them. The rule was that he trained pupils to perform in exams. The lack of choice or power that he seemed to feel was further reinforced by his sense that pupils did not appear to be interested in what he was trying to help them to do.

Rules relating to working with pupils, then, appeared to derive from his managerialist understandings of classroom work (discussed further in **10.2**) which he seemed to find were at odds with the reality of his present experience.

10.2.2 Rules for working as a mentor

Once again, it was difficult to identify James' rules for working with students, because he appeared to lack an underpinning pedagogy which helped him explain what he might be doing with students, though towards the end of the discussion he arrived at a sense that he ought to be developing them. He did not go on to offer an understanding of what that might entail and his exclamation that 'We're supposed to be developing them for goodness' sake!' (made in the context of the HEI tutor's attitude to Patrick) was at odds with the way he discussed his understanding of what mentoring meant.

His key purpose in accepting students into the department appeared to be to relieve him of his teaching load (10.3 below) and so the guiding rule again seemed to relate to division of labour: students taught while he did his paperwork. However, although James was a lone teacher in his subject, unlike Celia, he did not carry any additional management responsibility which might have contributed to his workload and therefore made him one of those teachers who perhaps, according to Alan (Course Tutor Midshires), should not take on mentoring responsibilities.

He expressed a concern that the reality of a teacher's life was very demanding, which led him to believe that students 'have got to hit the ground running'. How far this was an unconscious echo of the Standards document was not clear from the interview, but it seemed unlikely given what James said in the discussion about the Standards (10.5).

10.2.3 Rules for prioritising work

A third cluster of rules appeared to relate to how he organised his work. Administrative work appeared to be prioritised over mentoring. When talking about having students in the department he commented that he was finding it a lot to cope with and so:

You eventually have to say to them 'Look, I'm sorry, I can't talk to you. I have got things to do'.

These simple rules appeared to be the only ones which James drew on, suggesting that, like Celia, he had a rather unstructured approach to his work, perhaps because he was a lone teacher in his department and accustomed to organising his work with only his own needs

in mind. However, unlike Celia, he did not appear to have the pedagogical orientation which assisted her to find ways she could work with students.

10.3 Conceptual Tools

Because he seemed to be struggling to find his own understandings and directions, the conceptual tools that James drew on appeared to be the main source of the tensions that he seemed to be experiencing in his teaching. From his work in training situations in industry he seemed to have developed a managerial model of interpersonal interaction and an instructional model of teaching which he was finding did not assist him in his classroom practice. The greatest confusion for him, though, appeared to derive from his concept of himself.

10.3.1 Concept of himself

James appeared to believe that his subjectivity was shaped by his ability to train others:

I did a lot of training in industry, customer service training as well as more practical training, so I have always been in the role of understanding something and then training others. I have always had that role. And there is, yes, I suppose that's who I am as a person, so I've come to recognise that

However, he also seemed to equate training with teaching and it may be that this equation contributed to some of the difficulty he reported experiencing in his classroom relationships.

He appeared to see himself as someone who tried to do things which others prevented him from achieving. There were several occasions in the interview when he appeared to shift responsibility for lack of success with an action to someone else. For example, when talking about his plans for the future he remarked: I was thinking about going down the pastoral route in schools, but I...My Head...You see, I applied for a job, got an interview for a Head of Year job and at the end of it he sat me down and said, 'James, I don't see you in this form, this capacity. I think you are more of a Business Studies Head of Department'.

The false starts in this segment suggest that he was trying different ways to present his apparent rejection as a pastoral leader. He finally presented it as a narrative which allowed him to be active in applying for the post and the Head to be the subject of the process of rejection, so that he could be seen as trying to do things which others prevented him from achieving.

A similar strategy was evident when he was asked whether he would consider developing his mentoring work. Rather than saying no, he suggested that although 'I did consider that', that avenue was closed to him because:

You have to get a proper qualification these days don't you? You've got to go through Midshires university and get a qualification to be a recognised teacher trainer or whatever. But it came through from Midshires to me - last year was it? Not that they were saying I have got to do it. They were just saying 'For those of you who have an interest in initial teacher education, if you want to move on in this, this is the step you've got to take. You've got to take this qualification'.

Alan, Course Tutor, Midshires advised that:

We do offer a Master's level module in mentoring and this can lead to a mentoring certificate or a certificate in school improvement. We encourage people to take it, but there is nothing compulsory about it.

James then, appeared to be reluctant to develop himself as a mentor and to see himself as someone whose possibilities for action were shaped by other people.

10.3.2 Relationships with pupils

Although he did comment that he 'loved' the inquisitiveness of his adult learners, unlike Celia, Alan and Barbara, James did not appear to enjoy working with young people. Running through his discussion of how he worked as a teacher was a sense of distance from his pupils, that he was not much interested in young people:

The sort of [indecipherable] they talk about now, I don't know what they're on about even though my children...my lads are very much into music and in one way or another I get the stuff that is going on but they play some stuff that...I don't know.

He gave the impression that he wanted to be liked by them. 'I don't think that they don't like me' he commented at one stage, the double negative pointing to a reserve in suggesting that the pupils might like him. When pupils appeared not to be interested in what he had to teach, his response was to dismiss them:

I actually said to my Head of Department 'There is a group of four lads in Year 11 GNVQ. They just want to sit there and just look at motor cars and motor bikes. Blow them. Because there's another ten who do want to achieve.

And I work with those ten and occasionally I will have a moan at them down there but I am not going to lose sleep over it.

On the one hand, then, he appeared to be saying that he wanted to develop friendly relationships with his pupils, but on the other, he was rejecting them because they did not share his interests.

Later in the interview when he was talking about why he felt so disaffected that he wanted to leave teaching, he again commented that he responded to pupil disinterest by ignoring those who appeared not to want to work:

You're on about what you can expect from a group. So within a certain group, I know that I can expect to get very, very little work out of them. So I take the best five out and put them in another group and put another five Charlies into that group and say 'OK. When this class comes along, I am going to achieve this.' So instead of 'I'm going to achieve this much with them, I want to achieve...' And if I achieve that much I've done good.

However, he also believed that if he could talk to pupils individually he might be able to encourage them to work more, but felt frustrated that he could not do this as:

...those who shout loudest get your attention because then you're saying 'Can you please calm down. I will deal with you'. So then your time disappears because you are then saying 'Don't do that; I don't want you to do that; I want you to come round here.'

He struggled with what he perceived to be personal confrontation with pupils:

And it's that sort of thing. It's personal confrontation, which I'm saying 'Do I want this? Do I really want this?'.

Confrontational attitudes of pupils were attributed either to emotions:

With students, [i.e., pupils] it's more emotional, hormonal sometimes. They have had a fight with somebody else over there and you just happen to be in the way.

Or to what seemed to be a stereotypical concept of broken homes:

I've got to say: I know what's going on. These kids are coming from broken homes, from a very difficult social environment. Mum or Dad will just say 'There's the money: go to the chip shop'. No wonder these kids don't get any ability to socially integrate.

He contrasted his interaction with pupils with what he had experienced with adults in industry:

I have got to be honest with you. I was in industry and I always felt like you approach an adult; you say 'You have got to do this. You have got to work with this, be able to do this.' If they disagree with you, it's usually on a reasonable basis.

This statement seemed to encapsulate his managerial approach to teaching and pupil relationships.

In contrast to Celia, there was little sense of James reflecting on how he could improve his relationships with pupils or foster interest and enthusiasm for his subject. Yet he commented that he had noticed that his female students did not appear to have the same difficulties with his 'problem' group:

Now Polly has come in and started teaching them and they work harder for her that I've seen them work. [...] Now I think Callie, I think she had a very similar...so it's almost like they're able to respond to a female.

James, then, seemed to be struggling to develop working relationships with pupils. Some of this difficulty appeared to arise from a tension between his goal of helping pupils pass exams and his understanding of how teacher-learner relationships ought to work.

10.3.3 Model of teaching

The model of teaching that James appeared to use was a largely functional, narrowly-focused one. For example, his measure of whether a student should pass the course appeared to be linked only to a limited understanding of what constituted classroom knowledge and skills, and their relationships with colleagues and pupils:

I think at the end of the day what I am looking for is this: am I personally confident in this person's ability to teach in the classroom? But it's not just that. It's what are they like when they are talking with me? What are they like when they are talking with [the Deputy Head Teacher]? What are they like when they

are talking with the tutor group? Have they got themselves involved in other things?

'Ability to teach in the classroom' appeared to mean that students could plan lessons and develop appropriate relationships:

What am I basically looking for? I'm looking for this person who can stand up in this class and they can teach them. They can set them work, they can plan their work and they can talk to a mum or dad if they need to and they can have a bit of fun and a laugh with the kids when they want to as well.

Yet as he talked about his own experiences in the classroom, it was apparent that he tended not to involve himself too much with pupils outside the school curriculum – he mentioned going home during non-contact time – and that he was struggling to be accepted in a pastoral role.

Teaching seemed to be conceptualised as instruction. When talking about his work with adults, he spoke approvingly of the way they behaved, suggesting that his classroom relationship with them accorded with his perception of what should happen in the classroom:

I have got an adult education class tonight starting at 4pm. They come in and I tell them what they are going to be doing. They say OK. [...] If I am working with some of them, they say 'James can I have...?' and I say 'I'll be with you in a minute.' And they sit there quietly. And then I get around.

However, he went on to show that he tended to do things for learners when they needed help rather than helping them to do it for themselves. When they asked for explanations of what he had done, he said:

I've got a lady, retired for some time I would guess, but she wants...everything I do, if I move the mouse a click, she'll say 'Why did you do that? What was that for?'. And I have to stop and think because you do it quickly. You don't realise that you have done it almost and you have to backtrack and say 'What did I do?'.

James' use of the generalising pronoun 'you' in this segment suggested that he presupposed that most teachers worked with learners in this way.

With pupils, he expressed approval of behaviour which followed the pattern of teacher instructing and learner doing as instructed:

I've got one Year 10 class that I think [indecipherable] come in and sit down and you're saying 'Do you have something to do?'. 'Yes sir.' 'Do you need any help?' 'No Sir.' You're walking around and somebody will say 'Can you show me?' and you walk around again. It's all very civilized. It's the complete opposite to this morning ...

For James, it seemed, pupils were either academic or vocational. Pupils, he believed, had to be involved in some kind of work in the classroom and the work needed to be matched to their potential. He appeared to make an irreconcilable distinction between school as academic and pupils as vocational, suggesting a source of tension:

And that's the problem I think. Either the school is going to be an academic environment or it's got to say yes, we accept that sixty percent of our students need vocational training. They don't need...You don't have them sitting there in the classroom. But the problem is you have then got to have say, well we therefore need some sort of activity that they can be doing, and they won't take part unless it's got some real value to it.

His use of the deontic modal verbs 'need' and 'got to' here pointed to a strong sense of obligation and he appeared to be frustrated because he believed that those obligations could not be met in his classroom.

From his discussion of how he worked with pupils and adults, then, James appeared to conceptualise his classroom practice as instruction rather than assisted learning. He had two main strategies for dealing with pupils: he first used a directive approach to classroom management and if that was unsuccessful, he ignored them. There was a sense of him seeing things in terms of irreconcilable alternatives, rather than being willing to explore dialectical tension.

10.3.4 Model of mentoring

James appeared to have a functional model of mentoring which seemed to draw partly on an apprenticeship understanding of teacher education and partly on a view that having students in the department was a way of bringing in additional staff to help him out.

Mentoring appeared to be implicitly understood as providing the opportunities for students to practise skills of lesson planning and classroom control which they had learned in the HEI. His focus when talking about student work in the school was on their ability to plan lessons and their ability to manage classes, though there was some sense of him assisting the students with these skills:

She would be preparing a lesson over there and I would be getting on with something up here and she would just start saying about whatever the lesson was, whether it was the previous lesson or the contact she'd had with someone the previous day. [...] But it was the fact that we were always, always talking about so and so, what it was to be a teacher and yes, reflecting on what she had done or the problems she was having. And also getting into writing her assignments with us and helping her to think these things through.

Although there was an apparent cosiness in the relationship between the student and James implied by this segment, there was also a distance: she was 'over there' and he was 'up here', suggesting that discussions were serendipitous rather than engineered or structured. Nonetheless, he implied that there was some joint reflection about 'what it was to be a teacher'; her classroom work and her written assignments. Yet when another, less independent student, wanted assistance, he felt that he had too much work to do to assist:

You eventually have to say to them 'Look, I'm sorry. I can't talk to you. I've got things to do'.

Again, his response to another student's concerns about how she was going to get through her work was to focus her attention on her planning and point out that she appeared to be too reflective:

And I've been trying to get her to cut it down. And I've been saying 'What are you going to do for this lesson?' 'I'm going to do this, this and this.' 'Good.

Excellent. Right, put that to bed get on with the next thing'. Because I know what happens. She goes back to it like an ache in the tooth. Your tongue keeps going to it. And that's what she's been doing.

The focus on a narrow conception of classroom management and lesson planning was evident again with a student who was thinking of leaving:

And the sooner she makes her mind up the better for me. Because the class is also...Having said that, she has done very well in the classroom. No problems at all with discipline. Well that's it. I really think she could do quite well.

His focus was more on his own needs here than on assisting a student through a difficult phase of the course and suggested a lack of awareness of the phases of development through which students go.

On the other hand, he did appear to understand mentoring as assisting development. He began by arguing that the school based part of the course was about 'stretching. It's got to make them stretched', before going on to state that it was about development:

You are encouraging them to develop for goodness' sake!

However, while he appeared to understand that mentoring was for development, he seemed reluctant to initiate that development, perhaps because he had only a limited pedagogy to underpin understandings of what it might be that he was aiming to develop.

For James, a priority in helping the students to learn appeared to be discouraging distracting habits:

They need...I remember back to my very first teaching experience – and this was in a private school - and I did...The whole time I was doing this on the desk[taps the desk with his pen]. And the mentor bless him let me go through the lesson like that and then said 'We don't know if you knew you were doing this but...' And he said 'They were very well behaved' and he said 'You have got to stop'. And Polly who's here now does [covers mouth with hand] while she's talking. Now she's been through her first teaching practice. Maybe they spotted it and said something, or maybe it's nerves.

The sequence of the narrative here suggested that he was modelling the training he gave to his students on his own training which, as he said, was in a private school, which might be expected to have different concepts of classroom management or teaching than those of a semi-rural comprehensive school.

The other interesting concept to emerge from this segment is his focus on behaviour. This, together with his comment about how well his present student managed her class, even though she was struggling to decide whether she wanted to continue teaching, suggested that he prioritised classroom management in student learning.

James seemed to believe that the interview process in any profession would accurately reveal those who could do the job:

So I sat in on one session with Norman when he was interviewing and ninety percent of the time I agreed with him. I think there were question marks over a couple who he was saying 'I would put that one in first reserve' or something like that. And I was thinking, 'Why first reserve? Tell them now'. So to me, it's like

the Head, he employed somebody else and I thought, 'Why are they here?' And within a short time they'd gone and I thought, well I could have told you that and I haven't even met them. So I don't know what it is really.

More than anything, this seemed to reveal the tension that James appeared to experience between his understanding of the world of industry and the world of the classroom. He appeared to believe that the selection process for access to a training course would accurately identify those who not only showed that they might have the potential to be teachers, but who already had the skills of a teacher so that, during the PGCE course, the role of mentors and tutors was to polish them. His use of the phrase 'in post' to describe the practice placement in the following segment suggests a confusion between understanding the student as learner who needs assistance and understanding the student as a practitioner who needs to be brought in to line:

But to me, if you've interviewed them right, then you don't need to be that hard on them when they are in post.

James questioned the value of much of what was done in the university phase of training:

I would make teacher training...I wonder sometimes what value there is in their university work. I think they need the first few weeks in university just to get together, and they would need obviously pulling out saying 'What have you learned in the week? What have you learned here?' Paradoxically however, he appeared to believe that it was the university's function to develop the student as a reflective practitioner, and not part of his responsibility. Similarly, the role of the university was seen as to prepare the student for work in school: again, there is little sense that he perceives this to be part of his work as a mentor.

James suggested that he made decisions about students' progress in isolation from others who might be working with the student. When talking about how he made decisions about whether a student should pass the course, his reply, using the first person pronoun, suggested that it was a personal decision:

So I am going to...For me, I think at the end of the day what I am looking for is this: am I personally confident in this person's ability to teach in the classroom?

In mentoring then, James appeared to withdraw from students who were unable to work independently in the same way as he withdrew from his pupils. He focused on a narrow conception of the students' learning needs and tended to have a pragmatic approach to skill development: if the student could manage and plan for lessons at Middlemarch, that was good enough. He did not offer any discussion of development of students for other contexts.

The data suggested that though James had a limited awareness of his role in developing students' skills, knowledge and reflective practice, he was only able to do this if the student took the initiative: his work with Callie in fact appeared to suggest that she was the initiator of much of James' learning rather than the other way round. With Patrick and the other students he had worked with, there was little sense in the data that he was able to, or wanted to, initiate reflection on their learning.

10.3.5 Mentoring relationships

Relationships with students seemed to depend on how competent they were as teachers when they arrived in school. His first experience of mentoring was with a mature student, Callie, who had been able to work largely independently, and he spoke positively of her as a colleague with whom he could share ideas (10.3.4 above).

He appeared more reluctant to engage with those students who were less sure, perceiving them as people he had to support emotionally, and, as he pointed to in his discussion on pupil behaviour, he had difficulty in dealing with emotional instability. Following comments on how problematic the mentoring relationship with Patrick had been, he moved on to talking about the student, Polly, who was with him at the time of the interview, and who had followed Patrick in to the department:

And then she walks in through the door and I am thinking 'My goodness! I've got someone else that I'm going to have to prop up.'

His choice of 'prop up' to describe the student's need suggested that he felt some resentment at being asked for emotional support. He goes on to reinforce this impression, suggesting that he found this emotional neediness inconvenient:

She hasn't turned up today. She's got the flu. So I am just thinking 'Has she really got the flu or is she making her mind up whether to come back?' And the sooner she makes her mind up the better for me.

He frequently stated that he felt he had 'bitten off more than he could chew' by being a mentor. This phrase usually occurred when he was discussing students who needed more of his time and emotional support than he felt he was able or willing to give:

Now if I was part of a bigger department of Business Studies then I think I could say 'Yes, I could see myself looking at [the mentoring] role but because I am the only one, so all the Business Studies and Leisure and Tourism administration sits on my desk. You eventually have to say to [the students] 'Look, I'm sorry, I can't talk to you; I have got things to do. Now [the two students I had at the time] were great, but I just felt very, very tired by the end of the term, and then Patrick came in. And I realised I had bitten off more than I could chew by having three trainee teachers in an academic year. [...] And then I thought 'I got on so well with Callie, I would go further and have two of them, and I realised I had bitten off more than I could chew.

As with the interview process, James seemed to be rather confined in his thinking about students who had reached a point in their learning where they were questioning their commitment to teaching:

But for me the selection process is so crucial and the girl who I've got now is a borderline case because she does not know whether she wants to do it. Now if she is not sure whether she wants to do it, then really, I'd say don't bother.

He appeared to lack a model of the stages that students go through in their learning which might have supported his relationship with this student and because he had no underpinning pedagogic orientation to support and guide him, he seemed to feel helpless.

James' model of the kinds of relationship that he thought teachers should have with pupils appeared to be a little contradictory. At one point in the interview, he complained that the students wanted to be too friendly with pupils. A little later, he commented that one of his students, Patrick, couldn't relate to the pupils. At the end of his interview, he argued that he envisaged the model of a trained teacher as someone who could 'have a bit of fun and laugh with the kids'.

Again, although he was focused on the students' relationships with pupils rather than merely offering a place in which students could practise delivering a curriculum, he did not appear able to articulate a pedagogy of ITE.

10.4 Motivation for participation in teaching and mentoring

James' motivation for becoming a teacher was difficult to ascertain because he appeared to be so disaffected with what was involved in classroom work and with his relationships with pupils. He did not explain why he had decided to make the career change from industry to education, but perhaps his experience of training adults in industry and teaching in prisons had been a factor.

His participation in mentoring appeared to be guided by self-interest initially: he enjoyed having an additional Business Studies teacher in the department who could relieve him of some of his teaching so that he could focus on his administrative tasks. When asked why he had taken on the mentoring in his department, he replied:

And I am thinking 'Great. They are going to come in and they could do that and that', and I am thinking 'I could get some of this done out of the way while they are teaching'.

However, his motivation for mentoring was not quite as self-interested as he sometimes made it appear. He had enjoyed having some students in the department to share ideas with and felt that participation in ITE could benefit the whole school, teachers and pupils alike:

I think we as teachers benefit from having new teachers coming through the school. I really feel that. Particularly people like me and Fred, who is really just a one man band. You can get somebody else you can bounce ideas off. It makes you stop and think 'Well, let's think about that'. And you are constantly reflecting on your work and why you are doing it. We as teachers need to be self aware and reflecting constantly.

He used the generalising 'you' as the subject of the processes in this statement, suggesting that he believed reflection was a common benefit for teachers who are mentors. However, his espoused subjectivity here (Argyris and Schön, 1992) as a reflective teacher appeared to be in tension with the subjectivity-in-use that emerged elsewhere in the data, possibly because he lacked the pedagogic tools to help his reflective process.

Participation in ITE was good for the pupils because:

...I think it does my students good to have another voice teaching Business Studies or Leisure and Tourism, because they can hear me day in day out. And I will be as flexible as I can but at the end of the day if somebody else will come in and say 'I'll do it like this' that's a good idea. And they need it. They need it. They need variety. That's my opinion.

Yet, although he appeared here to be pointing to benefits for the pupils in his participation in ITE, underlying his remarks was a sense that he was also trying to justify a desire to distance himself from his pupils, which emerged more strongly in his discussion of relationships with pupils (10.3.2 above).

As with other aspects of his teaching and mentoring then, James seemed to be confused about why he wanted to work in ITE. He appeared to be relying on his managerial concepts to guide his work in teaching and mentoring, rather than actively developing an alternative, pedagogic, orientation. However, as was pointed out in Celia's case, neither the school nor the HEI appeared to be offering the kinds of space in which James might be assisted to re-orient himself.

10.5 Language Tools

10.5.1 General preferences

James' choice of language tools in the interview appeared to reflect much of the confusion that he seemed to be feeling in his school life at the time. His tone and lexical choices reflected a rather negative attitude to his classroom work most of the time, though when he spoke of what he perceived to be his successes, - for him, pupils coming to say thank you for teaching me - he became more enthusiastic. He also spoke very positively of his experiences with female students who had made few demands on his time and who had been perceived as co-teachers.

Most of the time, he drew on simple, non-Latinate language – his average word length was 3.79, slightly longer than Celia's but still shorter than government or any HEI tutor.

Yet occasionally he used a phrase which was at odds with the otherwise lower register choices. When talking about his reflections on what to do rather than teaching he talked about 'looking in the training/human resource employment area', because 'I've got professional experience' The choice of the Latinate and formal 'employment' and 'professional experience' sat uncomfortably in his otherwise informal discussion. The choices appeared to reflect his middle-management background, which, alongside his comment that students 'needed to hit the ground running', standing out as formulaic expressions belonging more to managerial discourse than to classroom discourse.

10.5.2 Cognitive and affective language

As with Celia and the HEI tutors, James appeared to use more cognitive markers in his discussion of his work than affective, (as shown in Table 8, below) suggesting that his focus was on the cognitive aspects of teaching and learning:

Cognitive	Government/	James/	11,117	Government/	Affective
Markers	43,184			43,184	Markers
	ŕ				
Assess*	255	0	2	6	Attention*
Believe	1	0	1	55	Aware*
Identify*	45	1	16	5	Feel*
Know*	227	78	1	1	Listen*
Organise*	27	2	0	17	Respect
Reflect*	25	4	2	18	Respond*
Think*	10	113	1	58	Responsible*
Understand*	137	18	0	10	Sensitive*
Total: 8	727	216	23	170	Total: 8

Table 8: Comparison of James' cognitive and affective language with government's (* indicates that the base form of the word and its lemmas were counted)

However, a noticeable feature of James' discussion was that he did not appear to consider pupil or student learning very much: his emphasis was more on what he did in the classroom, which he labelled teaching. The *Wordsmith* word count of his interview data revealed that he used the verb 'teach*' 40 times during the interview, as opposed to the

verb 'learn*' 7 times, or 'develop*' 3 times, which seemed to support my impression of a teacher with little focus on learning.

Again, as with Celia, James used the process 'think' more frequently than any other cognitive process. A concordancing of those 113 uses shows that all except six introduce opinions rather than pointing to reflection. Of the remaining six uses, only two point to reflection on his teaching: the other four relate to him considering his future in teaching.

However, when talking about his work in ITE, he appeared to conceptualise teachers as emotionally responsive to what happened in the classroom:

And that is what I'm saying about how this person emotionally...How is this person feeling about things at the moment? That's not in here [the Standards document]. And it's almost like saying 'We have got these criteria and if they can dot the I's and cross the T's then they are a good teacher when they're not.

10.5.3 Standards language

As James had come in to teaching from industry, and appeared to have brought with him managerial concepts, it might be expected that his language would reflect the managerial language of the Standards document. However, as can be seen in Table 9, this appeared not to be so: rather, James suggested that he found the language alienating.

Keyword	Government	James – Business	Midshires Alan	university Barbara
		Studies		
Total number	43,184	11,117	12,816	8,395
of words in text				
Account*	54	0	1	0
Achieve*	104	12	0	0
Assess*	255	0	1	1
Benchmark*	11	0	0	0
Choice*	16	1	0	0

Deliver*	15	1	0	2
Demonstrate	170	0	0	0
Design*	36	0	6	0
Effective*	99	0	2	0
Efficient	4	0	0	0
Goals	8	0	0	1
Manage*	70	18	2	4
Monitor*	34	0	0	0
New	19	7	4	16
Outcome*	10	0	0	1
Partnership*	73	0	10	4
Perform*	34	2	2	0
Target *	28	6	2	5
Train*	1029	22	12	29

Table 9: Comparison of James' use of Standards language with government's and tutors'

Although James' use of managerial key words appeared to be greater than Celia's, Alan's or Barbara's, this might be because he was a Business Studies teacher. Yet during the interview, James expressed his dislike for the language of the Standards document (to which he refers as 'competences', using the earlier word for Standards) and found it 'bizarre':

I think the competences should be rewritten. I think they are written...For one thing, they don't talk about the person in terms of their lack of competences, or they must be able to do this and they must be able to do that. I mean, they've changed it now because at one point they talked about...about...I forget the language now, but something like "This person is embedded of...' Yeah. Stupid language. It's bizarre.

He goes on to talk about how he finds educational language generally difficult to get hold of: But again, I think part of it...It's almost like an educational language which I'm still juggling with. I really do. Even now. Will will talk in meetings [...] and I feel like I am not even present because I am struggling just to understand the language that we're talking about here.

James' remarks here seemed to point to the notion that access to language provides access to ideas and conversations about teaching. Although he was a mentor, he did not appear to feel that he had sufficiently accessed the language of the practices of teaching and mentoring. This sense of standing just outside the practice looking in runs through much of what James appeared to be trying to express about his work and might have contributed to some of the difficulties he experienced in his work. In addition, it suggests that he was unable to find spaces in the school and HEI for developing a language of education.

James went on from here to draw attention to some tension he appeared to feel between what the Standards document appeared to be requiring of students and what he believed he should be looking for. His frustration with the Standards document was aggravated because the document is in two parts: the statements of competences or Standards which are to be met in order to qualify to teach (*Qualifying to Teach*) followed by an additional, thicker, *Handbook* which amplifies the Standards:

We've got all the new things but that [Qualifying to Teach] is then expanded into this thing [the Handbook] which I was given last week. So now, when I'm saying...I don't know what...[he picks a Standard from the document] 'They have a secure knowledge and understanding of their subject'. This [the Handbook] has then gone on to say what they actually need. So you have to say 'This [Qualifying to Teach] is the scope of what it means and this [the Handbook] is the evidence that they'll be

looking for'. Now this is an awful lot for me as a mentor to take on, because what they're saying is when they are...when we're going through this I have to know what evidence I'm looking for.

The resistance to the Standards document that James seemed to express here suggested that he was trying to work with students using the document but without the guidance of the HEI on its interpretation. But as emerged from the discussion of James' conceptual tools in 10.3, the resistance also came from tension between James' conceptualisation of teacher education and the HEI's and once again, there appeared to be no spaces within which this tension might be resolved.

10.6 Concluding remarks: towards an understanding of James' subjectivity in ITE

James' subjectivity seemed to be rather confused. On the one hand, he was struggling to discover a sense of direction for himself in his working life, and was no longer convinced that he wanted to pursue a career in the classroom; and on the other, he was criticising a student for experiencing the same dilemma and not acting to resolve it. Although he constructed himself as a teacher, he seemed not to enjoy working with young people, yet he had wanted to be a Pastoral Head, which would have made greater demands on his skills in dealing with the emotional teenagers that he had so much trouble understanding. Perhaps his confusion here might be explained by suggesting that it was groups of young people that he was unhappy working with: he commented at one point that he felt his relationships with the difficult groups might be improved if he could deal with them individually. Nonetheless, he appeared to prefer working with adults rather than teenagers, even though he became frustrated with the more dependent ones.

He had developed a managerial style of teaching in which he told his learners what to do, or verified that they already knew what to do, and then expected them to do it. He appeared to perceive his role to be that of supervising instructor, helping where necessary and monitoring compliance.

As a mentor, James appeared to use the students to take over some of his work to release him to do paperwork. Where students were unable to do this independently, he seemed to become frustrated and unsure of what to do with them. He appeared to resent demands on his time which required him to help them learn, yet was aware that in theory at least, mentors were supposed to develop students and foster reflective practice. Nonetheless, there was a gap between his understanding that this was what he should do and his will or ability to do it.

In mentoring as in teaching, James appeared to have difficulty in relating to learners who needed him to help them learn rather than allowing him to instruct. When he had a student such as Callie, who was largely independent and apparently able to direct her own learning, James enjoyed being able to work with her as a colleague in a mutual learning relationship. Where he had a student such as Patrick who seemed to be less independent and in greater need of guidance, James struggled to form a positive relationship and appeared to resent the drain on his time and energy. For James, the students appeared to be tools which enabled him to achieve his object of avoiding teaching pupils he struggled with.

James was the only mentor in the study who had come to teaching from another profession. His business background appeared to assist him with teaching Business Studies, but ironically did not appear to help him understand the Standards document: rather the opposite. A further irony, given the managerial approaches adopted by government for education, was that James' business background and managerial approaches also appeared to get in the way of his work as a teacher. They seemed to lead

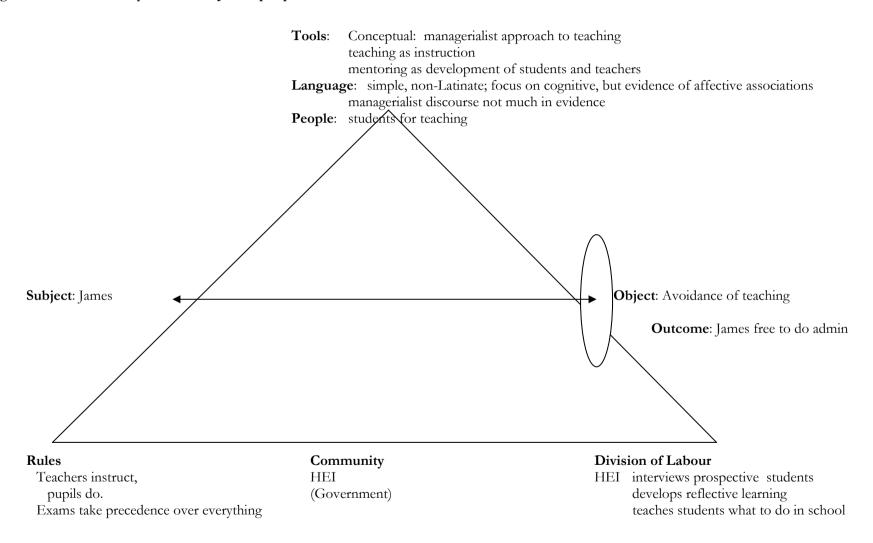
him to an understanding of his role and relationships with learners which was in tension with learners' understandings and which led him to apparent conflict with his pupils.

Tensions appeared to emerge for James as his managerial approaches seemed to be in conflict with what the community of learners in the school wanted him to do. There also appeared to be some tension between his espoused subjectivity as a mentor who understood the need to develop students' reflective practice and his subjectivity in use as a mentor who was reluctant to engage with struggling students.

Perhaps most interestingly of all, James, with a background in industry, working as a Business Studies teacher adopting managerialist approaches to teaching, did not appear to enter managerialist discourses. Instead, he suggested that he found the language of the Standards document, which did adopt a managerialist discourse, 'bizarre'. He did however enter the discourse of reflective practice to the extent that he perceived a benefit of mentoring to be that it made teachers think about their practice.

To summarise how James appeared to present himself as a mentor, in Figure 22 overleaf, I have attempted to represent diagrammatically the activity of ITE from his perspective.

Figure 22: Model of activity of ITE from James' perspective



10. 7 Comparison of the Middlemarch mentors with those in Lowick

Although the Lowick mentors, Hilary and Gordon, seemed to have developed more confident and robust mentor subjectivities, they nonetheless shared some concepts and tensions. However, where Celia and James appeared to have little contact with Midshires University, Hilary and Gordon both attended mentor meetings regularly and participated in additional working parties set up by Ledshire University partnership to focus on aspects of the PGCE course, and this may have assisted them to develop confidence both in the partnership and in their own mentoring. Hilary in particular was sufficiently confident in her work to be able to offer students advice which was different from that given by the tutor:

And I say to them 'Have you been told to do the register at the beginning?' 'Yes. 'Don't.' 'Ah, but we've been told...' 'Don't. You're in my school now. I'll see [the tutors]. If they pick up on the fact that you're not doing the register at the beginning of the lesson and if you tell them you've been told not to do it. Because I think, I think when they're here, they're under my jurisdiction.

Gordon commented that like Celia, he was keen for students to be independent, though he preferred to be an observer in the room rather than an assistant:

I am going to stand back unless I have to intervene, but that doesn't happen very often at all. It is stepping back and concentrating on what the students are doing. Of course, obviously you have a look at what the class is doing in response to what the student is doing. I suppose sometimes one does help with the class [...]if a confrontation is going to happen, the students lose their attention very

quickly, then I will help out and try to get them moving on their own work. But I don't feel that's a tension.

Again, Gordon's confidence in mentoring is apparent in his willingness to allow the student control of the class until it seems that they are losing it. His focus appeared to be less on the safety of the class (as Celia's was) than on the student feeling in control.

Unlike Celia, Hilary did not appear to need confirmation from the HEI tutor that what she was doing was right to enable her to work with students: she was sufficiently assured in her knowledge of her pupils' needs to know that she was better placed to assist her students to work with these pupils. Her approach thus offered students wider learning opportunities by presenting them with more than one way to manage classrooms and, though her ways were situated in her classroom, by having more than one perspective on how to act in classrooms, students might be able to transfer learning more effectively between settings.

Like Celia and James, both Hilary and Gordon prioritised pupil learning over student development, and neither was willing to allow students to work with Year 11 classes. For Hilary, as for Celia, relationships with pupils were at the heart of her work:

...it isn't a measure of 'Look at my mark'. This is what they've all got. It's 'Do they hand their homework in? Do they say hello to you in the corridors? Do they sit down and listen to what you've got to say? If they saw somebody having a go at you, would they come to your defence?' It's all kinds of things. And you can't actually teach students that: it's something they have to find out on their own. They've got to find their own level with the kids. But what I can teach them is how to be with them.

However, where Celia was struggling to find ways to assist students' understandings of how to build relationships with pupils, Hilary was confident enough in her knowledge of her pedagogy to know how to foster that development in students.

Gordon too was keen to foster learning that could be applied not just in the setting of Lowick but in other settings:

We are always looking to try to make them settle and give them evaluations to build on their teaching and improve later on and over the years. [...] I suppose it amounts to looking at what they've been doing and putting questions, put forward suggestions to them as to what they might do as an alternative in their evaluation. And read books that they use then [for] the kind of ideas that you might use in a future lesson.

Gordon and Hilary appeared to work more collaboratively with their departments than Celia and James. Both tended to talk in terms of what 'we' did and commented that other departmental colleagues were involved in work with students, with Gordon in particular highlighting that all members of his department (Science) were trained mentors:

So the staff to some degree are involved. I am not the only mentor in this department. OK, I think there are only two of us currently working in the official capacity but my colleague in the other room is also a qualified mentor: although he is not being used, he is a qualified mentor as well, so you can find someone

else who is a biology teacher and there's two more in Science. [...] There are at least five approved mentors in this department.

It may be that this collaborative approach within Lowick, together with the stronger relationship with the HEI tutors, contributed to the confident and robust subjectivities of Hilary and Gordon in ITE.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSIONS AND EVALUATION OF THE STUDY

11.1 Summary of aims and purpose

The purpose of this project was to explore some of the ways that teachers who worked as mentors might negotiate or organize the potentially conflicting practices they worked in, through an investigation of the language, conceptual tools and rules that they appropriated or resisted. One of the propositions on which the investigation rested was that discourse and activity were two aspects – speaking/thinking and acting - of the same practice, and that investigation of the discourse aspect of a practice might offer insights to the acting aspect.

The study aimed to answer the following questions in relation to a small study of four mentors working within two partnerships:

- What conceptual tools of the mentor are pointed to, perhaps by representational meanings within their talk?
- What language tools in use in ITE do mentors appropriate or resist?
- What rules or expectations appear to afford or constrain mentors' work in ITE?
- What oppositions, or dualisms, emerge for mentors' in discussion of their work,
 which might suggest tensions for mentors?
- What mentor subjectivities are pointed to by identification meanings of a mentor's language (as revealed, perhaps, by assumptions, modalities and evaluations)?

The mentors were placed in the context of the HEI partnerships in which they worked (discussed in Chapter 8), and in turn, the partnership was seen in the context of the government's key policy document relating to ITE, the Standards document (Chapter 7). In addition, the

mentor data was understood in the context of a review of literature relating to mentoring, and some of its associated discourses (Chapters 2 and 3). The findings of each chapter were summarised and are now drawn together to present overall conclusions in answer to the research questions.

11.2 What conceptual tools are pointed to, perhaps by representational meanings within their talk?

11.2.1 Pedagogic and managerial tools

There appeared to be two dominant groups of conceptual tools in use in the activity which shaped possibilities for the subject's work in ITE: pedagogic tools, which appeared to guide understandings of teaching and mentoring for those participants who were focused on pupil or student learning as the object of their work; and managerial tools which seemed to shape some of the rules which afforded or constrained that work. One set of pedagogic tools, together with some of the managerial tools, was offered through the government produced Standards document which guided work in ITE.

Through the Standards document, discussed in Chapter 7, government set out its concepts of what it meant to be a teacher, concepts which foregrounded the cognitive rather than the affective aspects of teaching and learning. It adopted a managerialist approach to ITE, directing the ways that HEIs and schools were to work together, and constructing the HEI as the administrator, organiser and quality assurer of the PGCE course. Such an approach seemed to limit the agency of the HEI in its work on the object of educating novice teachers (Chapter 8). The managerialist approach also appeared to create tensions for the HEI tutors who drew strongly on their pedagogically oriented concepts to assist them in their work in ITE and who seemed to resist the imposed subjectivities and managerialism of the Standards document, though it would be helpful to carry out further research to develop a deeper understanding of

how far and through what mechanisms the Standards document afforded or constrained tutors' work with mentors.

Three of the mentors in the study were mostly guided by pedagogic concepts which allowed them to work with students and pupils even when, as in the case of Celia (Chapter 9), they were struggling to articulate and develop their pedagogy. The pedagogic orientation to mentoring appeared to provide the mentors with what, where to and how tools which enabled them to act on the object of the student.

Where the mentor (Chapter 10) lacked pedagogic tools, he appeared unable to act in teaching except in managerialist ways which led to tension between himself as subject and his pupils as objects, which he attempted to resolve by abrogating responsibility for teaching and using the student as a tool to work on the object of the pupil. This then created tension for him in the activity of ITE when the student was not able to act as he appeared to have presupposed and he appeared unable either to restructure his subjectivity or to develop tools to assist him in resolving this further tension.

11.2.2 Approaches to mentoring

11.2.2.1 HEIs

The tutors in Midshires University seemed to espouse concepts of ITE which drew from the Relationship lens and from the Whole School lens (Chapter 3): Alan (Course Tutor, Midshires) in particular expressed a desire to move towards mentoring departments. The concepts of nurturing and collaboration implied by these approaches did not, however, appear to be concepts-in-use by all the tutors at Midshires: Barbara appeared to adopt more of a managerialist or directive approach with her mentors, using the mentoring handbook as the main tool for communication between Midshires University and mentors, and as a set of rules for how to act in the practice. There was little evidence of the kind of interpersonal dialogue with mentors that

Barbara evinced that she fostered. These findings suggest further research questions, in particular:

- What tensions are created by differences between tutors' espoused concepts and concepts-in-use?
- How is the mentor handbook used in the activity of ITE?
- What tensions are there between the subjectivities that tutors construct for themselves
 in ITE and the subjectivities that mentors construct for tutors?

Lowick University tutors appeared to have more robust and successful relationships with their mentors in spite of expressing greater concern about the tensions that they experienced between the desire to act in ITE and the pressure to act as researchers. Additional research might investigate how far, and what kind of, balance of pedagogic and managerialist orientations contributed to successful partnership relationships; and how the pressure to research might shape work in ITE within research-led institutions.

11.2.2.2 Mentors

In their work in ITE, the mentors in the study appeared to draw heavily on their concepts of teaching to guide their work with students: what they appeared to be looking for in a student teacher was their ability to teach in the ways that the mentors understood teaching. Their work with students, then, appeared to be directed towards ensuring that students could teach in the sense of transmitting curriculum knowledge; managing classroom behaviour and developing appropriate relationships with pupils. Appropriate relationships appeared to be understood as 'not being their friends' (as James put it) but being able to talk with them about their non-school interests (Celia) or being able to 'have a laugh and a joke with them' (James).

James' understanding of teaching derived from his managerial experience and concepts: he expected to tell pupils what to do and them to obey. He had no tools for dealing with pupils

who did not do as instructed other than to stop interacting with them and ignore them. Celia, on the other hand, appeared able to draw on her pedagogic tools to assist her management of pupils.

Because Celia had not received any training in mentoring, she was developing her own understandings of what it meant to mentor students, guided mostly by her desire to pass on her knowledge and skills. With James, it was more difficult to identify guiding concepts for ITE as he appeared to be struggling with his subjectivity as a teacher and appeared to presuppose that students could already teach.

Tensions within the tools of the activity and between subject and community appeared to restrict the spaces within which the Middlemarch mentors could develop pedagogic tools to guide their work. The HEI's managerial approach (as reported in Chapter 8), through which they presupposed that mentors were able to develop students using the mentor handbook to guide them, did not appear to assist the creation of such spaces. Because Barbara had discussed the contents of the handbook with them, it seemed to be assumed by her that mentors would understand it and be able to follow it and she seemed to ignore the effect of mentors' absences from meetings at which the handbook was discussed. Within the school, colleagues were perceived as either too busy or too disinterested to be able to discuss and be involved in ITE. This left both mentors largely desert-islanded (Edwards and Collison, 1996) with their students and, unless they had tools with which they could construct a model of mentoring, they had little to assist their work with the students. Where the mentor had a strong pedagogic orientation, she was able to work with some success in ITE, but where the mentor lacked both a model of mentoring and a pedagogic orientation, as in the case of James, he appeared to struggle.

What appeared to be lacking within mentors' discussion of their work was a sense of a community with whom they collaborated in ITE. All the mentors talked about their work as though they were in isolation from other teachers in their school, and there was no mention of mentors in other schools with whom they felt that they could network. Links with HEI tutors, as

discussed above, were limited, though Hilary and Gordon in Lowick School appeared to have more positive contact with their tutors than Celia and James in Middlemarch School. Mentors in Middlemarch School mentioned their Senior Mentor as someone sympathetic to their work, though he was perceived to be too busy to assist them, which, given that his stated aim (p. 146) in participating in the research was a desire to develop the school's work in ITE and rekindle the sense of a community through participation in this study, is ironic.

Any community which appeared to be at best nascent emerged as either a horizontal community or a vertical one. At Midshires (a teaching-led university), the tutors gave the impression that there was a well integrated team of tutors and mentors implementing partnership in practice though neither of the mentors in this partnership seemed to know their tutors very well. Celia had been working as a mentor for a year before she met her tutor, though this was partly because she did not attend training sessions in twilight hours. James had been present at interviews with his tutor but did not appear to have undertaken any mentor training.

By contrast, in the Ledshire partnership, tutors and mentors reported a positive working relationship, though the tutors appeared not to have such a close community among themselves. This might be explained as a result of the tensions they felt within their HEI between their desire to work in ITE and the pressure to research. It is difficult to know what conclusion to draw from this, though it suggests that there may be scope for further research into the differences between partnerships based in research-led institutions and those based in teaching-led institutions.

11.3 What language tools in use in ITE do mentors appropriate or resist?

Discursive practice is understood as the speaking and thinking aspect of activity. A key finding in the study was that mentors were sometimes able to use the concepts of a discourse of ITE, but did not necessarily have the language with which the concepts might be associated, and *vice versa*. James, in particular, occasionally appeared to draw on some simple concepts of

managerialism, for example in his understanding of how to teach, and occasionally some words which appeared to signal a managerial discourse being drawn on. However, the concepts and the language use were not sufficiently associated or developed to be able to say that he was entering the discourse (understood as combinations of concepts and verbal tools – see p. 7 above) of managerialism.

The Standards document used the discourse of managerialism through which to express its policy though the discourse did not appear to pass though the layers of context to individual mentors, perhaps being filtered by HEIs and then rejected by mentors, who all commented on the unfamiliarity of the language and tended to dismiss the Standards document as incomprehensible to them. However, the interviews for the study were carried out in 2003 when the new Standards document was just coming into use: conversations during work in ITE with mentors in 2006 suggest that some of the resistance to the document's language may have been overcome as it has become a more familiar tool in work with students.

Since the mentors appeared to be resisting some of the concepts and language of the Standards document, it might be said that they were not participating in the discursive practices of the Standards. However, where the mentors appeared to share the concepts but resisted the language of the Standards document, it may be argued that they were not fully participating in the discursive practice, and therefore (if discursive practice and activity are two aspects of the same practice as argued in Chapter 4) perhaps not fully engaging with the activity of ITE, or at least, not with the activity as understood by government as subject. That would suggest that there is some tension within the community in the activity of ITE about how to talk about teaching which might create tension for the mentor in her work with students.

Mentors appeared to prefer to use shorter words which pointed to a non-Latinate vocabulary which in turn suggested lower register language. This may be because they adopted a lower register vocabulary for working with pupils and carried that vocabulary into everyday

conversations about their work. HEI tutors used slightly longer words, but still preferred a non-Latinate vocabulary in the discussions of their work. The Standards document used longer words but was also a written, formal document in which higher register language would be expected. However, tutors could move in and out of this higher register language more easily than the mentors could, perhaps because they were more familiar with it and perhaps because they perceived it as part of their role to be able to do so. The language appeared to be mediated by the tutors through the partnership handbook and associated discussions of it, although neither mentor appeared to use the handbook or attend meetings at which it was discussed, suggesting that neither were powerful mediating tools.

Although they did not use the formal language of reflective practice and professionalism, mentors' discussion of their motivation for mentoring pointed to the concepts of these discourses. They talked about their motivation for involvement in mentoring as being about wanting to develop as teachers. They preferred to talk about 'being made to think'; 'keeping myself fresh'; 'not being bored' rather than 'reflective practice', and about 'doing something extra' or 'giving something back' rather than 'professionalism'.

In 11.2, it was suggested that within the Midshires partnership there appeared to be some tension between the subject mentors and the tutors; and between the tutors themselves. One of the explanations for this might be that the partnership did not seem to have a common language with which to talk about pedagogic issues or about the processes of mentoring. Nor did it appear to offer the spaces for the development of such language, as the tutors appeared to take responsibility for writing the handbook for mentors to work with, albeit after discussion of what mentors' needs might be. Evidence from the Ledshire tutors' data suggested that tutors met more regularly and spoke more informally with mentors: it may be that these meetings and conversations were the spaces within which mentors could develop a language through which to articulate their thinking about their work. Development of a shared language, therefore,

appeared to be key in the building of the community of the activity of ITE, perhaps through using tools such as meetings and handbooks in more focused ways.

11.4 What rules or expectations appear to afford or constrain mentors' work in ITE?

11.4.1 Power relationships

Government appeared to be acknowledged by the tutors as the most powerful member of the activity of ITE, exercising some of its power through funding decisions which were in part linked to Ofsted grading of courses of ITE (p. 27 above).

HEIs in the study felt that they lacked power in the activity, though they were required by the Standards document to administer, organise and monitor ITE provision, which suggested they actually had a degree of power. However, because the tutors from both HEIs felt that pressure to find placements constrained their decisions about which schools to accept in partnership, they tended to feel disempowered.

Though mentors in the study did not explicitly discuss issues of power, they appeared to be unaware of how HEIs perceived them as having the power to affect the status of the partnership's course through the Ofsted inspections, and therefore indirectly to affect the prospects of the tutors. Mentors appeared to assume that tutors had the power to pass or fail students, while they had only the power to influence decisions: tutors, however, appeared to want mentors to take greater responsibility for passing or failing students in line with their understandings of partnership.

11.4.2 Partnership

The rule pertaining to working in partnership did not appear to directly affect mentors' thinking about their work. Partnerships were established between the HEIs and schools through contracts, but the contract was dealt with by senior managers within the schools and the subject mentors appeared to be unaware of the nature of the partnerships formed. The present research did not investigate this intervening layer of context, though it has perhaps shown that there

might be scope for research into how the layers of intraschool context of ITE are managed, and how they afford or constrain particular ways of acting in ITE.

Government appeared to be the most powerful member of the community of ITE and created the key rule that HEIs and schools were required to work in partnership to educate new entrants to the profession. Additional rules established by the Standards document related to division of labour within the partnerships requiring the HEIs to administer, organise and monitor the courses and working practices of the ITE partnerships. Schools were to be equal partners but responsible for developing classroom practice and jointly developing courses. From the government's perspective, HEIs and schools were tools in the implementation of policy relating to ITE.

Those tutors who worked in Ledshire University (the research led institution) unlike their colleagues in Midshires (a teaching led institution), appeared to experience some tension between their object - the student teacher - and the pressure from elsewhere in the university to participate in the activity of research. Most tutors appeared to resolve this tension between activities by prioritising their work in ITE. When mentors experienced tension between participation in mentoring and participation in classroom teaching, the activity of ITE was almost always given the lowest priority by the mentors. It appeared, then, that where participants in ITE experienced tension between two activities which formed part of their employer's expectations of them, they tended to prioritise the activity in which they perceived they were primarily contracted to work, revealing the motive (Leont'ev, 1977) emanating from the object.

11.4.3 Other rules which appeared to shape subjectivity

Celia appeared to have created a rule with which to decide how to work in mentoring by prioritising the activities in which she participated. By deciding that, at least for the moment, she was a mother first, she was able to prioritise her other activities according to how they fitted with being a mother. She appeared to feel a little tension within this rule as she felt that she wanted to

develop as a teacher, but was temporarily limited in the ways she could do so because being a mother restricted both the time she spent in school and the opportunities for developing a profile which would allow her to progress along her career trajectory.

In her work with pupils, Celia believed that though exam results were important, they were not the *raison d'etre* of school work. By contrast, James' rules related to his expectations of learners and what he perceived to be the object of teaching. He had an understanding of teaching in which the rule was that teachers instructed and pupils acted on that instruction, and a further rule which said that exam success took precedence over all else in teaching. Both rules set up tensions for him, as they were in contradiction with each other and with other tools and community members in ITE, yet he appeared unable to rethink how he might work in both teaching and mentoring to avoid this tension. His response at the time of the interview (2003) was to consider leaving the profession, though the school's website visited in 2006 showed that he was still there.

In Celia's case, her rules appeared to help her manage her work and enabled her to construct a subjectivity which was oriented to the object of the student, albeit only weakly and refracted through prioritised activities. However, because of the weakness of the subjectivity, the object was unable to act back on her subjectivity as much as she had hoped it would when she agreed to mentor students. In James' case, his rules appeared to lead him into a subjectivity which seemed to be passive, rather than agentive, and managerialist, rather than pedagogic. The subjectivity which he constructed helped him to develop an object (being released from teaching to focus on administrative tasks) which was in contradiction with other elements of the community and which could not act back on him to shape a mentoring subjectivity, thus setting up a further contradiction for him. Because he did not appear to have the tools to help him resolve his contradiction, he appeared to surrender his agency rather than actively finding new tools.

11.5 What oppositions, or dualisms, emerge in mentors' discussion of their work which might suggest tensions for mentors?

James appeared to experience tensions in his work from contradictions between conceptual tools both within and between activities. He appeared to have an embryonic understanding of mentoring as developing the student teacher which was in tension with his understanding of teaching as instruction and with his apparent use of the student as a tool for avoiding teaching the pupils he struggled with. Because these conceptual tools were further in contradiction with his rules, and because he did not have a strong pedagogic orientation, he appeared to have become unable to act in ITE and was withdrawing into his administrative tasks (where he did not have to interact with learners) while contemplating leaving the profession. When a student he was mentoring experienced similar concerns about whether to continue in teaching, however, he seemed unable to draw on his own experience to support her.

Celia had stronger pedagogic orientation than James and was able to resolve the tensions she experienced from being asked to work in competing or contradictory activities by formulating rules which allowed her to prioritise work while maintaining her focus on working with learners.

Celia additionally experienced tension from her relationship with her HEI tutor: she had an understanding of the tutor's role which did not match the tutor's. Because the opportunities for meeting and discussing these understandings were constrained by Celia's prioritising motherhood over ITE, Celia had to find other ways of resolving the tension for herself, and tended to fall back on her pedagogic tools to develop her own way of assisting student learning rather than by turning to the wider school or ITE community for support.

All mentors appeared to experience tension or contradiction between the language of the Standards document and the language they preferred to use in teaching and ITE. At the time of the study, they appeared to resolve the tension by ignoring or dismissing the Standards document. As this is not an option for the future, the study suggests that it is important for

those who work with mentors, such as HEI tutors, to assist them in developing not only an understanding of the Standards, but also a language through which to share practice (also pointed to in 11.3 above).

11.6 What subjectivities are pointed to by identification meanings of a mentor's language (as revealed, perhaps, by assumptions, modalities and evaluations)?

The study showed that the mentors investigated appeared to work in ways which mirrored some limited aspects of the approaches and models in the literature but were nonetheless quite individual in the subjectivities as mentors that were constructed. Celia and James were struggling to develop mentor subjectivities, though Celia appeared more able to find tools to assist her work because of her strong pedagogic orientation: her subjectivity as a teacher helped her towards a nascent pedagogically oriented mentor subjectivity.

Celia and James provided useful insights into how mentors who were struggling with both the newness of the work and with other issues in their lives might resolve some of the tensions that arose for them. Perhaps because the work was new to both of them, they had not yet internalised many of the ways they worked and seemed therefore more able to bring to the surface what they were experiencing.

The subjectivities that were emerging through their mentoring were apparently quite different from each other: where one was agentive in the work, the other was passive; one had a pedagogic orientation, the other seemed to lack pedagogic tools with which to help him work towards a mentor identity.

However, there were similarities in how they were able to work. Both seemed to feel isolated within the school and the ITE partnership and to lack a sense of belonging to a community of those working in ITE. Although both suggested that their involvement in ITE was a way to develop themselves professionally, there seemed to be little structure or support within which

that development could take place which led to a sense of mentors whose subjectivities were somehow impaired.

11.7 Implications for understanding mentors

It appeared from the research that strongly pedagogically oriented subjectivities were likely to assist mentors to be able to work more successfully in ITE even when there were few spaces for them to develop their subjectivities in either the school or the HEI. This in turn suggested that when a mentor was able to work collaboratively in ITE with her teaching colleagues and HEI tutor in a community of learning, there might be richer possibilities for development of robust subjectivities within the community. Creation of such spaces for development would need to acknowledge that participants brought with them into the activity of ITE subjectivities formed for work in other activities (such as research, teaching or motherhood), and would need to find ways that these subjectivities could perhaps be harnessed in ITE.

The mentor subjectivity which was structured on managerial approaches to teaching and learning and not underpinned by strong pedagogic concepts suggested that these emergent identities were likely to experience some tensions in their work in ITE. If, additionally, there was a weak relationship with the HEI which did not create spaces for the development of pedagogic concepts, the mentor might not be able to deal with tensions and might, through ineffectiveness, leave students to develop themselves. This suggests a need on the part of the HEIs to ensure that mentors have begun to form pedagogically oriented mentoring subjectivities before they work with students, which might, perhaps, be done through mentor preparation courses which foster reflection on personal pedagogy and how that might assist work with students.

There appeared to be scope for further investigating how partnership is presently being understood and operated within ITE. In the Ledshire partnership, where the tutors felt disempowered and alienated from the practical aspects of working with students in classrooms or of working with mentors on developing their skills in ITE, the tutors appeared to feel tension in

their work. Nonetheless, their focus on assisting the mentor to work with students seemed to lead them to develop successful relationships with those mentors, who in turn seemed able to develop robust mentor subjectivities which assisted them in working with students. In the Midshires partnership, where the tutors had developed a model of partnership which understood the concept in managerialist terms, the relationships with the mentors appeared to be less successful in developing robust tools for mentors' work with students. This suggested that the ways that these HEIs constructed their models of working in ITE may have influenced the ways that mentors were able to work with students, and that, while the concept of partnership offered a useful tool for developing relationships in ITE, these HEIs may not have negotiated sufficiently strong concepts of partnership to allow the development of community in ITE in which partnership was a reality, rather than a shadowy guiding rule.

There appeared to be a lack of spaces within the school, ITE partnership or wider education community in which the Middlemarch mentors could develop their conceptual tools and find a language through which to express and develop them. The lack of structure and support in turn led to mentor subjectivities that were limited and which constrained work with students. The development towards a more robust learning community in which the whole school was oriented to teacher education, with strong overlaps with HEIs within which schools and HEIs were able to learn together, might afford a richer understanding of ITE partnership which in turn might go some way to creating learning spaces.

11.8 Contribution to the field

In summary, the study has contributed to understandings of how mentor subjectivities might be shaped by the ways in which they construct the object of their work in ITE and the tools and rules which they draw on to assist that work. It draws attention to how mentors' work might be constrained if schools and HEIs do not adequately acknowledge the subjectivities which stand behind and help shape mentor subjectivity. It further points to an absence of spaces in school

or partnership where mentors might develop concepts and language for articulating their thinking about work with students. The study therefore points to the importance of fostering communities of ITE within which such spaces might be created. It would appear that ITE is not yet part of the fabric of what schools do: learning for pupils is prioritised perhaps to the exclusion of learning for teachers which seemed from the small snapshots in the study to be an optional, added-on activity.

Partnership as a model for teacher education appeared from the study to be a limited concept in which HEIs contracted schools to provide practical teaching experiences for students, a relationship which potentially creates a divide between the partners. The study perhaps points to gaps in the literature relating to the kinds of relationships which might exist within and between schools and HEIs in ITE and how they might be developed to create more cohesive communities of learning.

11.9 Contribution to the development of theory

In order to achieve the research aims the study needed to investigate some possible ways to resolve the apparent absence in Activity Theory of ways to investigate how subjectivity might be constructed and how language tools might be investigated (discussed in Chapters 4 and 5).

In the study, subjectivity was investigated through a focus on understanding some of the tools and rules in use in the activity. By drawing on tools from CDA, it was possible to begin to understand the subject through an investigation of the language used and the ways that language pointed to concepts and rules drawn on by the subject. Through an understanding of the mentors' concepts and rules, the picture of the object on which they were working was brought more into focus, and it became easier to identify others with whom the subject understood she was working.

By theorising language as the speaking/writing aspect of activity, and by understanding language as the material expression of thought, it was possible to develop a richer understanding of activity as a subject acting, thinking and speaking with and in a community to shape an object.

CDA provided some useful tools for investigating language in use in the activity and in particular for pointing to how subjectivities were formed. When language was thought of as expressing relational, experiential and expressive meanings, the gaze could be directed to particular aspects of language use - such as modality, processes, activity/passivity - which appeared to reveal how mentors constructed themselves as agentive subjects – or, in James' case, revealed how he abrogated agency – and pointed to any uncertainties and tensions they were experiencing.

Fairclough (2000) stresses that he believes that CDA should be seen as an adjunctive method in social research. This study has shown that it can be used in conjunction with an Activity Theoretical methodology and that together they offer possibilities to reach deeper understandings of the researched phenomenon. However, as critics of CDA point out, any investigation from this perspective necessarily starts by understanding language in particular ways and can therefore only offer an interpretation of the data collected.

Similarly, Activity Theoretical research, placing the researcher as subject in a research activity, can only offer an interpretation of the activity. Therefore, any findings can only claim to be one interpretation among several possible. However, this study aimed only to offer some possible ways of understanding mentoring, and in particular, ways that mentors might construct subjectivities. As such, it is suggested that that aim has been achieved.

The heuristic of Activity Theory proved to be a useful way of organising the findings from the data, though decisions about how to categorise phenomena proved quite tricky as some items (such as the Standards document) seemed to be peripatetic, shifting between being drawn on as rules and being drawn on as material or conceptual tools.

Just as the Standards document appeared to be used in two ways, it seemed that people shifted between two elements of the heuristic. It seemed sometimes that HEI tutors and James were ambivalent about how they positioned mentors in the activity of ITE: collaborative partners or as tools. One way to clarify how they might be positioned might be to see them as either agentive or passive. Where the person is agentive, it may be that they are part of the community of ITE; where they are passive, responsive to another's agency, they might be understood as tools. James' students would then be understood as tools in the activity of ITE seen from his perspective.

11.10 Limitations of the study

This study was useful in drawing attention to some of the kinds of issues experienced by individual mentors in ITE and was, perhaps, more useful in pointing to areas for further study. It brought to light some of the ways that mentors might be using the tools available in ITE and how they understand their work as teachers and mentors. Although it was too small scale for any generalisations to be made about mentoring and mentoring partnerships, by shedding light on singularities it has pointed to possible complexities of the general.

However, there were limitations to the study. For example, written data (the Standards document) was compared with spoken data from interviews, and therefore some of the findings relating to register and non-Latinate language should be treated cautiously as formal written documents tend by definition to be higher register. In addition, the study was temporally bound, having taken place at a time when the Standards document was being introduced to ITE and before mentors had had the opportunity to familiarise themselves with it. In more recent work with mentors in the context of a PGCE partnership the Standards document appears to be becoming a tool which mentors use more confidently to guide their work with students. However, this document, too, is about to be superseded with the potential for further disruption or disturbance in the activity of ITE, which supports the need identified in 11.8 above for robust

learning communities which can act to minimise any such disruptive effects. Nonetheless, the study pointed to some of the difficulties which mentors have in working with government documents, and suggests again the need for spaces in the activity of ITE within which mentors and tutors can work together on the interpretation of documents central to ITE.

11.11 Areas for further research and study

Although the study is limited, it has nonetheless been useful in pointing to areas for further exploration. In particular it would be helpful to:

- understand how, and what kinds of, relationships between HEI tutor and mentor can develop robust mentor subjectivities, and how partnership might evolve within current constraints and affordances
- investigate further how the community within ITE might be strengthened, and how
 mediating tools such as handbooks and meetings might contribute to that strengthening
- explore further the tensions experienced by HEI tutors in their work and the extent to which concepts of partnership might afford or constrain possibilities for acting in ITE
- explore how far gender influences mentor subjectivity. This issue was consciously omitted from this study, but appears to have emerged as something to be explored, since at Middlemarch, it was Celia the mother and nurturer who was able to develop the more successful mentor subjectivity in spite of the tensions she experienced between subject subjectivities.

11.12 Personal reflection

There may, perhaps, be some irony in that when I began this study, I felt that I, too, lacked a language through which to express what I understood to be happening in both classroom and mentoring work. To some extent, both Activity Theory and CDA have given me some organising concepts and language through which I can reflect on and discuss what I observe,

though I am aware that through this study I have only begun to develop concepts, language and understandings. However, the work has pointed me to ways in which I might enrich the work I carry out with mentors and has provided evidence of the kinds of tensions and contradictions they experience in their work in ITE. The Activity Theory model used in the study has proved to be a useful heuristic but has limitations, some of which have been addressed (e.g. in Engeström, 1999; Tuomi-Grohn and Engeström, 2003). Through further developments of the model which look more closely at how activities might overlap by looking at boundary objects, that is, those tools or artefacts which are in use in more than one activity, and which might draw those participating in different activities together. Such an approach might be a useful way of looking at how HEIs and schools can find ways to work more closely together on the development of the student. Perhaps by understanding the HEI and the school as separate activities, in which the mentor handbook and mentor meetings are boundary objects rather than tools in an activity of ITE, it might be possible to find ways to use these tools more effectively to build a robust learning environment which would better support the students' learning trajectories, whilst also supporting the construction of stronger mentor subjectivities.

I began this thesis with a quotation from Eliot (1959) which seemed to encapsulate what I was investigating. The idea that the old and new were in 'commerce' had resonances with the tensions that the marketisation of educational discourses appeared to be creating; it echoed Vygotsky's understanding that meanings and language are constantly recreated; and pointed to an understanding that ends and beginnings are dialectically related. As I complete the thesis, I am aware that this particular end is where I start from in the next phase of my own journey, a stage which will be, perhaps, like teacher education, 'an easy commerce of the old and new'.

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FRAME FOR ANALYZING DATA

From: Jäger, (2000) and Fairclough, (2003)

LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	WHAT IS EXPLORED	QUESTIONS TO ASK	INSTRUMENTARIUM
Whole text in context— the meaning which emerges from structural and fine analysis	The research questions	 What views of mentoring does this text reveal? What views of classroom teaching is revealed? What emerges as the object of teachers' activity? What tensions can be identified between the different views of mentoring and classroom teaching? What conceptual tools do teachers develop to resolve those tensions? 	Activity Theory Critical Discourse Analysis
	1. List texts to be analysed	1. How can the texts be grouped?	1. Metalanguage of systemic functional linguistics
	2. Localization;	2. a. What social event is the text part of? b. Is the text part of a chain or network of texts? c. In what circumstances was the text produced?	2. Prior knowledge of textual features and their significance
Structure analysis – overview analysis to highlight features which contextualise, identify and describe features of the whole text/groups of texts	3. Readership – understood as the person who reads/hears/receives the text.	3. a. Who is/are the intended reader/s of the text? b. What existential, prepositional or value positions does the author assume that the reader holds? c. How is the intended reader positioned in the text? d. To what institutional framework does the reader belong?	3. Fine analysis of text to support answers to questions
	4. Authorship –	4. a. To what existential,	

	where author is understood as the person or institution whose views/instructions/id eas are presented in the text	prepositional or value positions is the author committed? b. What is the relationship between author and reader? c. To what institutional framework does the author belong?	
5.	Difference and how it is dealt with;	5. a. by openness or acceptance of difference? b. by accentuation of difference, conflict, power, struggle for control? c. through willingness to overcome difference? d. through focus on commonality? e. as a means of forcing change	
6.	Accessibility.	6. a. How easy is it for the intended reader to obtain the text? b. How easy is it for the intended reader to engage with the texts?	
7.	Discourse	7. a. What discourse strands run through the text? b. How are those strands entangled?	
8.	Intertextuality	8. a. What other texts or voices are included in the text? b. Whose voices are conspicuously absent? c. How are other voices textured in relation to the authorial voice; to the reader and to each other?	
9.	Historicity	9. a. How does the text relate to what has happened in this field in the past? b. How does it relate to contemporary events?	

	 10. Broad generic category and its characteristics; 11. Format 12. Summary of the themes and topics of the text. 13. Purpose or cause of the text. 14. Evaluation. 	10. a. Is the text situated within a genre chain? b. Is the text characterised by a mix of genres? 11. Is the text written? Spoken? Presented in some other form? 12. a. What is the broad subject matter of the text? b. What topics are covered? c. What topic/s is/are conspicuously absent? 13. Why has this text been produced? 14. a. To what values do the authors commit	
		themselves? b. How are values realised in the text?	
Fine analysis at (level): Textual	1. Graphic layout;	1. a. How is the text laid out on the page? b. What combination of text, graphics or other features are used? c. Are headings, subheadings, other similar markers used to guide the reader through the text?	Metalanguage of systemic functional linguistics
	2. Structure of the text	2. a. In what order does the material appear? b. How are the ideas linked? c. What is the logic of the text? d. What are the higher level semantic relations in the text? (e.g., problem-solution)	Prior knowledge of textual features and their significance
	3. Themes addressed (more delicate analysis)	3. What are the subthemes and sub-topics?	3. Computer programme (Wordsmith)

			which offers concordancing, word listing, and content comparison facilities
	4. Representation of social events	4. a. What elements of social events are most salient? b. How abstractly or concretely are social events presented? c. How are processes represented? d. How are social actors presented? (active/passive; personal/impersonal; named/classified; specific/generic) e. How are time, space and time-space represented?	4. Answers to questions at most delicate level of analysis will provide evidence/guida nce for 'coarser' levels.
	5. Genre;	5. What specific genre features emerge within the text?	
Clause	6. Register – understood as 'level of formality';	6. a. How formal/informal is the status of the text? b. How formal/informal is the language? (use of idiom, lexical choices, etc.)	
	7. Style.	7. a. What styles are drawn upon in the text? b. Is there a significant mixing of styles? c. What features characterise the styles used?	
	8. Exchanges, speech functions and grammatical mood;		

		T	
		statement are there? d. Are the exchanges, functions or types of statement what they appear to be? Are demands couched as statements, etc?	
<u>Word</u>	9. Modality	9. a. What do authors commit themselves to in terms of truth (epistemic modalities) and obligation/necessity (deontic modalities)? b. Are modalities modalized or categorical? c. What are the markers of modalization?	
	10. Semantic/grammatical relations	 10. a. Are semantic relations between clauses predominantly: causal; conditional; temporal; additive; elaborative; contrastive/concessive? 	
	11. Metaphorical language	b. What is the proportion of nominalization and process use? 11. a. How is metaphor used within the text? b. What metaphors are used? c. What contradictions are set up by the choice of metaphor?	
	12. Jargon – understood as language specific to a particular profession, group, philosophical perspective.	12. a. What jargon is used? b. To what group/philosophy does it point?	

Appendix 2

Revised frame adapted from Fairclough (2003) for analysing language

Level Values	Vocabulary	Grammar
Experiential: asks how the speaker's choice of words express her/his experience of the natural or social world	 What classification schemes are drawn on? Are there words which are ideologically contested? Is there rewording or overwording? What ideologically significant meaning relations are there between words? 	 What types of process and participant dominate? Is agency clear? Are processes what they seem? Are nominalizations used? Are sentences active or passive? Are sentences negative or positive?
Relational: expressing social relations	 Are there any euphemistic expressions? Are there markedly formal or informal words? 	 What modes are used? Are there features of relational modality? i.e., does one participant have more authority than the others, as expressed through deontic modality? If the pronouns we and you are used, how?
Expressive: expressing social identities and evaluation of the reality the text relates to	• What expressive values do words have?	 Are there features of expressive modality? i.e., what is the author's evaluation of truth as expressed through epistemic modality?
General	 What metaphors are used? What binary oppositions emerge? 	 How are sentences linked together? Are complex sentences characterised by subordination or coordination? How does the author referinside and outside the text?

INTERVIEW QUESTION RATIONALE FOR THE SENIOR MENTOR

Based on Wengraf model¹

Central Research Question	Theory Question	Interview Question for Senior Mentor
1. What are the multiple subjectivities which	How is the subject of the activity formed?	• What do you find most
teachers bring to their work in ITE?	• How is the subject positioned in her work in	satisfying/frustrating about being both a
	ITE?	mentor and a classroom teacher?
2. How do those subjectivities shape their work	• In what ways is the subject enabled or	• Tell me about your work with trainees:
in ITE?	restricted in her work on the object?	perhaps talk through a mentoring situation
		that worked well for you.
		• Could you say what it was that made the
		situation successful for you?
		• What did you get out of it? How did it
		make you feel about the work?
		What about a situation that you felt was not
		successful? What made you feel that it was
		unsuccessful? Where do you think it went
		wrong for you?

¹ Wengraf, T (2001) Qualitative Research Interviewing London: Sage Publications Ltd p. 73, 85

		 How does your work as a mentor help your work in the classroom? When you're working with your pupils, what are your priorities for them – their welfare, personal development, getting them through exams – what? How do you balance the need to obtain good exam results with you work with trainees?
3. How and to what extent do conceptual and language tools shape teachers' work in ITE?	Are there any conflicting rules which cause tension for teachers?	 Did the unsuccessful experience change your view of mentoring at all? Tell me about what you want to achieve with your trainees. Where do you want them to be as teachers by the end of their training with you? What made you want to do the job? What job satisfaction do you get from it? Tell me about why you came into teaching: what did you hope to do for your pupils? Tell me about a pupil that you got greatest job satisfaction from. What did you gain from that event or

How do you deal with those times? Did you feel that there was something
--

		someone could have done to help you through it? • How do you deal with colleagues who moan about having students in school? • Tell me who you go to for help or guidance with your mentoring work. Do they share your view of teacher training?
5. How do rules and power relationships shape	What are the rules used in the activity?	If you could change something about the
teachers' work in ITE?	What is the division of labour in the activity?	present system of teacher training, what
		would it be?
6. What tensions and contradictions emerge for	Are there any tensions or contradictions	What causes you any stress or tension in
teachers in their work in ITE?	between subject and community in ITE?	your work as a mentor?
		Do you agree with the way that teaching
		seems to be developing in this country?
		If the Education Minister came and asked
		your advice on what would be the most
		effective thing Government could do to
		help teachers, what advice would you give
		him?

INTERVIEW QUESTION RATIONALE FOR THE SENIOR MENTOR

Based on Wengraf model¹

Central Research Question	Theory Question	Interview Question for Senior Mentor
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	ITE?	mentor and a classroom teacher?
2. How do those subjectivities shape their work	• In what ways is the subject enabled or	• Tell me about your work with trainees:
in ITE?	restricted in her work on the object?	perhaps talk through a mentoring situation
		that worked well for you.
		• Could you say what it was that made the
		situation successful for you?
		• What did you get out of it? How did it
		make you feel about the work?
		What about a situation that you felt was not
		successful? What made you feel that it was
		unsuccessful? Where do you think it went
		wrong for you?

¹ Wengraf, T (2001) Qualitative Research Interviewing London: Sage Publications Ltd p. 73, 85

		 How does your work as a mentor help your work in the classroom? When you're working with your pupils, what are your priorities for them – their welfare, personal development, getting them through exams – what? How do you balance the need to obtain good exam results with you work with trainees?
3. How and to what extent do conceptual and language tools shape teachers' work in ITE?	Are there any conflicting rules which cause tension for teachers?	 Did the unsuccessful experience change your view of mentoring at all? Tell me about what you want to achieve with your trainees. Where do you want them to be as teachers by the end of their training with you? What made you want to do the job? What job satisfaction do you get from it? Tell me about why you came into teaching: what did you hope to do for your pupils? Tell me about a pupil that you got greatest job satisfaction from. What did you gain from that event or

How do you deal with those times? Did you feel that there was something
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		someone could have done to help you through it? • How do you deal with colleagues who moan about having students in school? • Tell me who you go to for help or guidance with your mentoring work. Do they share your view of teacher training?
5. How do rules and power relationships shape	What are the rules used in the activity?	If you could change something about the
teachers' work in ITE?	What is the division of labour in the activity?	present system of teacher training, what
		would it be?
6. What tensions and contradictions emerge for	Are there any tensions or contradictions	What causes you any stress or tension in
teachers in their work in ITE?	between subject and community in ITE?	your work as a mentor?
		Do you agree with the way that teaching
		seems to be developing in this country?
		If the Education Minister came and asked
		your advice on what would be the most
		effective thing Government could do to
		help teachers, what advice would you give
		him?

APPENDIX 2

DATA COLLECTION FRAME

ORGANISATION/PERSONNEL AND	WHAT I WANT TO KNOW	WHAT THIS WILL TELL ME
POTENTIAL NUMBERS OF INTERVIEWS		
Higher Education Institution	What rules is the institution operating within?	About any tensions created for the mentor by
	• What rules do they make for mentors in	the rules they have to work within
Course Leader x2	schools?	How far the Higher Education Institution sees
	How far do the rules take account of the wider	the mentor as multi-roled
Subject Tutor x3	context of the mentors' work?	Social context of teacher training
N	What kinds of school does the institution work	Community within which the partners work
Mentor Trainer x1	with in terms of social background?	Power relationships within the partnerships
	• Are there minimum criteria for becoming	Potential for tensions for those involved in the
	involved in teacher training?	partnership
	• Are they in competition with any other training	Expands the cultural, historical and social
	organisations for students?	context of the work.
	• What is the organisation of the staff on the	Suggests conceptual tools in use
	course?	Offers a language for exploration
	Who takes responsibility for what aspects of the	
	course?	
	• Who has the ultimate say about whether the	

	trainee passes the course?	
	How has the course changed since the	
	introduction of school-based training?	
(6)	What motivates involvement in training?	
Senior mentor	What documents are used to assist the work of	Offers language in use for analysis
	teacher training?	Says something about the organisation of
x2	What agreements are there within the	mentoring, as well as the rules in operation.
	community of mentors about how mentoring	Might suggest areas of tension.
	will happen?	Suggests conceptual tools.
	What drives involvement in mentoring?	Might suggest any tensions the mentor
	How does mentoring fit alongside classroom	experiences.
	teaching and any other roles they have within	•
(2)	the school?	
Subject Mentor	What handouts or worksheets are used in	Draws out the rules the mentor perceives self to
	mentoring work?	be working within
x4	What policies are in place to help them in their	Draws out conceptual tools.
	work in teacher training?	Offers a language for analysis
	What drives the involvement in teacher training?	Suggests roles and functions of mentor.
	How do they go about the work of teacher	Highlights division of labour.
	training?	Highlights any tensions between mentoring
	Where do they go for help if they need it?	work and other duties.
	How do they fit the work alongside all their	

	 other responsibilities? What do they hope will be the point or benefit of being involved in teacher training? What will it help them achieve? 	Might indicate the object of the activity.
(4)		
Trainee	What is their perception of their training?	Offers balancing view of the teacher training
	What are the strengths and weaknesses of their	process and might suggest another view of the
	school based experience?	roles and functions of mentors.
	Why have they chosen to be teachers?	Might highlight any tensions for the mentor
	Has the training gone smoothly? Explore any	Might indicate conceptual tools
	issues that come up here.	Might indicate the object for the student, which
	What do they hope to get out of their work as	in turn might be in tension with that of the
(up to 8)	teachers?	mentor.

Total Interviews = 20

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW GUIDE/PROMPTS FOR THE

SUBJECT MENTOR

TEACHER TRAINING FOCUS

Introduce research – general

- What made you want to do the job?
- What job satisfaction do you get from it?
- Tell me about your work with trainees: perhaps talk through a mentoring situation that worked well for you.
- Could you say what it was that made the situation successful for you?
- What did you get out of it? How did it make you feel about the work?
- What about a situation that you felt was not successful? What made you feel that it was unsuccessful? Where do you think it went wrong for you?
- Did the unsuccessful experience change our view of mentoring at all?
- Did you feel that there was something someone could have done to help you through it?
- Tell me who you go to for help or guidance with your mentoring work.
- Do they share your view of teacher training?
- What do you expect from your trainees? Is it different at the start of the practice from the end? Different from TP1 to TP 2?
- Could you tell me what, for you, learning is all about?
- When your students first come to you, how do you welcome them into the school and department?
- What kinds of initial advice do you give them? Why this advice?
- When you have meetings with the trainees to talk through their progress what sorts of advice do you give them to move them forwards? I mean, what kind of things would you focus on? (pupil learning, classroom management, etc)
- Do you have notes from a recent mentoring session that I could perhaps have a copy of?
- Could you outline the kinds of things you might discuss during a feedback session? What would be your priorities here for helping the student to learn?

- What are your priorities for their learning?
- What for you is teacher training all about?
- Where do you want them to be as teachers by the end of their training with you?
- Tell me about what the kind of work you do with your trainees: what sort of teaching methods do you use?
- Are there any occasions when you feel that maybe your colleagues in school don't appreciate what you are trying to do? How do you deal with those times?
- How do you feel when parents complain about their children being taught by trainees? How do you answer their concerns?
- How do you deal with colleagues who are unsympathetic to students in school?
- How do you balance the need to obtain good exam results with your work with trainees?

CLASSROOM WORK

- Tell me about why you came into teaching: what did you hope to do for your pupils?
- Have you changed your ideas about teaching since then?
- Tell me about a pupil that you got greatest job satisfaction from.
- What do you find most satisfying/frustrating about being both a mentor and a classroom teacher?
- When you're working with your pupils, what are your priorities for them their welfare, personal development, getting them through exams what?
- Who helps or supports you in the school with your work with pupils?
- What kind of support would you want your colleagues to give you in your work?
- Thinking about your work as a classroom teacher, with pupils, now: can you tell me about an event
 or situation that made you feel really good about your teaching?
- What did you gain from that event or experience?
- Did it make you think at all about why you became a teacher? If so, in what way?

OVERALL WORK AS A TEACHER

- What causes you any stress or tension in your work as both a subject mentor and classroom teacher?
- How does your work as a mentor help your work in the classroom?

- What for you is education ideally all about? Do you think that we can reach those ideals within current ideas about schools and teaching?
- If you could change something about the present system of teacher training, what would it be?
- How do you feel about the way that teaching seems to be developing in this country?
- If the Education Minister came and asked your advice on what would be the most effective thing Government could do to help teachers, what advice would you give him?
- I heard the other day that there's been a suggestion that schools should be able to bring in people from businesses to help them in the running of schools. Do you think this is a good idea? Will it benefit your pupils?

Is there anything else you'd like to share that you think would help me present a truer picture of how the classroom teacher integrates her work as both teacher and teacher trainer?

Appendix 4

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE SUBJECT MENTOR

- Introduce research general
- What made you want to do the job?
- What job satisfaction do you get from it?
- Tell me about your work with trainees: perhaps talk through a mentoring situation that worked well for you.
- Could you say what it was that made the situation successful for you?
- What did you get out of it? How did it make you feel about the work?
- What about a situation that you felt was not successful? What made you feel that it was unsuccessful? Where do you think it went wrong for you?
- Did the unsuccessful experience change our view of mentoring at all?
- Did you feel that there was something someone could have done to help you through it?
- Tell me who you go to for help or guidance with your mentoring work.
- Do they share your view of teacher training?
- What do you expect from your trainees? Is it different at the start of the practice from the end? Different from TP1 to TP 2?
- Could you tell me what, for you, learning is all about?
- When your students first come to you, how do you welcome them into the school and department?
- What kinds of initial advice do you give them? Why this advice?
- When you have meetings with the trainees to talk through their progress what sorts of advice do you give them to move them forwards? I mean, what kind of things would you focus on? (pupil learning, classroom management, etc)
- Do you have notes from a recent mentoring session that I could perhaps have a copy
 of?
- Could you outline the kinds of things you might discuss during a feedback session?
 What would be your priorities here for helping the student to learn?

- What are your priorities for their learning?
- What for you is teacher training all about?
- Where do you want them to be as teachers by the end of their training with you?
- Tell me about what the kind of work you do with your trainees: what sort of teaching methods do you use?
- Are there any occasions when you feel that maybe your colleagues in school don't appreciate what you are trying to do? How do you deal with those times?
- How do you feel when parents complain about their children being taught by trainees?
 How do you answer their concerns?
- How do you deal with colleagues who are unsympathetic to students in school?
- How do you balance the need to obtain good exam results with your work with trainees?
- Tell me about why you came into teaching: what did you hope to do for your pupils?
- Have you changed your ideas about teaching since then?
- Tell me about a pupil that you got greatest job satisfaction from.
- What do you find most satisfying/frustrating about being both a mentor and a classroom teacher?
- When you're working with your pupils, what are your priorities for them their welfare, personal development, getting them through exams what?
- Who helps or supports you in the school with your work with pupils?
- What kind of support would you want your colleagues to give you in your work?
- Thinking about your work as a classroom teacher, with pupils, now: can you tell me about an event or situation that made you feel really good about your teaching?
- What did you gain from that event or experience?
- Did it make you think at all about why you became a teacher? If so, in what way?
- What causes you any stress or tension in your work as both a subject mentor and classroom teacher?
- How does your work as a mentor help your work in the classroom?
- What for you is education ideally all about? Do you think that we can reach those ideals within current ideas about schools and teaching?
- If you could change something about the present system of teacher training, what would it be?

- How do you feel about the way that teaching seems to be developing in this country?
- If the Education Minister came and asked your advice on what would be the most effective thing Government could do to help teachers, what advice would you give him?
- I heard the other day that there's been a suggestion that schools should be able to bring in people from businesses to help them in the running of schools. Do you think this is a good idea? Will it benefit your pupils?
- Is there anything else you'd like to share that you think would help me present a truer picture of how the classroom teacher integrates her work as both teacher and teacher trainer?

Appendix 5

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR

SENIOR MENTOR

- Tell me about what you want to achieve with your trainees.
- Where do you want them to be as teachers by the end of their training with you? How do you feel if you don't achieve this?
- What made you want to do the job?
- What job satisfaction do you get from it?
- Tell me about your work with trainees: perhaps talk through a mentoring situation that worked well for you.
- Could you say what it was that made the situation successful for you?
- What did you get out of it? How did it make you feel about the work?
- What about a situation that you felt was not successful? What made you feel that it was unsuccessful? Where do you think it went wrong for you?
- Did the unsuccessful experience change our view of mentoring at all?
- Did you feel that there was something someone could have done to help you through it?
- What sort of relationship do you want to build with your subject mentors?
- How do you feel when that relationship isn't working?
- What causes you any stress or tension in your work as a senior mentor?
- How does your work as a mentor help your work in the classroom?
- If you could change something about the present system of teacher training, what would it be?
- When you're feeling tired and frustrated at the end of a long week in the classroom with students in, and the Head calls you in to tell you that a parent has complained that Nellie is being taught by a student and she wants her daughter to be taught properly, how do you answer his concerns?
- How do you deal with colleagues who moan about having students in school?
- How do you balance the need to obtain good exam results with your work with trainees?
- Tell me about why you came into teaching: what did you hope to do for your pupils?
- Tell me about a pupil that you got greatest job satisfaction from.
- What do you find most satisfying/frustrating about being both a mentor and a classroom

teacher?

- Tell me who you go to for help or guidance with your mentoring work.
- Do they share your view of teacher training?
- Who helps or supports you in the school with your work with pupils?
- What kind of support would you want your colleagues to give you in your work?
- Are there any occasions when you feel that maybe your colleagues in school don't appreciate what you are trying to do? How do you deal with those times?
- Thinking about your work as a classroom teacher, with pupils, now: can you tell me about an event or situation that made you feel really good about your teaching?
- What did you gain from that event or experience?
- Did it make you think at all about why you became a teacher? If so, in what way?
- What do you feel about the way that teaching seems to be developing in this country?
- Do you think it is going to help our pupils?
- If the Education Minister came and asked your advice on what would be the most effective thing Government could do to help teachers, what advice would you give him?
- When you're working with your pupils, what are your priorities for them their welfare, personal development, getting them through exams what?
- I heard the other day that there's been a suggestion that schools should be able to bring in people from businesses to help them in the running of schools. Do you think this is a good idea? Will it benefit your pupils?

INTERVIEW PROMPTS FOR

HEI TUTOR

- Could you tell me a bit about how you became involved with initial teacher training?
 What has given you greatest satisfaction in your work? What do you find most frustrating?
- Looking back to when you first became involved in teacher training would you say
 that the process has changed much? → If so how? → Do you think the changes
 have improved the training?
- Can you talk me through your own work here? What sort of issues do you routinely deal with?
- Can you describe how you organise teacher training within your institution?
- How do you see partnerships in ITT working? What model would you think was ideal?
- What would be your ideal partner school?
- Could you describe for me your model of a successful school mentor? In terms of their qualities, what they do...
- Is there anything you find frustrating in the partnership model?
- What do you feel is the most important thing that schools can teach your students?
- How would you prefer to divide the work of teacher training between school and the college/university?
- How do you go about training your mentors? Who is responsible for which aspect of the training?
- Who for you is the key person in the world of teacher training, the one that the system would fall apart without?
- If you could advise the minister for education about Initial Teacher Training, how would you guide him into improving the teacher training system in this country?
- Do you receive many documents on teacher training from Government? Do you find them user friendly?

- How do you process those papers, in terms of passing on any information to others in the partnership? (Are they passed on directly or is a digest given?)
- Could I have a copy of any documents that you use to help and advise schools in their work with teacher training? The contract that schools sign when they become partners? Partnership agreement? Schedules, timetables, reports, minutes of mentor meetings?