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Teachers' Experience and Consciousness of Care during a Period of 'Notice to Improve': An Institutional Ethnography in one Primary School.

James Reid

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield

July 2016

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is based on an institutional ethnography in a primary school in the north of England during a period of 'notice to improve'. This regulatory status followed an inspection by the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted 2010) in which the school was judged as 'performing less well than it might in all the circumstances reasonably be expected to perform'. The teaching team is all female. This study situates the teachers' experience of 'notice to improve' within their everyday practices and embodiment of 'care' as they enact the policy discourses that organize their work.

The study aligns institutional ethnography with a narrative method, '*The Listening Guide*' (Mauthner and Doucet 1998), and a political ethic of care (Tronto 1993), to reveal and analyse the co-ordination of social relations. Care emerged as a problematic from the teachers' standpoint, a disjuncture in experience, as they activated and appropriated texts in order "to get out of" notice to improve. Institutional ethnography (Smith 2005) explicates the ruling relations of education policy and performative texts and how these texts are taken up and activated by teachers in coming to care as an institutionally organized aspect of their work. As such the study reveals the trans-local, extra-local and situated connections and co-ordination of work during a time of enhanced scrutiny and accountability which give rise to disjunctures in the teacher's wider understanding of care. Analysis reveals an understanding of care as political and moral and involving more than the discourses of intimate relationships and behaviour role modelling promoted in policy and guidance as necessary to good pupil outcomes.

The research reveals the hierarchy of textual mediation of teachers' work and explicates how teachers come to care through political, moral, and personal and professional moral boundaries. This leads to concerns over pedagogical principles, workload, stress and a wider consciousness of the teachers' self. When behaviour and practice is regarded as risky to pupils, the school, colleagues and self, the recourse, through talk, is to take up the institutional discourse of quality mediated through regulation. A key finding is that teachers' wider care needs are silenced.

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List of abbreviations

APP	Assessing Pupils' Progress: A Teacher's Handbook
BEd	Bachelor of Arts in Education
BERA	British Educational Research Association
CACE	Central Advisory Council for Education
CAF	Common Assessment Framework
CWDC	Children's Workforce Development Council
DCSF	Department for Children Schools and Families
DES	Department for Education and Science
DfE	Department for Education
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DH	Department of Health
ECM	Every Child Matters
ERA	Education Reform Act 1988
HLTA	Higher Level Teaching Assistant
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IE	Institutional Ethnography
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority
LEA	Local Education Authority
NOVAC	Notification of Visits and Contact Form
NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher
NUT	National Union of Teachers
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate in Education
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
SEAL	Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning guidance
SIP	School Improvement Partner
SLT	Senior Leadership Team
TA	Teaching Assistant
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

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Chapter 1 : INTRODUCTION

Utilizing Institutional Ethnography (IE), a sociological method of enquiry developed by Dorothy Smith (2005), I explicate the experiences of the women teachers in Crosstown Primary School. Specifically I aim to map how teachers' practices of care are coordinated by textually mediated institutional relations during a period of 'notice to improve'. In this context 'institutional' relations of ruling include the policies, guidance and wider regulatory texts that are taken up by teachers as an aspect of their everyday work within a neoliberal performative agenda for schools (Ball 2003, 2008; Ball, Maguire, Braun & Hoskins 2011). Texts taken up in Crosstown take many forms: they are of a higher order and trans-local, externally drafted and working across many local sites, for example, legislation, guidance and policy documents. Additionally, lower order extra-local documents include reports, for example inspection reports, written about the school. Finally, local internal documents that correspond with the trans-local and extra-local include school policies and procedures, planning and assessment proforma, children's reports, behaviour charts, newsletters, *et cetera* (Smith 2005). Texts need not be written and can be visual or audio, including posters, displays or video. They are also physical, including the layout or geography of a building or space, for example the playground, or in the uniforms worn by the pupils.

A range of texts is prominent in the school staffroom, a space where the teachers meet socially at breaks, lunchtime and for staff meetings. In this room one floor-to-ceiling shelving unit is full of policy and procedural texts, for example the *Social, Emotional Aspects of Learning* (SEAL) guidance (DfES 2005), and folders containing guidance on 'safeguarding'. Staff notices focus on school business for the week and include tasks and deadlines organized by the teacher's responsibility for pupil achievement in their work. Teachers' tasks are defined by the *National Curriculum Level Descriptions for Subjects* (QCDA 2010) and *Assessing Pupils' Progress: A teachers' handbook* (APP) (DCSF 2010a). The management of the pupils in their places and spaces in and around school is also evident in a number of rotas on display, for example, for playground duty or use of the ICT suite. Safeguarding policies and procedures are on prominent display, as are fliers and correspondence

about help, support and advice, for example from trades union and the Local Education Authority.

The reach of these texts is also evident outside the staffroom. Each classroom has a philosophy displayed that reflects safeguarding guidance, for example for respect of another person and property. This is reinforced by the use of behaviour charts by which individuals and groups of pupils can gain, or lose, reward points. The highest points lead to a celebration of that attainment in the weekly school assembly. Pupils whose behaviour is less than satisfactory lose privileges such as outdoor play, having to remain inside the school building doing work supervised by a teacher. Pupils also have their individual APP targets glued onto the inside cover of their workbooks and these are used for self, peer and teacher assessment. Classroom displays prominently promote aspects of the curriculum, for example, demonstrating a numeracy problem or process and approaches to literacy, particularly in the use of English. Displays in classrooms and corridors include images of the children at play, on school trips, and examples of their work. The latter is a celebration of the children's attainment but is also provided for school inspectors. Indeed, I was involved in creating displays of children's work, including in spaces where it wasn't previously displayed, in the days before an inspection visit.

The geography and space of the school building and grounds also reproduce the safeguarding ethos, for example, in the high fence around the school, the entry system into the school, the requirement for staff and visitor identification badges, and in the segregation of the Reception class outdoor play area. It is evident that the safeguarding of the pupils across three domains; educational outcomes, social and emotional development, and bodily, is an important organizing feature of the teacher's work. Even a cursory reading of texts reveals the organizing relations of the government's *Every Child Matters* (ECM) agenda (DfES 2003a).

Consequently, ECM and the concomitant texts, APP (DCSF 2010a), SEAL (DfES 2005), and *Working Together to Safeguard Children* (HM Government 2010a), are of concern in this thesis. While I do explore what is in these texts I do not understand texts as possessing agency, the purpose of IE is to explicate the relations of ruling arising through textual mediation of people's everyday experiences in the local sites

of their activity. A significant focus of the thesis is therefore the disjunctures created in the taking up and creation of texts and the entwined relationship between the teacher's material experience and consciousness (Allman 2007).

However before further exploring the scope of the thesis; its structure, content, and the theory and method of IE involving the concept of textual ruling relations, I explain to the reader how I came to enter the school and to develop the problematic in the disjuncture between the 'teachers' experience and consciousness of care during a period of 'notice to improve'. Throughout the thesis I refer to this as, 'how do teachers come to care?' This is not an easy task since the reasons are multiple and, on entering Crosstown at least, some of these had not entered my consciousness (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Allman 2007). Indeed, 'care' was not an aspect of my early thoughts in the focus of the research. At the outset, my aim was to undertake a critical policy ethnography, following Carspecken (1996), particularly as performativity was a feature of the teacher's experience and I believed that having access to a school as they negotiated regulatory 'notice to improve' was rare. Instead I came to move away from Carspecken's realist ontology to utilise Smith's (2005) IE as a theory and method in the research, the reasons for which are fully explained in Chapter Four. Here I discuss how I came to enter Crosstown Primary school, revealing briefly the political and policy context and the relations of ruling that organize teachers work. Subsequently, I highlight the structure of the thesis and consider 'how do teachers come to care?' as a problematic for investigation. I use this question as shorthand throughout the thesis to mean the explication of teachers' experience and consciousness of care in taking up institutional relations of ruling through a regulatory period of notice to improve.

This chapter therefore provides:

- An introduction to Crosstown Primary School and the prevailing political climate and inspection regime, including 'notice to improve'.
- An understanding of the development of the problematic for investigation and analysis – 'how do teachers come to care?'

- An overview of the chapters within the thesis; which include literature on the ethic of care and Institutional Ethnography as a theory and methodology for the study.

A PEN PICTURE OF CROSSTOWN PRIMARY SCHOOL

Crosstown is a small maintained community primary school in a suburb of a large city in the north of England. There are approximately 196 (October 2015) pupils on roll; the number fluctuates by small amounts as pupils move in or out of the area during the academic year, with a single intake each year. The pupils are aged between four and eleven through Reception class, Key Stage One (five to seven, rising eight) and Key Stage Two (eight to eleven).

The majority of staff and pupils are of White British backgrounds with a small number from other ethnic backgrounds. The school catchment area includes a ward in the top ten percentile for social deprivation nationally. Consequently, the school receives higher than average funding from government to pay for free school meals and additional support. Twenty five percent of pupils receive free school meals. However, the number of pupils with special educational needs or a statement of special educational needs is just below the national average.

With the exception of the site manager all of the staff at Crosstown are women, consequently all of the participants are women. At the outset of the study, in addition to the head teacher, there were two full time and two part time (job share) teachers in early years / Key Stage One and three full time and two part time (job share) teachers in Key Stage Two. However, of the two job share teachers in Key Stage Two, one was appointed to the role of deputy head teacher early in the study and effectively worked full time. An additional part time teacher worked across the school providing literacy support to pupils. All teachers agreed to participate in the study although this did not include the literacy support teacher in terms of interviews due to constraints on time and availability. An additional teacher was recruited during the study and she also agreed to take part. In total eleven teachers agreed to participate.

Teaching assistants are also employed across each year group to help the children and the teachers. Of the ten, two are Higher Level Teaching Assistants, that is, they

have additional training and responsibilities across the school. These two also agreed to take part in the study, as did the teaching assistant who works predominantly in year 5 and year 6, the classes where I was predominantly based. Further information on the school and the participants is provided in Chapter 5.

BEGINNINGS

In the spring of 2010 I approached a friend who is a primary school teacher to ask if she and some of her colleagues would be willing to take part in a focus group as part of my doctoral studies. I met my friend and five of her colleagues at the beginning of June 2010 to gather data on teachers' work with fathers. As a thank you for their time and participation in the focus group I provided lunch and during this more informal time their talk turned to other concerns in their work, in particular their thoughts and feelings on having recently been judged by the Ofsted as a school requiring improvement, specifically with an inspection judgement of 'notice to improve'.

They talked of 'stress', 'action plans', 'school improvement partners' (SIPs) and needing to change their working practices so that they could shed the 'damaging' and 'critical' judgement and be recognized for the 'good school that we are'. I noted that the discussion on work with fathers stopped as soon as the focus group ended and their focus in informal conversation was animated, if not agitated, and they were vocal of their feelings. They were 'frustrated', 'unhappy' and 'angry' at the inspection judgement, their treatment during the inspection process, and what they viewed as an 'unfair' outcome. In my notes I wrote how 'all but one of the group looked to the senior teacher... as a sign of permission needed following the inspection outcome'. I questioned this as an indication of power at play, although my initial concern was not for power structures within the group but those influences exerting power from the outside. A comment that 'inspectors do not ask about fathers but about parents' seemed also to potentially reveal something of the organization of the teachers' work and perhaps their wider relationships with parents and families.

Following the teachers' lead in the conversation we discussed Ofsted requirements, their sense of being unfairly treated, the implications of having a 'notice to improve' and what they needed to do to achieve a better outcome during their follow-up

monitoring inspection, which would be within a year. I subsequently accessed the Ofsted report, a public document, which recommended that the school needed to take the following actions to improve:

- Increase the rate of pupils' progress and raise attainment in English, mathematics and science in Key Stage Two by:
 - Improving the quality and consistency of all teaching to a good or better level to ensure pace and challenge for pupils in all lessons;
 - Checking that pupils have targets and always know how to achieve them.
- Further improve the quality of leadership and management by:
 - Ensuring that monitoring of teaching and learning focuses more consistently on pupils' learning;
 - Giving subject leaders more opportunities to check on their subjects so that they can make informed decisions about what needs doing to secure improvement;
 - Using information about pupils' performance more systematically to drive and secure improvement.

The foregrounding of targets, monitoring, and performance management and the teachers' collective desire to demonstrate 'improvement' brought to mind issues of performativity in teacher's work (Jeffrey 2002; Ball 2003, 2008). Moreover, I began thinking about performativity and 'chaos' (Dewar 1998) in the enactment of law relating to children and their families. This arose in part because of the discussion of fathers and my previous professional role as a social worker who had experienced Ofsted inspections, albeit not in an educational context. In particular I was aware of research that critiqued the gendered messiness (Featherstone 2004) of government approaches to family policy that led to mothers and not fathers or 'parents' being primarily responsible for parenting. Thirdly, I thought about 'groupthink' (Baron 2005), especially in each individual's reference to the senior teacher during our earlier discussion, and subsequently in their collective desire, voiced by the head teacher, to 'do whatever is necessary to get out of this' (notice to improve). I was

also conscious of the teachers' comments of how they were having to manage their time differently and indeed of how potentially time-poor they were. This was a persistent theme throughout my contact with them as the following comments from several of the teacher's diaries demonstrate:

- 'Finished work at 10:10pm ... absolutely shattered'.
- 'Most of us there to 5:30pm tonight. Even me who usually on Friday is off like shit off a shovel at 3:30pm'.
- 'Another night not in until 6:15pm this week ... after spending the past two weeks staying until 5:30pm plus.'

This insight into the teachers' experience of inspection gave rise to the idea that the school might be an appropriate context in which to undertake research for my doctoral thesis, and I approached my friend again to explore the possibility of undertaking a critical ethnography (Carspecken 1996) to research their experience of 'notice to improve'. I was conscious that in the academic year 2010/11 the school would be visited by advisers from the Local Authority, SIPs and inspectors from both Ofsted and Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) of the Department for Education. It presented a unique possibility of observing the teacher's experiences during an inspection and of developing understanding of the organizing power of the inspection process. Several questions began to shape the research:

- What are teachers' experiences of the inspection process and 'notice to improve'?
- How does an inspector's report of a particular school reflect wider national and global policy?
- What dilemmas do teachers identify when working within a performative framework?

Following discussions and consultation with the deputy head teacher and head teacher, as gatekeepers, and their subsequent consultation with their colleagues, I was given permission to enter the field from October 2010, weekly on a Friday with additional days and block weeks where appropriate. Ad hoc contact continued with the school to summer 2014. These senior teachers were clear that the focus of my

research would be on the teacher's experiences of 'notice to improve' and not on the pupils. Additionally, both the school and I were keen to ensure reciprocity in commitment and a role was negotiated for me to be in school as a volunteer working primarily in years five and six. I otherwise had unhindered access across the school as long as there was no disruption to the children's learning.

At the outset I want to acknowledge the advantage I was given in gaining access to the school during a particularly stressful time for the teachers and that this advantage was as a result of a friendship with Simone who was to become the deputy head teacher. I believe that access would have otherwise been difficult or denied. The advantage therefore of a personal connection was in gaining rare access to a restricted field. This of course raises a number of ethical dilemmas in relation to power, particularly for the participants who I had not met. I took a number of steps to mitigate this power relation and to gain informed consent, including; consultation with the head teacher, discussion with each participant individually, contracting with each participant and an acknowledgement of my relationship with Simone and the need for confidentiality. I agreed with Simone that my time in school would be on a day when she was not class room based and therefore provided some distance. Importantly, I was careful to ensure my own reflexivity and praxis throughout the research and the discussion in Chapter 4 highlights my approach to this, including my move away from objectification in utilizing the instrumentalist approach suggested by Carspecken to Institutional Ethnography.

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

Although this may be familiar to the reader, and I don't want to unnecessarily revisit previous debates, it is worth acknowledging further the concerns that were shaping my thoughts at the outset of time in the field. The predominant critical discourse of education policy since the Thatcher governments of the late 1970s has been of concern about the role and impact of neoliberalism (for example: Hill 2003, 2004, 2005; McLaren 2005; Kincheloe 2008; Hill & Roberston 2009). Kincheloe describes neoliberalism as:

Both an orientation to economic policy and a philosophy ... Market imperatives, not ethical or humane considerations, drive social, political, economic, and educational policy in neoliberalism. (Kincheloe 2008: 24).

This period corresponds with the teaching career of each of the participants in the study. In this period the most significant policy developments have been the Conservative government's enactment of the *Education Reform Act 1988* (ERA), and subsequent introduction of the national curriculum, and the New Labour ECM (DfES 2003) agenda. Whilst there have been five Prime Ministers over this period: Margaret Thatcher, 1979-1990; John Major, 1990-1997; Tony Blair, 1997-2007, Gordon Brown, 2007-2010 and David Cameron, 2010 to date; the change of Prime Minister or of political governing party in 1997 (in particular) and 2010 and 2015, had little effect on the neoliberal intent of policy. Whilst ECM, through social investment, did promise to improve the life chances of all children and to reduce inequality, it did so within a wider neoliberal frame.

Although the rhetoric of ECM was of social mobility, inclusion and good outcomes for every child, the reality was of ideological tension and policy conflict (Robertson 2009). Employment and employability were identified as the solution to eradicating poverty therefore reinforcing the centrality and need of a centrally-imposed and controlled curriculum focused on the knowledge and skills defined by business as necessary for employment. A key approach in achieving the aims enshrined in ECM was partnership, indeed parents and families were defined as being in partnership with a range of interests including Government, public services and business (DfES 2003, para. 1.4, 14). The centrality of business and the market is reinforced in three of the five outcomes of ECM so that children's well-being is achieved by:

- Enjoying and achieving. Including developing the broad skills for adulthood;
- Making a positive contribution. To community and society but defined by a top down perspective, and;

- Economic well-being. So that children and their families have responsibilities to overcome socio-economic disadvantages to achieve their full potential in life.

The primacy of the ERA and ECM in directing teachers' work is confirmed by even a cursory look at the *Guide to the Law for School Governors* (DCSF, January 2010b). This document, over 220 pages long, details the law, policy and guidance relevant to 25 areas of statutory concern for schools. These can be grouped into three broad areas of concern:

- Teaching and Learning (including the curriculum);
- Managing the business of education (including financial and staff management, and;
- Children's welfare (involving Every Child Matters).

The first two of these points are indicative of Hill's (2002: 4) observation of the 'business agenda in schools' and the 'business agenda for schools'. The third area of concern, 'children's welfare', reflects the remaining two ECM outcomes, 'being healthy' and 'staying safe', enacted in the *Children Acts* 1989 and 2004, the *Education Act* 2002, and the statutory guidance *Working Together to Safeguard Children* (HM Government 2006; 2010a; 2013). Significantly, the Coalition government of 2010 choose not to foreground ECM as a particular policy agenda but did continue to incorporate the outcomes into children and family policy.

PERFORMATIVITY AND INSPECTION IN ENGLISH SCHOOLS

An aspect of this neoliberal agenda has been teacher performativity (Ball 2003, 2008) and accountability. Gleeson and Gunter (2001) have charted the developments in teacher autonomy prior to and since the ERA 1988. In the period from the 1960s to the 1980s teachers were 'relatively autonomous' in their work. This was a period of collegiality when head teachers designed the curriculum within broad boundaries and reflection and review were undertaken informally with peers. During the 1980s teachers experienced 'controlled autonomy' with more formal systems of review and accountability. Mandatory appraisals were introduced requiring formal

line management process, including surveillance, and systems. This included classroom observations of teaching and development plans. Nonetheless, the processes and systems were largely managed within schools. Subsequent to the ERA, regulation of teacher professionalism has shifted away from schools to regulatory agencies such as Ofsted, established by the *Education Act* 1992. The current period, conceptualised by Gleeson and Gunter (2001) as 'productive autonomy' further reframed teacher professionalism, this time as an aspect of pupil outcomes based on high levels of prescription in terms of the curriculum, planning, assessment, and expected degrees of pupil progress in any one academic year. In these terms, teachers' professionalism has shifted from teachers as subjects in their professional lives to teachers as objects of concern in an increasingly marketised system of education.

Political and Ideological Abstraction

Significantly the period between the 1960s to the 1980s is also a period of theoretical and ideological abstraction particularly in the debates between the educational progressivism espoused by Bridget Plowden and the economic instrumentalism of James Callaghan. Indeed, *Children and their Primary Schools* [The Plowden Report] (Central Advisory Council for Education (CACE) 1967) arose in the data. The Plowden Report was the first significant report into primary education following the Second World War, picking up on the themes of optimism and prosperity in the 1960s.

At the time, significant developments were being planned for education, including middle schools and comprehensive schools. Creativity was in vogue, and policies that were seen as excluding or labelling children, for example selection, were being abandoned. Key questions were being asked about the status and role of primary education and Bridget Plowden and her Committee were given responsibility to provide some direction to a State in transition and trying to balance and come to terms with the rising rights agenda arising following the end of the war.

Subsequent changes in policy and ideology were primarily focused on the perceived failings of the liberal and progressive education system, spurred on by press reporting of the teaching in William Tyndale Junior School in Islington. The resultant

public inquiry (Auld and ILEA 1976) into the failings in the school did make comments on teaching methods although this did not include criticism of the ethical, moral or caring strategies of teachers. The inquiry report did however raise concerns about control and management of the school curriculum, the role and responsibilities of local education authorities, teacher accountability and the effectiveness of teaching (Gillard 2011). In a consequent speech at Ruskin College the then Prime Minister, Jim Callaghan, laid the foundation for a more centralist and functionalist approach to education. He argued that the dual purpose of education was to develop 'socially well-adjusted individuals' (Callaghan 1976) with the skills required to gain and retain employment. His concern was that the latter was being given insufficient attention.

It should be noted that in 2010 a Coalition Government came to power as I entered the field. The proposals of Michael Gove, the then new Secretary of State for Education, enacted in the *Education Act 2011*, reinforced the neoliberal agenda and a Conservative hegemony of standards and accountability. This Act gave the Secretary of State wide ranging powers to deal with teaching professionals and State schools that did not conform to his view of what is good in and for education. Consequently there were provisions for greater control over 'Discipline' (Part 2), the 'School Workforce' (Part 3), the 'Curriculum' (Part 4), accountability and standards (Part 5), and the market under the auspices of parental choice through the strengthening of Academies (Part 6). Moreover the financial crisis of the time and the discourse of austerity offered an opportunity to strengthen competition in the education market and the links between education and the national and global economy.

UNDERSTANDING THE PROBLEMATIC

In my meeting with the head teacher to negotiate entry to Crosstown School one of the first things she said to me was, 'we are a very caring school'. This was repeated on entry to the school and consistently reinforced by the participants. This was an important narrative giving rise to the potential disjuncture in their experience and understanding of care and that of inspectors. This concern of teachers for care is consistent with Nias' (1989) study of primary teachers' work and the moral purpose of primary education. In particular there appeared to be a tension between the

purposes of education and teaching; particularly in the education of the whole child and teaching as an aspect of economic instrumentalism through contemporary regulatory, marketized and performative practices. The chaos (Dewar 1998) arising as a result of the disjuncture between these two ways of knowing a teacher's work, which fundamentally involves wider institutional relations of ruling and the relationship between teachers, pupils and their families, gives rise to the problematic, 'how do teachers come to care?'

Yet while this concept of care was foregrounded it was on the basis of 'othering' that it was being vocalised, that is, the teachers understanding themselves to be other than the desired professional required by externally imposed frames of accountability. They were concerned about being 'different' and 'risky' (to the children's education and outcomes) from the standpoint of the external observer, the Ofsted inspector. The 'centrality of otherness' (Tronto 1993, 13) in the teacher's moral thinking in their everyday world led me to consider my own approach, particularly how I might be framing the teachers as 'other'. The generosity of the teachers in giving their time and experiences and a direct challenge that I might be 'a spy from Ofsted' soon led to a decision that Carspecken's (1996) framework for critical ethnography was not an appropriate framework for my research.

Moving Towards IE

Four particular thoughts began to shape my approach to the study; the first was the performative and regulatory actuality of the teachers' experiences involving recognition of the developments in teachers' work since the ERA 1988, including a prevailing neoliberal political context and the embedding of prescription, surveillance and inspection under the *Education Act* 1992 and beyond (Ball 1998, 2003). The second concern was to seek to avoid 'othering' of the participants and to acknowledge the emotional aspects of the research relationship (Lather 1997; St Pierre 1997). As a consequence, thirdly, the need to achieve the standpoint of the participant teachers in recognition of the power of surveillance, but moreover, as subjects not objects in the study. Consequently to explicate how their practices and understanding are mediated and organized by these institutional forms of ruling relation (Smith 2005). Finally, my developing understanding of more than one form of

consciousness, that is, the teacher as she understands herself in her everyday work in school and the relations thereof, but also in her work elsewhere.

Concepts of 'other' and 'difference' in a context of morality and an ethic of care, are central themes in Nias' findings and Tronto's argument for a political ethic of care, yet there are particular differences in standpoint that are crucial to understanding the problematic and achieving the standpoint of the teachers. Both recognize and see as problematic the social, cultural and historical assumptions that shape women as moral, and their role and responsibilities in caring. Nias (1997, 11-22) posits five understandings of a teacher's approach to care: liking children; altruism, self-sacrifice and obedience; quality in human relationships; moral responsibility for students' learning; personal investment, 'commitment' and guilt. She examines these in relation to 'conscientiousness' and 'commitment'. Her approach reflects approaches to teaching based on the works of Freud and Piaget, although she also refers to Rousseau, Froebel and others for whom teaching is an immanently relationship-based practice.

Tronto (1993, 16) alternatively argues that Nias's understanding is founded by 'making an argument whose logic is dictated by the circumstances in which they [the teachers] find themselves' and therefore teacher's work with resultant understanding of 'other', 'difference', morality and the ethic of care are immanently political. The sentiment, 'we are a caring school', is vocalised because of a disjuncture in ideological and political relations of ruling rather than a deficit in proximal relations between teachers and pupils. It speaks to a moral boundary in different understandings of care (Tronto 1993, 2010). For Tronto, economic instrumentalism requires the political elite to enforce and regulate through a 'politics first' approach. Consequently, moral arguments embedded in the predominant regime that seek a shift in power through engagement in moral debate, have no voracity and are diminished in a politics of prevailing neoliberal power and control. Tronto, like Nias, sees consideration of teacher's selves in relation as an important consideration of the social milieu in any school. A crucial difference in analysis is that Nias promotes psychological causes in teachers' experiences of moral operations; of care, othering and difference. However Tronto's argument is that social causes are significant, since:

Whatever psychological dimensions there might be to explain women's moral differences, there may also be a social cause: women's different moral expression [is] a function of their subordinate or tentative social position. (Tronto 1987, 649)

It is the boundary between the morality of a politics first ideology of care and the lived experience of the women teachers and their wider conceptualisations of care; the disjuncture between foregrounded psychological dimensions of care and a political ethic of care, that are the problematic of this thesis. Moreover, if the ethic of care is political and my research seeks to explicate along boundaries of understanding and disjunctures of experience, then I must start from the experience of people to avoid objectifying them to predominant ideologies, narratives and approaches. Consequently, a feminist ontology and epistemology, not a realist one, is appropriate to the explication of the problematic and IE is therefore used as both a theory and method in this thesis. In beginning with people's experiences, standpoint is important in working outwards to explicate and develop understanding of how those experiences are organized. Texts are also important, not of themselves, but in their power when taken up by the teachers to organize the teacher's work. I consider each of these within the thesis.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Following this introductory chapter a literature review chapter highlights the development of feminist understandings of the ethic of care since the 1980s. The themes and concepts arising are subsequently woven throughout the work. This is followed by a methodology chapter which weaves together institutional ethnography, a narrative method and the political ethic of care in revealing relations of ruling in Crosstown School. In Chapter Four I focus on researcher reflexivity which illustrates praxis and how the different aspects of approach work together to develop a valid and reliable study from the standpoint of the participants. Chapter Five provides a description of the participants and Crosstown Primary School and the story told pre-Ofsted. It then begins the analysis of teachers' talk and synthesis of data. This is continued in Chapter Seven with a particular focus on 'I Poems' as a source of data. Chapters Five and Seven expose the wider and complex relations of ruling by

focussing on the data arising from the standpoint and experience of each participant and how these textual interventions change teachers and their practices. Working from the 'narrated-self' (Mauthner and Doucet 1998) of each participant, analysis concentrates on institutional processes and their co-ordinating power in the teacher's experiences rather than on the teacher as an object in the research. The difference is that Chapter Five explores the situation pre-Ofsted and Chapter Seven explicates teacher experience post-Ofsted. Between these, Chapter Six reveals what is in regulatory and policy texts, the purpose is to understand that texts mediate the participants' experience and to plot the lines of ruling relations beyond the site. Chapter Seven continues this analytic work but focusses on what disjunctures regulatory and policy texts create in more local texts. The final chapter concludes the thesis and considers what has been learned by the research.

Chapter 2: Situating the 'ethic of care' in a conceptual framework.

This chapter reviews the literature relevant to the problematic and initially considers three branches of moral philosophy relevant to the ethic of care. It subsequently proposes a conceptual framework for a feminist ethic of care applicable to education. The framework identifies the presence of political and social structures in framing caring work based on the work of Margaret Urban Walker (1998) and Joan Tronto (1993). This chapter is read before the methodology since IE is posited by Smith (2005) as both a theory and method in researching the mediating power of texts and ruling relations in peoples' work. Understanding the political theory underpinning the ethic of care is therefore necessary in understanding its integration with IE. Consequently an important aspect of the chapter is the mapping of Tronto's framework to the ontology and sociology of IE (Smith 2005) thus allying the framework to IE's requirement to situate a sociological study in the everyday realities of people's work; that is, not to impose a conceptual framework on the teachers participating in the study but to define a conceptual framework arising from their everyday work and experience.

IE works to expose a problematic for investigation, which in this study is the question 'how do teachers come to care?' Significantly the question is not 'how to teachers come to care about...?', since to focus only on 'caring about' risks relegating care to a private domain of relationships. Instead Tronto (1993, 2012) posits a process

involving five phases; caring about; taking care of; care giving; care receiving; and caring with, these she posits are inherently political and unavoidably involve moral practices. As such Chapter Two undertakes a literature review of the ethic of care, not just as intimate or based in relationships, but as political, moral and relational. This important distinction is explored in the chapter by critiquing the debates and developments of moral ideas beginning with Carol Gilligan's (1982) seminal challenge to the work of Lawrence Kohlberg (1976). Subsequent developments are also discussed before exploring Tronto's concern that to posit 'care' as a matter of individualistic responsibility, or a moral practice governed only by a theoretical-judicial ethic of care (rules and particular expectations of what is the 'right' thing to do), is to situate people (the teachers of Crosstown School) as objects to caring responsibilities and duties. To objectify from a position of power is to engage in the politics of privileged irresponsibility (Tronto 1993, 120-122).

Chapter 3: Methodology

Chapter Three reveals in detail the detail the theoretical approach to ontology and epistemology adopted in the study including relations of power and standpoint. In particular discussion highlights the conceptual aspects of IE and the debates around standpoint. This includes consideration of the founding principles of IE, for example, Marx's fundamental premise that consciousness arises from experience, not the other way round, which is key to Dorothy Smith's adoption of historical materialism. Smith's ontology and epistemology are dual, that is, ontology is both internal and external, epistemology is idealist and materialist, subjectivist and objectivist. This has a significant bearing on the idea of 'consciousness' which, if misunderstood, can lead to IE being interpreted as a social constructionist frame.

What exists in texts is a key starting place in exploring 'how do teachers' come to care?' How texts are taken up is an acknowledgement of the social co-ordination of the everyday and the teacher's bodily being. IE does not valorise experience, it does not posit experience as a particular form of truth or individual responsibility; rather experience is a *point d'appui*, or point of departure, for exploring and understanding how people's intimate world is connected beyond their immediate social environs to those of others living and working elsewhere. The teachers in Crosstown and the researcher interpret their world from their particular standpoint and are therefore not

the objects of the research; rather experience is the key to explicating the institutional processes that shape their lives (Bisaillon 2012). This is also crucial in aligning IE with Tronto's (1993) political argument for an ethic of care. To care well requires that the researcher does not consign care to some sort of essentialist role but recognizes the political relations of dominative power, and that particular relations in a local site are diverse, extending beyond the local site. Care is not just a concept but a practice utilised to explicate difference in relations of ruling.

The chapter also explores methods of data generation and analysis including texts as coordinators of work and potential limitations. There is a discussion of ethnographic methods in generating data and *The Listening Guide* (Mauthner and Doucet 1998) is highlighted as a reliable tool in analysis. Consequently, consideration is given to the use of interview data in respect of a warrant for truth claims. Overall the chapter posits an approach that is relational, critical and interpretative.

Chapter 4: Researcher Reflexivity

This chapter reveals my approach to reflexivity, developed in coming to understand the teacher's standpoint and they mine. It explores different understandings and approaches to reflexivity before positing that the purpose of reflexivity is in revealing structures of domination and power, including the potential of my enacting domination as an embodied reality. The discussion highlights reflexivity as crucial to achieving the standpoint required by IE and, as such, details my personal achievement of standpoint whilst underlining Smith's (2005) notion that standpoint is something pre-determined. Importantly, this discussion also extends to the participants' achievement of the researcher's standpoint and therefore to the development of trust and solidarity in the research.

Reflexivity is important in my research work in exposing institutional ruling relations and in interpreting teacher's experiences. Consequently insight into my reflexive practices is not an exercise in narcissistic reflection but an essential aspect of the theory and method of IE, particularly in developing understanding of the ruling relations between my field, habitus and interpretation of the everyday experience of the teachers (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). In the chapter I illustrate my use of *The*

Listening Guide, in particular my production of an 'I' poem after being interviewed by research participants. This promotes an ethical approach to researcher reflexivity, enabling an explicit analysis of my subjectivities in the use of ethnographic methods and a deeper understanding of privilege and power on my part. The approach works to negate any authority I possess over the textual representations of the research participants and objectification of them.

The point of reflection in institutional ethnography is not to learn about the researcher per se, but to learn about my location in the 'relations of ruling' (Smith 2005). There are particular tensions for institutional ethnographers in seeking to avoid objectification of participants through both 'institutional capture' and 'privileged irresponsibility', that is; the imposition of my subjectivities in listening for and asking about texts. A significant concern in this research context is my place as an outsider and privilege in the education hierarchy. The chapter demonstrates how *The Listening Guide* and 'I' Poems can be used by institutional ethnographers to reveal and analyse the co-ordination of social relations.

Chapter 5: Introducing the Local: The Participants, Crosstown Primary School, and Teachers Coming to Care

This chapter provides a factual description of the school, the local area and demography, and the participants. The reader should note that some of the factual data, for example on population and households, is taken from Local Authority and Office for National Statistics data although the exact documentary source is not revealed for the purposes of anonymity. Following this discussion reveals the regulatory regime, leadership ethos, and teacher's duty of care arising in regulatory and public and civil legislative contexts. Consequently, different emphases on need and caring are explored briefly through the historical tensions arising in the 1970s and 1980s between Plowden's progressivism and Callaghan's economic instrumentalism. The Plowden Report (CACE 1967) arises in the data in a context of approaches to educating the 'whole child', rather than an individualistic focus on pupil attainment in meeting the demands of the economy.

Different definitions of need lead to different approaches to the analysis of care, for example in consideration of; who is defining the need, with whom, on behalf of who,

and to what ends? As discussed in Chapter Two, these are moral questions; therefore a number of means of analysing teachers' experiences during the period of notice to improve are used to synthesise data and posit how teachers come to care as relational and political. Specifically, examples of teachers' talk is analysed by drawing on the concepts offered by Jenny Nias (1989), following her ten-year research into primary teachers' changing experiences of work; and Nell Noddings' (1984) seminal work on the ethic of care. Where Nias draws heavily on developmental psychology and symbolic interactionism to explain her findings, Noddings is more philosophical in her approach, positing a moral process based on proximal and reciprocal relationships. However, while the latter is utilised to critique the former, in particular I argue that Nias' approach is embedded in a masculinist ethical framework and Noddings' in mothering. Both are criticised as insufficient in dealing with wider societal and global ruling relations.

Consequently, Joan Tronto's political ethic of care is considered to offer a more useful conceptual frame. As highlighted, Tronto's approach posits a process of care based on five phases; caring about, taking care of, care giving, care receiving, and caring with (1993; 2010; 2012; 2013). Those involved in educational policy, yet who are removed from its intimate daily work, have framed a need in primary education for pupil progress and have developed policy and procedural texts that demonstrate that they 'care about' this issue. Teachers are required to 'take care of' pupil progress, which is reinforced through regulation and performative approaches to their work. However, Tronto (1993, 2014a) posits that people are both 'care givers' and 'care receivers' and that both of these phases of care must be considered together in developing understanding of people's care experiences. Drawing on readings of the data utilising *The Listening Guide* (Mauthner & Doucet 1998) the chapter therefore analyses teachers as care givers and care receivers. As care givers this includes their caring practices, conceptualisations, and emotions/relationships with children, how they care about work, and how they care about their families. Subsequently, analysis focuses on teachers as care receivers; specifically, teachers caring for the other, how teachers are cared for by the school and local authority, and how they perceive that 'the system' cares about them.

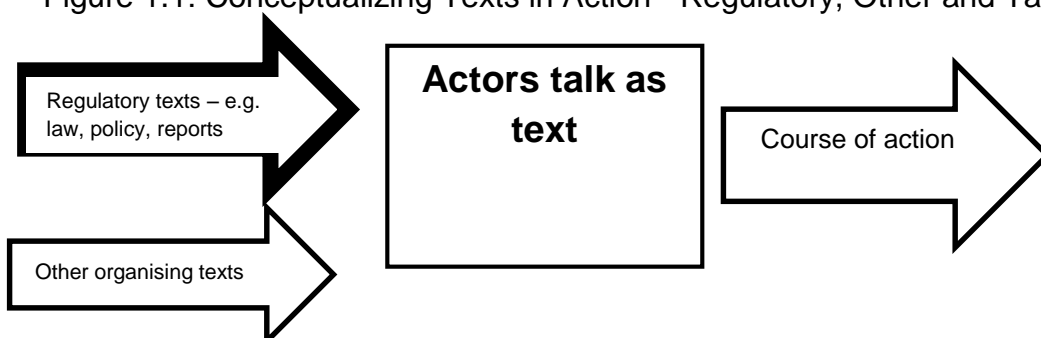
In the chapter I assemble and synthesise the data to reveal complexity in the teachers' diverse experiences; significantly, analysis explicates wider relations of ruling and I argue there is a need to move away from the dangers of an essentializing and individualizing 'I', from positions that objectify the teachers and their experience, to the institutional, particularly to the mediating power of texts. Analysis is developed in a context of differing definitions and understanding of need and therefore of care. Significantly, the concepts, research and theory discussed in the chapter are viewed as organizing texts crucial to political and moral debates that work to mediate teachers' practices and perceptions of their work.

Chapter 6: Organizing Fidelity to Policy and Guidance

Understanding the ethic of care, the theory and method of IE, and the reflexive work of the researcher are important to exploring the problematic, 'how do teachers' come to care?' In Chapter Five I began the explication of the problematic by analysing the everyday experience of the teachers and exposing the political, moral and theoretical debates about children and education. Exploring these everyday experiences and concomitant debates reveals the texts that are mediating forces in institutional ruling relations. The focus of this chapter is to explore what is in those texts that are taken up by the teachers.

Smith (2005) conceptualizes action arising as texts are taken up by actors in local sites of activity. She posits an 'intertextual hierarchy' (Smith 2006) (Figure 1.1), one where higher order texts, for example regulatory and policy texts, are taken up in lower order 'other' texts, such as Ofsted inspectors' reports and school texts. Regulatory and policy texts are considered to be trans-local since they are taken up both in the local site of activity and beyond, indeed they can be taken up by many people in different sites at the same time.

Figure 1.1: Conceptualizing Texts in Action - Regulatory, Other and Talk as Text



Therefore, analysis of what is in regulatory and policy texts exposes the mediating power behind the story being told and is crucial to understanding the teachers' experience within the social, political and cultural context. Exposing what is in texts explicates how political actors are attentive to and make a note of 'need', more specifically, what they need to do in their work. The texts discussed in the chapter arise in the data generated from the teacher's everyday experience and are central in exposing the political and ideological discourses in the problematic. Discussion explores:

- *Assessing Pupils' Progress: A teachers' handbook* (APP) (DCSF 2010a), and *National Curriculum: Handbook for Teachers in England* (DfEE/QCA 1999)
- *Every Child Matters* (ECM) (DfES 2003a) and the safeguarding agenda, including *Working Together to Safeguard Children* (HM Government 2006; 2010)
- *Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning* (SEAL) (DfES 2005).

The discussion explicates what each text says, the issues are arising from this, and how these issues could be viewed differently. I utilise Sevenhuijsen's (2004) *Trace* framework to organise the analysis to reveal a complex yet particular web of purpose and power in the convergence of legislative, policy and regulatory texts as organizing forces in mediating teachers' work. Acknowledging wider historical and theoretical understandings of care this chapter discusses how the privileged defend their politics by developing a narrative of social justice, benefitting all through ordered and ordering approaches to education and care. Importantly, I expose a boundary between morality and politics, specifically a 'politics first' approach in which the politically-privileged assert the primacy of their ideas and seek to preserve their power through regulation and control (Tronto 1993).

Chapter 7: Ofsted and School Texts: Teacher Consciousness: Care Giving, Care Receiving, Poems, and Silence!

Chapter Five revealed relations of ruling arising in teachers' talk particularly in relation to their experience as care givers and care receivers. Consequently, Chapter Six explicates what is in higher order, trans-local regulatory texts that shape this

experience. The purpose of this chapter is to explore how trans-local texts shape the local and the situation in the school post-Ofsted. I consider this firstly by explicating what is in Ofsted reports and local school texts before returning to the teacher's talk as empirical data, specifically utilizing the participant's I Poems. I posit an emphasis on teachers as care givers and a relegation and diminution of their needs as care receivers. This is illustrated through an example of one participant's consciousness (Allman 2007), both as a professional (at work) and as a mother and partner (at home). Drawing on data from other participants, discussion then highlights the sensuous activity of social belonging, and ceasing to belong, to groups. There is a particular emphasis on the need for validation as an aspect of the regulatory process and professional recognition, yet evidence of constraint in sharing individual success. In this context consideration is further given to teacher consciousness and the sensuous activities of care giving and care receiving. Analysis reveals that care receiving is diminished and this, I suggest, is the 'institutional' silencing of care.

Consideration is subsequently given to what is in 'other' texts and the boundary between these and the regulatory texts discussed in Chapter Six. Being a teacher requires fidelity and particular responsiveness to standards. The school's inspectorate in England, Ofsted, produces reports on individual schools and compares outcomes with performance nationally. Government utilises the data produced by Ofsted to set schools apart, praising those deemed 'outstanding' and criticizing those judged to be failing. Consequently teachers are judged and those considered less than good must move towards the standards set by their more successful peers for fear of losing their jobs. Thus teachers come to understand pupil attainment as a matter of economic imperative and themselves as care givers who care about achieving good outcomes within a regulatory framework. Explicating what is in other texts exposes a boundary crucial to the understanding the relations of ruling and reveals, in particular, a 'moral point of view boundary' (Tronto 1993, 9-10). Co-ordination occurs along these boundaries, when texts are taken up, and in doing so, when texts are used by the powerful to shape constructions of care that ignore broader approaches and conceptualisations.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This final chapter brings together the theory and method of IE in revealing ‘how do teachers come to care?’ and confirms that the findings arising in the study do so from the everyday experiences of the teachers involved. While I have revealed much already of the results of the analysis of the data, discussion in this chapter conceptualises the disjuncture in the teachers’ experience of ‘notice to improve’ as a complex relation of trust. Although teachers confirm and legitimise the categories of performative power in taking up the regulatory requirements of inspection they are also conscious of wider forms of care and being. Importantly, while these are silenced they are not extinct. Although the silencing and concealment of care is an important aspect of relations of ruling that work to replace trust with a culture of accountability, trust, including the teacher’s need to trust and be trusted, cannot be completely extinguished (O’Neill 2013).

Chapter 2 : SITUATING THE 'ETHIC OF CARE' IN A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the literature relevant to the development of a conceptual framework for a feminist ethic of care applicable to education. The framework identifies the potential of political and social structures in framing caring work and posits a theoretical and epistemological model as an alternative to approaches that individualise caring practices as only belonging in the intimate domains of care givers and care receivers. In developing this argument, the 'ethic of care' is discussed in consideration of the three branches of moral philosophy – metaethics, normative ethics and applied ethics. Typically, metaethics' concern is moral principles and questions of where our moral judgements come from, for example, is it a matter of the will of a powerful deity or individual reason or ego? Normative ethics focuses on moral standards and notions of what is right or wrong based on duties or the consequences of actions. Applied ethics attempts to resolve the questions of the previous two branches for specific contexts and issues, for example, care.

Although these may be presented as three distinct branches of moral philosophy there is inevitably crossover in their boundaries, for example, care may be presented as an applied ethical concern since it involves a sometimes controversial aspect of human interaction and work. This also depends, however, on understanding more general normative notions of choice, dependency and rights which help to frame the moral boundaries of care work. This in turn involves metaethical questions such as, where do rights come from? Whilst it is important to understand the conceptual framework for care in light of these three branches of moral philosophy, its structure is also drawn from a particular theoretical and epistemological standpoint. In illustrating this, discussion in the chapter posits that, at the metaethical level, care is a matter of political and social interaction rather than individual reason; normative ethics involve considerations of power and responsibility rather than duty or consequence; and finally the applied ethic of care is achieved through a political

theory. In this regard, the three orienting approaches to moral philosophy blend to form a coherent conceptual framework for the ethic of care.

The chapter includes a strand of discussion, woven throughout the chapter, which aligns the premise of IE (Smith 2005, 2006) with the debates involving the three branches of moral philosophy and the conceptual framework for care. This is a critical aspect of the chapter, particularly since the literature on the ethic of care is discussed first and foremost because 'care' was revealed in the teachers' talk, as an aspect of the experience of their daily working lives that is mediated through a complex web of texts and social interactions. Important too is the avoidance of 'institutional capture' (Smith 2005, 155-156), that is, the imposition of sociological positions or ideas on the participants' experience, or the development of a discussion that privileges the researcher's position or knowledge. References are made to IE throughout the chapter to ensure alignment between the teacher's experiences and the conceptual framework and to focus the orientating theory of the framework on social interaction and away from individualizing, essentialist or reifying arguments.

Discussion in the chapter is developed over three sections. Section one focusses on the first of two key decades in the development of the ethic of care, the 1980s. In particular it highlights the concern within developmental psychology, arising from the work of Carol Gilligan, for a gendered approach to moral development. In critiquing predominant male, justice-orientated approaches to ethical theory, Gilligan proposed an ethic of care based on a cognitive model of moral development, but in a feminine 'voice' (1982). Subsequently, Nel Noddings argued that caring responsibility is a feminine trait that arises not through a different voice but, alternatively, through a 'different door' (Noddings 1984; 2003). This debate is examined further in the chapter.

Section two offers a challenge to the values-orientated ethical foundation of the work of Gilligan and Noddings and posits that the metaethic at the foundation of the conceptual framework highlighted in the chapter is political and social. To aid the discussion, concerns for neoliberalism in education are used to explain the political and social context for teachers' work. Specifically, it is argued that normative

understanding is a matter of power and responsibility, rather than duties, consequences or virtues. The metaethic is based on Margaret Urban Walker's (1998) 'Expressive Collaborative model' of moral principle, taken up by Joan Tronto in her political argument for an ethic of care, in which she too critiqued predominant male, justice-orientated ethical theory and subsequently suggested an alternative epistemology and an ethical theory based on morality as practice and therefore based in people's social realities.

Section three builds on the work of Walker to consider the second key decade in debates involving the development of the ethic of care, the 1990s. This second wave in engagement with care (Philip, Rogers and Weller 2013) is a response to the feminine-focused arguments of Gilligan and Noddings in the 1980s, and moves from approaches arguing feminine virtues to those arguing for a feminist ethic that is political and social rather than concerned with individual, gendered traits. If Gilligan and Noddings were central figures in the first wave of developments of the ethic of care in the 1980s, then Sara Ruddick bridged the 1980s and 1990s and with Joan Tronto formed the vanguard of the second wave from the early 1990s onwards. Particular emphasis is given to Tronto's (1993) *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care*. For Tronto morality is not simply a matter of rule, obligations or virtue; alternatively the moral is enmeshed with the social in developing an ethic of care. In positioning care as political, Tronto reveals a complex web of purpose, power and plurality in caring relations.

Whilst Gilligan's move toward a feminine ethic of care is significantly situated within developmental psychology's interest in moral development and its links to prevailing, male-dominated understandings of ethics, Tronto's political argument requires an alternative epistemology. In allying Tronto's political argument and Walker's Expressive Collaborative model, 'responsibility' is a thread that spans the conceptual framework proposed in the chapter. Social and political interactions are the significant factors in the metaethic of the conceptual framework, power is the significant normative factor, since if, in the division of labour, we are not all equally responsible for the same things, in the same way, for the same costs, at the same level of responsibility then the questions of how the responsibility for caring work comes to be understood and experienced are crucial concerns (Walker 1998). It is a

concern throughout this thesis. It is also this alternative epistemology that links the conceptual framework to IE. The framework avoids an individualizing approach in which a sociological model of the ethic of care is imposed on the participants in the study. Rather the proposal is a social model which arises from the teacher's experiences of powerful mediating forces – an experiential-collaborative model for the ethic of care.

This chapter therefore:

- Reviews the literature on the ethic of care through an ethical frame;
- Critiques predominant theoretical-judicial models and developmental-virtues models of moral practice;
- Promotes an alternative conceptual model based on an alliance of the Expressive Collaborative model, a political theory of care, and IE.

Before proceeding however it is important to acknowledge that the concept of 'care' may be understood and utilised in a number of different ways when explicating teachers' experiences. Indeed I acknowledge Nias' (1989) research into teachers' subjective views of caring for and caring in teaching (Chapter Five). This gives rise to concerns about caring as a gendered and embodied role, particularly in primary schools, which leads to a focus, in this thesis, on the ethic of care. My concern is to explicate how the concept of care is taken up and activated. It is a concept that exists in the actuality of the teachers' experience in a context of regulation and 'notice to improve'. Other literature including that on teachers' professional identities does focus on care. Franziska Vogt (2010), for example, argued that a caring teacher is; very committed, related (concerned with their relationship with pupils), conscious of the need for appropriate physical care, approachable, and is willing to parent. However the discussion in this work is on 'what' care is, the primary concern of the institutional ethnographer is not to explicate 'what' but 'how'. That is, through what textual means teachers come to understand, experience and know care. The explication of 'how' is necessarily political, ontological and epistemological, that is arising in the everyday experience of the women teachers of Crosstown School as they take up and activate the texts that mediate their work. It is through understanding the literature on the political ethic of care that this is possible.

SECTION ONE – THE FIRST WAVE OF FEMINIST DEBATES IN DEVELOPING AN ETHICS OF CARE.

In a Different Voice

The 1980s were a significant period in the development and debates on care and the emergence of care ethics as a moral theory. During this period educationalists such as Jenny Nias were researching teachers' work and writing of *Primary Teachers Talking* (Nias 1989) (of which more in Chapter Five) with reference to the need to adhere to predominant, male-orientated theoretical-judicial approaches to development. Alternatively, Gilligan (1982), Noddings (1984) and Ruddick (1989) began to challenge this understanding from a feminist standpoint, particularly in critiquing Lawrence Kohlberg's (1973) stage approach to moral development. Gilligan, as an assistant of Kohlberg, confronted the gender bias in his work and instead posited a theory of relational, different 'voices' in which men and women developed distinct moral positions. An important consideration for Gilligan was the predominance of the justice perspective and the silencing of the care perspective, a theme she returned to with others in 1988 criticizing the pre-eminence of justice models in the fields of psychology and education (Gilligan, Ward, Taylor & Bardige 1988).

In A Different Voice (Gilligan 1982) posited a parallel theory of moral development in response to Kohlberg's approach which promoted moral theories as gender neutral, yet constructed on a masculine universalism through which women were relegated as a less mature, less autonomous, other:

At a time when efforts are being made to eradicate discrimination between the sexes in the search for social equality and justice, the differences between the sexes are being rediscovered in the social sciences. This discovery occurs when theories formerly considered to be sexually neutral in their scientific objectivity are found instead to reflect a consistent observational and evaluative bias (Gilligan 1982, 6).

Based on experiments involving moral dilemmas, for example, 'would a man steal a drug to help his ailing wife?' (sic), Kohlberg was interested in the metaethical, in the reasoning used by his participants in reaching a decision, rather than in questions of right or wrong. Nonetheless, he accepted the premise of normative rules including the rule of law. In reaching his conclusions, Kohlberg drew upon the cognitive development stage model of Jean Piaget (1964; 1965) and claimed that moral development occurs across the lifespan, over six stages across three levels. In drawing on Piaget, Kohlberg formulated an applied ethical approach based on individualized moral development rather than on any effect or involvement of social factors. Of greatest concern for Gilligan was that the highest level of Kohlberg's model involved internalized notions of justice derived from male participants and theorists that took no account of the particular experiences and standpoint of women. In basing the highest level of his model in male dominated notions of justice, rights and rules Kohlberg effectively excluded women from the highest moral standards since he ignored women's approaches to moral development that are alternatively situated in relationships and responsibilities, of which caring is an integral part. Specifically, in moving from level two to level three a person needs to frame the relationships inherent in the lower levels in relation to the rules, mechanisms and structures established by a male-orientated society as just and fair. This individualistic, disembodied, universalistic and impersonal view of the self is contrary to women's experience as relational, embodied and interdependent selves.

Gilligan's alternative was to posit that women's moral being is different to men's and to argue that the logic underlying a feminine ethic of care involves a psychological understanding of relationships in distinction of the predominant logic of duty and consequence that informs the justice approach. Justice ethics were not to be set aside however; they simply didn't work for women who required an approach in their own terms. Gilligan's model bears similarities to Kohlberg's in that the metaethical is embedded in developmental psychology's interest in reasoning, it is a stage model to reflect the developmental psychologist's concern for understanding the lifespan. It differs in its normative understanding since Gilligan's model promotes virtues rather than rules.

Criticisms of Gilligan's Ethic of Care

While there is no doubt about the significance of Gilligan's work, particularly in establishing a different ethical understanding for women's experience, there have been several criticisms of her approach, specifically that it is empirically flawed, essentialist and parochial (Sander-Staudt 2011). Whilst she has argued that her work is characterised by theme and not gender, her thesis is based on research with a small group of women and she consistently asserts the presence of a gendered binary in which one voice is feminine and care-orientated, and the other male and justice-orientated. In this regard she falls into a form of essentialism, the very thing for which she criticised Kohlberg. Gilligan's approach to the ethic of care, like Kohlberg's model, is based on her work with particular individuals and groups of participants and she too can be criticized for generalizing from the experiences of a few privileged women to all women. Such concerns about parochialism also lead to accusations of particularity – of care belonging to a particular gender, of care established in particular relationships – so that care is reduced to a few in the private sphere and is not applicable to all. The danger inherent in defining care as a particular feminine behaviour or set of virtues reinforces the gendered stereotypes of women's roles and work (Walker 1998), thus maintaining the oppressive features Gilligan is critical of in *A Different Voice*. In the 1990s feminists begin to challenge the individualizing and essentialist premise of Gilligan's work noting that it is not her sex, her cognitive abilities nor her virtues that disempower women but the gendered stereotypes and socialization of women as duty bound to care (Hoagland 1991). The significant move of the 1990s was to expose the ethic of care as political, concerning care giving, care receiving and those who are able to absent themselves from frontline caring work through socially mediated understanding, gender or economic privilege:

No caring institution... (I include the family) can function well without an explicit locus for the needs-interpretation struggle, that is, without a 'rhetorical space' or a moral space or political space within which this essential part of caring can occur. (Tronto 2010, 168).

This overview cannot do full justice to the strengths or deficits of Gilligan's work but it does serve to highlight important concerns about parochialism and essentialism

which, when seeking to generalize from all teachers' experience of care, may exclude some aspects of experience and understanding. In particular Gilligan does not express care as work and does not explain how decisions about caring conflicts, resources or care standards – all aspects of teachers' caring experience – are resolved. In this regard Gilligan's ethic of care is set against the requirements of IE since her work does not attend to an ethics of responsibility, one that situates people and their responsibilities in a context of people's doings, in 'the actualities of their lives' (Smith 2005, 29), and in the activation of texts in their everyday work.

Through a Different Door

Just as Gilligan was promoting a feminine, virtues-based ethic of care, Nell Noddings was developing a *Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education* (1984) in which she argued that women's moral development was not a matter of reason based on cognitive development but a matter of experience and social learning. Noddings too highlighted deficiencies in Kohlberg's work and subsequently in Gilligan's argument of women's 'different voices' in moral reasoning, positing instead that women undertake the practicalities of caring work through a 'different door', from a maternal perspective based on experience of care rather than an individual notion of 'voice', and, in which care arises in two stages. Care, in Noddings' view, is contextual and reciprocal with the person-caring-for undertaking care (stage one) and then acting morally (stage two) in meeting the needs of the person-cared-for. Hers is a rejection of the universality of Kohlberg's and Gilligan's stages of development and instead posits that proximity between the person-caring-for and person-cared-for is a crucial element in a reciprocal caring relationship. Of particular interest in Noddings' approach is the idea of 'engrossment', so that the moral and ethical engagement of the person-caring-for with the person-cared-for involves a struggle of reason; the person-caring-for has innate caring characteristics but must also overcome her own self-interest in caring practice. Importantly the person-caring-for will only maintain her ideal ethical self by 'caring for' at all times Whilst Gilligan's metaethic is focused on reason based in cognitive development, Noddings' is focused on reason based in the social experience of being 'cared for'. Gilligan's normative ethic is concerned with feminine traits for caring, relationship and responsibility, Noddings' is concerned with the feminine capacity for relatedness and engrossment, that is, the capacity of the

care giver to set aside her own wants and needs in favour of those of the care receiver.

Criticisms of Noddings' Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education

Noddings has consistently argued that the person caring for will only maintain her ideal ethical self by caring for at all times, a view that has been roundly challenged by many feminists. Davion (1993), for example, considers a number of examples that expose shortcomings in Noddings' work, asking for example why a woman would seek to continue to care about a violent partner. In such instances a woman's engrossment in her partner not only perpetuates violence but underpins stereotypes of women as eternal carers. Davion argues in these circumstances justice cannot be set aside and questions too the absence of reciprocity in caring relationships. Like Gilligan, Noddings is charged with parochialism, albeit in terms of proximity. Similarly Card (1991) is concerned that if a woman cares more strongly for those who are closest then it is possible to deny any moral obligation for those who are at a distance. Tronto too has been vociferous in her challenges to Noddings' arguments, as essentialist in promoting a too simple view that moral engagement is principally a matter for women, accusing her of being engaged in a 'dangerous politics' (1993, 160) that reduces care to a private sphere of virtues, excludes institutional or structural types of care – and does not deal with conflict.

Once again, any approach that excludes possibilities in the teachers' experience of care is insufficient for developing understanding fully from their standpoint. In its maternalistic leanings, Noddings' work cannot account for how teachers' caring practices are mediated through the power of legislative, policy and regulatory texts or through the power of inspectors, consultants and other experts (discussed in Chapters Six and Seven). In this regard, to rework Ball's (1997) words, it is naïve to attempt to disconnect movements and trends in theory and social and political reform from the standpoint of those who care. The development and understanding of care functions socially and politically and is intimately imbricated in the practice of care. The idea that care as work stands outside or above the political agenda of the management of the population or somehow has a neutral status embodied in an individualistic, parochial, free-floating, virtues first sensibility, are dangerous and

debilitating conceits. To present a virtues-first argument to the teachers of Crosstown would be to develop an understanding of care, and an argument whose logic is dictated by a position that does not represent their experience and which, consequently, stifles diversity and otherness (Tronto 1993, 161). Not to include all people and all possibilities is to become involved in 'othering', to develop a category of 'others'; those who do not meet Noddings' theoretical conditions and who cannot be assimilated into her norm, who are objectified. In this regard, Noddings' conception of caring relationships does not sit well with IE since her concept of 'engrossment' transforms people and people's doings into objects and as conceptual outsiders (Smith 2005, 28).

This study involves the experiences of teachers and the relations, including textual practices of responsibility that mediate work through social, political and economic structures and processes. It is necessary to ally the methodological and epistemological reorganization of social research posited by IE with an epistemological reorganization of ethical theory, and the foundation of this is the 'Expressive Collaborative model' (Walker 1998) discussed in the next section. In section three, the discussion develops to include a political argument for the ethic of care (Tronto 1993).

SECTION TWO - THE METAETHIC OF THE 'EXPRESSIVE COLLABORATIVE MODEL'.

The ethic of care has not been a consistent concern in the literature on education from the 1980s to date. Whilst there have been significant moments, particularly during the 1980s and 1990s, more recently discussion on globalization, marketization and performativity have filled journals and text books. A predominant theme for the sociology of education over the past thirty years has been the power and work of a neoliberal agenda both nationally and globally so that a significant market exists both within and for education (Hill 2002). Whilst there are those who demonstrate the presence of the market (for example: Ball 1999, 2003; Hill 2003, 2004, 2005; McLaren 2005; Kincheloe 2008; Hill and Roberston 2009) and others who accept the presence of the market (for example; Beach and Dovemark 2007,

Alexander 2009a, Baltodano 2012, Jeffrey and Troman 2012) a common and critical theme is the socially mediated relationship between politics, power and people's experience of work where 'market imperatives, not ethical or humane considerations, drive social, political, economic, and educational policy' (Kincheloe 2008, 24). The primacy of the market has thus been called into question, in part because of the instrumentalist focus on managerialism as an appropriate approach to the provision of education (Exley and Ball 2011), but also because of the exclusion of voice, context, location and place (Smyth 2009) by powerful externally mediating forces.

If neoliberalism gives rise to concerns about instrumentalism in education then questions develop about the ethical and moral purposes and practices of education. The answer for some is to debate philosophically so that, in a contemporary global context in which neoliberalism has disrupted previous approaches to equality, social justice and welfare, and relationships are reframed. Bauman, for example, has argued that 'moral responsibility is the first reality of the self... a starting point rather than a product of society' (Bauman 1992, 13). In these terms, the complexity and uncertainties of teachers' work are reified in relation to the teacher and the ethic of care is an existential concern rather than involving the daily work and tasks of moral responsibility. In Bauman's terms, with no logical, universal framework to support moral action, if teachers' possess an ethic of care it is merely because it is better than not being moral at all! Yet Bauman's belief that 'morality has only itself to support it' (Bauman 2000, 11; cited in Clifford 2002, 32) is at odds with teachers' everyday and every night experiences of work (Smith 2005) since the moral and social are inextricably meshed. The competing demands of teachers' work are not simply resolved through personal ethical deliberation and moral choice; they are mediated though complex, powerful, external and social forces.

The politics of an individualized, neoliberal education system and an individualized concept of moral responsibility are challenged by an alternative politics of relationality (Strum 1998). The counter-argument to individualism is that policies, such as those framing neoliberalism, are engaged and enacted through a relationship with and between people so that 'standpoint' and therefore voice, context, location and place have relevance. The differences in approach are epistemological and political, and epistemology is therefore an important

consideration in any analysis of teachers' work. In this context, morality and ethical behaviour *are* work (Walker 1998).

Unlike Bauman, Walker does not view moral responsibility as the provenance of the individual, to be discerned intuitively and cerebrally so that the teacher makes a decision that can be applied universally from an authoritarian position; rather, moral decision-making requires engagement in a process through which people in a particular context or setting interact to develop understandings of what is right and wrong so that good outcomes are achieved (Clifford 2002). Crucial to Walker's thesis is an encounter between the moral and social so that gender, age, economic status, race, and other factors that distribute power and responsibility differentially and hierarchically mediate action and moral decision-making (Walker 1998). Significantly, inequity in the distribution of power can privilege the policies and ideas of the elite. Those who possess power may appear imperious and in the vanguard of what is considered by society to be morally important. Consequently, where gender, as an example, privileges the moral standpoint of powerful men then it is important to explore and expose epistemological differences. It is in this context that Walker views the predominant male, justice-orientated approaches to ethics as inadequate. Her argument is that authoritarian, universalist approaches to ethics promoted by utilitarians (those who make decisions based on notions of outcome, the greater good), or, deontologists (those who make decisions based on notions of duty), exclude the possibility of virtue or the notion of responsibility. The latter is central to Walker's Expressive Collaborative model (1998) which looks to the political and social mediating forces in moral decision-making including the way people account to each other for the relationships, processes and values that define their responsibilities and work. As such, it stands counter to the theoretically, justice-orientated models of utilitarianism and deontology which foreground rules, and law-like principles (Clifford 2002) and which have historically been the domain of white elite men.

The foregrounding of the social, relational and political in Walker's approach as the antithesis to the universalist excluding powers of utilitarianism and deontological ethics is also a criticism that applies to a third approach to ethics – virtues. Whilst rule-dominated and justice-orientated approaches ask questions focused on 'what

rules do I follow?', 'what is my duty?' and 'what is the greater good?', virtues ethics asks, 'what sort of person am I / do I want to be?' This, of course, does not preclude a consideration of the social in arriving at an answer, indeed relationality is a cornerstone of both Gilligan's and Noddings work, however the ethical decision-making is undertaken from a culturally and socially mediated individual "I" which again foregrounds the individual. Consequently, virtues ethics too has the power to exclude or reify with the virtues-based ethic of care focussing on an individual's 'feminine' traits such as caring, empathy, nurturance and compassion (Clifford 2002). In this regard the approach is theoretically indistinct from the justice-orientated approaches since it simply replaces one set of 'male' expectations with a 'feminine' other. Again, this is a central criticism of Gilligan's *In a Different Voice* (1982). In this context, the developmental-virtues approach is essentialist, favouring biological, gender-based explanations and feminine stereotypes. This is an important distinction for Walker and the 'feminine' virtue of care at the heart of developmental-virtues models is replaced by an alternative power and responsibility focused approach in her Expressive Collaborative model.

Walker's model moves away from individualistic foci and promotes context as important in moral and ethical work. In doing so she puts forward four central arguments. Firstly, 'morality itself consists in practices, not theories' (1998, 14) and as such she counters Bauman's view, noting that theory does not concern itself with the everyday social experiences of moral work. A theory of morality is not the same as morality itself and since teachers' work is messy, complex and social, any ethical or moral model must build from people 'doing' rather than people 'being'. This argument resonates with IE. A conceptual framework for the ethic of care cannot only be based upon metaethical or normative ethic concerns, it must be applied.

Secondly, moral work moves beyond the local to include the trans-local and extra-local influences on practice. Since the moral practices inherent in an ethic of care are based upon socially mediated understandings of responsibility there is a need to understand, reveal and track moral actors, in particular those who exercise responsibility at a step, or steps, removed from frontline work and who exercise control from a position of power. This necessarily includes consideration of the tools, documents and structures involved in their task. The potential to explicate the power

of texts is central to IE, as such the focus is not on people as actors but the ruling relations of institutional texts (Smith 2005, 2006).

The third of Walker's central arguments develops from the second in positing that justice-orientated, universalist approaches to morality do not account for the complexity of everyday experience. Her argument is that since the moral and social are enmeshed then everyday work involves differentiated experiences of power, privilege and responsibility. The concern for Walker is that the powerful and privileged elite are able to impose their moral frameworks on all others no matter how diverse the population.

The focus on the complexity and messiness of every day experience of work and the need for an alternative epistemology is the foundation of Walker's fourth argument. In arguing that predominant male theoretical-judicial models of morality do not account for the everyday experiences and needs of people, especially women, she highlights a danger in constructing people and their moral positions through a lens that is imposed and continues to objectify and disempower (Bowden 1997). Her alternative is a social epistemology that seeks to understand moral work through relations of power and practices of responsibility.

What Walker achieves is a metaethic that is an alternative to the existing theoretical-judicial and developmental-virtues approaches. Unlike either of these approaches the Expressive Collaborative model situates morality as practice and in particular the practice of responsibility. Responsibility implies a hierarchy in both power and relationships and the model seeks to reveal how people are positioned in relation to each other and through what understanding of responsibility. Consequently, in a context of care, hierarchical practices of responsibility are political practices (Sevenhuijsen 1998) since there are those who care, those who receive care and those who seek to direct and control care, but who are removed from the intimate relations of care work. Walker's model, firstly, provides an alternative metaethic for understanding care; secondly, details a normative approach that situates caring work in relational practices of responsibility and power; and thirdly, calls on us to recognize that practices of responsibility are situated in the prevailing politics. Yet it falls short of providing a comprehensive political theory necessary for an applied

ethic of care. Walker makes the case that there are hierarchies in caring practice but does not provide a detailed socio-political model that keeps the actualities of caring practices, the needs of those cared for, or education as a context for care work, in focus (Tronto 2010). The solution however is in allying expressive-collaborative morality with Joan Tronto's (1993) political argument for the ethic of care.

SECTION THREE – THE SECOND WAVE OF ETHICAL DEBATES IN DEVELOPING AN ETHIC OF CARE.

An Ethic of Care as Moral and Political

Whilst Gilligan's work on exploring womens' different moral voice and Noddings' work on maternal practices and engrossment made the 1980s a significant period in the development of feminist ethics of care, the critiques of the 1990s were led by Sara Ruddick and Joan Tronto. Ruddick in particular provides a bridge between the first wave of debates and those to emerge in the next decade in that she too positioned care as in opposition to theoretical-judicial approaches, as relational, and occurring in a context of maternal practices. The difference was that Ruddick argued that the ethic of care was a matter of reason based on legitimized maternal work rather than reason focused on cognitive development (as Gilligan did), or some form of feminine internal working model based on one's own social learning and experience of care (as Noddings did). In essence, when a woman becomes a mother there are expectations of conformity and effort directed towards love, growth and training – a matter of legitimized, practical, rather than biological, maternal thinking. Unlike Noddings in particular, Ruddick's theory is developed from the actual experience of undertaking mothering practices. Her metaethic, like those of Gilligan and Noddings, is focused on reason, through the lens of maternal work and her normative ethic moves away from feminine virtues to the political and social construction of motherhood.

Ruddick develops her theory over three parts in *Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace* (1989, 1998). In parts one and two she relates her experiences on becoming a mother and argues that any theory, be it of mothering or the ethic of care, needs to be grounded in practical experience. In part two she offers a feminist

rather than a 'feminine' standpoint for the ethic of care. She draws on her practical experience as a mother to argue that maternal thinking is not bound by the body but by ideas and expectations that are socially mediated including through theoretical-judicial notions of duty and consequently essentialist stereotypes. It is possible therefore to set aside prevailing, gendered social norms so that anyone can be involved in mothering practices focused on love, growth and training.

In her identification of training as an aspect of mothering practice, Ruddick raises concerns that mothers are at times faced with powerlessness in light of powerful mediating agents such as 'child care experts', a more experienced other, and men. When faced with a choice of maintaining her authentic self, that is, in sticking to her own ideas and principles in the face of such power, should she cede authority to the other then she is responsible for inauthentic thought. In this respect Ruddick maintains that responsibility for maternal thinking and for reasoning is the domain of the individual.

Hence some concerns about Ruddick's approach begin to emerge; care in her concept remains a matter of individual reason and consequently her approach is open to some of the criticisms levelled at Gilligan and Noddings. Whilst arguing that maternal practices are not gender specific or essentialist she also suggests that 'fatherhood' is situated in a different set of cultural expectations and practices that do not include care. Her approach bears some similarities to Gilligan's although in her dichotomy Ruddick frames fatherhood as having an economic relation. The difficulty with this is that it creates a hierarchy of values based on either the demands of the market or the familial and she does not seek to disrupt this hierarchy. A final point is that mothering practice is defined in light of the activities undertaken by an individual maternal thinker, rather than through a wider understanding of responsibility that also includes the activities of those who seek to control caring practice. There is a danger therefore of essentializing to a particular group.

Ruddick's work had particular resonance for Tronto who, although she views care and justice operating in unison, saw great value in Ruddick's argument that mothering plays a role in caring practice and the consequent premise of care as work and relational. To care is to be engaged in an on-going process of practice and,

building from Ruddick, Tronto agrees that care as practice is a form of practical rationality. This is important to Tronto in moving care away from a solely dispositional activity that otherwise risks sentimentalizing care and binding it to the gendered stereotypes of women's roles. This is one significant aspect in which Tronto is in opposition to Noddings' (1984; 2003) positing of care as essentially non-rational.

Tronto however challenges any positioning of care as confined to the private sphere of experience, or only concerned with a moral domain, or an experience of the powerless either in terms of care-giving or care-receiving. Her version of care ethics promotes care as particular and plural; moral and engaged with the politics of power, institutions and structures; and relevant to all in its purpose. Care involves work and it is crucial that we maintain a focus on care as a process essential to the maintenance of all human well-being. Care also involves justice but in a form in which both are interrelated and entwined. In this regard, Tronto emphasises care and justice equally rather than, as Gilligan and Ruddick do, as at odds and insoluble.

According to Tronto:

To imagine a world organised to care well requires that we focus on three things:

Politics: recognition and debate/dialogue of relations of power within and outside the organization of competitive and dominative power and agreement of common purpose;

Particularity and Plurality: attention to human activities as particular and admitting of other possible ways of doing them and to diverse humans having diverse preferences about how needs might be met; and,

Purposiveness: awareness and discussion of the ends and purposes of care. (Tronto 2010, 162).

These three things are central to Tronto's notion of a caring process which involves a framework of five phases (the fifth, 'caring with', being added in 2012), five aspects (1993, 106-110) and five elements (127-137). It is important to note that each of the four phases of care is associated with an element of care and their applied ethical concerns. 'Caring about' requires 'attentiveness' for example, reinforcing the

argument that it is necessary that needs are recognized for caring to occur, however this involves other's needs, one's own needs and how needs are defined and balanced (see Figure 2.1 below).

Figure 2.1: Tronto's 1993/2012 Caring Process

5 Phases of Caring	5 Elements of Caring	5 Aspects of Care
<p>Caring About</p> <p>Noting and making an assessment of a need. If a need isn't recognized caring cannot occur.</p>	<p>Attentiveness</p> <p>Caring about requires a person to be attentive to the needs of others AND one's own need for care.</p>	<p>Conflict</p> <p>Who defines needs and how do care givers balance their own needs with those of care receivers?</p>
<p>Taking Care of</p> <p>Teachers assume a moral, legal and contractual responsibility as an aspect of their work.</p>	<p>Responsibility or 'Privileged irresponsibility' (Tronto 1993, 120)</p> <p>However there are others who are removed from direct, frontline care who exercise power and control in the spheres of attentiveness and responsibility.</p>	<p>Particularity and Universality</p> <p>Care is a universal aspect of human experience yet in its operation there are cultural, gender, class and other social differences.</p>
<p>Care Giving</p> <p>Caring means coming into contact with care receivers. Simply "caring about" and "taking care of" can be achieved through a financial settlement. Not to move beyond these two phases and to be involved in "care giving" is to 'other' and a consequence of the powerful engaging in 'privileged irresponsibility' (Tronto 1993, 120).</p>	<p>Competence</p> <p>Competence in this regard means both quality practice and enabling the powerful to avoid care giving.</p>	<p>Resources</p> <p>Immanently political and involving conflict, prioritization and cultural and social mores.</p>
<p>Care Receiving</p> <p>The care receiver is open to the care offered.</p>	<p>Responsiveness (of the care receiver)</p> <p>This involves understanding care needs from the standpoint of the care receiver.</p>	<p>Standard</p> <p>Integrity is achieved if the caring process is integrated in light of conflict, resource issues and competence.</p>
<p>Caring with</p> <p>Involves the temporal dimension of care where trust and solidarity are developed through the experience of care.</p>	<p>Integrity</p> <p>Is achieved when the process fits together as a whole.</p>	<p>Practice</p> <p>Care is not just cerebral or a matter of individual moral debate; it is work.</p>

This is a representation of what is a complex web of factors identified by Tronto. For example, for the ease of illustration the five aspects of care have been arranged to correspond with a particular phase or element, it should be noted that each aspect is relevant across the caring process and not specific to a particular phases or element.

Defining Care

From the caring process model it is apparent that care moves beyond individual self-interest, indeed it moves beyond people's interests more broadly, to an engagement with need. In this regard care is social and requires some sort of action. These two aspects of care, moving beyond the self and action, are inherent in Fisher and Tronto's definition of care:

On the most general level, we suggest that caring be viewed as a species activity that includes everything we do to maintain, continue and repair our "world" so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex life-sustaining web. (1990, 40)

Whilst some have criticised this definition for being too global and moving beyond care giver and care receiver interactions (for example, Kohlen 2009), it is its inclusivity and scope that make it attractive to IE. Care, in this definition, is not reified to particular individuals nor is it constrained by particular notions of caring work. The definition promotes care as a range of practices and enables us to think about care as political, social and moral. This study, through IE, can be viewed as illuminating the caring activities of teachers, which includes everything they do to maintain, continue and repair their 'world' so that they can work in it as well as possible. That world is social and mediated through a complex web of relations. Fisher and Tronto's definition also gives rise to questions of 'how teachers come to understand the practices of care?' and 'who is included and excluded from caring work, including those who mediate from a distance?'

The Process of Care and IE

Tronto's definition and process of care constructs care as a political ideal, as inclusive rather than excluding, and enables care givers to evaluate the quality of their care. So it is unsurprising, given the scope of her argument, that her and Fisher's definition is so broad, and it is this breadth that appeals in terms of IE. The argument is not that it meets all the conditions of Smith's ontology and theory but

that it is most likely to facilitate the participants in, to adapt Smith's words; 'reorganizing the social relations of knowledge of care so that they can take that knowledge up as an extension of their ordinary knowledge of the local actualities of their lives' (Smith 2005, 29). The proposal is not to promote Tronto's caring process as generalizable to the participants but to acknowledge its usefulness, above all other positions on the ethic of care, in helping to situate and think about the teachers' experiences. The literature on the ethic of care is discussed first and foremost because care was revealed in the teachers' talk as an aspect of the experience of their daily working lives that is mediated through a complex web of texts and social interactions. The conceptual framework builds from the teacher's experiences and is useful as an aid in revealing generalizable effects.

Importantly, there are several notable comparisons between Tronto's political argument for an ethic of care and Smith's ontology and theory, which are worth exploring in depth here:

Inclusivity rather than exclusivity

Tronto recognizes that needs arise because not all people are able equally, at all times, to care for themselves. Inequality exists in caring relationships, indeed this is the foundation of her criticisms for moral theory that sets morality as a matter of personal capacity, experience or virtue. Noddings' maternalism, for example, situates care in the relationship between the care giver and care receiver and as such she argues that the idea of care in, or through, structures and institutions to be a concept dangerous to the nature of care itself. The individualism of Noddings' approach enables care givers to foreground a view of the world from their own perspective and to forego any consideration of diversity or needs situated outside the immediate caring relationship. There is also the danger that the care giver is in a position of power in relation to the care receiver and that person's particular needs. Tronto argues that in this caring relationship it is most often the care giver's own understanding of the care receiver's needs that are acted upon. As such, the approach offered by Noddings excludes the care receiver from identifying her or his own needs and is therefore a form of paternalism.

In positing an alternative metaethical theory to counter universalism, individualism and paternalism, Tronto argues that an inclusive ethic of care requires not only a new epistemology but also a political theory of care that involves justice and proposes democratic and open opportunities for discussion through more equal access to power (Tronto 1993, 155). This is germane to Smith's (2005, 2006) argument on women's standpoint and the contradiction that arose between her embodied experience as a woman and mother, and the sociological discourse and academic regime within which she worked. The ruling power of a predominant discourse, including through extra-local or trans-local texts, are central to the objectification of women and the replication of the relations of exclusion and dominance that they claim to explore. For Smith the greatest danger is in positing a universalism and concomitant theory that is promoted as transcending people's experience rather than building from it, that is, a theory which treats women and their experience as an object of concern. Gilligan's and Noddings' approaches maintain and promote a form of universalism that is the basis of objectified forms of knowledge. Gilligan in focussing on cognitive development and Noddings in focussing on proximity, achieve, in Smith's terms, a form of disembodiment rather than embodiment.

Objectification occurs if people's caring practices are understood as a matter of the traditional relationship between the mind and body where the mind is predominant and care is a matter of what goes on in people's heads. In this scenario the body is a vessel for the mind rather than the site of the mind, understanding, and agency:

By pulling mind back into body, phenomena of mind and discourse – ideology, beliefs, concepts, theory, ideas, and so on – are recognized as themselves the doings of actual people situated in particular local sites at particular times... Discourse itself is among people's doings; it is the actualities of people's lives; it organizes relations among people. (Smith 2005, 25).

Similarly, while Noddings may claim that her approach to care recognizes bodily being, in that she begins in the experience of care givers and care receivers, she

does not move beyond this experience to consider the deeper complex of relations that mediate and authenticate such local forms of care, as Smith states:

There are people at work elsewhere whom we don't know and will never know whose doings are coordinated with ours... Social relations coordinating across time and distance are present but largely unseen within the everyday/everynight worlds of people's experience. A sociology from women's standpoint makes this reality a problematic, a project of research and discovery (Smith 2005, 24).

In developing her conceptual framework of care it is Tronto's epistemology that is closest to Smith's.

'Care' develops from a position of experience and work

Tronto acknowledges that caring work is often the province of the least well-off in society and has been historically gendered, raced and classed (1993, 112). That is, it is women who are predominately socialized to adopt caring responsibilities within the family, Black men and women have been disproportionately involved in low-paid caring jobs, as are people from the working class. This form of social organization however is also a matter of an economic relationship in which the most powerful and wealthy are able to pass responsibility for their own caring work to others. Consequently, Tronto argues that an inequality exists in care so that the powerful and wealthy can assert they 'care about' and 'take care of' through privilege and power, whereas it is the less powerful who are 'care givers' and 'care receivers'. In this analysis of care, those who 'care about' and 'take care of' are often seen as virtuous, and to undertake work of a higher value than those who are in need of care, or do the daily, hands-on work. Recognition of such inequalities in relationship, power, and responsibility are at the heart of Tronto's ethic of care and sit well with IE since she argues from the perspective of how caring work actually takes place. It is in this regard that Tronto defines care from the standpoint of those involved and views care as a complex web or system of activity. As with IE, Tronto's aim is to develop knowledge of people's everyday experiences from a particular site and to

enlarge upon and map the powerful mediating relations that connect the caring work through extended social relations, the economy and their connections.

Caring work is particular and plural

Any notion that human capacity is equal fails to account for inequality in relations that arises when some people are cared for, some are givers and others can absent themselves from caring responsibility all together. Such inequality renders the notions of attentiveness, responsibility or privileged irresponsibility problematic and of moral concern. The concern of IE is to develop understanding from a particular local site, in this study to begin in the particular experiences of the teachers, but to question how these experiences are produced. Just as Tronto argues that care is a product of socially mediated interactions and is a process, IE seeks to disclose ruling relations that function across a myriad of sites and to reveal the generalizable effects of social processes.

CONCLUSION

If the developments towards a feminine ethic of care of the 1980s were significantly influenced by a metaethic with its foundation in developmental psychology, and its view of normative practices based on virtue as a counter to the predominant theoretical-judicial models, the debates of the 1990s were in turn a challenge to both the theoretical-judicial model and the developmental-virtues model. In particular, it is Tronto's *Moral Boundaries* (1993), in which she argues for a political and social theory for the ethic of care, which enables consideration of the generalizable effects through a process of care. The work of Joan Tronto and Margaret Urban Walker provide an alternative epistemology for understanding the feminist ethic of care – Walker provides a metaethic and normative framework for understanding caring work whilst Tronto provides a political theory for care that, when allied to each other produce an applied ethical model. In this the metaethic is focused on the political and social and the normative concern is for power and responsibility rather than rules, consequences or virtues, that is, to keep caring work, the 'doings' of people, in focus rather than on the people who 'do'.

Epistemological concerns are not limited to the common foundation of the Expressive Collaborative model (Walker 1998) and Tronto's (1993) political argument for the ethic of care since the key orientating theory for this study of teacher's experience of care is IE (Smith 2005, 2006). The epistemology is germane and significantly both the Expressive Collaborative model and the political argument for the ethic of care can be allied to IE's requirement to situate a sociological study in the everyday realities of people's work; that is, not to impose a conceptual framework on the teachers participating in the study but rather to define a conceptual framework arising from their everyday work and experience. In this regard the danger of 'institutional capture' (Smith 2005, 155-156) is avoided since the texts and dialogues that produce the understandings herein begin in the experience of the participants and not any privileged position of the researcher.

Just as the chapter distinguishes a metaethic and a concomitant practice framework it is important to consider the terms 'moral' and 'ethical'. These are often used synonymously although morality may be considered to be a matter of duty, rules and principles, for example the Kantian 'categorical imperative' which foregrounds obligations in moral decision-making rather than the goodness of the outcome of a moral decision or the virtues (or goodness) of the person making the decision. Consequently, ethics may be focused on moral reasoning as framed by the Aristotelian notion of virtue. Rules, obligations and virtues are all mentioned in this chapter as constituents of the predominant theories of moral and ethical reasoning that have been challenged by Gilligan (1982) in developing a feminine, relational approach to moral development, and by Walker in positing an alternative metaethic. However, whilst Gilligan's definition of moral development foregrounds a cognitive conceptual framework, Walker's definition involves an epistemological shift and is based on political and social contexts. For Walker, moral and ethical are therefore not primarily concerns of duty, outcome or virtue, but of power.

For Tronto too morality is not simply a matter of rule, obligations or virtue; alternatively the moral is enmeshed with the social in developing an ethic of care. In positioning care as political, Tronto reveals a complex web of purpose, power and plurality in caring relations. Her work has helped others to further political arguments for an ethic of care. For example, Marxist critiques consider both the necessity and

the exploitative relations of care work (Bubeck, 1995). This resonates with the traditional Scandinavian model which calls for a balance between care, economic activity, and businesses' responsibilities both for their employees and for welfare in wider society (Engster, 2007). Caring needs and care work can also be seen as part of a reworking of global citizenship, beyond the purely local (Sevenhuijsen, 1998; 2004). Without this, dependencies are likely to arise between the cared-for and those expected to care for them, which create relations of inequality for both (Kittay, 1999).

A significant contribution however is in bringing into focus the way in which those removed from direct, frontline care have great power and control in the spheres of attentiveness and responsibility – or 'privileged irresponsibility' (Tronto 1993, 120). A common concern throughout discussion in the chapter is 'responsibility'. As such responsibility replaces utilitarian and deontological notions of rules, obligations and consequences with a normative approach to ethics that situates care as relational, social and involving power (Walker 1998). Consequently, any question of who is putting people and responsibilities in the right places in caring work is inherently political (Tronto 1993) and relevant to the aims and objectives of IE. Importantly, Tronto and Smith resist marginalizing care practice through:

- The forces of ideological advantage.
Care and caring work are not just a matter of a disembodied mind or a body disconnected from wider social forces because proximity is understood to be central to caring relationships. To approach care in this way is to objectify carers and their work as issues of sociological concern. Rather an alternative epistemology is required, one that focuses on the political, economic and wider social relations of ruling.
- Privileged irresponsibility.
In this regard Tronto and Smith recognize that social relations occur across time and space and are coordinated by largely unseen forces. There is concern too to recognize both the particular of experience in local sites and the coordination of care across plural sites. Consequently there is a challenge

to a false concept of care as being only in the realm of the less powerful in society.

- Objectifying care givers and their work.

Care in Western Societies is often seen as a role for women and Gilligan, *In A Different Voice* (1982), was pivotal in raising the issue of care as an aspect of women's experience and work that to date had been ignored. Nonetheless, care work is not just a matter of individual, feminine experiences or practices; indeed Gilligan's own example of care as individualistic, disembodied, universalistic and impersonal is contrary to women's experience as relational, embodied and interdependent selves.

The conceptual framework of Tronto's process of care allied to IE enables consideration from a particular site of the attentiveness, responsibilities, competence and responsiveness to care that are inherent in the ruling relations that mediate teachers' work. The next chapter further demonstrates synthesis between the literature on the ethic of care and methodology. Firstly, Tronto's argument that a world organised to care well requires that we focus on three things: 'politics; particularity and plurality; and purposiveness' (Tronto 2010, 162), provides a link for the methodology adopted in the study. Secondly, Walker's (1998) Expressive Collaborative model promotes a social epistemology with a focus on the institutional organization of moral work through understanding of mediating power that differentiates people and their understanding of responsibility.

Where Tronto provides a conceptual framework and Walker a political argument for framing the methodology, Smith (2005), through IE, provides the sociological basis of the approach. IE works with both Tronto's and Walker's models to develop a sociological study in the everyday realities of teachers' work. Neither the conceptual framework nor the political argument are imposed on the teachers participating in the study, they arise alongside the problematic through an iterative process, that is, from the teacher's everyday work and experience.

Chapter 3 : METHODOLOGY: THEORY AND METHOD

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains both the theoretical framework underpinning the research design and the methods used to explore teachers' work, specifically, how do they come to care? In forming IE as a method of inquiry Dorothy Smith (1987, 2005) focuses on textually mediated social organization of people at work. The chapter begins with a discussion of the theory underpinning IE before considering IE as a methodology. This is followed by an explication of the methods used including the approach to data generation and analysis in revealing the texts, policies and discourses that shape teachers' work.

The previous chapter considered the literature on the ethic of care and introduced IE as an alternative epistemology in the study of people in their everyday and every night experiences. The focus and literature on care discussed in Chapter Two were revealed through an iterative process in light of IE's methodological commitments. This chapter moves the discussion on to further explore IE's 'agenda of theoretical and methodological commitments' (Walby 2013, 141) for developing understanding of teachers' experience under material conditions (actual people and their actual working experiences) (Smith 2005). Whereas the focus in Chapter Two was on the theoretical synthesis between IE and Joan Tronto's (1993, 2010) conceptual process of care and Margaret Urban Walker's (1998) political argument, this chapter focuses on ontological, epistemological and methodological synthesis. This necessarily includes consideration of the approach taken in data generation and data analysis. The chapter therefore introduces *The Listening Guide* (Mauthner and Doucet 1998) as a tool for analysing data.

The aims of this chapter are to:

- Detail the theoretical approach to ontology and epistemology adopted in the study including relations of power and standpoint.
- Explore methods of data generation and analysis including texts as coordinators of work and potential limitations.

- Recommend *The Listening Guide* as a reliable tool in explicating relations of ruling and researcher reflexivity.
- Argue an approach that is relational, critical and interpretative.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

Developing from the Marxist idea of historical materialism, institutional ethnographers seek to understand and reveal how people's everyday and every night experiences are governed through ruling relations, specifically how work is socially organized through text-based institutional technologies (DeVault and McCoy 2002; Walby 2005). Marx (1964) posited that workers come to develop a deeper understanding of how society works since they are subject to, and experience, the powerful forces of subordination that the privileged do not. This understanding may not be explicit but implicit through a sense of alienation and oppression. Nonetheless this involves actual people understanding the material conditions of their experience and achieving epistemic privilege and standpoint. They have access to a double consciousness in the experience of both the work of the privileged and their own oppression. This is an epistemological point rather than a suggestion of osmosis from material experience to consciousness.

There are a number of important components in Marx's theory which I will briefly summarize; specifically, dialectical conceptualization, historical materialism, and consciousness. Marx's approach in the development of his work was to develop understanding of the prevailing ideologies of the time and to work out from them through a critical evaluation of their theory. In this regard he challenged the predominant Hegelian dialectic tradition which focused on the power of the object to shape the material world. Hegel's idealism posited that ideas and concepts have a historical relation to each other but that they existed apart. The development of an idea, or thesis, leads to a counter idea, or antithesis, which in turn leads to a concept, or synthesis of ideas, before the oppositional cycle begins again. Ideas, therefore, are a necessary prior element in the development of the material world.

Challenges to this form of idealism included Feuerbach's reversal of the ideas-to-concepts dichotomy to argue for a concepts-to-ideas relation. Marx however challenged both of these approaches, arguing that the concepts of the material world

and ideas, or consciousness, are not external to the object. To proceed on the basis of dichotomised, externalised relations is to risk objectification and reification since the relation proceeds in only one direction; from ideas to the material or vice versa, without reciprocation. For Marx the development and evolution of the material world is distinctly concrete and a result of human experience and action. There is no separation of consciousness and reality, consequently, Marx's dialectical conceptualization involves a consistent and entwined relationship between everyday and every night experience and thought where each is shaped by and shapes the other (Allman 2007; 2010).

The development of concepts is a key feature of human organization and we can think of concepts in relation in two ways. Firstly, the concepts of care and teaching for example, may be understood to be externally related insofar as they are aspects of teachers' work that interact with one another. The focus is on the concepts and their interaction, which doesn't necessarily change the concepts of care or teaching themselves yet develops a new object in their interaction. Care and teaching continue to exist outside the new object and vice versa. The second approach is to think of concepts in internal relation. This requires focus not just on care and teaching but also on their relation and the continuing development of the new object in light of the attributes of its founding concepts, from which it cannot be separated. The conceptual object arising from the interaction between care and teaching in its internal relations is therefore historically contingent; it is persistently moulded and defined within the relation (Allman 2007). Historical materialism therefore posits that people do not exist apart from predominant ideas, philosophies, laws, moral codes, *et cetera*, but that both subject and object are embedded in the actual doings of actual people.

For Marx, consciousness is individual and the capitalist system is a manifestation of the historical social relations of the political economy (Smith 2011). These social relations develop and change over time so that the attributes of consciousness at the rise of capitalism are different to people's consciousness today. People's consciousness is a matter of individual experience in their everyday and every night work and the object of inquiry, for Marx the political economy, does not stand above or apart from that consciousness. Consciousness of the object of inquiry arises out

of the subjective experience of individuals and consciousness therefore involves the object and subject in internal relation. As individuals come together, consciousness develops a social and material relation, that is, the actual experience of individuals and groups generates ideas through the materiality of language. This acknowledges not only the internal relation between consciousness and material experience but also an internal relation between peoples' objectivity and subjectivity (Allman 2007, 33). In this regard the individual's consciousness involves thoughts and feelings and her consciousness of the capitalist system may be implicit rather than explicit, and may be expressed only through a sense of alienation.

In a capitalist system where the workers are defined by the powerful through the lens of their own privileged position, a deeper understanding of the historical, material and social processes of oppression enables the disadvantaged workers to represent their experience in broader terms. Not just in terms of exchange or profit, as the privileged might in the interests of their own class, but in an understanding of society that values all and situates the subject and object jointly. Inequalities and oppression are understood to be socially contingent and a universal understanding that accounts for all people provides greater objectivity. Finally, universal understanding of the experience of oppression leads to the potential of emancipation and action. In attaining standpoint and acting on their deeper understanding the workers become autonomous agents in the history and materiality of work.

Drawing on the work of Marx, feminist standpoint epistemology developed from the late 1970s as a critical theory with a particular interest in the production of knowledge and gendered practices of power (Harding 1987, 1991, 2004). Hartsock (1987), for example, posited a division of labour in which women's understanding of society arises as a consequence of their material conditions. She argued that women's and men's work in the division of labour is different and therefore women's everyday and every night experience offers the possibility of new understanding through a feminist epistemology. Even if women and men did the same job, Hartsock argued, women also worked outside the capitalist system since they were expected to undertake an additional role within the home, as carer, mother and domestic worker. In addition, childbirth and child rearing offer women a unique insight into historically-contingent discursive practices of care that privilege men. This double

consciousness thus enabled women to speak of the world from their standpoint and consequently develop a more comprehensive understanding that accounts for both insider and outsider experience of the capitalist system (Harding 2004).

Haraway (1991) and Longino (1999) also argue of the importance of socially-situated knowledge since women's everyday and every night experiences are unique, as are the specific standpoints arising from those experiences. Important is their acknowledgement of not one standpoint, but multiple standpoints from which it is possible to produce a more objective understanding, or 'strong objectivity', of reality (Harding 1993). In this regard, Haraway and Longino are both critical of a universalist approach to women's experience in Hartsock's work. For them, acknowledging multiple standpoints offers the opportunity for knowledge to be between standpoints.

Harding (1991) goes further in suggesting that some standpoints produce more objective truth claims than others since some women experience greater oppression than others, the experience of the most oppressed producing more truthful interpretations. The researcher should therefore be aware of those social situations that 'tend to generate the most objective knowledge claims' (Harding 1991, 142). Furthermore, in attending to the diversity between standpoints the researcher comes to understand how each group understands their own experience and their 'place within the wider social thus developing distinctive insights about systems of social relations in general in which their oppression is a feature' (Harding 2004, 9).

The basis of standpoint is that research should start in people's social realities and that we can learn more about the social world in attending to multiple standpoints and in particular, for Harding, those of the most oppressed. The 'elaborate specificity' (Haraway 1991, 190) of a particular group's experience suggests knowledge is generated 'in particular places at particular times' (Longino 1999, 333). So, for example, the experiences of poor women generates more objective knowledge about society as a whole. However, this does not suggest that the experience of poor women is privileged; rather, it offers a unique insight into the lives of those outside other women's experience. There is acknowledgement of differences between groups, thus the experience of poor women may generate knowledge about

low pay or the consequences of the lack of affordable child care, whereas the experiences of those women who do not struggle to make ends meet might reveal alternative struggles in living up to a middle-class ideal (Brooks 2007).

Criticisms of Standpoint Theory

Feminist standpoint theory has been criticised by other feminists and those who work within alternative sociological frameworks, for example post-structuralists. Already discussed is the concern raised about the positivist nature of Hartsock's approach and its association with Marx's universalist grand theory and associated reality and truth claims. Specifically, Hartsock has been criticised for homogeneity in her approach to women's experiences (Butler and Scott 1992), although she later elaborated that her work focused only on women in Western societies. In addition concerns have also been expressed about false universalism in her approach to reality and truth:

If material life structures consciousness, if the different experiences of different groups create different realities, then this must hold for the oppressed as well as the oppressor. Hartsock might reply that the oppressed's conception of reality is true because it is based on a correct perception of material reality while that of the oppressor is false because it does not. But such an argument begs the question of how a correct perception of material reality is achieved. Ultimately, it must presuppose this reality as a given, as the standard by which truth and falsity are defined. (Hekman 1997, 346).

There is consequently also a concern about the cognitive disposition required by the oppressed in coming to understand their standpoint. The reduction of experience to a solely cognitive process does not fully account for, as discussed in Chapter Two, the ruling relations of power, politics, morals and values. In Walker's (1998) and Tronto's (1993) terms standpoint is not simply reducible to a person's cognitive disposition but an achievement of critical consciousness, political struggle and reflexivity. To reduce consciousness simply to a matter of cognitive work in coming to understand the material conditions of experience is to misrepresent the point that

experience generates ideas not the other way around. Historical materialism doesn't deny the object but argues that subject and object co-exist in people's actual doings.

Furthermore, concern has been expressed about epistemic relativism and bias in Harding's work which brings together two concepts; situated knowledge and epistemic privilege. If knowledge is socially situated and positioned in diverse standpoints there can be no position from which all epistemic privilege is understood, knowledge is therefore partial. It follows there must be tension with the idea that some standpoints have greater privilege than others since this requires an impartial judgement, leading to a concern that feminist standpoint is no more than 'multiple and incompatible knowledge positions' (Longino 1993, 107). Longino's concern about the potential bias in Harding's approach has also been recognized by Antony as the 'bias paradox' (1993, 188-189). Consequently postmodernists, such as Hekman, challenge material life as the basis of reality.

This has been countered by Harding's positing of 'strong objectivity' (1993) as a rigorous and dialectical process involving reflection and critique that avoids the power of the dominant ideology; the recognition of diverse standpoints and therefore multiple understandings of experience enabling a more coherent and truthful account. Moreover Rolin (2006) agrees that the apparent tension between socially-situated knowledge and the standard of impartiality required to recognize epistemic privilege can be resolved with reference to contextualism. Her argument is that the standard of impartiality stands in a context of default entitlements; these may include epistemic beliefs, empirical evidence, or values and morals (insofar as they provide a frame for developing a theory) that must be defended if challenged. Default entitlements are not assumed to function in every context, therefore default entitlements are socially-situated knowledge claims. The standard of impartiality is not therefore fixed but contextual, providing some standards of epistemic justification that enable a judgement of the merits of differing standpoints. To this end, the realisation of 'strong objectivity' requires the researcher to be reflexive of her or his own power, position, and history, so that 'the subjects of knowledge be placed on the same plane as the objects of knowledge' (Harding 1993, 69). Reflexivity is the focus of the next chapter.

Hekman's criticisms of standpoint theory also focus on Smith's work, arguing that IE does not acknowledge the social world of the actors as a conceptual reality, and, as Walby (2007) did later, arguing that IE does not confront its own social relations, that is, its own discursive and organizing power. These concerns are countered by Smith (1997) as a misreading of IE and, ironically, as an example of institutional capture since Hekman's arguments are grounded in the requirements of her own discipline and epistemological understanding. Moreover, the criticisms and developments of standpoint theory also mirror those, discussed in the previous chapter. This includes concern over particular formations of the metaethic of care involving: the universalism of Kohlberg's (1976) developmental approach and Marx's theory; essentialism in Gilligan's (1982) moral framework and now in Hartsock's work; subsequently to the importance of context in Walker's (1998) political argument and Rolin's defence of Harding; and finally, to Tronto's (1993) positing of a political argument for an ethic of care aligned, in this thesis, to institutional ethnography.

IE and Women's Standpoint

To begin with, Heckman categorises the work of both Hartsock and Smith as focused on 'feminist standpoint', however this was never a term used by Smith who instead prefers the term 'women's standpoint' (Smith 1987). Smith does not seek to justify a feminist knowledge or reality of any kind; rather, she argues that standpoint involves the 'actualities of our lives as we live them in the local particularities of the everyday/every night worlds in which our bodily being anchors us' (Smith 1997, 393). This does not seek to foreground a particular feminist knowledge or epistemic privilege but acknowledges a material and constructivist ontology. Nor therefore is 'actuality' a substitute word for 'reality'. Using the example of a map in a shopping mall [sic] with an arrow pointing to a place and stating, 'You are here', Smith points out that the text of the arrow and the written text both point to a text beyond, in which each text, the reader, its reading and concepts 'are' (ibid). This contextual actuality and local particularity of the map, its texts, concepts, the reading, and reader, are where discourse happens and reality constituted. The actualities of people's experiences are therefore 'points of entry' into understanding the social relations of ruling through concepts, interpretation and theoretical work of the researcher.

The map is a material object in which the cartographer objectifies the shopper, telling her, 'You are here'. This approach to knowing suggests the shopper resides within the map and its concepts! However, the shopper possesses an alternative way of knowing that is in her embodied experience, the map is an object that seeks to organize her. From the shopper's standpoint there is simultaneously awareness of the social and conceptual relations of ruling; how her everyday experience is coordinated with the activities of others beyond the local site of activity (Smith 2005). For Smith standpoint is epistemic rather than epistemological, it can be described through ethnographic methods of data generation and analysis. Standpoint denotes the embodied social position of people in their local places and it is the point of entry for explicating how relations of ruling mediate their everyday experiences. Of how these experiences converge and diverge in taking up the texts that maintain the institutional discourses of those local places (Bisaillon & Rankin 2012).

This is important in light of the concerns of bias in the contradiction between socially-situated knowledge and the standard of impartiality required to recognize epistemic privilege in other feminist standpoint work. Smith recognizes two aspects of experience; the social and conceptual relations of ruling, and, awareness by women of the work that they do. However there is no linear, discursive move from conceptual relations of ruling through consciousness to reality, rather, both conceptual relations and consciousness are in the actualities of women's lives, and IE's interest is in understanding how they are activated in organizing social relations (Smith 1987, 1997, 2005). Smith (1997, 394) argues that 'experience is a method of speaking that is not pre-appropriated by the discourses of the relations of ruling'; experience is where people come together in time and space, where people speak as a group, where they constitute the group uniquely and politically, and discover aspects of their lives that have no prior discursive formulation. Consequently, experience involves a dialogical struggle for what has not yet been spoken to find expression, in the moment of its utterance, though a language embedded in relations of ruling. Experience is a rich source of data.

Unlike the alternative understandings in feminist standpoint, IE does not seek to valorize any particular experience with epistemic privilege or more objective than other experiences. Experience is a '*point d'appui*', or leverage, for understanding

material and social relations of ruling through the actualities of women's lives as both a social subject in the research and a conscious and embodied being. In Smith's example of the map, the map opens a 'line of fault' between two alternative ways of knowing – experience and objectification (Campbell and Gregor 2002). It is the work of the institutional ethnographer to identify the map and its concepts and texts, and 'map' out how trans-local social relations are taken up and organize people's doings in the local site of work – to see the disjuncture between two ways of knowing. However, the institutional ethnographer must be careful not to frame these two alternative ways of knowing within a social constructivist ontology. She must also move beyond this to focus on a concern for material conditions.

IE's Theoretical Roots

IE adheres to Marx's historical materialism in three particular ways: firstly; standpoint, the researcher must start from the experience of people and avoid objectifying people to predominant ideologies and approaches. In IE people are subjects and not objects of interest and knowledge is socially situated. Research begins with people's experience and works outwards to explicate and develop understanding of how those experiences are organized. In this regard IE's ontology is relational with an interest in the embeddedness of subject and object and their relation in shaping and being shaped by the other. This leads to the second important aspect of IE; people and groups are socially situated and people's experiences are both embodied and historically and materially coordinated with other people's doings. IE's epistemology is social and consequently research begins in the local sites of activity which are located throughout society in which participants are aware of how the powerful come to ignore the less privileged. The experience of people in one local site are generalizable across other sites since, thirdly; people's everyday and every night experiences are mediated by powerful textually-based trans-local forces which coordinate people's doings (DeVault and McCoy, 2002). Texts are therefore technologies for the institutional organization of people's work and the purpose of IE is to explore these 'ruling relations' (Smith 1990a, 2005) through which experience and work are organized. The focus of this study is how the ruling relations (Smith 2005) of English schools inspection policy have been both

activated and taken up by Crosstown's teachers, through their day-to-day use of texts, as they come to care.

The idea of 'ruling relations' that organize people's work therefore includes institutional technologies such as 'bureaucracy, administration, management, professional organization and media', as well as, 'the complex of discourses, scientific, and cultural, that intersect, interpenetrate and coordinate them' (Smith 1987, 4). These categories are in social relation, that is, they are not abstract but illuminate people's everyday and every night activities and relations and the formation of consciousness through people's doings. This dialectical conceptualization of individual-social-material relations is embedded within consciousness since, 'we actively and sensuously experience these relations; therefore our consciousness is actively produced within our experience of our social, material and natural existence' (Allman 1999, 37; cited in Carpenter 2011, 94). Importantly therefore, the historical, social and material co-ordination of peoples' doings are not a matter of a structuring structure but a process and relation between concepts and discourses in peoples' everyday/every night doings. Ruling relations are not therefore in 'bureaucracy, administration, management, professional organization and media', or, 'the complex of discourses, scientific, and cultural, that intersect, interpenetrate and coordinate them' (op cit) but are forms of consciousness and organization that are objectified in the sense that they are constituted externally to particular people or places' (Smith 2005, 13).

This insight arises out of her own double consciousness, or in Smith's own terms 'bifurcation of consciousness' (1987, 82) as an academic and wife / mother. These two modes of knowing involve a dominant mode, that of the 'abstract' academic world governed by male orientated rules and sociology, and the 'concrete' world of domestic life. As discussed in Chapter Two, male values, ethics, and practices are embedded into the institutions of society. At the university she was conscious of her work as a mother, yet in that setting, in that time and space, her male colleagues were oblivious to this broader work and thus required her to accommodate their world view:

Home was organized around the particularities of my children's bodies, faces, movements, the sound of their voices, the smell of their hair...

and the multitudes of the everyday that cannot be enumerated [while] the practice of the subjectivity in the university excluded the local and bodily from its field. (ibid, 12, cited in Harding 2004, 562).

In this regard she viewed men as abdicating their more intimate, caring relations to women and, consequently, being unaware of the actuality of the concrete work women did that supported their own abstract work.

Yet there is a danger in this telling of Smith's experience of only focussing on the subjectivity of this experience without again accounting for materiality and consciousness. The object and subjective in Smith's account are more than the sum of her sensuous experience, her consciousness is a social consciousness. Her consciousness of the object arises out of her subjective experience; her consciousness therefore involves the object and subject in internal relation. In her work alongside others her consciousness develops a social and material relation, that is, the actuality of experience generates ideas through the materiality of everyday and every night work and in her struggle to articulate her experience through language. Yet her consciousness is not wholly internal, her objectivity and subjectivities are not just within herself but there is knowledge (acknowledged by Smith 1987; 2005) of ruling relations, specifically a form of 'emotional labour' that 'requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others' (Hochschild 1983, 7). The disjuncture at the line of fault between Smith's experience at work and home and her objectified knowledge of the institutional practices of ruling is the focus for IE.

Whereas Marx viewed consciousness as individual; Smith posits that consciousness has developed historically so that the ruling relations that organize the abstract and concrete experiences of people have moved beyond the individual. A development of the capitalist system is that it is ideologically objectified outside of people and it acts both in framing the social world and coordinating it. Smith's bifurcated consciousness of her role and work as academic and mother, of abstract and concrete, are both framed by the capitalist system and organized by it. Smith's ontology and epistemology are dual – ontology is both internal and external,

epistemology is idealist and materialist, subjectivist and objectivist. In her telling of her experience there is no reification of experience or the social order as objects of inquiry, rather there is a dialectical conceptualization of historical, social and material relations, of consciousness, and relations of ruling as a 'complex of objectified social relations that organize and regulate our lives in contemporary society' (Smith 1999, 73).

Not all of IE's foundations are in historical materialism. The development of 'bifurcation of consciousness' draws heavily on phenomenology and the work of Schutz (1970) in particular. Her work at home and university had distinct 'phenomenal organization' (Smith 2005, 11). Furthermore, as the discussion in this and the previous chapter demonstrate, IE's epistemology and method 'came out of and were dialogically implicated in a women's movement that offered a profound challenge to established discourses...' (Smith 1997, 393). Additionally, a main tenet of IE is its ethnographic roots. Smith was influenced in particular by the promises of ethnomethodology; its interest in how social interactions are mediated through talk, and consequently how social order and action is made apparent and describable. An ethnomethodologist understands a phenomenon by observing people doing it. This is the basis for IE's relational ontology (Campbell and Gregor 2002). However, unlike ethnomethodology, IE begins with the person's experience and problematizes that experience in light of powerful ruling relations and institutional technologies, not the person herself (Smith 1990b). As such, IE presents 'a sociology for people' and not just about them (Smith 2005; Holstein 2006).

(Re) Interpreting and Utilizing IE

Smith's conceptualization of objectified consciousness and ruling relations are difficult but her theory and method are being increasingly used, including by doctoral candidates. In Canada, for example, Sara Carpenter (2011) investigated citizenship education and democracy in the United States federal government's cultivation of a 'politics of citizenship' through the Corporation for National and Community Service and the AmeriCorps programme. Also in Canada, Sheila Gruner (2012) explicated ruling relations in a context of land use planning and development in a Northern Ontario First Nation. In Australia, David Peacock (2014) considered the outreach

practices of university-based student equity workers. IE is also being increasingly used in the UK and Tummons (2010), for example, used IE alongside Actor Network Theory (ANT) to undertake an analysis of assessment practices on one university-led teacher-training course in England.

The latter is particularly interesting in positing similarity in interests between IE and ANT; including in texts, the relational, and objects. Yet it foregrounds ANT as a way of:

thinking about how people are *made* to do things across networks of geography or time or across institutional as well as spatial and even temporal boundaries (Latour 2005; Nespors 1994). ANT goes on to explore the ways in which people are *made* to do things through analysing those social practices which are used to achieve this. Both people and objects can make people do something; that is to say, both people and *objects are granted agency* within ANT (Tummons 2010, 347-348. My emphasis).

However, the argument that people are 'made' to do things and that 'objects are granted agency' generates a false consciousness of non-human actants in which subject and object are enacted through networks. The realist discourse of ANT offers a set of conceptual constructs that rely on the relations between their intrinsic properties. This is contrary to IE's premise that conceptual relations and consciousness are in the actualities of peoples' lives, and are activated in organizing social relations. Walby (2007) also argues that IE is limited in its truncation of non-human actants. The danger however is that people and their consciousness in their doings are relegated as a realist abstraction of networks (Smith 1987; Grahame 1998). In co-joining IE and ANT the job of IE is to provide a mechanism to understand the ordering effects of texts. This gives rise to a particular focus on the social constructionist elements of IE rather than integrating this with historical materialism and embedding them in a complex of consciousness and objectified social relations. IE posits that experience generates our ideas not the other way around.

The implication in an argument that IE truncates non-human actants is to suggest that IE lacks something as a critical theory. Yet as the discussion in Chapter Two demonstrates IE can be closely aligned with Walker's (1998) Expressive Collaborative model and Tronto's (1993) political argument for an ethic of care to develop an immanently political theory. However, I have difficulty in aligning ANT with Tronto's work. Tronto's approach is to enable people to take up the actuality of their experience and to develop understanding from their standpoint. ANT promotes a form of universalism through networks that transcend peoples' experience rather than building from it, this suggests exclusivity rather than the inclusivity central to Tronto's political argument.

Tronto in developing her approach also acknowledged that women's work has been historically gendered, raced and classed (1993, 112). That is, it is women who are predominately socialized to adopt caring responsibilities within the family, and this form of social organization is also a matter of an economic relationship in which the most powerful and wealthy are able to pass responsibility for their own caring work to others. ANT is well placed to reveal elements of the powerful mediating relations that connect this caring work through extended social relations, the economy and their connections. However it is not well placed to reveal the full extent of the sensuous nature of these relations and connections including any wider consciousness of alienation and oppression. To revisit Smith's telling of her experience as academic and mother: ANT may be utilised to reveal the processes of domination and her alienation from her work and from her colleagues; however, it may not elucidate a more critical, objectified consciousness involving the incorporation of her-self and her emotions into capital (Colley 2011). In this regard it is ANT that is politically conservative (Whittle and Spicer 2008), an important concern given Tronto's understanding of plurality and privileged irresponsibility.

This is an important discussion within this thesis since, as the next chapter reveals, my intention at the outset was to undertake a different form of critical ethnography, specifically using Carspecken's (1996) ethnographic approach to critically understanding policy. However, I quickly came to realise that realism was not germane to achieving the standpoint of the teachers in Crosstown. Secondly, while IE's interest is in the ordering effect of texts, it should not be reduced to a

constructionist function. Its conceptualization of historical, social and material relations, of objectified consciousness, and relations of ruling are unequivocally embedded in people's everyday and every night doings.

Texts and Ruling Relations

In forming IE, Smith was also informed by the work of Foucault and Bakhtin when considering the nature of texts, power, discourse and governance. However there is a significant difference in Smith's and Foucault's (1984) understanding of discourse:

In Foucault's work and in work taking up his approach, for example, the notion of discourse designates a kind of large-scale conversation in and through texts... For Smith, discourse refers to a field of relations that includes not only texts and intertextual conversation, but the activities of people in actual sites who produce them and take up the conceptual frames they circulate. (DeVault and McCoy 2002, cited in Campbell & Gregor 2002, 40).

In addition to historical materialism, the historical presence in IE appears through Smith's understanding of Bakhtin (1981, 1986) and in particular his focus on a dialogic historical process in which utterances are inhibited by the past but concurrently reproduce and coordinate language in the future (Smith 2005, 65-66). Since discourse involves both people's experience and the activation of texts and concepts in the coordination of their actual doings, then 'texts are taken up as constituents of [the] ongoing social relations in which our own practices of reading enter us' (Smith 1990a, 11). The activation, taking up of, and production texts, or text-reader conversations (Smith 2005), depends on the power of texts to operate across sites through a common language and discourse. Indeed:

The organized character of institutions and agencies depends heavily on the various uses of texts to coordinate, order, provide continuity, monitor and organize relations between different segments, phases and levels of organizational course of action. Organizational texts order and coordinate activities, which are dispersed spatially and temporally

in a variety of organization settings (Smith, Mykhalovskiy and Weatherbee 2006, 175).

Consequently, text-reader conversations are not simply about texts but also how texts are taken up in the development of experience.

Texts include documents and other artefacts, for example, video or sound recordings, and are routinely used by teachers in their work. They carry knowledge developed socially in one location to local sites of activity. The reader engages with their declarative power and she connects with the text through a text-reader conversation. The potential of text-reader conversations is in revealing the social organization of work at a local level and the concomitant complex institutional discourses that span national and international boundaries. Whilst this study is focused on a single local site the determination of the institutional ethnographer, 'to explicate ruling relations of people at work with an understanding that the problematic under investigation is an aspect of a wider web of governing activity' (Devault 2006, 296), gives IE its generalizability. This study is one of many ethnographies of education that draw upon Smith's work in explicating institutional technologies and ruling relations (see for example; McCoy 1998; Griffiths & Smith 2005; Griffiths 2006; Gerrard & Farrell 2013; Colley, Chadderton & Nixon 2014), that can be knitted together to provide new knowledge and understanding of prevailing ideological and conceptual practices of power.

In this study IE seeks a '*point d'appui*' focused on the problematic, 'how do teachers come to care?' IE is not an ethnography of a setting or the participants within a setting. Rather, it avoids atomisation of experience (the individualizing of participants as objects for inquiry) through a concern with 'ruling relations'. In this case, texts include, but are not limited to, legislation, policy documents, guidance, planning and assessment proforma and Ofsted reports, as mechanisms for coordinating activity. The focus is on the work undertaken in Crosstown in taking texts up; how texts are produced and read, and therefore, those aspects of work that are recognized and institutionally organised and accounted for, but also those aspects that are not (Devault 2006).

This is an important aspect of the institutional ethnographer's work; texts carry the subjective categories (education, teacher, quality, care, *et cetera*) that organize everyday and every night work and that reinforce the predominant structural order, however, standpoint not only reflects the objective position but is also assumed by the individual. Standpoint as a teacher in Crosstown is both founded simultaneously on the relations of ruling that organize society, specifically through predominant discourses and texts, and in the 'attitudes, emotions and values... experience[d] and internalized at an individual level' (Harding 2004, 565).

METHODS USED IN DATA GENERATION AND ANALYSIS

IE has roots in ethnomethodology and consequently traditional ethnography and shares the methods of the later in generating and gathering data. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, 3) ethnography usually involves the researcher being in the field over an extended period and 'gathering whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the emerging focus of inquiry'. In educational contexts Troman, Gordon, Jeffrey & Walford (2006, 1) offer the following key elements as essential to ethnographic research:

- the focus on the study of cultural formation and maintenance;
- the use of multiple methods and thus the generation of rich and diverse forms of data;
- the direct involvement and long-term engagement of the researcher(s);
- the recognition that the researcher is the main research instrument;
- the high status given to the accounts of participants' perspectives and understandings;
- the engagement in a spiral of data collection, hypothesis building and theory testing – leading to further data collection; and
- the focus on a particular case in depth, but providing the basis for theoretical generalisation.

Allied to these are the British Education Research Association's (BERA 2011) requirements for ethical research. These require the researcher, for example, to gain informed consent from each participant, consider issues of confidentiality and

disclosure, and enable participant withdrawal from the project. The following discussion explains the ‘data story’ of this project.

Gaining access, consent and emerging dilemmas

A feature of this research was the ease of access to Crosstown School due to my friendship with one of the teachers. This personal connection was crucial to organising the focus group with half of the staff team when I was still enrolled as an EdD student (see ‘beginnings’ in Chapter One). Although not all of the participants took part in the focus group (September 2010):

Figure 3.1: Initial contact with participants

Participants who took part in the focus group	Participants who didn’t take part in the focus group
Simone (friend)	Norma
Charlie	Julie
Lyn	Marie
Sam	Nellie
Kathryn	Ann
Linda (only participated in the focus group and was otherwise absent throughout the research period)	Brenda
	Heather (joined the school after the focus group)
	Maggie (joined the school after the focus group)

This convenience sample became purposive in light of their discussion during the focus group, particularly in their talk about their recent experience of inspection and the outcome. While discussion and negotiation for access for the focus group was primarily with my friend the discussions for access to the school were with the group attendees, made easier because I had been able to establish rapport and to demonstrate genuineness. It was important that I was able to talk with the teachers about the recent inspection in an informal setting and to demonstrate some

understanding of the context and power of a negative inspection outcome. Therefore, while the opportunity to research within Crosstown in the context of 'notice to improve' was fortuitous, the request to come to the school to conduct further research was not from a 'cold' caller but from some shared understanding between us. In addition I was able to explain how the empirical work for the research would comply with specific ethical frameworks including requirements for observation, data generation, with acknowledgement of the need for confidentiality, anonymity and respondent checks.

At the time this seemed like an appropriate approach to take, although opportunistic, since one outcome would be to 'enter women's accounts... into the ethnographic record to document and accurately reflect the concerns which shape women's lives and choices' (Howell 2004: 325). I had not considered that the private utterances following the focus group were informal and made outside the confines of research boundaries and time and instead was convinced; 'what is first articulated in a personal voice allows private perspectives and understandings to be communicated and formulated as public knowledge, to challenge social and cultural structures' (Haynes 2006: 218; cited in Brewis 2014: 854). Brewis' understanding, like mine, was of a potential benefit in highlighting the everyday actuality of experience of people within 'underreported, emotive and complex realities' (855), specifically for these teachers during a period of notice to improve.

I was also aware that entry to the school was not wholly dependent on my friend and the teachers who were present at the focus group. The primary gatekeeper was the head teacher who I saw as protecting the interests of the pupils, school and the remaining group of teachers who I had yet to meet. This request for approval to enter the school as a research site required discussion on the purpose and focus of the research and considered expectations and responsibilities including in issues of confidentiality, the management of data and the right of withdrawal. Following my meeting with the head teacher I drew up a participant information sheet and participant agreement (appendices 1 and 2) which were discussed at a staff meeting, with me present. I then had contact with each participant in turn to answer questions and gain their consent in writing.

It was apparent during my meeting with the head teacher that she was cautious of allowing research in the school particularly following the outcome of the inspection report and the 'notice to improve' outcome. She was keen to explore and to understand the purpose and focus of my research, data gathering methods and the possibility of respondent checks on data gathered. Each of these was addressed to the best of my ability. This was an important meeting however in beginning to explicate the power dynamics and potential ethical dilemmas (Smith 2005). It also revealed the problematic that is the focus of this thesis and a disjuncture in the teachers' experience of inspection, particularly in relation to care. While at the time I wasn't fully conscious of the emerging problematic I was aware that the head teacher's concern was to explore how I would be careful and care for her and her staff as a researcher. Significantly, I understood that I had gained access to the head teacher through my friendship with one of her staff and that I was being given privileged access to explain and explore the possibility of empirical research however it was still the head teacher who I had to convince.

It was on reflection that I realised that the inspection report and the actions of the inspectors were viewed as possessing institutional power through a form of 'symbolic violence', that is, 'violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 167). It was later revealed that the teachers had to activate the regulatory texts in order 'to get out of' notice to improve, although they were conscious of a wider understanding of their everyday experience than that portrayed in the inspection report. There was a need for me to accurately and honestly portray and interpret the actuality of the teachers' experience. It was this consideration and realisation that led me to reconsider my methodology and to be careful in undertaking prolonged reflexive work and praxis (Chapter Four). Further discussion of my 'problematic beginnings' is undertaken below.

While my friendship had enabled privileged access to rare and rich data I also became aware of a tension between me and my friend and subsequently between her and her colleagues who were also her friends. For me there was acknowledgment of a different dynamic since ours was a personal-research relationship whereas, with the other teachers, my relationship was more 'traditional'. Unlike the other teachers with my friend, for example, I had access to her working

outside of school in the personal space of her home, indeed I had access to her personal space when she wasn't working but entertaining. This was in part due to an agreement that I would be in school, particularly in the class room, at times she was not. Consequently I have greater knowledge of the everyday actuality of her life than the empirical data reveals. Being a friend-researcher therefore requires particular work in deciding what to include or exclude empirical data and the final text of the thesis (Tillmann-Healy 2003).

The concern for the teachers in their relationship with my friend became apparent when she was appointed to the role of deputy head teacher. Consequently three of the teachers, Julie, Lyn and Marie, sought reassurance over anonymity and confidentiality, which was given. At one level there was concern of the change in responsibility and relationship from class teacher to deputy head teacher. At a different level there was reticence to share, as Fraser and Puwar (2008: 10) argue: We take what are often intense private moments of exchange into the public realm in the name of a scholarly 'good'. The dissemination of primary data to a wider public can be plagued with a sense of betrayal and disloyalty, potentially significant following the inspection and report.

My recourse was to continue to be aware of the nature of the interaction between me and the teachers and to offer respondent checks of the data and analysis. My willingness to offer myself for interview (Chapter Four) was also an aspect of my reflexivity and my continuous efforts to demonstrate genuineness in approach. Significantly, I also recognise that my interaction with the head teacher was important in gaining access, for establishing the ground for informed consent and for revealing the disjunctures in experience that are the focus of this thesis.

Problematic Beginnings

Throughout my research I was conscious to 'write-up', that is, transcribe and analyse observations and field notes et cetera, and to commit to paper epistemological and theoretical ideas for reflection and review. The latter was important in understanding the crucial issue of my standpoint, indeed, Smith (2005) argues that the institutional ethnographer possesses standpoint and I therefore needed to become critically

aware of just what my standpoint was. Furthermore, this was crucial in developing my understanding of approach to the study and to utilising IE as both theory and method. The following provides insight into my early thoughts and developing understanding of my position as the main data collection instrument. During the spring of 2011 I wrote:

Three particular thoughts shaped my approach to the study at the outset; the first was recognition of the developments in teachers' work since the Education Reform Act 1988, including a prevailing neo-liberal political context and the embedding of prescription, surveillance and inspection under the Education Act 2005 (Ball 2008). The second was to be embedded with the participants as a necessary condition of the third, reciprocity. Being embedded offers possibilities in relational dialogue and exchange that works to avoid 'othering' of the participants and acknowledges the emotional aspects of the research relationship (Lather 1997).

Teachers' work is in part determined by the policies and guidance of the day. It is important to note that the teacher is subject to not one policy but a number of policies, although a particular policy may have precedence at a particular point in time, and that this contributes to the messiness of practice. Policies may work in opposition or may jar rather than work smoothly alongside each other (Ball 1997). Indeed, a common aspect of legislation and policy enactment is 'chaos' (Dewar 1998). Importantly, chaos is not indicative of a threat to the functions of society or educational practice but is normal since contradictory or uncoordinated policies are often at play and the practitioner is left to achieve a normative solution through 'day-to-day interpretation, application and administration'. Consequently it is appropriate that research focuses both on the policy and 'the manner in which the chaos of... [education policy] is stabilised or translated into solutions or outcomes in particular cases' (Dewar 1998, 485).

Attending to both the political / policy and relational aspects of participant's work was reminiscent of Strum's (1998) 'politics of relationality', in other words, the need to develop relational analyses of prevailing social structures that include agency and voice as a central consideration (Smyth 2009). The relationship between social structures and agency and the temporal dimension of the inspection monitoring regime gave rise to the possibilities of ethnography, specifically critical ethnography (Dubois 2009) as the basis of approach in capturing the cultural milieu within the school during the notice to improve.

Ethnography requires time to be spent in the field with the researcher as the research instrument (Troman et al 2006). Critical ethnography is interested in seeking 'to deconstruct prevailing categories of understanding and reveal the relations of domination that structure the situations observed' (Dubois 2009, 223). Furthermore, critical ethnography is wholly appropriate to meet the challenge for 'policy-orientated' research to avoid 'a significant presence absence' of the prevailing policy context (Ball 1997, 265). Whereas traditional ethnography explores 'what is', critical ethnography speaks on [teachers] behalf by stating 'why this is and what can be done about it' (Cook 2005, 132). The key difference according to Carspecken (1996, 7) is, 'criticalists find contemporary society to be unfair, unequal, and both subtly and overtly oppressive for many people. We do not like it and we want to change it'. Consequently, within this study, concern to understand and reveal the power structures, relationships and social position of informants in the field, defined through a regulatory regime and in particular during a period of 'notice to improve', is consistent with critical policy ethnography. On entering Crosstown School my intention was to utilize Carspecken's (1996) framework.

Definitions of 'critical' include perspectives that seek action and human emancipation from situations of oppression or domination. As such there is recognition of political and ideological factors, collectivity and transformation (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007). Schwandt (2001, 22)

for example in defining critical ethnography posited that this ‘refers to ethnographic studies that engage in cultural critique by examining larger political, social and economic issues that focus on oppression, conflict, struggle, power, and praxis’. (Early writing ends)

This writing is included here because it provides context to my approach to the study. Significantly, it was through reflection and praxis that I moved away from Carspecken to utilize IE. This is detailed in Chapter Four, with a further example of early reflexive writing, analysed for standpoint, in appendix 3a. By summer 2011 I added the following to the above in explanation:

Yet, whilst critical ethnography provides an opportunity to listen to participant’s accounts and to utilise their own words and actions in analysis it does not necessarily sufficiently account for the mix in the school of female intimate and systemic, personal and professional ‘selves in relation’ (Tronto 1995, 142). In these terms, it is necessary to develop a form of critical ethnography that is cognisant of structure – agency debates but that also foregrounds voice and relational selves. The approach must move beyond considerations of agency as a concept by which ‘actors always act by means of their environment rather than simply in their environment’ (Biesta and Tedder 2007, 137) The importance of the senses and emotions in the political sphere is consistent with Gilligan’s (1982) argument that the truth is grasped through feeling. A significant concern is Carspecken’s (1996, 6) argument that:

[researcher] orientation does not determine the ‘facts’ we find in the field. Here, in the realm of ‘fact’ the realm of validity claims made at the end of the study, [researcher] values and facts are not fused. And the sorts of values involved in research findings need not be the same as the values defining our orientation.

The distinction is an important one because good critical research should not be biased. Critical ‘epistemology’ does not guarantee the finding of ‘facts’

that match absolutely what one may want to find... The value orientation of the researcher does not 'construct' the object of the study: the same 'object' can be examined for a large variety of reasons, under a large variety of motivations, and yield the same findings.

Such realism is problematic particularly in light of the discussion of my experiences in the field highlighted in Chapter Four. It contrasts with Smith's (1987) critique of social research such as that offered by Carspecken:

Most striking to me in the early days of my struggles with sociology was how inquiries within the discourse committed the researcher or thinker to constructing people as the objects of her investigations or representation... [For example], looking at the women's movement as a social movement transformed it into a sociological object. Imposing the social movement frame reconstructed as an object that of which we were part. We became conceptual outsiders. It seemed not possible to take up a topic sociologically without transforming people and people's doings into objects (28: 2005).

In Smith's terms it is possible for the ethnographer to objectify the women teachers and their experiences and thus to conceal positions of power. In response, the aim of IE 'is to *reorganize the social relations of knowledge of the social* so that people can take that knowledge up as an extension of our ordinary knowledge of the local actualities of our lives' (Smith 2005, 29. Original emphasis). For Smith ethnography is critical when it begins 'in the actualities of the lives of some of those involved in the institutional process and focus on how those actualities were embedded in social relations, both those of ruling and those of the economy (Smith 2005, 31). This necessarily includes the researcher's 'idiosyncratic biography' (Smith 1995) and positionality as a significant relational factor.

This understanding is crucial to the approach utilized in this thesis. It employs ethnographic methods in data generation, for example, time in the field, observation, field notes, deep descriptions (Troman, Gordon, Jeffrey & Walford 2006). Ethnography is flexible in light of the conditions in the field and therefore appropriate to recognising and working with teachers' stories that 'are continually constituted in relationships' (Mauthner and Doucet 1998, 21). To this end this study draws upon Smith's (2005; 2006) Institutional Ethnography and Mauthner and Doucet's (1998) *Listening Guide* to guide data collection and analysis.

Positionality

Questions of positionality arise in other ways, for example, since I had no prior experience of working in schools and as an outsider there is a danger that I could misunderstand the material conditions of teachers' work including their texts, particular use of language and processes. Indeed the assumptions I made about my approach at the outset are indicative of this. However, the potential of IE is in the researcher having a standpoint outside the intimate ruling relations of the local site particularly since it aims to develop knowledge for people, the teachers, and not for ruling (Campbell & Gregor 2004). Consequently, the institutional ethnographer enters a site with an open mind (which I worked hard to achieve) and 'only step by step can they discover whom they need to interview and what texts or discourses they need to examine' (DeVault & McCoy 2002, 755). In the context of this thesis this discovery was also relevant to the literature reviewed in Chapter Two. My review of the ethic of care literature arises as a result of my coming to understand the problematic for investigation. As discussed above and in Chapter Four, I did not come to IE at the outset of this study. Instead my thoughts were on undertaking a critical policy analysis and of maintaining epistemic privilege that was apart from the participants in terms of knowledge. To foreground my epistemic privilege and to conduct the research through a different approach would have potentially led to consideration of a different literature; that literature being identified by me as relevant to my aims and not necessarily arising from the actuality of the teachers' everyday experiences. An issue of timing was also relevant here since my entry to the site and data collection began before I had completed the review of literature.

Overall, I had to recognise and ‘unlearn’ what I thought it might be to do research on teachers to think about and learn what it means to do research with teachers. I acknowledge that teachers’ experiences of care can be understood from a number of different positions. Noddings (1984) work on mothering and moral practices of care (Chapter Two) is often referred to in the literature about teachers’ work. More recently the literature on teacher identities and emotional labour has considered the caring nature of teaching (see for example; O’Connor 2008; Vogt 2010). However the discussion in each of these analyses lacks recognition of the politics of care relevant to the problematic that is the focus of this study. That is, the disjuncture in the teachers’ experience was not a concern about what caring practices are, or that caring practices exist, but a wider consciousness that their understanding and experience of care is socially and politically mediated. The literature reviewed in this thesis is therefore relevant to explicating how care is organised and institutionally ruled.

The review of the ethic of care literature in contrast to, for example professional identities literature, is focused therefore on the problematic and the relations of ruling relevant to the actuality of the teachers’ work. It is also germane to the theory and methodology of IE. Of course, this does not completely resolve questions of my research relations with literature and data, and my research relations with the teachers. Indeed the issue of power relations remains problematic for feminist research as a whole. Acknowledging that the literature reviewed arises from the actuality of the teachers experience might suggest a participatory research approach and this is perhaps also confirmed in my acting as a volunteer within the school. However, institutional ethnographers have argued that their assumptions in using participatory methods in attempting to equalise power relations were unachievable since such assumptions are based in an ideological construct (Campbell, Copeland & Tate 1998). The potential of IE arises in its theory and design, particularly in acknowledging and accounting for existing power relations and developing an analysis that wholly arises from the everyday experience of those for whom knowledge is produced. In this regard IE does not seek to control or direct the relations between researcher and participants, instead the research produces an analysis that includes the interests of all knowers (Smith 2005). Therefore, while reciprocity was an important consideration in gaining access, that is my time as a

volunteer, this was not an only an ideological attempt at participatory research aimed at redressing power relations. While ethnographers can take a variety of positions within the local site, drawing on their histories, standpoint and objectives (Walford 2004), I acknowledge I was concerned to volunteer to assist with my lack of experience as a teacher and to avoid over reliance and identification with Simone. That is, being available as a volunteer across the school would give me privileged access to all the teachers, the opportunity to develop relationships and rapport each teacher, thus achieving understanding of how each takes up institutional relations of ruling. However, most significantly volunteering was a commitment to being useful and therefore not a burden to the teachers, and an opportunity to experience the everyday actuality of the teachers' work and the power relations as they were enacted.

Nonetheless commitment and effort through volunteering were required on my part in utilizing interpersonal and communication skills appropriate to the aims of the research. In this context two issues are worth considering further; the problem of 'institutional capture' (Smith 2005) and the tensions and limits of volunteering in the field when simultaneously gathering data. Through the concept of institutional capture Dorothy Smith acknowledges that 'people bring to any moment of activity the deposits of their idiosyncratic biographies' (Smith 1995, 205). Consequently I brought with me my own understanding, history and experiences. This includes my previous experience as a social worker and social work manager who had been subject to Ofsted inspection process, albeit at a different time and context. Nonetheless I was aware of the power and potential of Ofsted to disrupt everyday experience and to mediate work. There was a consequent danger, particularly when participants are also familiar with the institutional discourse of regulation, that both the researcher and participants are 'captured' by the institutional discourse which displaces descriptions arising in the actuality of everyday experience. This diary entry from Simone (28/1/11) illustrates:

Yesterday the Charlie and I presented data to [SLPs]. Went well and seemed pleased with our analysis, although we have not quite nailed it yet! However give us a boost I think. G. complementary and yes it does matter to get positive feedback.

When Brenda went out near the end G. did say I should let Brenda speak more – not sure what he meant as she came back in then.

So this weekend getting my head back after a hectic three weeks. Re-looking at teaching – if it's not working – change it!

My mood towards things goes [*here Simone has inserted a wavy line drawing indicating ups and downs*] alongside my confidence. Wish I was totally convinced by "rightness". J. looking round Rose Court private school. Feel that people will start going massive changes ahead. Pressure grows. So song for day "under pressure"!

It would be easy to take from this the organisational rationale for her experience, that is, her responsibility to compile data and to present this for scrutiny, her responsibilities and skills as a leader, and her responsibilities as a teacher – specifically the outcomes of her teaching practices. Each of these is an aspect of regulatory scrutiny and Ofsted process which it is easy, through institutional capture, to foreground. However the purpose of IE is to move away from description of the organisational rationale to include Simone's doings in the actuality of her work. The interest is not just in data being presented but how Simone comes to understand the need for data in what form, at what time, through what means, through what talk and texts, in what space? There is evidence of her consciousness (Allman 2007; 2010) of both the institutional demands as a teacher but also of the embodiment of these demands in her mood and need for affirmation. The job of the institutional ethnographer is therefore to get behind the data being presented to what Simone has actually done and is actually doing in presenting particular data. So while it is important to understand institutional processes it is also important to explicate how these are enacted and embodied, and how embodiment is relationally ruled. In this study this analysis is achieved by utilizing The Listening Guide (Mauthner & Doucet 1998).

Explicating power relations and focusing on the actuality of everyday work therefore goes some way to negating my 'idiosyncratic biography'. However, further reflexive work is required and Chapter Four provides a detailed account of my reflexive

approach and praxis. Indeed I acknowledge that at the outset of this project my 'idiosyncratic biography' was foregrounded in initially deciding on a critical policy analysis of the teachers' experience of inspection and notice to improve. However, my reflexive work on my experience in the field, particularly drawing on my experience as the main research instrument, led to IE. Appendix 3a is an example of early reflexive writing that helped with this realisation and transition. Indeed, how it is written, in an idiosyncratic academic style, was of itself an important realisation of the potential of institutional capture.

IE requires that the researcher undertake reflexive work in revealing the subjectivities of experience in the field, and how standpoint is claimed in describing and constituting the experience of the participants (Smith 1990). The ontology of IE also requires 'that the differences in perspectives and experience of participants be recognized and taken advantage of in mapping given processes or organization' (Smith 2005, 158). Reliability and validity in the research therefore rests on the explication of experience of a number of participants; specifically, the Senior Leadership Team, class teachers, teaching assistants, SIPs, Ofsted inspectors, and the researcher. The work knowledges of each was situated differently in the institutional division of work and the researcher assembles their germane sequences of action together to explicate relations of ruling (Smith 2005) in and beyond the local site. In this regard, while IE acknowledges positionality, it was standpoint that is of primary concern.

This is an important consideration when the researcher is the main research instrument. While acting as a volunteer limited choice as to when and where I was able to collect data being a volunteer, specifically having my work as a volunteer directed by the teachers, was important in revealing the texts and discourses that mediated the teachers work. I also worked mainly with years 5 and 6, although not exclusively, indeed I was able to spend time with each teacher, in each year group, and to observe and take part in whole school activities. I was also able to interview each teacher individually and where necessary had access to any teacher at the beginning of the day, at break times and at the end of the day. I therefore had privileged access to the work knowledges of all the teachers, authoritative accounts of the actuality of their everyday experiences (and mine). Each of these accounts

contributed a piece of the social organisation and coordination of people's doings. Assembling these accounts of coordination together is not easy, however each piece has equal weight in analysis since the focus of IE is in explicating how each teacher's work is mediated by institutional ruling relation in a context of notice to improve.

There is also a practical consideration since my work in the school was two-fold; volunteer and researcher. There are potential limitations in working as a volunteer and data gathering, particularly when the volunteering gaze was on particular work with children and away from what is otherwise happening both in the immediate and wider environments. Sometimes it was not possible to have a 'wide lens' as an observer when helping children with particular tasks. There is also a tension in seeking to contemporaneously record what is observed when it might not be appropriate to do so. The only solution in these circumstances was to record immediately an opportunity arises. An aid to this was the use of a Dictaphone which offered efficiencies at the time of recording. However, the intimate work of the children also offered textual data. This is not to suggest that the children's work was trawled for data, that is, the interest was not in what classifying what the children produced but in how their efforts and products were an aspect of the coordination of teachers' work. The particular work as a volunteer therefore offered opportunities for data to be revealed that might not otherwise arisen through a more distant gaze. From such an insider position it was possible to view how the children's work texts were activated by the teachers. This also serves as a reminder that the institutional ethnographer's gaze is not on the individual but on the institutional processes that shapes their experience. Because of this McCoy (2006) reminds us that a particular concern for the institutional ethnographer is not what and how data is generated but also how data is read. There was therefore a tension for me in avoiding 'a form of analytic drift that occurs when the focus on work veers into a classificatory interest in the ways people describe doing the work' (McCoy 2006, 114) rather than on the institutional. My approach to this was in utilizing the Listening Guide.

Confidentiality, Data and the Right to Withdraw

Agreement with the participants included the need for individual data to be confidential and therefore for anonymisation. The caveat to this was in relation to the BERA requirements relating to the protection of vulnerable children and adults and wider legal responsibilities, specifically in a school context, to safeguarding. It was agreed that where an apparent safeguarding concern arose, I had a responsibility to disclose this within the procedures of the school and Local Safeguarding Children Board.

In relation to the protection of data it was agreed that data would not be stored on site but securely at the university. Transcribed data was also shared with participants to enable amendments and clarifications. Throughout my time in the school I took care to speak with each participant individually to provide the opportunity for them to voice questions or any issues. The right to withdraw was also part of the agreement with each participant however this was not automatically extended to data already gathered. In this regard there was a commitment to an open discussion with the participants of the difficulty of redacting data in multiple social interactions and an acknowledgement of the need for a conversation should the possibility arise. In addition to these considerations the research was also approved within the university ethical approval processes.

Each of these is important prior to immersion in the field and the generation of data. To this end, the quality of this research should be particularly judged according to the extent to which ethnographic methods have been used to reveal institutional technologies and ruling relations in teacher's every day experiences. This necessarily involves working from the teachers' standpoint to understand power and the political in their experience. It is, however, also a matter of the synthesis between the theoretical and methodological, including the extent to which this chapter, the next and the previous chapter integrate to provide a framework through which to develop understanding of the teachers' embodied experience and the actualities of their doings. The political aspect of IE is also realised in the researcher's determination to explicate the social processes that have generalizing effects (Holstein 2006, 293).

Exposition of such social processes is in part achieved through empirical investigation of institutional discourses. Institutional discourses occur through text-reader conversations; for example, when teachers in a school read curriculum guidance, the instructions for the assessment of pupil's work, or inspection requirements. A text achieves nothing until it is read, interpreted and enacted! Consideration of these conversations exposes the situated nature of textual artefacts – the relation between the active participant in a particular social site and the institutional processes, produced elsewhere (Nichols and Griffith 2009). In exploring how texts promote, justify or constrain teachers' work it is necessary therefore to observe and talk with participants to expose and explore the confluence between their experiential accounts and the institutional, ruling relations with which they interact. Interviews are therefore an important data generation tool in IE, insofar as interview data serve to expose the ways in which institutional texts and processes order and organise teachers' work.

Data Gathering

The first stage of IE is focused on explicating what is going on in the field. This requires rich, thick descriptions of the participants' everyday experiences as the basis of the primary data. Ethnographic techniques such as observation, field notes, interviews and explication of texts and other artefacts are used to build understanding of the complex culture in the school (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

In educational contexts Troman et al (2006, 1) offer the following key elements as essential to ethnographic research:

- the focus on the study of cultural formation and maintenance;
- the use of multiple methods and thus the generation of rich and diverse forms of data;
- the direct involvement and long-term engagement of the researcher(s);
- the recognition that the researcher is the main research instrument;
- the high status given to the accounts of participants' perspectives and understandings;

- the engagement in a spiral of data collection, hypothesis building and theory testing - leading to further data collection; and
- the focus on a particular case in depth, but providing the basis for theoretical generalisation.

This study follows these elements in the following ways:

- The focus of this study is on the experiences of teachers in a primary school during a period of 'notice to improve'. The particular interest is in institutional relations of ruling and explicating teachers' consciousness and understanding of how they take up 'care'. Whilst focussing on a single local site discussion and analysis draw upon a wide but specific literature. The specificity of literature arises from the actuality of experience in the field and the teachers' culture formation as they take up relations of ruling.
- Data gathering methods include field notes, interviews, observation, teacher diaries, examination of paper records such as minutes of meetings and exploration of artefacts such as displays (Figure 3.2; 3.3). Recording techniques include written and digital recordings. The latter were adopted to ensure minimal disruption during the everyday work in the school. Transcriptions were undertaken as soon as possible after the recordings were made. A flexible observation schedule was used where possible, although constrained by the demands of acting as a volunteer. Nonetheless, I was able to observe each of the teachers in a variety of contexts over the period of a whole school day. Observations also included the briefing meeting at the beginning of the day and staff meetings. These meeting takes place in the staff room, during other periods in the staff room, for example break time or lunch time a more journalistic, note- taking style is employed. When in the class room I adopt a method of priority observation so that the descriptions of one person, for example the class teacher or an institutional process, are developed.
- The researcher is the main research instrument and reflexivity and praxis are key features (Chapter Four) in ensuring reliability, validity and trustworthiness.
- It seeks to explore and make explicit the cultures within the school, to generate and analyse data and generate a report that is meaningful and

useful to those involved. The primary tool for this is the Listening Guide (Mauthner & Doucet 1998), discussed further below. However the theory and methodology utilised are the sociology of Institutional Ethnography (Smith 2005) which firmly places the development of knowledge arising from the actuality of people's everyday work. Peer discussions are a feature of working with the Listening Guide which offers the opportunity to check for subjectivities or absences / gaps. Informal contacts with other researchers using the Listening Guide and other ethnographers enable critical questions to be asked of me. I also facilitated two seminars about the research to my immediate peers. The same approach is taken in presenting papers to a wider audience at conferences – the first to the *Oxford Ethnography Conference* in September 2011, the second to the *Public Ethnography Conference: Connecting New Genres, New Media, New Audiences*, 1st and 2nd June 2012, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. Feedback and discussion, importantly from the teachers also, have been a feature of the spiral approach to data analysis and the development of knowledge used in the research.

- Data is generated over one day per week in the school, usually Friday, over an academic year. However there are also two weeks involving visits for more than one day in the week (see Figure 3.2; 3.3).
- Data analysis and the development of understanding of experience in the field include reflective writing and 'respondent checks'. These checks offer an opportunity to the teachers to consider the record. This opportunity was made explicit at the outset of the research and when questions about my recordings arise. This occurs both formally and informally, for example, when I ask for an explanation of an incident, occurrence or artefact, or when I check understanding or accuracy of something that is said. My questions are, as far as possible, 'open' to enable the informant to use her own words rather than just confirm the statement in the question; so instead of asking, 'did you say...?' which leads to a 'yes' or 'no' answer, my query is 'what did you say...?' The use of the Listening Guide also allows for greater scrutiny of the data by the teachers. The 'I' poem developed using each teacher's own words (reading 2) was presented to each and feedback sought.

Figure 3.2: Overview of data generated – observations

	Field notes / observations	Where generated:
Number of data generated:	24 (days)	(the sites listed below were the main sites of generation, however data was also generated daily as I moved around the school, through informal interactions, in whole school activities [for example assembly] and on playground duty).
Timeline:	10 Sept 2010 – 12 July 2011	
Dates and details:	<p>10 Sept. 2010 First day in school, I am already worried about standpoint.</p> <p>14 Oct. 2010 One of the teachers is worried that she is being 'inspected'.</p> <p>15 Oct. 2010 Emotional labour and care.</p> <p>19 Nov. 2010 Informal interactions and talk of life at home.</p> <p>26 Nov. 2010 SLP visiting, evidence of institutional ruling – outcomes and performativity.</p> <p>3 Dec.2010 Snow! Behaviour management of the group I am working with.</p> <p>7 Jan. 2011 Behaviour, again! And worry about the impending inspection visit.</p> <p>21 Jan. 2011 Documents, evidence and feedback from SLPs.</p> <p>28 Jan. 2011 Report from SLPs. Applications for jobs elsewhere. The importance of the national curriculum.</p>	<p>Staff room Year 5</p> <p>Staff room Year 5</p> <p>Staff room Year 5 Year 6</p> <p>As above</p> <p>As above</p> <p>As above</p> <p>Year 6 Year 5</p> <p>Staff room Year 6 ICT suite Reception</p> <p>Staff room Year 6 Year 3 Year 2</p>

	<p>19 Feb. 2011 Bending the rules! Taking care of each other outside the normal expectations of conduct.</p> <p>4 March 2011 Statistics and fractured relationships / caring for each other!</p> <p>25 March 2011 Observation by member of SLT and working long hours to meet the demands for data.</p> <p>16 May 2011 This coincided with an inspection visit. Caring from the institutional.</p> <p>10 June 2011 Relationships and friendships. Caring for the self, caring for the other</p> <p>11 June 2011 Wider relations including with the PTA and community.</p> <p>23 June 2011 Personal interview by two teachers</p> <p>24 June 2011 Power of SLT</p> <p>26 June 2011 Are you a spy?</p> <p>27th June 2011 Presence and power. Researcher subjectivities.</p> <p>1st, 4th, 8th, 11th 12th July Holiday mood, post SATs and preparing for the end of term. Interviews, time for respondent checks and feedback on I poems.</p>	<p>Year 3 Staff room Year 5</p> <p>Year 5 Staff room Year 1</p> <p>Year 5 Staff room</p> <p>Year 5 Staff room Year 6 Reception Year 1</p> <p>Staff room Year 5 Year 6 Year 1 Year 2</p> <p>Summer fair</p> <p>Staff room Year 5 Year 4</p> <p>Staff room Year 6 Year 4</p> <p>Staff room Year 5</p> <p>Staff room Year 5 Year 6</p> <p>Staff room Reception to Year 6 Trip to Whitby</p>
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Figure 3.3: Overview of other data generated

Approach to data generation:	Number of interviews	Researcher interview and reflexive work	Paper artefacts - minutes of meetings, reports	Diaries
Number of data generated:	13	1	15 primary (boss documents)	5
Timeline:	Interviews took place during July 2011	23 rd June 2011	Oct. 2010 – July 2011	Dec. 2010 – April 2011
Dates and details:	<p>Each of the participants took part in an interview which were recorded and transcribed for analysis. I poems were also developed from the interview transcripts.</p> <p>While I have included Simone's contribution as an interview she did decline to be interviewed in the semi-formal, semi-structured sense, deciding instead for a more informal setting and unstructured conversation.</p> <p>Further detail of my approach to interviewing is given immediately below.</p>	(see Chapter Four)	<p>April 2010 School Inspection report, Ofsted.</p> <p>Oct 2010 Monitoring Inspection Report, Ofsted.</p> <p>Jan. 2011 Report from SLPs, Local Authority.</p> <p>June 2011 Re-inspection Report, Ofsted.</p> <p>March 2013 School Inspection report, Ofsted.</p> <p>The following 'boss' texts were analysed as were the concomitant school policies and procedures (n=10 documents):</p> <p>Assessing Pupils' Progress: A teachers' handbook (DCSF 2010a)</p> <p>National Curriculum: Handbook for teachers in England (DfEE/QCA 1999).</p> <p>Every Child Matters (DfES 2003a)</p>	<p>Dairies were handed out at the end of the 2010 to be completed during the spring term 2011:</p> <p>Charlie; 9 entries.</p> <p>Norma, 2 entries in Jan. 2011.</p> <p>Marie, 16 entries.</p> <p>Lyn, 6 entries.</p> <p>Simone, 20 entries. Simone continued to write her diary until the end of the school year.</p>

			<p>Working Together to Safeguard Children (HM Government 2010) guidance.</p> <p>Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (DfES 2005).</p> <p>In addition to these boss documents I:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reviewed staff meeting minutes • worked from children's workbooks in tracing institutional relations of ruling • reviewed other artefacts such as displays, timetables and notice boards • Worked from other school policies, for example, risk assessment. 	
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Searching and Interviewing

The problematic 'how do teachers come to care?' was developed from an interaction in my first twenty minutes in Crosstown when I was told, 'we are a caring school', in a context of the school being subject to notice to improve. The problematic was confirmed in observing and talking with the teachers over the initial period of involvement. Taking the institutional interest of IE, search terms including; 'care', 'political', 'power' and 'institutional', were initially used in the university's 'Summon' search engine to reveal Joan Tronto's work. It was then possible to map out from Tronto to uncover other relevant texts including the work of Noddings, Gilligan and Urban Walker. In addition, through observation of the use of texts such as reports from SIPs (those identified by the local authority to offer guidance and assistance to the school in moving out of notice to improve), it was possible to map to other

governing texts, such as Ofsted documents and policy texts, and to texts produced by the teachers, for example, planning and assessment documents.

Talk, including interviewing, is important in being able to map ruling relations. Data gathering involved participant observation, semi-structured and unstructured interviews and informal discussions to develop an in-depth and complex understanding of the teachers and the actuality of their everyday work. Semi-structured interviews were conducted towards the end of my time in the field. This in part was due to the coincidence of timing in gaining entry to the field quickly, acting as a volunteer and the importance of the interviews in confirming, or not, the understanding I had gained of the teachers' everyday experience through other data gathering means. Qualitative interviewing defines a range of approaches to data gathering (Bryman 2001). This includes unstructured interviews and conversations, requiring minimal guidance and scope for the teachers' through talk to articulate the intimate details of their actuality of experience. Consequently, interviewing provide an account over a period of time rather that focused on a particular moment in time.

Unstructured approaches to gathering the teachers' talk was used alongside observation of their doings and on its own when seeking to explicate the relations of ruling. Utilising unstructured interviews and informal conversations, for example group discussions in the staff room, with observation was useful in reveal disjunctures in the teachers' doings and their wider consciousness, thoughts and feelings about their work. Consequently multiple approaches to data generation reveal institutional links that might not otherwise be apparent through talk alone.

My approach to semi-structured interviewing was to draw upon my previous forensic experience of interviewing (Jones 1992; Bull 1995; Bull and Corran 2002; Lamb 2008) to develop a protocol for a semi-structured interview with each participant. This requires effective planning and preparation and therefore consideration of venue, time, duration and pace of interview *et cetera*. I negotiated with each teacher and the head teacher to ensure that release from teaching or other duties could be achieved with minimal disruption. Consent for the interview was confirmed as was permission to digitally record. The goal of the interview was to achieve reliable data and a four-phase approach was helpful in this regard:

- Establishing rapport
 - Initiating and supporting a free narrative account
 - Questioning
 - Closure
- (Ministry of Justice 2011, 68)

Rapport is important in putting the participant at ease and, as an approach to reduce researcher effect, is essential to the reliability of the data. Neutral questions or a neutral introduction are suggested before establishing the ground rules for the interview (consent to record, right to not answer a question and the right to withdraw). In essence the interview begins before entering the room in which it is to take place. Space in the school is at a premium so it is appropriate to identify and use a room efficiently. On meeting each teacher, either in the staff room or at their classroom, we talk on the way to the interview room. This brief period of time allows time to develop the interview relationship, for example, 'tell me about the art your class is doing?' Alternatively a question is asked to ascertain feelings: 'how are you?', which might have a bearing on the interview and data.

Soon after settling in the interview room we discuss the 'rules'. These are not meant to restrict but to reassure. For example, I ask each teacher to answer the questions using their everyday language, not to answer a question if they don't want to, and restate understanding about confidentiality. Thereafter, my opening remark to each teacher is to ask them to 'tell me a little bit about yourself and how you came into teaching?' The effect is to get the teacher used to talking in an interview context before moving on to the second, free narrative phase. The interest is also not the teacher per se but to reveal any organizing texts.

Free narrative involves enabling the teacher to discuss aspects of experience without prompts. The introductory question to the phase is, 'if I was a complete stranger and you had the job of describing this school to me, how would you describe it?' This was an important approach in revealing the problematic. Active listening is important at this point and secondary questions are only asked when the informant stops answering. Typically the free narrative account provides some

information that is useful in moving into the questioning phase, for example, 'You mentioned the school improvement partner's report, tell me more about this and how it influences your work?'

It is important in the questioning phase to use open questions – who, what when, where, how – where possible, and specific-closed questions when necessary. Open questions avoid the possibility of closed, 'yes' or 'no' answers and allow the teacher to provide some detail within the answer. Specific-closed questions however are useful to elicit relevant information that isn't forthcoming in the free narrative or responses to open questions, for example, 'which had the greatest effect on your work, the Ofsted inspection report or the improvement partner's report?' The important aspect of this exchange is that whilst a closed question has been used and a consideration not mentioned by the teacher introduced, there is a subsequent need to return to a more open aspect as a form of participant checking; 'when and where was the inspection report discussed?', or, 'tell me how the improvement partner report changed your work?' In this regard the teacher is able to use her own words in developing her answer to the question.

The interviews are timetabled for a specific period of time, one hour, to fit with teaching and other responsibilities, or otherwise end naturally. Endings, or closure, are important too since they give the teacher an opportunity to challenge my understanding (participant checks) and to add any information that may not have already been shared. An extract helps to illustrate:

Me: So, just a couple of things, one's an opportunity for you just say anything else that you want to that's not come up so far but you think might be important.

Teacher: No, I think, erm, (pause) you've brought a lot of it out! Which is good, it's nice to talk about it.

Me: Why doesn't it get talked about?

Teacher: They should have a counsellor in school for the staff somewhere to go, somebody to talk to.

Me: You said I 'have brought a lot of it out', not that I have brought it all out, so, what are the bits that haven't been brought out?

Teacher: I don't think there is anything to be honest.

The teacher was then thanked for her time and contribution and to move away from the interview. In closure I asked each teacher; 'tell me what the best thing about your job is?' As one teacher replied:

Erm, the best thing is that every day is different and that the kids some days can, you can have such a good laugh with them. And the people that you work with as well, and the opportunities that I now have to do different things, I think.

In this instance the teacher focused on the children and her colleagues away from the interview but developed some ideas for future talk with the researcher – what are the 'opportunities' and how have they come about? Consequently, the interviews are listened to and transcribed to check for further questions or issues that require clarification. In the example above, the question, 'Why doesn't it get talked about?' wasn't answered and consequently revisited with the participant. This is usual in IE, as Smith explains:

You have a sense of what you're after, although you sometimes don't know what you're after until you hear people telling you things...Discovering what you don't know – and don't know you don't know – is an important aspect of the process. (cited in DeVault and McCoy, 2002: 757)

In this regard, talk outside the semi-structured interviews described above is also interviewing since, in IE, interviewing is viewed as 'talking with people... typically organized around the idea of work' (DeValult 2006, 25). Each of the teacher participants took part in a semi-structured interview but questions were also asked of visiting SIPs and inspectors to confirm the wider discourses and texts shaping work in the school.

IE and Observation

As discussed, observation was also used to gather data on the teachers' everyday work and the work of SIPs in working with teachers to activate inspection, regulatory and other texts. Observational work in IE begins in a specific place and continues over time to explicate extra-local and trans-local co-ordination and social organization in the local site (Smith 2006). Chapter Four explores my subject position in working to achieve the standpoint of those I was observing and talking to. This is an important consideration since, although institution ethnographers draw on traditional ethnographic methods, including observation, the focus is different. IE does not concern itself with expectations in terms of time spent observing or the 'richness' of description. The focus in analysing the notes of observations made on each of the 24 days spent in the field is on achieving the standpoint of the participants and in revealing and tracing the textual mediation of experience in the local site. In this regard the purpose of interviews and observations is the same in IE.

Diaries as Data

The inspection report and other documents that emerged through observation and in talk with the participants were read, as were texts around the school, such as posters, mottos and noticeboards. All of the teachers also agreed to keep diaries although only five were returned. Their thoughts and feelings were recorded in notebooks I provided, and, as the writing normally occurred away from school, these enabled insight into their reflections about their everyday and every night work. As such diaries proved a useful source of data of how the teacher's perceived their experiences of school, both away from the school physically and away from the school temporally, for example, during holidays. The diaries were helpful in revealing experiences not otherwise captured in interviews and observations, and in revealing how the work of individuals was mediated by texts. An aspect of this was the appropriation of texts (McCoy 2006).

I also recorded my own reflections on events, conversations, interactions in meetings and other observation opportunities. This was important in considering the discourses that mediate my own work and experience and in maintaining my presence in the study as the research instrument. The crucial nature of this work in

relation to reflexivity and in accomplishing the standpoint of the teachers is discussed more fully in the next chapter.

Validity, Reliability and Truth Claims

Significant concern has been raised about the potential of researcher effect on the quality of data and, more broadly on, vague and incoherent approaches to data analysis and interpretation in foregrounding particular approaches to experience and engagement in the field (for example; Atkinson, Coffey & Delamont 2003; Delamont & Atkinson 2004). There is a concern that the presence of the ethnographer changes the dynamic of relationships in the field, threatening the validity and reliability of data.

It is perhaps unsurprising to point out the anthropologist's argument that time spent in the field enables the researcher to become increasingly invisible within a culture and therefore reduces the possibility of researcher effect. Nonetheless, as Atkinson (2005) argues, rigor and explicitness in all aspects of approach to data generation, analysis and interpretation are necessary. In IE people's experience is not fixed, it is constantly reconstructed in everyday and every night encounters and activity, consequently the researcher is a part of everyday and/or every night work. Meaning is explicated in how social interactions are mediated through talk, and consequently how social order and action are made apparent and describable, including in interaction with the researcher as an actual activity.

As Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995: 3–4) argue:

The task of the ethnographer is not to determine 'the truth' but to reveal the multiple truths apparent in others' lives ... Relationships between the field researcher and people in the setting do not so much disrupt or alter ongoing patterns of social interaction as reveal the terms and bases on which people form social ties in the first place ... Through participation, the field researcher sees first-hand and up close how people grapple with uncertainty and confusion, how meanings emerge through talk and collective action, how understandings and interpretations change over time. In all these ways, the fieldworker's

closeness to others' daily lives and activities heightens sensitivity to social life as process.

Building on this, the concern of IE is not whether what a participant says in an interview is true and therefore whether the data warrants a truth claim but the extent to which the researcher has achieved the standpoint of the participants. In the co-production of understanding of 'how do teachers' come to care?' the researcher is fully implicated in the generation and analysis of data whilst maintaining the integrity of the participant's experience. For Holloway and Jefferson (2000) this is achieved when: the researcher relationship clearly recognizes both participants and researcher; free-association narrative interviewing techniques are used, interview data is recognized as being generated in a unique moment and relationship; and is an account of the actualities of everyday and every night experience. Both the approach to interviewing discussed above and utilization of *The Listening Guide* (Mauthner and Doucet 1998) strengthen the reliability and validity of this research.

DATA ANALYSIS

For Smith (2006, 111) analysis of data requires the researcher to consider a number of questions:

What is the work that these informants are describing or alluding to?
What does it involve for them? How is their work connected to the work of other people? What particular skills or knowledge seem to be required? What does it feel like to do this work? What are the troubles or successes that arise for people doing this work? How is the work articulated to institutional work processes and the institutional order?

DeVault and MCoy (2006, 36-37) similarly posit various questions for the researcher to consider:

- How has the text come to the informant?
- What does the informant need to know in order to use the text?

- What does the informant do with, for, and on account of the text?
- How does the text intersect with and depend on other texts and textual processes as sources of information, generators of conceptual frames, authorizing texts and so on?
- What is the textual frame that organises the text and its competent reading?

Each of these sets of questions reminds us of the importance of power and the political for institutional ethnography and require the researcher to be cognisant of both conceptual practices of power and individual consciousness. In this study I used *The Listening Guide* (Mauthner and Doucet 1998) as an explicit approach to understanding the teacher's actual experience – of what they do, in what they do, and the knowledge intrinsic to their work.

The Listening Guide

The Listening Guide (Mauthner and Doucet 1998) may appear as an unlikely approach to data generation and analysis in IE because of its origin in developmental psychology. Its genesis is in the work of Lyn Brown and Carol Gilligan of the Harvard Project on Women's Psychology and Girls' Development at the Harvard Graduate School of Education and the interpretive and hermeneutic traditions and relational theory (Gilligan 1982; Gilligan, Brown and Rogers 1990; Brown and Gilligan 1992). As highlighted in the previous chapter, Gilligan's work has been recognized as seminal in developing understanding of the gendered nature of power and masculinist, universal approaches to morality. However, her work has also been criticized by Tronto (1993) amongst others and there is consequently a danger in utilizing the model and undertaking interpretative work that reduces the participant to an essentializing and individualizing 'I'.

However, in developing *The Listening Guide*, Mauthner and Doucet have moved away from a purely dispositional, individualistic focus to account for people's activities in relation. This is germane to the requirements of IE; in particular *The Listening Guide* enables consideration of an individual's narrative accounts in terms of their relationships to themselves, their relationships to the people around them, and their relationships to the broader social, structural and cultural contexts within

which they live' (Mauthner and Doucet 1998, 9). It requires up to four 'readings' of the data to expose these relations.

It is possible to use the guide to reify people's work through their talk, to analyse a subjective, individual experience *or* to consider how a person's talk reflects how experiences are subservient to predominant theoretical constructs. However, it is also possible to use the guide so that two levels of analysis operate: firstly, in understanding the complexity of an experience from the standpoint of the participants to reveal a problematic, and secondly, in shifting the focus of the research to explicate those ruling relations beyond the local site. Because of the danger of an essentializing, individualizing analysis *or* an analysis in which the participant is objectified to normalizing theoretical positions it is crucial that the researcher is constantly vigilant to the theoretical and methodological commitments of IE in using the guide wisely (Walby 2013). *The Listening Guide* offers IE an approach to understand explicitly people's experience (of what they do), from their standpoint (in what they do), through the mediating power of texts and institutional technologies (the knowledge intrinsic to their work).

It is also important to note that *The Listening Guide* is just that, a guide, to be used and adapted as necessary to the needs and requirements of the participants (Mauthner and Doucet 1998). The guide is adaptable to the social ontology and epistemology of IE and, indeed, there are a number of similarities with IE including:

- Theoretical underpinnings in feminisms' approach to power and social relations.
- Narrative as a feature of data and the potential to explore text-reader conversations.
- Reflexivity as a tool in explicating the approach used within the study and the synthesis between theory, method and ethics.
- People's doings are socially produced. The analytical structure of *The Listening Guide* may have been forged by cognitive-developmental psychology but the analysis of data is not predetermined by any overarching theory or normative concern.

Data analysis and the explication of the mediating power of texts are iterative (Walby 2013).

Four Readings of The Listening Guide for IE.

Two stages in the research are typical in IE; the first involves entering the site, understanding the complexity of experience and developing a problematic. The second explores the ruling relations beyond the local site (DeVault and McCoy 2006). Using *The Listening Guide* enables explication of relations of ruling relevant to both these stages. Mauthner and Doucet (1998) suggest four readings of the data which I have adapted to IE's and Tronto's interests. These are aligned, for illustration, to particular phases of caring however the readings inform each phase. It should also be noted that, although readings are presented in numerical order, there is no hierarchy. The readings are simply different readings of the data and can be undertaken in any order at any time. Examples of data analysis utilizing The Listening Guide are highlighted in appendices 3b (an extract of a diary entry) and 3c (extracts from an interview transcript).

Reading One – Reading for Relations of Ruling

The data is analysed for the overall plot, the story being told, the main texts and their mediating power. The goal is to get a sense of how texts mediate the participants' experience and to plot the lines of ruling relations beyond the site. This reading is wholly relevant to stage one of IE and takes the form of a preliminary analysis. The details of the field, the inspection process and outcome are part of this overall story. In chapters Two and this chapter I undertake the work of developing critical understanding of this story. Subsequently Chapters Five, Six and Seven illustrate which texts are taken up hierarchically by the teachers in their daily work

For Tronto (1993) 'caring about' involves recognition of need which necessarily includes understanding who defines needs and how different texts are attentive to need. As stated in Chapter Two the politics of an individualized, neoliberal education system and an individualized concept of moral responsibility are challenged by an alternative politics of relationality (Strum 1998; Wood 2003). The counter-argument to individualism is that policies, such as those framing neoliberalism, are engaged and enacted through a relationship with and between people so that standpoint' and

therefore voice, context, location and place have relevance. The differences in approach are both epistemological and political. This first reading helps to develop understanding of how needs and care are being set and by whom and also enables early consideration of responsibility/privileged irresponsibility (Tronto 1993, 120). Considering what is in texts, Chapter Six develops understanding of the political and moral boundaries that work to maintain the power and privilege of the political elite.

Reading Two – Reading for Reflexivity

This involves a reading for ‘the voice of ‘I’’, both for the researcher and each participant. The purpose is to achieve the standpoint of each participant, to explore the experience of each. It is an attempt to hear the person and their experience by focusing on use of personal pronouns and to use the first person pronoun to construct ‘I’ Poems. ‘I’ Poems select ‘I’ phrases and maintain them in the sequence of the text in the form of a poem to explore experience. The power of texts is central to IE; as such the focus on reading the poems is on ruling relations and not on people as actors (Smith 2005, 2006). The poems are an important tool in revealing the temporal dimension of people’s experience and can have emancipatory power as the teachers take up their own story. Reading for reflexivity is important in moving from stage one of IE, understanding the complexity of experience, to stage two, exposing wider relations of ruling. Reflexivity is also crucial in understanding the disjuncture between two ways of knowing; people’s experience and the conceptual, social fields of their daily lives, and their consciousness of the work that they do.

‘Care giving’ (Tronto 1993) and ‘caring with’ (Tronto 2012) involves the researcher in taking steps through an appropriate approach to avoid institutional capture and privileged irresponsibility. Not to avoid the grounding of knowledge and understanding in the researcher’s preordained institutional language and concepts and therefore to take for granted the power of the predominant ideas or group is to objectify and maintain a position of power for the researcher. Importantly the focus on the narrated self, intrinsic in the ‘I’ Poems, can be used as a reflexive tool by the researcher to provide insight into institutional processes and their coordinating power at any stage of this sequence. Reflexivity is important in becoming immersed in the experiences of other people and works as a buffer to the potential for institutional

capture and the qualitative realism that could otherwise result throughout the research (Walby 2013). My use of my own 'I' poem as an aspect of approach is discussed more fully in Chapter Four which focuses on the researcher's reflexivity to illustrate the achievement of standpoint crucial to IE.

Reading Three – Reading for Textually Mediated Relationships

This reading focuses on the networks of social relations in order to explicate socially mediated understandings of responsibility and is important to stage two of IE. There is a need to understand, reveal and track moral actors and concomitant texts, including those who exercise responsibility at a step, or steps, removed from frontline work and who exercise control from a position of power. In this reading the researcher moves to explore ruling relations beyond the local site. One aspect of this is to draw out from mediating texts what shapes teacher's experiences.

'Taking care of' (Tronto 1993) therefore also requires the researcher to be attentive to his role in and of the research; that is, as researcher and research instrument. As discussed, institutional capture may result if I am not attentive to the potential of 'privileged irresponsibility' (Tronto 1993) within the texts relevant to my own actuality. This concern is also considered in relation to other actors and how they activate texts and their responsibilities in relation to caring work in schools.

In IE 'institutional' does not signify an organization but a framework for experience and research, focused on coordinating and linked work processes occurring across multiple sites (DeVault and McCoy 2006). Coordination occurs when texts are taken up and in doing so when texts are used by the powerful to shape constructions of care that ignore broader approaches and conceptualisations. Privileged irresponsibility occurs when these broader approaches and conceptualisations are ignored and consequently the powerful and privileged distance themselves from others' wider experiences. In this regard the privileged defend their position by developing a narrative of benefitting all through normative, idealised and gendered constructions. Chapters Seven and Eight pay particular attention to what is in texts and the discourses that frame both the trans-local (relevant to many sites, for example, legislation and policy texts) and extra-local organizing relations (particular

to a local site but mediating from beyond the site and common to other sites, for example, inspectors' reports).

Reading Four – Placing people within cultural contexts and social structures

This reading develops further the focus on the networks of social relations in order to explicate socially mediated understandings of responsibility. Where reading three looks for those who exercise responsibility this reading further exposes political and social mediating forces in teachers' work, including the way the participants account to each other for the relationships, processes and values that define their responsibilities and work. This involves consideration of conceptualizing and categorizing within institutional texts. Analysis in this regard begins in Chapter Five but is further developed in Chapter Seven as consideration is given to lower order texts and the theoretical and moral abstraction undertaken by the elite in organizing teachers' work. Discussion in Chapter Eight brings each of the readings together to fully understand the ruling relations in the problematic 'how do teachers come to care?'

The fourth and fifth of Tronto's (1993) phases of care – 'care receiving' and 'caring with' – arise not in one reading but across all. They point to the integrity of the relationship between all actors, including the participants and the researcher. Care receiving involves the teachers' experiences in caring and the struggle to develop trust and solidarity in caring with each other in a context of privileged irresponsibility. Caring with involves developing understanding of the participants from their standpoint and claiming integrity when the research is undertaken to develop understanding of the political, particular and plural, and purposiveness of the research from the teacher's experience. Integrity is achieved in the research when the approach described fits together as a whole. In this regard readings of *The Listening Guide* constitute, an approach not just to data generation and analysis, but to data synthesis in which several layers of data are brought and woven together in revealing how teachers come to care (Colley 2010). Chapter Four explicates and claims integrity in the research.

CONCLUSION

Aligning Tronto's and Walker's work with IE creates a substantial political, moral, ethical and theoretical framework for undertaking research. As discussed in the previous chapter, Joan Tronto argues that a world organised to care well requires that we focus on three things: politics; particularity and plurality; and purposiveness (Tronto 2010, 162). These three things are also helpful in framing the methodology for this study and in defining the ontology and epistemology. 'Politics' requires an approach that is cognisant of relations of power and the mediating potential of power. 'Particularity and plurality' suggests attention to people's doings in a particular site whilst recognizing that the relations of power that become known may be connected to other sites. 'Purposiveness' requires reflexivity, awareness and discussion of the ends and purposes of the research.

As noted, concerns have been raised that IE is less explicit about its own social relations (Walby 2007). However the basis of Walby's criticism is not IE itself but the potential for researcher authority in data generation, analysis and interpretation. The possibility of IE being misused by the researcher as an institutional technology is contrary to its purpose. To this end researcher reflexivity and the steps taken to avoid the foregrounding of institutional language and discourses that begin in the researcher's interests rather than the participants' everyday actualities are fully discussed in the next chapter.

Smith's approach to ruling relations is that people's doings are mediated when they come into contact with texts through the organizing power of texts as institutional technologies. The epistemological shift in IE is that people are not objectified to governing sociological concepts; instead IE begins with people's experiences and builds outwards (Campbell & Gregor 2002). The institutional ethnographer understands that 'the only way of knowing a socially constructed world is knowing it from within' (Smith 2005, 375). In a context where a teacher's experiences in education are analysed and constructed through concepts such as performativity or marketization, as the ruling interests of government and corporations, the teacher is objectified. Concepts of 'outstanding', 'good' and 'notice to improve' in the regulatory and quality framework for schools are used to rule people. The actuality of the teachers' embodied, lived experience is set aside in official accounts of school

performance. Social research that ignores this is therefore found wanting since any account of school performance that is developed by 'inserting a ruling conceptual frame and suppressing the experience of the 'subject' of the lived actuality that the account claims to be about... is said to be ideological' (Campbell 2001, 243).

This has consequences for approach in the research, particularly in the understanding of the nature of texts, power and governance. A Foucauldian approach to discourse, for example, shares similar interests, yet sets knowledge as produced through a conceptual frame of governing discursive procedures and practices. In these terms, these procedures and practices are held to exist and are therefore a frame through which people's experiences are produced. That power and governance exist within the prevailing rules of discursive practices is contrary to the standpoint of IE. In IE discourse includes texts and text-reader conversations as aspects of relations of ruling through which people take texts up, produce texts and use them. Text-reader conversations include a historical contingent but are also active, that is, understanding and knowledge are produced in the act of utterance. This approach to discourse maintains the presence of the subject who activates the text in every day and every night experience (Devault and McCoy 2002).

In seeking to explore and expose textually-mediated ruling relations in the social organization of teacher's experiences within a single site it can be argued that texts have a 'particular' relation to that site. However Smith (1990a, 2005) also posits that the explication of ruling relations from a particular site is generalizable across sites. Texts are not site specific; their purpose isn't simply to organise work within a single setting but to institutionally organize across sites. When teachers talk about their work, they do so in light of the historical, generalizing institutional, ruling relations as they are expressed in education (Smith 2005). Texts are therefore imbued with organizing power that is embedded, managed and coordinated extra-locally and trans-locally and is therefore plural.

Educational governance requires sophisticated institutional technologies that, when taken up socially, have the power to mediate and organize teachers' work and experience. As such, regulating texts are actualized when teachers take them up as guidance for action. These texts are in continual motion as they interact with different

people, in different contexts, at different times. Each text-reader conversation and action perpetuates the mediation and organization of teachers' work (Nichols and Griffith 2009, Tummons 2010). IE provides a methodological framework for inquiry that enables understanding to be developed of how text-based institutional technologies frame social relations within a work setting and beyond.

Reflexivity underpins the purposiveness of a study and is necessary within IE to avoid the possibility of institutional capture (Smith 2005). *The Listening Guide* (Mauthner and Doucet 1998) provides a framework for data synthesis through which ruling relations may be revealed and reflexivity achieved. Synthesis is crucial in data collection and analysis (Moustakas 1990; Colley 2010) and *The Listening Guide* enables the data to be put together to reveal connections, richness and complexity in the teacher's diverse experiences but importantly to ensure that they are from the teacher's standpoint. The development of a narrative through *The Listening Guide* represents the teachers' stories AND reveals institutional structures and relations of ruling. It also exposes the work of the researcher as the main instrument in the research. A unique feature of this study is the synthesis between IE and *The Listening Guide* to posit a relational, critical and interpretative approach to understanding ruling relations and institutional technologies of 'how do teachers come to care?'

This research developed as an institutional ethnography since 'how do teachers come to care?' emerged as a problematic during my time in Crosstown School. However, my intention on entering the school was not to undertake an institutional ethnography but a critical policy ethnography based on the work of Carspecken (1996). This epistemological and methodological shift and the accomplishment of standpoint are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 : REFLEXIVITY OPERATIONALISES IE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter extends the methodological discussion in Chapter Three by focussing on me as the research instrument and my reflexive approach in achieving standpoint in understanding the experience of the teachers at Crosstown School. Knowledge and data are generated in local sites of activity at particular times (Longino 1999, 333) and my focus was on my socially-situated experience as a 'point of entry' to reveal textually-mediated relations of ruling. Since the development of knowledge and understanding are socially situated I sought to make visible the contextual actuality and local particularity of my standpoint and experience in moving to the standpoint of the teachers. My texts, concepts, reading, and embodiment as a reader are where discourse happens and reality constituted. This required that I undertake reflexive work in revealing the subjectivities of experience in the field, and how standpoint is claimed in describing and constituting the experience of the participants (Smith 1990).

As highlighted in Chapter Three I did not come to IE at the outset of this study. Instead my thoughts were on undertaking a critical policy analysis and of maintaining epistemic privilege that was apart from the participants in terms of knowledge. Soon after entering the local site a significant discussion with a teacher led me to think about this privilege. I worked closely with a small number of teachers spending time in their classrooms as a volunteer. One in particular was wary of my presence, saying so initially to a colleague, and then asking me, 'are you a spy from Ofsted?' This question and the previous comment, 'we are a caring school!' gave me some insight into the relations of ruling in the teachers' everyday experience. I was concerned about the possibility of a lack of trust (O'Neill 2013) and of being seen to reinforce or replicate the categories of ruling experienced by the teachers during inspection. I felt obliged to respond to this teacher as an act of virtue and trust. This caused me to pause and think about my standpoint, my approach, the nature of relationships and how they are organized, my behaviour and actions, and what I was thinking and feeling in my interactions with the teacher. It was difficult to balance my

subjective bias in the role of observer and researcher with an increasing awareness of the teachers as objects in the study.

Occupying a space as a volunteer enabled me not only to observe, but to experience the minutiae of the field. I recorded what I saw, heard, and did, and I was drawn into conversations. These behaviours were similar to those of Ofsted inspectors. My concerns about standpoint, objectification and replicating the behaviour of powerful inspectors were discussed in supervision and I gave a great deal of thought to my approach. The outcome of these deliberations was the decision to take up IE as the method of explicating the experiences of the teachers of Crosstown School during this regulatory period. However, this was not a simple task and both Smith (2005) and others (for example, Bisailon & Rankin 2012) have recognized the difficulties experienced by researchers new to IE. The thorny issue, in retrospect, was standpoint – specifically how to understand and work with standpoint as it is understood in IE. Smith argues that standpoint ‘establishes a subject position for institutional ethnography as a method of enquiry... It is a method of enquiry that works from the actualities of people’s everyday lives’ (2005, 10). Standpoint in IE therefore is a pre-determined position for the person in the mediation of their daily lives. Significantly, this involves a move from epistemological standpoint to empirical standpoint (Smith 2005, 2006; Bisailon & Rankin 2012). While it can be argued that my standpoint as researcher has been pre-determined in the wider ruling relations of education, I was confused. I was conscious both of my need to do research well and of alternative positions of epistemic standpoint. This awareness could not easily be set aside and made silent. Indeed a concern was that IE appears to posit a ‘pre-textual research process’ when the epistemology of IE is concretely based in texts (Stanley 2012, 36). Consequently, the shift from the place of epistemological standpoint to the actuality of my standpoint in IE is something to be achieved.

My approach to this disjuncture was to engage in the reflexive work and I undertook two tasks in parallel. First, in an attempt to think more about the social organization of relationships and understand the standpoint of the teachers I offered the two teachers who I worked most closely with, including the one who asked if I was a spy, the opportunity to interview me. This interview was recorded, transcribed and analysed using the readings of *The Listening Guide* (Mauthner & Doucet 1998). The

data from the interview of me was otherwise included as part of the data generated in the local site for analysis. Second, I worked with theoretical texts including those dealing with reflexivity, feminist epistemology and IE as an aspect of my own local practice of text-reader conversation (Smith 2005). Following my early reading of Smith's own accounts of her own observations of text-based institutional ruling relations (Smith 1990a; 2005, 114-116), I was interested to understand how this operated at the level of IE itself.

As part of this process I considered alternative approaches to reflexivity since reflexive work requires more than cognitive effort but engagement with the material conditions of being reflexive. This included writing and talking about IE and reflexivity, and being 'playful' with these texts. Just as Smith was keen to reveal the sequence and instructions of the texts involved in her account I wanted to understand the significance of the historical sequence and instructions of IE. I developed texts that I presented for peer review, for critique and criticism, and utilized the subsequent 'reports' from peers as accounts of the institutional power of IE. This was important in my understanding of how I took up the frame of the 'institutional' in IE as a method of reading in this study. The sequence of reading in my text-reader conversation involved texts books, my own texts and peers' talk as text. This sequence and the act of presenting my own account for review revealed the instructions, the institutional frame of properly mandated institutional ethnography (Smith 2005, 115).

Text reader conversations are a significant aspect of IE. My standpoint as educational researcher was the *point d'appui*, or point of departure, for the study. That is, my reflexive work was to locate myself within the research and to relate this to the standpoint I adopted. Utilizing my text reader conversations I worked to understand the social organization of my work in the study, to relate this to the standpoint of the teachers and to explicate ruling relations beyond the local experience of the teachers and me and our work in the school.

The aims of this chapter are therefore to:

- Highlight the approaches to standpoint and reflexivity in IE.

- Reveal the approach to reflexivity adopted in developing understanding of the problematic ‘how do teachers come to care?’
- Explore the purpose of reflexivity in revealing structures of domination and power and the potential of the researcher in enacting domination as an embodied reality.

INSTITUTIONAL VERSIONS OF IE

As an outsider moving into, first the world of institutional ethnography and, second, the world of teachers during a period of notice to improve I was aware of the importance that ‘differences in perspective and experience of participants be recognized and taken advantage of in mapping given process or organization’ (Smith 2005, 158). In the work of this study this includes the researcher, me, and those who write about and undertake IE, and who seek to inform of its theory, processes and potential. In the world of Crosstown Primary School this includes the teachers, inspectors and SIPs but also acknowledges my location and standpoint in the research. While I am new to the world of Ofsted school inspection, I am involved in the wider institutional processes of education and have experience of managerialism and performativity albeit in a different educational context. I am not however entirely new to Ofsted inspection, both in my previous role as a social worker and more recently in the inspection of universities as sites of teacher training. Furthermore while my standpoint as researcher does not trouble IE and its purposes, after all to understand institutional relations of ruling requires me to move between different standpoints and contexts, it is troubling. This is because I am required to move beyond a position of researcher in Crosstown School *and* one who is involved a wider sociological project of the academy to define and defend epistemology. The institutional ethnographer shifts from an epistemological gaze to an empirical standpoint and methodological concern for ethnographic activities that reveal the material institutional practices of the teachers. This is not an easy shift in the context of doctoral study.

The ontology of IE in this study starts in the everyday experience of the teachers of Crosstown School who participate in the institutional process of education. Walby’s (2007) concern that IE does not confront its own social relations, specifically its own

discursive and organizing power, develops a disjuncture for the institutional ethnographer whose standpoint provides a *point d'appui* in explicating the social and ruling relations in education. In IE standpoint is one of empirical privilege rather than epistemic privilege since it denotes an embodied social location in a local place where institutional discourse happens (Bisaillon & Rankin 2012). However, my work as researcher is governed by my authority in data generation, analysis and interpretation, through institutional capture of the discourse of the academy and IE as a method in assuring valid, reliable and generalizable research. There is a concern in which the texts of IE have their own governing power, their own sequence and instructions with which the researcher engages through a text reader conversation, and takes up as a 'frame of the institutional version [of IE] as a method of reading' (Smith 2005, 115).

The possibility of IE being misused by the researcher as an institutional technology is contrary to its purpose. The material *point d'appui* for the research should be my place in the daily doings of the school and not the discourse and ideological capture of official versions and descriptions of IE. Nonetheless, official versions of doctoral research and of IE are an aspect of my standpoint as an educational researcher. Reflexivity in IE requires me to locate myself in relation to the standpoint I have adopted. Specifically I need to be concerned about how my experience and institutional capture of the social and ruling relations in education, directs my work. I need to explicate the sequences of action in which my work as researcher is embedded and which therefore implicate other people and experience in the institutional processes of education (Smith 2005). I am mindful of the discourse of IE available to me through *Institutional Ethnography: A Sociology for People* (Smith 2005) and *Institutional Ethnography As Practice* (Smith 2006). I am concerned to understand the management and sequence of the discourse within these texts that provide the terms under which I will become accountable for my research work. Consequently I develop texts as an aspect of my reflexive work that explicate different theoretical understandings of reflexivity and provide these accounts for peer review.

The following is an example of this engagement with reflexivity. It is important to remember that it was not an engagement with narcissistic intellectual debate or

simple cognitive work but undertaken to reveal official accounts of how to read in IE. The writing that follows is an example of actual work that took effort and time in the material conditions of the study. While it was written at a desk it was something that happened through my engagement with texts, thought, talk and engagement with others. It arises from my standpoint as educational researcher embedded within Crosstown School and in IE's terms it is empirical.

(I Wrote): Reflexivity in Ethnography

Van Mannen's (2011) 'tales of the field' highlight variety in approaches to ethnography with difference in relation to the purposes of researcher reflexivity. In developing a typology of 'confessional', 'realist' and 'impressionist' tales he is indicating differences in relation to the researcher's interests and goals. In confessional tales reflexivity focusses on the researcher and the learning from his or her embodied experience. It involves explicit discussions of approach, of issues and successes in developing knowledge of the participant's experiences, however the voices of participants are diminished as the experience of the researcher is privileged. A concern arises that a confessional tale constitutes a form of storytelling which IE does not recognize. Realist tales are more closely aligned with traditional ethnographic studies where the researcher is an observer taking notes, doing interviews and using data to draw conclusions, theorizing but not generalizing about others' experiences. The researcher may state that a reflexive approach has been used to ensure the integrity and validity of approach but she or he is absent from the text in detailing the reflexive process or learning arising from it. Realist tales are theory driven and favour a master narrative. This is contrary to IE's understanding of standpoint, situated knowledge and the importance of critical, reflexive scrutiny of the researcher's subjectivities. In the impressionist tale the researcher is present insofar as reflexivity is used to develop a narrative detailing the chronology of events that pulls the reader into, a sensory, lived, embodied experience. There is a danger with impressionist tales that materiality is ignored and that discourse is privileged, a position that is again contrary to IE's epistemology and methodology.

In this study, in being actively involved in the everyday world of work in Crosstown, and by this I do not only mean in undertaking specific activities or the use of specific ethnographic methods but also the embodiment of material conditions in space and

time, it is necessary for me to expose my lived experience as the narrator (McCoy 2006). In this context experience is not an individualised view, as in a confessional tale, nor a world view, as in a realist tale, nor a purely subjective view, as in an impressionist tale, but an interpretative relation and *point d'appui*, or point of leverage, in revealing disjunctive social relations of ruling. Reflexivity is crucial in explicating the line of fault between me, the individual, embodied researcher, and institutional discourses and processes in everyday spaces, 'including the mental space of consciousness, [that] are in contemporary society also sites of interface between individuals and a vast network of institutional relations' (McCoy 2006, 111). This suggests the need for a different understanding of ethnographic work that moves beyond the notion of 'tales'.

Reflexivity in Sociology

There have been significant developments in ethnographic understanding since the 1990s. Critical ethnography, for example, seeks to develop the understanding of both the researcher and participants with emancipatory aims so that a successful critical ethnographer works alongside participants in developing a critical consciousness that will ultimately challenge the material conditions of their oppression (Kincheloe and McClaren 2005). However, critical ethnography, as an extension of a realist tale, has been criticised for being too theory driven and insufficient in the critical reflexive concern for the subjectivities in the relations between researcher and participants (Hyttén 2004). Consequently, alternative 'postcritical' approaches have developed.

There are a range of standpoints within postcritical ethnography that draw upon a variety of epistemological positions including community emancipation and poststructuralism. They are germane to IE insofar as they share a common interest in acknowledging the presence of the researcher and in exploring a relation between researcher and participant for which reflexivity is an important tool. The privileging of voice, in particular the voices of the oppressed, is a significant aspect of postcritical research so that the researcher may speak on behalf of the researched and use this knowledge towards political action and change (Gunzenhauser 2004). IE does not seek such privileging, nor does it reduce standpoint to a 'purely discursive function' (Smith 1992, 89). For Smith the categories of political oppression that interest

postcritical researchers; for example, race, gender, class and age, are discursively entrenched within a critical and emancipatory work. The institutional ethnographer's interest is different in revealing how such text-mediated concepts are taken up in everyday and every night experience.

The danger with Van Maneen's typology is that it simply highlights these various approaches to, and standpoints in, ethnographic practice without being concerned about relations of ruling arising out of significant ontological and epistemological differences. It does not concern itself with its relationship with knowledge. Indeed, many have highlighted these concerns and have sought to explicate further the theoretical underpinnings of reflexivity (for example; Maton 2003; Adkins 2004; Kenway and McLeod 2004). Like Van Mannen, these authors highlight three approaches to reflexivity. The first is highly individualistic and biographical, based on the work of Giddens (1991), Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1995, 2002), and Bauman (2000). As discussed in Chapter Two, Bauman argues that 'moral responsibility is the first reality of the self... a starting point rather than a product of society' (1992, 13). In these terms, the complexity and uncertainties of the researcher's work are reified to the researcher. The ethic of care and the moral practice of reflexivity are of existential concern rather than involving the daily work and tasks of moral responsibility.

The second approach to reflexivity draws on particular feminist and poststructuralist research and is one where the researcher is clearly present (for example; Lather 1997; Stronach and MacLure 1997; MacLure 2008). As with individualistic approaches the researcher engages in a form of reflective practice, 'reflecting' on the effect of their presence on the conduct and interpretation of the research' (Kenway and McLeod 2004, 527). While some reflexive practices amount to an autobiographical reflective account of the researcher's experience, other accounts will attend more significantly to the situated location of the researcher and the authority and power of the researcher. These have been framed by Maton (2003) as either:

- individualistic reflexivity – reflection on researcher biases and mores and the consequent effect on knowledge creation of researcher subjectivities;

- narcissistic reflexivity – where the researcher may be critically self-aware and reflective but saying more ‘about the sacred bourgeois formation of the writer and nothing about the profane formation of the subject’ (Willis 2004, 169; cited in Walford 2009, 280); and
- sociological reflexivity – which is again focused on the researcher’s relation to the participant in knowledge creation (the researcher’s potential to objectify) rather than the researcher’s epistemological relation to knowledge creation (in the actuality of the research experience, what is being objectified and why?).

Maton further argues in these cases the moral ground is dispositional and concerned with discursive practices of ‘research-giving’ and ‘research-receiving’. The concern is for the production of meaning, reflexive practices and the politics of representation – the sociology of reflexivity rather than a reflexive sociology. The alternative third approach to reflexivity does attend to a reflexive sociology and is largely based on the work of Bourdieu (1990; 1994; 1996; 2000) and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992).

Reflexive Sociology

The concepts of habitus and field are fundamental to understanding Bourdieu’s approach to reflexivity and it is important to briefly discuss these and his concept of a game, often used to explore their meaning and relation and the forces that shape them (Adkins 2004; Maton 2008; Colley 2012; 2013). Habitus is both a ‘structured and structuring structure’ (Bourdieu 1994, 170), it is ‘structured’ by the person’s current and past experiences and is ‘structuring’ when the person integrates the dispositions of the past into current action, for example when a text is taken up and a new experience is created. It reflects both structure and agency as it plays out within specific fields to which it is inextricably linked. Consequently, the researcher taking part in the game within the research field utilises his habitus to influence the game to his own desires and needs.

The socialized subjectivity of the researcher’s habitus is therefore interdependent with the concept of field:

... both of [Bourdieu’s] key concepts of *habitus and field designate bundles of relations*. A field consists of a set of objective historical

relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital), while habitus consists of a set of historical relations 'deposited' within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation and action. (Wacquant 2002, original emphasis; cited in Colley 2013, 669).

Field designates the social conditions, or rules, of the game and the dispositions of the researcher in the field as he plays the game through his habitus. Like habitus it is a concept in which agency and structure play out and is constructed in the actualities of people's experiences through the human doings of human beings.

As highlighted earlier, Dorothy Smith (2005) has been critical of Bourdieu's work, its 'blobontology' (ibid) and individualizing tendencies; yet they share significant ontological claims (Gerrard and Farrell 2013). Bourdieu's approach to reflexivity and its questioning of existing sociologies of reflexivity and proposal of a reflexivity of sociology are consistent with Smith's institutional ethnography. Reflexivity is not simply a cognitive activity through which I reflect on the potential for and consequences of the objectifying relation between me and the participant(s). It includes a concern for objectification but also moves beyond understanding my instinctive, unconscious, internalized practices in the field of educational research to a concern for my social relation with knowledge; and, the epistemic relation between my knowledge claim and its object(s) (Maton 2003).

It is necessary therefore for me to focus on a number of things: firstly, habitus; my dispositions and mental space of consciousness at the interface of my experience and the network of ruling relations. Secondly, but concurrently, on my work in the field of education research; my position and internalized practices, including those that are habitual and unconscious; and finally, in a move away from the embodied me, to a concern for 'intellectualist bias' where 'the aim is not to uncover my personal, individual bias but the collective scientific unconscious embedded in intellectual practices by the field's objectifying relations' (Maton 2003, 57-58). All of which would appear to confirm to Smith's concerns of an individuated subject through which people and their activities disappear (Smith 2005, 56). However, Maton (2003) reminds us that Bourdieu's concept of habitus is inextricably linked to

his concept of practice, citing the argument that habitus has the capacity to 'produce classifiable practices and works... and... to differentiate and appreciate the practices and products', and habitus 'generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions' (Bourdieu 1984, 170; cited in Maton 2003, 6). In these terms practice is synonymous with the actualities of people's experiences since habitus of its own does not have the power to create classifiable practices of experience; this requires habitus to be put to work, for example, in taking up institutional, mediating research texts.

Smith's concern that habitus 'installs the reproduction of the social in the learning and experience of individuals' (2005, 59) sets habitus as a theory involving an inner dialogue that doesn't fully explore the activation and work of reflexivity. In this regard Reay (2004, 439) reminds us that Bourdieu also understood habitus to be a method, albeit in the broadest sense of the word:

The main thing is that they are not to be conceptualised so much as ideas, on that level, but as a method. The core of my work lies in the method and a way of thinking. To be more precise, my method is a manner of asking questions rather than just ideas. This, I think is the critical point. (Bourdieu 1985; quoted in Mahar 1990).

In considering habitus as a method it is possible to utilize the concept more flexibly to explore the experience of people in the actuality of their daily lives. This requires a broader focus than on the individuated subject, to an analysis of people and the relations of ruling that mediate their experience. Habitus as method encourages me to explore the disjunctures between habitus and field which involves explication of the mediating power of texts. It can be argued that habitus enables understanding of the text beyond, in which the text, the reader (the researcher), its reading and concepts '*are*' (Smith 1997, original emphasis). In the contextual actuality of the research (field) the particularity and plurality of habitus brings into view texts, concepts, their reading, and reader, how texts are taken up and work mediated. In this regard habitus draws on, as IE does, historical materialism. The actuality of my research experience is therefore a 'point of entry' into understanding the social relations of ruling through reflexivity involving my embodied self. The tool for

realizing habitus as method and for achieving this level of reflexivity is *The Listening Guide* (Mauthner and Doucet 1998) (Writing ends!)

Troubling IE

The writing above was developed as an aspect of my engagement with texts, thought and talk in taking my standpoint as educational researcher in Crosstown School. I shared this for peer review in attempt to understand IE's own social relations. I argued that:

As a method crucial to reflexive work habitus operates at the level of consciousness and reveals different ways of knowing (Reay 2003) – it explicates the disjuncture at the line of fault between my experience in the field, of the research and beyond and my objectified knowledge of the institutional practices of ruling. This is not a subliminal or purely unconscious achievement since it requires work involving 'dialogues with oneself' (Crossley 2000, 138) in relation. It is also therefore a form of ethical work (Sayer 2005) since it can be argued that habitus is: particular and plural; moral and engaged with the politics of power, institutions and structures; and relevant to all in its purpose.

The feedback was unequivocally critical and reminded me that Smith (2005) has stated that Bourdieu's work is not congruent with IE. Importantly, my account of reflexivity evoking Bourdieu removes my institutional status since I develop a critique based on an individualizing 'blobontology' (op cit). The feedback however works to reconnect with the institutional of IE. Specifically, in reasserting the ontology and methodology of IE my peers through their discourse achieve a number of things. First it installs the temporal since my writing and the feedback are an instance of the institutional that extends beyond the immediacy of my location, for example, back to peers' own work as institutional ethnographers and beyond to Dorothy Smith. In relation to my writing and the feedback I become aware of:

Knowledge that locates those events in sequences of organizational action extending before and after the events. The institutional categories [of IE]

locate the subjects of institutional action (me), not as particular individuals, but as a class of persons (Smith 2005, 116).

To consider further what troubles IE it is necessary to return to epistemology. Peer reviewers comments appear to confirm a view that:

All would-be knowers are *situated* in epistemic *communities* (i.e. groups that share and maintain the resources for the acquisition and legitimation of knowledge). These resources include languages and other symbolisms, and accepted methods and procedures... but also social interactions that structure, interpret, qualify and disqualify evidence and reasoning in the context of specific relations and practices of cognitive inquiry (Walker 2013, 740) (original emphasis).

This suggests a political epistemic boundary since there are those who seek to maintain and exclude on the basis of understanding, approach and standpoint. The counter within IE is that working from people's doings illuminates how experience differs within a community. While the community of institutional ethnographers may argue because of this they are not homogenous there is still a community of institutional ethnographers who are called on to comment on the efficacy of writing, reading and thinking of IE. This gives rise to Harding's (1993) concern for 'strong objectivity' and the development of normative standards for doing good IE.

The solution to challenging authoritative ways of doing is to engage in reflexivity (Walker 2013), and to reveal and critique those standards that are epistemologically endorsed. This is not to deny them but to explicate the institutional relations under which they rest and to reveal the reliability of theorizing that arises. This chapter is therefore my explication of my reflexive work in coming to understand my epistemic accountability within IE, standpoint and my production of knowledge. Consequently, it enables me to think about my experience of normative standards and to be politically sensitive to discourse in texts, authoritative knowers and individual and collaborative responsibilities. My reading of texts, written and spoken, reveals

something of institutional relations of ruling in education that has some bearing beyond my privileged position to the experience of the teachers in Crosstown School.

An ethical, moral and caring approach to research through reflexivity

This realisation came too in my concurrent work in reflecting on a particular incident in Crosstown. It is worth noting that at the outset my purpose was to focus on teachers' experience of inspection using Carspecken's (1996) critical ethnography approach and on this basis I entered the local site. I decided to use *The Listening Guide* (Mauthner and Doucet 1998) as a tool for reflection and I quickly became conscious of tensions and disjuncture between the needs and experience of the teachers and my own needs and position as a researcher. This consciousness arose within minutes of entering the school when I was told, 'we are a caring school!' The critical reflexive moment is described below and as I analysed this I decided to move away from Carspecken's procedural, critical ethnography to the version of standpoint offered by IE.

Are you a spy from Ofsted? Developing my 'I' poem.

Being asked by a teacher 'are you a spy from Ofsted?' led me to pause and think about my standpoint and my authority in the social actuality of the research. As I was exploring the conditions of IE through my writing, reading and thinking, this question gave further cause to consider epistemic privilege and issues of belonging to a community of institutional knowers. My institutional capture in the requirements of IE and being faced with the teacher's concern that I was a spy, that I was the embodiment of institutional relations of ruling, was revelatory of relations of ruling beyond and of my want to do something to gain the trust of the teachers. This impulse is notable both in acknowledging the standpoint I had adopted as an educational researcher and in suggesting an innate inclination towards the needs of the teacher, posited as 'engrossment' by Noddings (1984; 2013). My response to further understanding my feelings of obligation to the teacher was to invite her and a colleague to interview me. In this I adopted the position of a 'person caring for' the teacher (the cared for), I responded to my feelings of obligation with a desire to be moral and to maintain balance in my commitment as an ethical researcher. This interview was analysed using *The Listening Guide* and the following extract from my

'I' poem is important in understanding the 'I' who chose to respond. However, to illustrate the efficacy of this approach in explicating institutional relations of ruling I also provide examples of alternative readings, albeit insufficient in their analysis.

My 'I' Poem (an extract)

I appreciate... fairness, respect and honesty
I am more than interested
I bring to the field
I am a male in my forties
I have experienced violence, fear, discrimination
I am attracted to a field
I am certainly interested
I identify with that profession
I have to demonstrate my compliance
I acknowledge the time and commitment
I believe this is the ethical thing to do
I am the only male
I inevitably record
I am drawn into conversations
I am asked a question
I answer honestly
I might have given
I think this is an appropriate approach
I am compelled to work
I made her think
I have come to appreciate
I, as an observer.

A Realist Analysis

There is much in the poem and it would be easy to focus reflectively on the 'sacred bourgeois formation of the writer' (Willis 2004); for example, age, responsibility, role. However a reflexive reading is required to get to the social, ruling relations in everyday experience with the teachers. Such a reading is also appropriate to Carspecken's (1996) critical ethnography. However, where Carspecken's approach begins with an etic reading, the researcher as observer, and develops from a Hegelian tradition focused on the power of the object to shape the material world, the ideas I generated from the reading start from the experience, not the other way around. The key concern in utilizing Carspecken's model is that the ideas generated in reading the poem reflexively for researcher mores and biases do not critically inform understanding of the participants' experience. So the lines, 'I identify with that profession' / 'I have to demonstrate my compliance', can be read as evidence of governing; that is, read 'in relation to general theories of society, both to help explain what has been discovered... and to alter, challenge, and refine microsociological theories themselves' (Carspecken 1996, 172). However this is to impose 'general theories' on the participants, to misrecognize the teacher's concern in the comment, 'are you a spy from Ofsted?', and, to disentwine my subjectivity and objectivity.

Utilizing reflexivity as a realist reading in this way may expose my authority in the research process but does little to negate any researcher authority over research participants. This gives rise to a concern for objectification and a need to move beyond understanding my instinctive, unconscious, internalized practices in the field of educational research to a concern for my social relation with knowledge; and, the epistemic relation between my knowledge claim and its object(s) (Maton 2003). Negating my authority and the standpoint of the participants was achieved in leaving critical ethnography as an appropriate approach in in subsequently utilizing institutional ethnography.

An Impressionist Analysis

It is a partial poem but it situates my 'self' and language in the social processes of the participants' and my everyday activities. The poem gives rise to aspects of history, experience, temporality, moral practices and embodiment. Research,

especially critical, relational and standpoint research, is an ethical activity. To undertake reflexive work is to care about the participants both in terms of an ethical research process and a moral approach to standpoint. It is therefore important that I consider the ways in which I am privileged and seek to distance myself from the everyday experience of the participants. In this regard Tronto (2002; 2013, cited in Zembylas, Bozalek & Shefer 2014, 206-207) highlights various approaches to avoiding responsibility, which can be adapted to analyse the poem:

- Protection – normative, male dominated approaches to practice, including research, develop a form of privileged irresponsibility based on particular notions of justice and universalism. It has been argued that much of the politics of work is embedded in historical and masculine approaches to family and society (Featherstone 2004; Featherstone, Broadhurst & Holt 2012).
- (Narrative) Production – not all research is willing to explore the ‘production’ of its own credentials. Tronto’s concern is for the production of economic resources by privileged groups which also takes account of the production of narratives or texts that persist in protecting that privilege and therefore in excusing the researcher from engaging with wider and more inclusive debates. A key concern arising from the poem is the power of the academy.
- Caring for my own – research that is overly protective of its own processes and methods develops the potential for an ‘epistemology of ignorance’ (Tronto 2002, 136) through which researchers fail to take account how their activities exploit others. The foregrounding compliance of is an inherently uncaring and unethical approach.
- Personal responsibility – highlights how some researchers fail to take account of inequality and power in the research relationship. Researchers and participants do not necessarily have the same opportunities at the same time in the same place. There is much in the poem of the researcher’s potential to objectify, particularly in the line, ‘I made her think’.
- Charity – occurs when researchers claim to support and be attentive to the potential of wider epistemological and methodological ideas yet do little to undertake or develop these. Charity is in supporting the idea, for example of reflexivity in the research, rather than in any epistemological relation to

knowledge creation (in the actuality of the research experience, what is being objectified and why?). A social constructivist ontology is insufficient in achieving a concern for material conditions, one where subjective idealism and objective realism are entwined.

Reading for a Reflexive Sociology

A focus of reflexivity in this study is the dialectical understanding of the concept of standpoint. The organization of everyday sensuous doings is understood in the relation between concepts and discourses in the actuality of experience. Concepts are not 'real' but are an aspect of my consciousness and the organization of my work. Since concepts, like standpoint, arise beyond my bodily being and location, they are objectified (Smith 2005). Concepts require thought and discovery and analysis of my institutional context; this includes the actuality of my doings, involving my conscious thoughts and my sensuous experiences of the material world. Importantly, because concepts give rise to objectification, explication of consciousness also includes thoughts that have arisen beyond my own local setting, that is, thoughts organised by the historical and current doings of others (Allman 2007). Explication of the relation between consciousness and the actuality of everyday doings involves praxis since it interweaves both thought and the sensuous, material experience of local conditions (Allman 1999; Carpenter 2011).

It is in this regard that I can move from the theory of Bourdieu and Bourdieu and Wacquant, especially in consideration of my sensuous desire to 'care for' the teacher who is concerned that I might be spying on her. This is a moral commitment to do the right thing in the research, which speaks to my habitus in the field of educational research. However this is insufficient since it individualises this obligation to an ethical 'I', that is, my engrossment with the teacher and her needs, and my justification of my caring approach as an ethical researcher. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter Two, Noddings can be criticised for individualizing and essentialism in the relationship between the caring-for and cared for. However, Noddings also posits justification as a form of un-caring and objectification (Noddings 2013). The alternative is to draw on Margaret Urban Walker's (1998) *Expressive Collaborative* model.

The moral work of developing the poem for analysis was not an exercise in linking the data to an internalised habitus and an externalised field or to validate its analytic power. The 'I' poem should not be separated from the other texts and talk discussed in this chapter, indeed in this chapter as an example of an institutional text-reader conversation. Although I activate these texts in my reading I am able to do more than read, I am also able to observe and analyse my reading of them. Significantly, the poem provides some instructions for its reading (Smith 1990a). For example; a common feature arising from this reflexive work is the potential for me to maintain a position of power in relation to the participants, one in which institutional capture is a feature since I work to rationalise my place in an educational hierarchy and am potentially actively ignorant of my privileged irresponsibility (*I have to demonstrate my compliance*). In this regard my approach may be 'un-caring' if I fail to meet the moral demands for good research by being inattentive to all needs, irresponsible, incompetent or unresponsive.

Power is also inherent in the symbolic production of masculine domination (*I made her think*). In addition, my relationship with the poem as text is not a dispassionate relationship. IE constantly returns to the material and subjective worlds entwined and I am at once conscious of my standpoint and the historical and material conditions that organise privileged irresponsibility and male domination (*profession, compliance, time and commitment, record, conversations, appropriate approach, compelled*). These terms can be read as the instructions for reading concomitant texts and this enables me to develop new understanding of the institutional discourse from my standpoint, that is, in the field of educational research a good researcher produces these particular forms of normative activity and power in becoming institutionally accountable. Significantly, in utilizing texts in this way I am moving away from Bourdieu's ideas to include the potential of texts ethnographically.

This is reinforced in drawing on this knowledge and explicating how teachers are exposed to and captured by the institutional discourse of education that sets aside other forms of knowledge. In thinking about an obligation and moral commitment to the teachers I must do more than think about individualist and essentializing virtues. The core of IE is in explicating what people do and the *Expressive Collaborative* model provides IE with a moral framework. It helps to explain what IE is and what IE

is for. In undertaking the textual work described in this chapter I have described my moral actions in understanding the institutional of IE by engaging with its authoritative texts and those who seek to protect and further its ideas. From the standpoint of the educational researcher, awareness of the institutional discourse of IE explicates the potential of institutional capture and how I might therefore assemble an account of my analysis of the teachers' experience. This was not my work alone since it involved a form of negotiation among institutional ethnographers, as quoted in Chapter Two; 'a practice of mutually allotting, assuming, or deflecting responsibilities of important kind, and understanding the implications of doing so' (Walker 1998, 69).

Furthermore, in considering what IE is for, the work of writing and subsequently reading the poem and its concepts aloud, including to the participants, worked to reveal the unspoken and unthought, and made visible the contextual actuality and local particularity of experience. In writing the poem I have a physical and intellectual presence, a way of being and moving in the research space, a manner and mannerisms. But as the reader I am aware of texts beyond that speak to oppression, a fear of powerlessness and objectification.

The 'I' poem has an emancipatory power since I came to recognize my own power in constructing the teachers' experience. The commitment to writing and to developing poems as part of an iterative process generates an experience in which the past is brought into being as an exchange of what is remembered and my interest as researcher. Experience is therefore both embodied, in my own words and in the act and commitment to writing and reading (the 'I' poem) for a purpose. Consequently, although 'I' reads for myself in the text, being mindful of 'privileged irresponsibility' (Tronto 1993; 2012) and 'institutional capture' (Smith 2005), it is not an exercise in individualistic, narcissistic reflection but an acknowledgement of plural relations beyond. As such the reflexive analysis arising from the poem provides a point of entry to the ruling relations beyond the local site and to explication of the material and empirical. The analysis avoids the fetishizing of the local to reveal wider, global organizing power in a context of normative and objectifying standards, regulation, and power (Carpenter 2011). This includes how externally imposed categories of ruling are taken up and replicated and reinforced in performative daily work.

Conclusion

In this chapter I argue that my move from epistemological standpoint to the alternative offered by IE was achieved by engaging in the reflexive work of the researcher. The shift in understanding from epistemological gaze to empirical and methodological procedures requires reflexive work that includes consideration of the standpoint I am adopting. This involves the need to struggle with both the epistemological and the empirical to understand the material and ideological features that shape my work. In Smith's own terms IE must be textual, it must be taken up as a research discourse, but this must involve both epistemological/ideological and methodological features. Significantly, to understand this interrelatedness at the level of my own standpoint works to achieve understanding of the teachers' standpoint from the level at which they experience social relations of ruling (Stanley 2012).

My standpoint denotes my 'subject position', I occupy the position of educational researcher in an educational context; I posit that my standpoint in the study is something to be achieved. This is not to argue that I concurrently possess both epistemological standpoint and empirical standpoint since this is contradictory. However, standpoint is synonymous with 'doing' in IE and working from my own social position as researcher in the field, in understanding my standpoint, in discovering its organization of my work and to explicate this as an aspect of wider ruling relations that says something about the lives of the teachers, was something to be 'achieved'.

This reflexive work also demonstrates that reflexivity is not only ethical but moral since the moral and social are inextricably meshed. The competing demands of my research work are not simply resolved through personal ethical deliberation; rather they are mediated through complex, powerful, external social forces and the approach adopted in understanding the relational nature of the work is a moral choice. In this context moral responsibility is not discerned intuitively and cerebrally, so that I can make decisions which can be applied universally from a powerful position; rather, moral decision making requires my engagement in a deliberative and reflexive process in developing understanding of what is the experience of what is right and wrong in a particular cultural context.

Reflexivity in IE is both an ethical and moral activity that is based upon the researcher's willingness to be 'expressive' and 'collaborative' in the research (Walker 1998). This means that I am first: attentive to my own needs and the needs of participants through reflexivity; second, I accept responsibility for understanding institutional capture and the institutional discourses important to relations of ruling in the participants social world; third, I develop the competence to be reflexive, and; finally, I am responsive to the lessons from reflexive work. It is this that enables me to say something 'about the profane formation of the subject' (Willis 2004). For Tronto (1993) care is always also about receiving care so that the teacher who asked, 'are you a spy from Ofsted?', was both making an inquiry about the nature of care to be given by me as a researcher, and identifying herself as a care receiver. Care receiving involves both care of the self and care from others. Often these aspects of care are out of balance, with more expectations of care of the self rather than care from others, particularly when the other is in a position of power or responsibility in relation to the person cared for (Tronto 2011).

The teacher's experiences of the Ofsted inspection process had been one where her needs had not been met by inspectors on who she is dependent for regulatory confirmation of her professionalism and esteem. The imbalance between her work in caring for herself and her implicit recognition of herself as a care receiver was brought back into balance through the reflexive work necessary for each to understand the standpoint of the other. Standpoint is therefore an important aspect of the practice of care in research relations; in respect of, trust, solidarity, empowerment (Tronto 2011), and also as a *point d'appui* in research work. Her initial reading of me as a text on entering the school revealed a particular disjuncture in her comment, 'are you a spy from Ofsted?' The reflexive work undertaken subsequently enabled an alternative reading and a new *point d'appui* as trusted collaborator in the everyday work of the school. More importantly it validated her as a care receiver. My use of the I Poems was crucial to bringing into being my otherwise unknown consciousness of the teacher's and my standpoint since it provided an opportunity for this to find meaning through a moment of utterance and as a text. This approach was central to securing my continued immersion in the field and my understanding of standpoint, as this discussion after I was interviewed by the teachers and my analysis demonstrates:

Teacher: It was nice to know more about when you were younger. I didn't know you worked in children's homes, and where you came from really. Your answers weren't unexpected, they were honest; do you know what I mean? You haven't shocked me with anything. You're the person I thought you were.

Me: And what is that?

Teacher: Well, you're not a spy from Ofsted, which is what I thought you were when you first started coming.

The approach to reflexivity highlighted here explicates my attempt to read myself and my experience in relation. The power of texts is central to IE; as such the focus on reading texts including the poems is on ruling relations and not on people as actors (Smith 2005). The poems are an important tool in revealing the temporal dimension of people's experience and can have emancipatory power. Reading for reflexivity is important in moving from stage one of IE, understanding the complexity of experience, to stage two, exposing wider relations of ruling. Reflexivity is also crucial in understanding the disjuncture between two ways of knowing: people's experience and the conceptual, social fields of their daily lives; and their consciousness of the work that they do. This involves explicating the relationship between my thought (attentiveness to needs and responsibility in meeting those needs, both own needs and the needs of others), and the material actuality of my research work (care giving and care receiving) (Allman 2007; 2010). The explication of internal relations between consciousness and material experience exposes my objectivity and subjectivity. This is important in understanding forms of false consciousness, which may objectify, but also unknown consciousness and therefore the dynamic between material conditions and social relations (Allman 2007), which enables a move towards standpoint and working with the teachers as subjects in the research.

Ethical and moral research involved me in taking steps through an appropriate approach to recognize and mediate institutional capture and privileged irresponsibility (Tronto 1993, 2013). To fail to consider the grounding of knowledge and understanding in my preordained institutional language and concepts, and therefore to take for granted the power of the predominant ideas or group, is to objectify and maintain a position of power for the researcher. Importantly the focus on the narrated self, intrinsic in the 'I' Poems, was used as a reflexive tool to provide insight into institutional processes and their coordinating power at any stage of this sequence. Reflexivity is important in becoming immersed in the experiences of other people and works as a buffer to the potential for institutional capture and the qualitative realism that could otherwise result throughout the research. Importantly, this approach to reflexivity and the achievement of standpoint provides crucial understanding of the everyday ruling relations in understanding how do teachers come to care. It reveals terms important to the reading of institutional texts. It also reveals something of political, moral and personal boundaries, first in the politics of the institutional discourse to which these terms apply, second in the moral purpose of IE in working from the actuality of people's experiences and its empirical rather than epistemological ideas, and third, in the social organization of people from their standpoint.

Chapter 5 : INTRODUCING THE LOCAL: THE PARTICIPANTS, CROSTOWN PRIMARY SCHOOL AND TEACHERS COMING TO CARE

INTRODUCTION

Chapters Two and Three detail the theory and methodology utilized within my study and Chapter Four works to bridge the gap between theory and method, in particular by illustrating my understanding of standpoint and use of *The Listening Guide*. This chapter develops further analysis and synthesis of the empirical data, specifically drawing on examples of teachers' talk as text (Smith 2005). However before doing so it is necessary to describe Crosstown Primary School, including its physical, local and political context, and to provide pen pictures of the participants.

After discussing the participants and their work environment, focus moves to the regulatory regime, leadership ethos, and the teacher's legal, contractual and common law duty of care. These are taken up by the teachers who experience at least two forms of need – emotional and social needs / expressed needs; and performative needs / inferred needs. The framing of need is crucial to Tronto's process of care since to 'care for' requires recognition of a need, which is then 'taken care of'. Since a need for pupil progress arises in regulatory and policy texts which are taken up by teachers in their everyday work, teachers are framed as care givers in a context of institutional ruling relations. However the person giving care is also a care receiver and not to consider the latter is a significant presence absence (Tronto 1993). Consequently, the contemporary but different emphases on need and caring arising are explored briefly in the historical tensions arising in the 1970s and 1980s between Plowden progressivism and Callaghan economic instrumentalism. The Plowden Report (CACE 1967) arises in the data in a context of progressive approaches to educating the whole child, rather than a singular focus on pupil attainment in meeting the demands of the economy.

Different definitions of need lead to different approaches to the analysis of care, for example in consideration of who is defining the need, with whom, on whose behalf and to what ends? As discussed in Chapter Two, these are moral questions,

therefore a number of means of analysing teachers' experiences during the period of notice to improve are used to synthesis data and posit how teachers come to care as relational and political. Specifically, examples of teachers' talk is analysed using the concepts offered by Jenny Nias (1989), following her ten-year research into primary teachers' changing experiences of work, and Nell Noddings'(1984) seminal work on the ethic of care. Where Nias draws heavily on developmental psychology and symbolic interactionism to explain her findings, Noddings is more philosophical in her approach, positing a moral process based on proximal and reciprocal relationships. However, while the latter is used to critique the former I argue that both are insufficient in dealing with wider societal and global ruling relations. In particular Nias' approach is embedded in a masculinist ethical framework and Noddings' in mothering. Consequently, Joan Tronto's (1993; 2010; 2013) political ethic of care is considered to offer a more useful conceptual frame in understanding how teachers come to care.

A key aspect of Tronto's approach is that care arises in the work of people but does not only involve those implicated in its intimate relations. Care also involves those removed from the hands-on work of the teachers, and to avoid reducing the person to an essentialist and individualising 'I', its analysis not only requires consideration of relationships but of relations involving texts, wider social agents and structures. Therefore, following a description of Crosstown School and the participants, this chapter develops analysis of the data utilizing *The Listening Guide* (Mauthner and Doucet 1998) through complex readings and synthesis. Firstly, the discussion of the school, the participants, and the regulatory regime tell something of the story being told. However, as highlighted, this can be analysed in a number of ways. For example, the work of Nias can be used to highlight the lines of ruling within and beyond the site but with analysis firmly fixed in psychosocial understandings. Noddings' understanding can be used to consider how caring is engaged and enacted through a relationship with and between people so that standpoint and therefore voice, context, location and place have relevance. Nonetheless, to focus the analysis on these concepts is to analyse a subjective, individual experience: Nias to the teacher's relationship with herself; Noddings to the teacher's relationship as a care giver or care receiver. Significantly, reading one of *The Listening Guide* also requires a reading for the knowledge intrinsic to the teacher's work and therefore for

external relations of ruling, that is, the knowledge, narratives and concepts that arise are beyond the local site. Therefore, the reading of the data seeks to avoid an essentializing, individualizing focus on self. As such, secondly, reading three of *The Listening Guide* focuses on the teachers' experience as relational and seeks to explicate wider networks of relations. However, it is reading four that is concerned with placing people within social structures and cultural contexts. If reading one allows for the story being told to be plotted and reading three explicates networks, it is reading four that enables the analysis to break the bounds of individualizing experiences and responsibilities of care, to consider the way the participants account to each other for the relationships, processes and values that define their responsibilities and work. This involves consideration of the conceptualizing and categorizing that informs analysis.

The aims of this chapter are to:

- Provide a rich description of Crosstown Primary School, the participants, and their social and political context.
- Explore two approaches to need arising historically in ideological and political debate that work to frame approaches to, and concepts of, care.
- Begin the analysis of teachers' talk and synthesis of data to illustrate how approaches that focus on psychosocial or maternal/proximal/reciprocal requirements are inadequate in explaining the actuality of the teacher's everyday experiences.

CROSSTOWN PRIMARY SCHOOL

Crosstown is a small state-maintained community primary school with approximately 195 pupils on the roll. The school can accommodate 209 pupils and at the last census of the school population (October 2015) there were 104 boys and 92 girls on roll. There is a Church of England primary school within 100 metres of Crosstown and a Catholic primary school within 500 metres. The school has no nursery provision so pupils start aged four in the reception class and leave school at the end of year six aged eleven. The most recent Ofsted inspection in 2013 graded Crosstown as a 'good' school acknowledging that:

- Achievement is good and the leadership team have worked hard to improve attainment.
- While many children begin Reception below national levels of attainment they leave year six above national levels.
- Teachers use data well to inform their practice.
- Pupils' behaviour is good and learning is fun and exciting.
- Leaders and managers are a cohesive focused team.

The period between the 2010 inspection which graded the school inadequate and requiring improvement and the 2013 inspection was 36 months. I had access to the school during this period, and continue to visit annually.

The following information of pupil demographics, local authority ward statistics, and school expenditure on staffing are taken from several sources, including; school and Department for Education statistics, and local authority and census data; however the exact sources are withheld to maintain anonymity.

Figure 5.1: Crosstown Primary School - Pupil Demographics (Oct 2015)

Total number of pupils on roll (all ages)	196
Percentage of boys on roll	53.1%
Percentage of girls on roll	46.9%
Percentage of pupils with SEN statement or on School Action Plus	3.1%
Percentage of pupils with English not as first language	2.4%
Percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals	25.0%
Percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals (6 yr. average)	32.7%

The percentage of students with a statement of special educational needs or on School Action Plus is slightly lower than the national average although the number of pupils eligible for free school meals is above the national average.

The school is situated in an area where 67% of homes are 'owner occupied' and 31% rented; approximately 17% rented from the local authority, 5% from a housing association, and 7.5% privately. The school boundary is marked by a high metal fence. It is bordered on three sides by the gardens of local residents and a road. The fourth side looks over an area of overgrown land which was once the site of the school before a fire destroyed it. The building is single storey and has had additional rooms added over time so that there is a classroom for each year group, an ICT suite and a hall that doubles as the dining room. There are also a number of small store rooms and breakout rooms to enable pupils to work in small groups, with support staff, and where teachers' meetings are held. By the entrance is a small administrative office and the head teacher's office. The head teacher is the only non-teaching member of the teaching team although she undertakes teaching cover when necessary. The usable outdoor space is on three sides of the school building, the fourth side being too close to gardens. There is a football pitch sized grassed area, a smaller hard surface area for KS1 and KS2, a separate outdoor area for the Reception class, a wildlife garden and car parking to the front of the school.

Management of the school is the responsibility of a Board of Governors made up of representatives from the local community, the Local Authority and the teaching staff. Pupils also play a role through the School Council which actively liaises with teachers in particular in providing ideas about resources and other issues that could enhance their experience. Day to day management of the school is the responsibility of the head teacher and the Senior Leadership Team (SLT). This name was adopted subsequent to the 'notice to approve' and was previously known as the 'Senior Management Team'. The change from 'management' to 'leadership' was based on the idea of a collective and collegiate response to 'get out of' notice to improve. In addition to the head teacher and deputy head teacher, the SLT includes two senior teachers in terms of experience but also with additional curriculum responsibility for which they receive enhanced payments. One further teacher was co-opted to SLT although this was not a formal aspect of her contract, and she received no additional reimbursement.

The Ward – Local Demographics

Crosstown Primary School is situated in an urban ward in the north east of the city. Statistics from the 2011 census show that there are 22,099 people living in the ward, of which 52.3% are female and 47.7% are male, (the reverse of the school's pupil population). There are 18.4 people per hectare (pph), compared to a city population density of 13.6 pph., which illustrates the urban nature of the ward. 94.4% of the population gave their ethnic origin as 'White' (higher than the city average of 85.1%), with 92% of the ward population 'White British' and 8% from Black and Ethnic Minority (BME) communities, compared to a city BME rate of 18.9%. This is again reflected in the pupil population.

There are 10,035 household spaces in the ward and the average household size is 2.3 persons. 67.3% of occupied households are owner-occupied and 31.1% are rented. 27.7% of all households in the ward contain dependent children, and 11.5% contain children under five years of age, in line with the city rates. 1,257 households in the ward are headed by a lone parent (12.9%), higher than the city average. 91.9% of lone parent families with dependent children are headed by a female. Mothers are the most visible parent at the beginning and end of the school day.

66% of lone parent households with dependent children are headed by a parent in full or part-time employment. 70.2% of people aged 16-74 are economically active, although there are more employees rather than self-employed or full-time students. The economically active rate for males is 75.3%, while the rate for females is 65.5%. 2,395 people aged 16-74 are in part-time employment, of which 1,998 are women and 397 are men. The educational attainment in the ward is lower than the city average in a number of categories:

Figure 5.2: Educational Outcomes in the Crosstown Ward (2011)

Adults with no qualifications	29.3%
City average	23.2%
Adults with level 1 qualifications (1-4 GCSEs or equivalent)	15.2%
City average	12.6%
Adults with level 2 qualifications (5 GCSEs or equivalent)	16.5%
City average	14.1%
Adults with level 3 qualifications (2 or more A-levels or equivalent)	11.8%
City average	14.7%
Adults with level 4 or above qualifications (BA/BSc or higher)	17.4%
City average	26.9%
Adults with an apprenticeship	5.4%
City average	3.7%

Staffing

With the exception of the site manager, all the staff at Crosstown, teachers and teaching assistants, are women; consequently all the participants are women. There are male volunteers and visiting staff, for example, sports coaches. Teachers are supported in their role by teaching assistants (TAs) and the volunteers. The TAs are paid on either a full time or part time termly basis and have fixed hours. A number of the teaching assistants have dual roles and are also employed as playground supervisors or cleaners. The work of volunteers is more fluid, irregular and timed to suit the circumstances of the volunteer, as one teacher said; 'they're not always sure what day they can come in; they're just there when they're there. It's the commitment week after week after week'. Volunteers were not considered as appropriate participants for the study because their presence in school, and therefore the generation of data, could not be guaranteed to coincide with my visits. Crosstown employs ten teaching assistants two of whom are 'Higher Level Teaching Assistants' (HLTA), that is they have undertaken additional training and have some individual teaching and administrative responsibilities. The first of the HLTAs has responsibility for information and communication technologies (ICT) and study support, including responsibility for the ICT suite. The second HLTA has responsibility for French and is a learning mentor with some oversight of pupils on the child protection register. Both

HLTAs agreed to participate in interviews for the study, as did a teaching assistant in year six. Their inclusion in the study was because I had contact with them on each occasion I was in school. One also had responsibilities for oversight of the other TAs and another for the children’s welfare.

Figure 5.3: Staffing at Crosstown Primary School (Census data, Nov. 2013)

Number of teachers	11
Number of teaching assistants	12
Number of all support (exc. auxiliary) staff	3
Full-time equivalent number of all teachers	9.3
Full-time equivalent number of all teaching assistants	6.5
Full-time equivalent number of all support (exc. auxiliary) staff	1.3
Ratio of pupils to teachers	21.1
National average – ratio of pupils to teachers	20.5

Staffing turbulence has been a significant concern in the school and was cited by Ofsted in 2010 as a significant factor in inspectors’ judgements of a decline in the quality of provision. Staffing did change through the course of the study when one of the part time teachers in Key Stage One, and a full time teacher in Key Stage Two were absent ‘long term’ for health reasons. Consequently these teachers were withdrawn from the study. The absence of these two staff led to the recruitment of an additional part time and full time teacher as cover. The long-term nature of the absence also meant that the replacement staff were offered long-term cover contracts. Both agreed to participate in the study and were subsequently permanently employed by the school. The following table shows staffing stability in recent years and how spend per pupil has risen in relation to permanent staff, and has consequently decreased for supply staff:

Figure 5.4: Spend per Pupil / £ per Pupil (comparison 2010 - 2014)

	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14
Teaching staff and Education support staff expenditure	2830	2848	2883	2931
Supply staff	331	199	86	68
Back office (incl. Staff costs)	224	231	242	268
Total expenditure (incl. energy)	4443	4208	4140	4195

Participant Pen Pictures

The total number of participants in the study is thirteen:

Figure 5.5: Number of Participants in the Study

Head Teacher (SLT)	
<u>Reception/ Key Stage 1 (n=4)</u>	<u>Key Stage 2 (n=5)</u>
Reception Teacher (SLT)	Year 3 Teacher (SLT)
Year One Teacher x 2 (part time)	Year 4 Teacher
Year Two Teacher	Year Five Teacher (co-opted SLT)
	Year Six Teacher x 2 (A part time teacher and the Deputy Head Teacher)
<u>HLTA /TA (n=3)</u>	
ICT (HLTA), Languages and Learning Mentor (HLTA), and year 6 TA.	

Norma – started her teaching career as a playgroup assistant in her daughters’ nursery. At that time she undertook the required qualifications which enabled her to become a teaching assistant at a private school. Since she already possessed a degree, she undertook a Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) and has been teaching at Crosstown for six years since completing her PGCE. Norma was employed on a full-time contract at the time of the 2010 inspection but decided to move to part-time hours thereafter.

Julie – completed an undergraduate management degree before finishing her PGCE in the academic year 1999/2000. She joined the school soon after graduating initially in Key Stage One and over the next nine years worked with each year group in the key stage. During this time she also had maternity leave on two occasions. Since 2010 Julie has been teaching in Key Stage Two, teaching a class which she originally taught in the reception year and subsequently in year two.

Charlie – also graduated in 2000 with a BEd. She originally worked in Liverpool but changed jobs when her partner's job moved and there was a chance to live closer to her parents. She initially took a post as maternity cover before moving within the city to Crosstown as it offered a full-time permanent position. She teaches in Key Stage Two and both of her children have been born during her tenure at Crosstown.

Lyn – did a biology degree before applying to do her PGCE in Bristol. Her father and sister are also teachers. She taught in two schools, in years three and four and was about to move into year six when she took a post in Crosstown in Key Stage One with a science allowance. She then married and moved to another school in the city that offered a part-time job following the birth of her baby. After ten years she did job share in the nursery and then reception class before returning to Crosstown on a full-time basis, again in Key Stage One.

Kathryn – did four years teacher training straight from school, qualifying in 1985. She taught maths at a secondary school for two years before changing to a junior school and then to an infant and junior school as a middle manager for four years. She stopped working following the birth of her child. Although still involved in her child's school as a treasurer she was out of teaching for eleven years before doing a return to teaching course. She initially worked as a supply teacher before taking a permanent position in Crosstown in Key Stage Two.

Sam – began her work in Crosstown as a parent helper in 1999 before taking a post as a lunchtime assistant. After a number of weeks she took a teaching assistant post working in Key Stage One in the mornings and soon afterwards with Key Stage Two in the afternoons. Throughout her time in the school she has worked with all of the teachers but primarily in year six.

Heather – has always wanted to be a teacher and initially gained a BTEC nursery and child care qualification. She subsequently did a BEd qualifying in 2007. In the two years after qualification she had a number of supply posts, including for maternity cover, which enabled her to complete her Newly Qualified Teacher (NQT) year. When her husband lost his job they relocated to the city where she initially got a job at Crosstown covering Julie's maternity leave. She left Crosstown, again taking supply posts, before returning to cover a long term absence in Key Stage One. She is now permanently employed at Crosstown.

Maggie – has been teaching for eighteen years in 2012. She worked in another part of the county for eight years before taking a part-time post for the next seven years following the birth of her son. She was then made redundant and took on supply teaching roles. Her children attended Crosstown and she made a decision not to work there but worked as a supply teaching in the neighbouring schools for three years. When her oldest son left Crosstown she was offered a long term post to cover absence in Key Stage One on a part-time basis. She continues to work part-time but permanently.

Brenda – is the head teacher at Crosstown. She qualified in 1979, working initially in a middle school where she specialised in art and children with special educational needs in the primary phase. Subsequently she changed jobs six times, remaining focused on inner-city schools and children with special educational needs or difficult behaviour. She was promoted to the role of deputy head teacher and then decided to take up a role with the local authority as a literacy adviser. She soon realised she missed the everyday interaction with the children and applied for her current post at Crosstown in 2002/03.

Anne – joined the school in her NQT year to cover another teacher in Key Stage One on long term sickness absence. This period within the school was successful and she eventually gained a full-time permanent post when her colleague Norma moved to part-time hours. Anne was a member of the teaching team when the school moved out of 'notice to improve', achieving a 'good' rating in the 2013 inspection.

Nellie – started her career teaching Dutch to adults for seven or eight years but the closure of the business led her to work from home doing translation. During this time she had two children, becoming a parent governor at Crosstown. She volunteered at the school before being offered a TA position as cover for sickness absence. She subsequently applied for and got a permanent part-time job in year six. Since 2001/02 she has developed her role, undertaking courses to enable her to achieve her position as a HLTA.

Marie – wanted to develop the skills and her interests gained as she brought up her children, who attended Crosstown. Beginning as a volunteer, she was offered temporary employment in the mornings in a TA role. This became a temporary contact for a year, sixteen years ago! Since then she has undertaken additional training, first in early years work and then as a HLTA. She has been doing this role since 2002/03.

Simone – is the deputy head teacher at Crosstown. She decided to get into teaching after beginning a science degree. She lived and worked in another part of the country before moving to the city with her partner and children, following her partner's new job. She took on supply jobs, including at Crosstown which eventually led to her getting a part-time job in Key Stage Two. As her own children got older she took on more responsibilities at the school developing a leadership role and now works full-time both teaching and managing.

Each of these teachers firmly believed in the school Mission Statement that included a concern for 'caring relationships'. These caring relationships were manifest in their everyday work in school but consciousness also extended to lives outside, as Norma in her interview explains:

I suppose it's finding your balance in making sure the children do attain and making sure where they've got to be, but at the same time... I think the most important thing is that the children are happy at school and it's a good experience. That's all I ever wanted for my own children. You can go to staff meetings and they'll tell you how they are doing but

what you want to know is, are they happy at school, are they enjoying it? We need to keep that in sight; although they are just numbers going along a track from reception to year six it has got to be a good experience as well. So, I suppose it's keeping that broad curriculum and not just thinking everything's about maths and English. Which it appears to be to Ofsted; that's all they were interested in, maths and English and it's a shame. (13 July 2011).

In this there is no separation of Norma's multiple consciousness as teacher and mother and the everyday experience of her work. Her ideas and concepts are not external to her; they are concrete arising out of her subjective experience. Her consciousness therefore involves the object and subject in internal relation. This is an important epistemological achievement in the study which led to IE as an appropriate theory and method. In utilizing IE there are two levels of data (Campbell and Gregor 2002): the first involves explicating the everyday that is visible, in talk, observations and artefacts; the second is what is not visible, those relations of ruling that extend beyond the school. In this chapter I continue by explicating the former, including examples of teachers' talk and alternative ways of understanding the everyday, before explaining why these are inadequate. The focus is on approaches to and concepts of care and I argue that Tronto's (1993) political ethic of care offers the most coherent conceptual framework to understanding powerful, mediating relations of ruling. This gives rise to mediating forces that operate outside the local site and are beyond intimate and proximal relationships. This chapter highlights the empirical and visible data of teachers' talk and some of the historical, political and ideological narratives that are taken up by the teachers in their understanding and practice of care. Chapter Six considers what is in mediating texts and again reveals what is not immediately visible. However, to begin it is helpful to understand the regulatory framework and inspection judgement experienced by the teachers.

THE INSPECTION REGIME ON ENTERING CROSSTOWN SCHOOL

For the teachers in Crosstown the most immediate concern was the judgement of Ofsted inspectors that the school required a 'notice to improve'. Under section 5 of

the Education Act 2005 a school is served with a notice to improve if, in the opinion of inspectors, it is judged to be:

- a) failing to provide an acceptable standard of education, but demonstrating the capacity to improve, or
- b) not failing to provide an acceptable standard of education but performing significantly less well than it might in all the circumstances reasonably be expected to perform.

It should be noted that the term 'inadequate' does not appear in S8 of the legislation but does in the accompanying Ofsted guidance. Following an inspection in February 2010 Crosstown was judged as 'performing less well than it might in all the circumstances reasonably be expected to perform'. It is worth noting here the language used in the legislation and consequently by Ofsted, specifically words such as 'judged', 'acceptable', 'standard' and 'performing / perform', all allude to a context of accountability, managerialism and surveillance for schools. These, in turn, are crucial components of the market discourse and performativity in teachers' work (Jeffrey 2002; Ball 2003; Jeffrey and Troman 2012). The market discourse is one where accountability and surveillance work alongside measures of efficiency and effectiveness so that school policies, practices, artefacts and documentation, conform to the prevailing discourse and inspection requirements in order for judgements to be made of performance against prescribed standards and outcomes. Accountability, surveillance and performativity are further reinforced in light of the monitoring and re-inspection regime laid out in the guidance accompanying the legislation. For example, paragraphs 18 and 19 (pp. 6-7) of *Monitoring inspections of Maintained schools with a notice to improve* (Ofsted 2010a, subsequently updated December 2012) prescribes the elements of provision that inspectors will focus on, including, 'always' taking into account:

Pupils' achievement: taking account of their attainment and the quality of learning and progress for all pupils and for pupils with special educational needs and/or disabilities, in line with, 'The evaluation schedule for schools'. Inspectors should consider first-hand evidence, which must include a sample of lesson observations, and school data

for different groups of pupils and, where appropriate, recent test and examination results. Reference should be made to the challenge and impact of the school's targets.

And, where necessary:

The quality of provision: teaching and the use of assessment are likely to be key issues...

A notice to improve will only end if satisfactory progress is made against the *Monitoring inspections of schools with a notice to improve* (Ofsted 2010a) and *The evaluation schedule for schools* guidance (Ofsted 2010b, updated September 2010 and July 2012). The monitoring inspections guidance (para. 3, p 4) states that:

Schools with a notice to improve will usually receive a monitoring inspection between six and eight months after their last section 5 inspection. They will usually be reinspected under section 5 of the Education Act 2005 between 12 and 16 months after the last section 5 inspection

The monitoring inspection occurs under section 8 of the Education Act 2005 and for Crosstown took place in October 2010, nine months after the previous inspection, and the inspectors judged 'satisfactory' progress being made in light of the concerns raised in their previous report. It is at this time that I gained entry to the field. The re-inspection occurred during May 2011, 16 months after the previous section 5 inspection, and the school was judged to be 'providing a satisfactory and improving quality of education and... satisfactory value for money'. As a satisfactory school there was no longer a requirement for significant improvement. Nonetheless the teachers were 'dissatisfied' (Nias 1989) with this position, that is, there was discontent as the image of the school and professional reputations and esteem were tainted by the use of the term 'satisfactory' in a pejorative sense. In 2009 the then Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove, made it clear that 'satisfactory' schools were no longer good enough and that the minimum standard for all maintained schools should be 'good'. These views were also echoed by David Cameron:

I don't want the word 'satisfactory' to exist in our education system. 'Just good enough' is frankly not good enough. Every teacher, every head and every school should be aiming for excellence – no lower. (Cited by Vasagar, *The Guardian* 2012)

This appeared to the teachers as a significant reinterpretation of standards where 'satisfactory' was understood by them to reassure that the required national standards were being met. Consequently, the Academies Act 2010 heralded a new inspection approach for maintained schools and Ofsted subsequently introduced an updated version of *The framework for school inspection* (Ofsted, December 2012). This document revised the categories that schools could be judged against from; 'outstanding', 'good', 'satisfactory', 'requiring improvement' and 'special measures' to (para. 10):

- schools cannot be judged as 'outstanding' for overall effectiveness unless they have 'outstanding' teaching
- an acceptable standard of education is defined as a 'good' standard of education
- a school that is not yet 'good', but that is not judged 'inadequate', is a school that 'requires improvement'
- a school that is 'inadequate' overall and that requires significant improvement, but where leadership and management are not 'inadequate', is a school with serious weaknesses
- a school that is 'inadequate' overall, and where leadership and management are also 'inadequate', is a school requiring special measures.

After Crosstown was adjudged to be 'satisfactory', following the re-inspection in May 2011, the teachers were aware of the new emphasis of the minimum acceptable standard of being a 'good' school and that they had yet to attain that standard. They were also aware that the framework for school inspection (para. 38) stated that; 'a school that was last inspected before September 2012 and judged to be 'satisfactory'

is likely to be inspected, under section 5 of the Education Act 2005 (as amended), by the end of the school year 2013/14.'

The duration of the inspection programme is a consideration in determining length of time in the field. In the light of the timescales set out by Ofsted including feedback from the monitoring visit, Crosstown would have a 'notice to improve' for a minimum of eight months after my entry to the field and consequently initial agreement was that I would visit the school on a weekly basis over an academic year to allow for some time after the re-inspection visit for the publication of the inspection report and to complete my work as a volunteer. However towards the end of this period, given the changing emphasis in policy, the emerging changes to the inspection regime and the teachers' responses to this I was able to negotiate continuing contact with the school, although on a more ad hoc basis, up to the next inspection visit in March 2013.

Figure 5.6: The Crosstown Primary School Inspection Timetable

Inspection Date	Judgement	Outcome
Feb 2010 (Inspection)	'performing less well than it might in all the circumstances reasonably be expected to perform'	Notice to Improve
Oct 2010 (Monitoring Inspection)	'satisfactory' progress being made	Notice to Improve remains in place but improvements noted.
May 2011 (Re-inspection)	'providing a satisfactory and improving quality of education and... satisfactory value for money'	'Satisfactory' school. However the minimum standard was to change in 2012 from 'satisfactory' to 'good'.
March 2013		'Good' school

SCHOOL LEADERSHIP AND ETHOS

At the time of the 2010 inspection the school was led by a Senior Management Team including the head teacher, a senior teacher from Key Stage One (KS1) and two senior teachers from Key Stage Two (KS2), one full-time and one part-time.

There was no deputy head teacher in post following a period of staffing turbulence and during the 2010/11 academic year the full-time KS2 member of the management team began a period of long-term absence. Subsequent to the 2010 inspection report one of the KS2 senior teachers was appointed to deputy head teacher on a part-time basis, although working full-time as she continued to teach also. In addition another member of KS2 staff was co-opted onto the newly named Senior Leadership Team in the long-term absence of her colleague. The SLT therefore comprised the head teacher, deputy head teacher (KS2, Literacy Lead), Reception Stage Leader (KS1), and Numeracy Leader (KS2).

On entering the school one of the first things said to me by the Head Teacher was, 'we are a very caring school', a statement repeated several times and often accompanied with 'we are a caring team'. This comment was made to ensure, whatever the inspection report said, my understanding of a disjuncture between the inspector's findings and the teachers' understanding of the purposes and outcomes of their work. The theme developed further when it became clear that the school had insisted on the inclusion in the inspector's report of an acknowledgement, despite the 'notice to improve', that Crosstown is a 'caring school'. The concern for care within the school was also evident in the school's Mission Statement and information given to parents of prospective pupils:

Our Mission Statement

At [Crosstown] school we are all working together as a team to provide a quality learning environment and to help everyone achieve their best.

We encourage:

- Respect and tolerance towards all and sensitivity towards others.
- Caring relationships by teaching social skills and moral values.
- Self-discipline so that children become independent learners as they progress through school.
- Children to question, explore, evaluate, empathise and reflect.

In addition parents were advised:

We hope that you choose our school to care for and to enrich your child's primary years... We strongly believe in the importance of effort and self-esteem. Our motto is "Practise makes progress", as we acknowledge that not everyone can be perfect, but that everyone can improve with effort. Within lessons we strive to offer challenging but varied opportunities to learn, so that all children can succeed to the best of their abilities. Our extensive provision of extra-curricular activities allows children to discover their talents and skills outside of the classroom. We believe that Crosstown School is an excellent place for children to come and learn and is a very special school with its own unique atmosphere.

While the narrative of care is apparent, including developing children emotionally and recognizing their talents beyond academic attainment, it was also evident that the teachers' work is mediated trans-locally, to meet the requirements of a 'quality' agenda, so that children are expected to 'improve', 'learn', and 'succeed'. The concern emerging at Crosstown, post the 2010 inspection, included a tension between caring emotionally and relationally, and care for pupil progress (data). This was immediately evident to the teachers in a document introduced by the SLT that included four categories to assure performative progress: *objectives*, *success*, *differentiation* and *groups*. These categories were identified by SLT from a variety of national and local texts and via external consultants. A comment by Julie in conversation, and confirmed by Sam, is telling of the disjuncture developing through the changing emphasis in practice:

These [objectives, success, differentiation and groups] are the things we have to show. An hour of this, an hour of that, two points of progress... We still care about the kids but now we care about them in this way. (25 March 2011, fieldnotes).

This utterance indicates texts clothing a body of social organization and again suggests a disjuncture arising in the organization and experience of care as moving

towards caring for outcomes and progress. While relevant texts include trans-local policy and guidance in the context of the ERA 1988 and the national curriculum (explored in chapter 6), teachers are also aware of an alternative 'duty' of care.

LEGAL, CONTRACTUAL AND COMMON LAW DUTY OF CARE

According to the National Union of Teachers (NUT) (2013) a teacher's duty of care arises from three sources:

- A common law duty of care
- A statutory duty of care, and
- A contractual duty of care.

Common law decisions are offered down by the courts when making judgements and in determining the meaning of statute, for example:

- The term '*in loco parentis*' arises from a court's decision in 1893 that 'the schoolmaster [sic] is bound to take such care of his pupils as a careful father would'.
- In 1955, it was held that 'a balance must be struck between the meticulous supervision of children every moment of the day and the desirable object of encouraging sturdy independence as they grow up'.
- In 1962, where the 'standard of care' expected of a teacher was held to be that of a person exhibiting the responsible mental qualities of a prudent parent in the circumstances of school, rather than home life.
- The current standard of care expected of a teacher is that of a reasonable person in the circumstances of a class teacher (cited in NUT 2013, 3).

The latter is mediated by the current legislation laying out the legal responsibilities for professionals working with children in need, including education:

- The Children Act 1989 Section 3 (5) defines the duty of care to the effect that a person with care of a child may do what is reasonable in all the circumstances for the purpose of safeguarding or promoting the welfare of the child.

'Safeguarding and promoting the welfare of the child' is discussed further in Chapter Six and is an aspect of ECM (DfES 2003a). Nonetheless it is important to acknowledge that the responsibilities and duties enshrined in the *Children Act 1989* are reflected in the *Teacher's Standards* (DfE 2011a). These include aspects of 'personal and professional conduct' (page 14):

- Teachers uphold public trust in the profession and maintain high standards of ethics and behaviour, within and outside school, by:
 - treating pupils with dignity, building relationships rooted in mutual respect, and at all times observing proper boundaries appropriate to a teacher's professional position
 - having regard for the need to safeguard pupils' well-being, in accordance with statutory provisions.
 - showing tolerance of and respect for the rights of others
 - not undermining fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect, and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs.
 - ensuring that personal beliefs are not expressed in ways which exploit pupils' vulnerability or might lead them to break the law.
 - Teachers must have proper and professional regard for the ethos, policies and practices of the school in which they teach, and maintain high standards in their own attendance and punctuality.
 - Teachers must have an understanding of, and always act within, the statutory frameworks which set out their professional duties and responsibilities.

Finally the *School Teachers' Pay and Conditions Document* (DfE 2014) is updated every year and has the status of a legal, statutory instrument. This requires teachers to:

- Contribute to the development, implementation and evaluation of the school's policies, practices and procedures in such a way as to support the school's values and vision (page 45).
- Promote the safety and well-being of pupils.
- Maintain good order and discipline among pupils (page 46).

What is apparent is the number of texts that mediate teachers' understanding of care and that seek to organize their work as a 'duty', either as caring for the social and emotional, or caring for progress, yet through the teacher's conduct or character in relationship with the pupils. This form of caring focuses on 'assumed' needs (Noddings 1984; 2012), that is, what it is assumed the pupils need in their education and which is delivered in relationship with the teacher. This is different to 'expressed' needs, in which the teacher listens to the pupils, attends to their needs, and responds. Inherent in this is an acknowledgement of needs that extend beyond what the curriculum or external agents define as desirable. Having been attentive to the needs of the pupil, the pupil will then respond to the teacher thus completing the caring relation. The essential difference in achieving caring as relation, as opposed to caring in relationship is how the teacher listens, is attentive to the affective condition of the pupil, and responds in reciprocation (Noddings 2012).

As such care is developed as 'care giving' or 'caring for' the other (Tronto 1993) which involves moral practices. Yet what is also evident is that the framing of care is relational (more than relationships between individuals). However, unlike Noddings' approach, it also extends beyond the local site and involves the political shaped through responsibilities and duties framed by ideology which serves to maintain the position of the relatively privileged (Tronto 1993). Therefore any discussion of 'how do teachers come to care' must also acknowledge wider and historical ruling relations.

PLOWDEN/PROGRESSIVISM AND CALLAGHAN/ECONOMIC INSTRUMENTALISM

There is a significant literature on educational policy and practices from the 1960s through to the introduction of the ERA 1988, see for example Gillard (2004; 2011)

and Alexander (2009b), and I do not propose to repeat it in detail here. However the disjuncture between progressive, creative teaching practice (caring for the social and emotional) and managerialist approaches (caring for progress) arose consistently in the empirical data. Norma, for example, in a diary extract, discusses her experience as a teaching assistant and her subsequent teacher training influenced by Froebelian philosophy which played a significant part in her decision to take her job at Crosstown:

As soon as I walked into the school [Crosstown] it felt right. It had a slightly tatty but appealing appearance (a bit like Froebelian) and the staff and children were so friendly, I really wanted the job. (14 January 2011).

Significant to a Froebelian approach is the narrative of educating 'the whole child' which significantly influenced the Plowden Report (CACE 1967) and the training of teachers in the 1970s and early 1980s. A key interest of Plowden and Froebel is what is needed to improve education, for example, innovation, play, fun and child centredness. In this context, increasingly liberal approaches to education were given a voice in the Plowden Report, which extensively referred to the views of teachers and other professionals with a whole chapter (Chapter Two – 'The Children, their Growth and Development') devoted to the placing the 'whole child' at the centre of understanding:

The emotional aspects of the child's development, like the intellectual, follow a regular sequence based on the interaction between maturation and biological factors on the one hand and experience and learning within the cultural setting on the other. Emotional, social and intellectual aspects are closely intertwined in mental growth: the child is a total personality (CACE 1967, para 65, page 22).

In articulating developing the whole child, Plowden viewed any normative move towards assessment and levels of progress as at odds with a pedagogical space based on children's individual, wider developmental needs; stating, 'A school is not merely a teaching shop, it must transmit values and attitudes' (paragraph 505, 187).

To support their arguments the report's authors recognized the significant body of literature and theory on pedagogy germane to Piaget's developmental approach, including; 'Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Whitehead, Dewey, Montessori and Rachel Macmillan' (paragraph 510,189), all of whom encouraged change and innovation, individual learning, flexibility in the curriculum, the centrality of play in children's learning, the use of the environment, learning by discovery and the importance of the evaluation of children's progress (Gillard 2004).

Furthermore the report's authors clearly accepted the premise that the early years were crucial to a child's social and emotional well-being and to their continuing positive educational outcomes:

The emotional life of the child of two to five is intimately bound up with his relationships with those who care for and are close to him. Emotional development is related to intellectual development as well as to increasing maturity and experience (para 66, 23).

The mention of 'care' and the need for proximity in care are particularly notable. Drawing on Bowlby's work (1952) on maternal bonds, Plowden and colleagues emphasised the work of women, and mothers in particular, in seeding the necessary conditions for the development of the whole child and in securing an appropriate emotional attachment. They also emphasised the importance of 'care giving' and the relational nature of care, and women were understood as having particular responsibilities related to a child's development across three interrelated developmental domains – physical, intellectual and emotional. Each child was seen as an individual or unique child, at a particular developmental stage, whose development was a matter of the interaction between genetics and the environment. In controlling the environment, the care giver had to think beyond the physical environment to the social and emotional environments and by extension, to an evaluation of the use of the emotional and moral self as a matter of virtue and rational action.

In recognizing the political concerns raised about the educational approach espoused in the report, Plowden argued that the best preparation for adulthood and

the world after school was a happy childhood developed through healthy, emotional relationships. She challenged the view that her approach would lead to a decline in traditional values as a 'misconception' (para. 506, 188) and posited that an education that did not promote 'older virtues', including care, was 'faulty' (ibid). Yet throughout the 1970s and by the 1980s the older virtues were being revisited and political and economic concerns were coming to the fore; as Gillard (2004, online) states; 'Significantly, Plowden's view that, 'At the heart of the educational process lies the child' was abandoned in favour of, 'The school curriculum is at the heart of education' (DES 1981)'. The importance and value of a school curriculum was gaining favour at a time of political upheaval and moral panics over HIV/Aids, crime, unemployment and the economy – and of children at risk and children as risky. The response by the Department of Education and Science (DES 1981, 1983) was to argue that a child's education should be centred on the child's position as an active and productive member of society as an adult. The economic imperative was being foregrounded in official texts:

Since school education prepares the child for adult life, the way in which the school helps him to develop his potential must also be related to his subsequent needs and responsibilities as an active member of our society. Parents, employers and the public rightly expect the school curriculum to pay proper regard to what the pupils will later want and be called upon to do. It helps neither the children, nor the nation, if the schools do not prepare them for the realities of the adult world (DfES 1981, para. 3).

The William Tyndale School public inquiry (Auld and ILEA 1976) laid the foundations for criticisms of liberal and progressive teaching methods. A speech by the then Prime Minister, Jim Callaghan, introduced the concept of economic instrumentalism into education:

Complaints from industry that new recruits from the schools sometimes do not have the basic tools to do the job... there is concern about the standards of numeracy of school leavers ... [there is a need for] a basic curriculum with universal standards... basic literacy, basic numeracy,

the understanding of how to live and work together, respect for others, respect for the individual... (Callaghan 1976, online).

Although introducing an economic imperative Callaghan, like Plowden, was wary of the evidence base of the authors of the so called 'Black Papers', who posited a return to a traditional, conservative education system with parents taking more control. They, in part, blamed falling standards on the progressive teaching methods promoted by Plowden (see David Limond, 2012 for an overview of the Black Papers authors and the arguments made) and implicated teachers in educational and social decline. The final Black Report (Cox and Boyson 1977) was vociferous in its arguments for choice, competition and parental control of schools and critical of local authority management of schools (Gillard 2011). These arguments were taken up by the Shadow Secretary of State for Education, Margaret Thatcher, in terms of her future policies and market ideology as leader of the Conservative party from 1975. Focus had shifted from the whole child and developing the child's intellectual, physical and emotional being to a more instrumental debate about the state's responsibility to its citizens and the citizen's responsibility to the state.

For those opposed to it, the final confirmation of the failings of the Plowden Report came with the publication of the *Primary Education in Leeds* Report (Alexander 1991) and the 'Three Wise Men Report' (Alexander, Rose and Whitehead) (DES 1992) which was highly critical of 'dogma'. Yet, it was the misappropriation of the findings of both Plowden and the 'Three Wise Men' that is significant. Alexander (2009b) notes how their 1992 report challenged the view that Plowden had led to overly progressive educational practices; however they too were demonised as 'being closet progressivists and of rewriting history' (2009b, 3) for pointing out the failings in the arguments of the anti-Plowden camp. The political elite, through their misappropriation of findings and debates, reinforced the narrative of caring for outcomes and progress from a position of privileged irresponsibility (Tronto 1993).

DIFFERENT FORMS OF CARING

Throughout the careers of all of the teachers involved in this study there has been a tension between teaching as a caring practice that focuses on educating the whole

child and caring for the performative requirements of government and its regulatory agents. Noddings (1984) broadly frames this duality in terms of expressed needs and assumed needs. Indeed, the duality has been a feature in educational research over time; Nias, for example, in her exploration of teachers' work at the time of the introduction of the ERA 1988, wrote:

Almost all my interviewees expressed a deep concern for the welfare and interests of children. This they normally described as 'caring'... 'Caring' in the social sense tends to be associated with high 'inclusion', whereas when 'caring' occurs as part of a general concern for 'good teaching' it is usually accompanied by reference to the need for high 'professional standards' (1989, 33-34).

More recently Luff's (2013, 21) findings from a year-long ethnography in early years education settings:

indicated... both informal practice, underpinned by an ethic of caring which includes observant, responsive work with young children, and formal practice rooted in a developmental view of childhood leading to a conscientious recording of predetermined, sequential, learning outcomes. The former is seen as an intrinsic, relational response whilst the latter results from the implementation of external policy requirements.

Both indicate a binary in caring and arrive at their findings from similar data-gathering approaches yet different theoretical positions. Nias' approach to education is situated in developmental psychology and the philosophy of Rousseau (following Plowden). She is influenced by George H. Mead's symbolic interactionism in exploring teachers' experiences, whereas, Luff draws heavily on Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1997) and 'women's ways of knowing'. Both Luff and Belenky take account of Gilligan's subsequent care perspective and the inherent cognitive styles of women. Yet they move beyond this to acknowledge Noddings (1984) and also incorporate Ruddick's (1989) theory of maternal care ethics in exploring teacher's care practices.

The epistemic positions of Nias and Luff illustrate the contested nature of care and the need for further exploration in light of the participants' experiences of care in their everyday work. As discussed in Chapter Two, the dynamic nature of the debates and engagement with care have been framed as coming in two waves, 'with Gilligan and Noddings as central figures in the early 1980s, and Tronto, Ruddick and Sevenhuijsen forming the core of the second wave from the early 1990s onwards' (Philip, Rogers & Weller 2013, 4). Yet Nias represents the bridging of a previous period in the understanding of care; that of the gendered and masculinist justice orientated approach to development and education with the relational approach posited by Gilligan (1982) and Noddings (1984) in the first wave of feminist debates.

Tronto's theory informs my understanding of the ethic of care because of deficits in Nias' and Noddings' arguments. I understand Nias' to be informed by masculinist, justice-orientated theoretical approaches to learning and development; and Nodding's belief that care is proximal and reciprocal reduces care to intimate, virtuous relationships, and ignores institutional or structural forms of care. However, neither can be ignored as sites of comparison and normative reflection. In the following sections I use Tronto's concepts of 'care giving' and 'care receiving' to further explicate teachers' work at Crosstown. Moreover, in exploring examples of the teachers' talk I also draw on Nias' and Noddings' work. This is important in illustrating the shift from masculine, justice-orientated approaches, to caring relationships and proximal/reciprocal approaches, to a political institutionally mediated understanding of care. Chapter Two explores much in the debates between each of the approaches; however before progressing it is also helpful to say more about Nias' work, particularly her concepts of satisfiers and dissatisfiers.

Satisfiers and Dissatisfiers

Nias' book, *Primary Teachers talking: A study of teaching as work* (1989) was important throughout the 1990s in teacher education and is still used when investigating philosophical approaches to primary education. Nias, in her analysis, draws upon Herzberg's (1966) two-factor hypothesis when exploring both 'satisfiers' and 'dissatisfiers' in teachers' work. In doing so she develops a binary where

'satisfiers' (1989, 85-102) are recognized as factors related to the doing of the job, as affective and intrinsic. Job 'dissatisfiers' are independent and related to the context in which work is organized including policy, bureaucracy, supervision. Nias, to her credit, recognizes this as a crude binary since the doing of work, the experience of work, is affected by 'everything that goes on outside schools as well as within them' (132). Nonetheless, she continues to argue that those things in which teachers find satisfaction are immanently relational and include: affective rewards from children's company, a sense of occupational competence, an extension of personal qualities, the company of other teachers and feeling autonomous (86-102). These she sees as moral and caring. She notes that, over the ten years of the teachers' experience in her study, these sources of job satisfaction did not change. Importantly, she frames teacher satisfaction as an aspect of achieving a sense of self and draws on symbolic interactionism in balancing a sensitive 'I' with a pragmatic 'me'.

Conversely, 'there was a substantial growth in the level of job dissatisfaction... between the mid-1970s and mid-1980s (132). Nias is careful to allow for a range of possibilities in the consistent presentation of 'satisfiers', offering two alternative explanations in problematizing Herzberg's hypothesis. The first is that 'teachers were the slaves of occupational rhetoric and gave 'received' answers, stressing the 'child-centred' nature of their task...', or, 'they did not stress the context of their work (the second aspect of the binary) as satisfying because there was little in the conditions under which they worked to bring them satisfaction' (102). Significantly, the growth in teacher dissatisfaction over a ten-year period develops in a context of the political, social and economic changes discussed throughout this chapter. There is a consistent theme of the increasing constraints on teacher autonomy, and consequently with how they could choose to work with the whole child in relationship, and:

Falling relative salaries, increased class sizes, cuts in resources and neglect of buildings; and perceived encroachment into teachers' control over classroom practice, staffing, and curricular policies, by parents and by local and central government (132-133)

Of course this is an over-simplification of her own findings. Chapter nine of her book, 'feeling like a teacher', discusses the psychological, emotional, and affective demands of working with a 'paradox' (196); to be authoritarian and authoritative, to balance the pupils' needs with their own needs, and to be emotionally available and emotionally drained. Nias believes:

What is truly remarkable about... 'pedagogic balancing' [of paradoxes] is not so much that they achieve it, but that they do so in the face of unremitting pressures towards disequilibrium. The craft of such teachers is to bring their own emotions and social systems with which they work into harmony and then to refuse to be disrupted... by the historical, social, emotional, philosophical, or practical tensions which form the context and backdrop of their work (199).

This approach to the management of emotions is argued by Hochschild (1983) to involve 'emotional labour'. That is, the presentation of a particular countenance understood to be important to the role, ultimately required by the employer as an aspect of the salaried exchange. There is the presence of an emotional culture, one in which workplace rules dictate what emotions to suppress and what emotions are desirable (Benozzo and Colley 2012). While Nias argues that achieving balance brings affective rewards, ultimately:

To 'care for' children was to teach well and to accept the need for continuing self-improvement. Although their goals were often expressed in social or affective terms, they sought to maintain them through the application of rigorous professional standards (Nias 1989, 41).

A concern for Noddings would be that the focus on 'rigorous professional standards' is a barrier to receptive listening and therefore to recognizing expressed needs. It is representative of an obligation-based moral approach and not one based on reciprocal care giving and care receiving. For Tronto, the foregrounding of teachers as care giver and not also as care receivers is problematic. While there is acknowledgement of the affective gains in the relationship between teacher and

pupil, there is little analysis of the normative features of the teacher's work – why they decide what is worthy or not worthy of their efforts; nor of the mediating power behind professional standards.

Teachers as Care Givers

Caring practices, conceptualisations, and emotions/relationships with children

Nias' work suggests the organization of care in teachers' work as either related to social/emotional growth in relation or as focused on managerial outcomes and performance. This is consistent with Julie's view: 'We still care about the kids but now we care about them in this way'. It is also borne out in the talk of the other teachers. Brenda, for example, said:

(The school) is very friendly and has a caring ethos, at least that's what I like to feel and we care about the children. Obviously we all want the attainment and all the rest, but we want to produce individuals, we want to produce children who can go out into society... When we went down the Ofsted route of notice to improve with the learning and that, that was awful. It would have been even more awful to me if it been the ethos that hadn't been there...

I like that caring atmosphere, and I think it still prevails. I mean... people do say they notice the atmosphere when they come in. That it is welcoming and that people care about others. I mean we have all got our faults, we forget sometimes, don't we? But I think overall we do and people do try and accommodate other people. (13 July 2011).

In her interview, Charlie adds:

It's a friendly school, people notice that when they come in. (I most like) the people I work with (laughs). And the children really. Like the class I have now for instance; I dreaded the thought of them last summer. I was like, 'I don't want to teach them', and now I really love them. They may not know it but I will really miss them. .. You should see me (at the

end of the year), I always write a really nice speech and I speak from the heart about them. (11 July 2011).

Foregrounding the children, a broad conceptualisation of their needs, friendliness and relationships are important aspects of teacher satisfaction and increasingly encroaching 'standards' have led to dissatisfaction. However the basic binary is problematic since the moral decision making of the teacher is undertaken from a culturally and socially mediated understanding of personal and 'feminine' traits such as 'love'. Noddings' would foreground Charlie's proximal and reciprocal relationship with the children, emphasizing her 'engrossment' (Noddings 1984) and her struggle of reason; that is, her innate caring characteristics and her ability to overcome her own self-interest in caring practice. In this context Charlie maintains her ideal ethical self by 'caring for' at all times. Yet both approaches firmly embed responsibility for caring and moral judgement on the individual, failing to recognize forces beyond the immediate relationships that organize and mediate approaches to care. Brenda mentions Ofsted and Charlie's dread of her new class was based on her understanding of their behaviour and attainment from their previous year. Such a parochial emphasis on the individual, and on individuals' relationships, means that those who seek to influence teachers' work but at a step removed from its intimate interactions are placed beyond any sphere of moral concern (Card 1991).

How they care about work

The binary is also evident in the teachers' struggles with the demands to evidence the achievement of standards through the use of data, and to use approved approaches to helping the children understand their progress. In her interview Kathryn says:

You have a lot more responsibility to prove and to demonstrate with evidence that your children; err, or the children in your care are making progress, and if they are not making progress you are doing something about it. That was never the case. I liked to think of myself as being innovative and creative and doing all sorts of different things. I did do lots of different things in the early part of my career... I think it has

tweaked now, to be a 'good' experience the focus has to be on, not what you are doing but what you are learning by what you are doing... the idea of formative assessment particularly, actually taking learning forward by using a very rigorous formative approach. (12 July 2011).

Nias would argue, drawing on symbolic interactionism, that Kathryn's developing sense of how she approaches and cares about her work is an aspect of the struggle between a socially constructed 'me' and an autonomous 'I' (1989, 19-25). The 'I' sees herself as an 'innovative and creative', whereas the 'me' is attentive to contemporary pedagogical practices and standards. Kathryn's commitment to herself as a teacher is shifting towards a commitment to high, externally mandated, professional standards.

While Nias often refers to Freud and George H. Mead, Noddings draws on the more philosophical work of Simone Weil who is attentive to the need for reciprocation in moral and caring relationships. Engrossment in a caring relationship requires that the cared-for is receptive to the care offered. However the awareness of self, necessary to the achievement of engrossment, is in constant flux as people, situations, experiences, and time change, and are reflected upon. The teacher is always focused on maintaining the caring relationship but 'the self at previous moments becomes another object of encounter, affect, and evaluation. I approve of certain ways of being in the world and reject others' (Noddings 2002, 99). How Kathryn cares about her work is therefore a struggle of understanding her 'self' in relation, under construction in changing times (Bergman 2004).

Where both Nias and Noddings discuss care as an individual struggle in understanding the self, and therefore liminal, Tronto does not agree. For her, care is 'opaque because it is obscured by the categories and concepts of being that are centred in political and social thought' (Tronto 2014b, 222). These categories and concepts are explicated in the following chapters.

How they care about their families

Evidence of the connection between the professional and social came in telephone calls between colleagues and the use of texting when at home and elsewhere outside school. This in part reflected the significant periods of time spent working at home both during evenings and weekends. This was particularly intense when inspectors or advisers were expected or when evidence or data was required for scrutiny. The time commitment in undertaking tasks to support teaching at home had a significant impact on relationships with family and friends that extended to feelings of guilt and being neglectful and selfish, as this extract from Lyn's interview indicates:

I know we did it for the kids but I wouldn't have worked every bank holiday and up 'til two o'clock in the morning and I wouldn't have worked every day, all day on a weekend to just get that [notice to improve]. I won't do that next year, I'll do as much as I can but I won't kill myself doing it 'cos I just think you get bitter and twisted and you end up falling out with your family and everything else. [My partner's] brilliant but the impact was I have not done things with my kids, not been able to pick them up and take them places I should have really been involved with. (11 July 2011).

Norma, who moved from a full-time post to a part-time post following the 'stress' of the 2010 inspection and subsequent changes to working practices, acknowledges:

NORMA: This year has been hard because of the situation we got into with Ofsted... We were just nicely ticking along before, doing kind of what we liked to do you know and playing to our strengths, and enjoying ourselves and then ... this year's been much more focused on achievement...it is purely on achievement of the children now.

I got really upset after the Ofsted inspection and my family said, 'you can't do this anymore, you know, it's not working' and I realised it wasn't working so it just tipped the scales really and erm (silence).

ME: So what explicitly tipped those scales?

NORMA: Not noticing my family. I was completely dedicated to work and that was my number one priority; that everything was right at work and I wasn't actually noticing that things were going wrong at home or for me, I mean, my daughter's heading towards anorexia and that was that was happening slowly and I didn't even notice. (13 July 2011).

Nias provides examples of teachers' talk that include reference to life outside school, including at home. However, she again analyses these in terms of psychosocial relationships, particularly utilizing Maslow's (1954) framework of motivation and needs. Teachers work to fulfil the following hierarchy of needs in order: physical, safety, belonging and love (social), esteem and status (ego), autonomy, and self-actualisation (Nias 1989, 209). Consequently both Lyn and Norma experience disequilibrium in relation to work esteem and status (and the subsequent needs in the hierarchy, including autonomy) since their focus is on meeting social needs at home.

Alternatively, for Noddings, there are four 'means of nurturing the ethical ideal' (Noddings 1984, 182; 2002): modelling, dialogue, practice, and confirmation. As Lyn and Norma struggle to achieve engrossment in school, they continue to model in their own behaviour and deeds what it means to be caring. However, this is not replicated at home and as a consequence both are undertaking a dialogue with the self, that is, their caring at home is the object of their reflection. To avoid identifying as uncaring they must also engage in a dialogue with others at home about their struggles and the difficulties of their work. In doing so they begin to practice and model caring as a significant aspect of the self (Noddings 1995). In reflecting on their modelling, dialogue, and practice of care at home, Lyn and Norma are then able to confirm their caring and ethical ideal and can then move further towards it or away from it.

Tronto would criticise both Nias and Noddings for aligning the moral work of women with the home and family, that is, to only achieve equilibrium and engrossment at home as an aspect of mothering. Such individualizing of women's care-giving strengths does not recognize the teacher in social relation but frames her as in a

socialised relationship. In this context there is therefore a need to consider the potential of power and privilege in that those teachers who are able to achieve equilibrium and engrossment at home might be perceived as the most moral and therefore in a position of subordination to wider relations of ruling (Tronto 1993, 91). Where care is conceptualised particularly in terms of individual, personal attributes and relationships it ignores the connections to other groups, whose purposes are served by ensuring women's caring work is seen as an aspect of mothering and family work.

Teachers as Care Receivers

Caring for the other

As highlighted, Noddings argues that care involves engrossment through a proximal and reciprocal relation between the care-giver and cared-for. Consideration of needs is also important; drawing loosely on Maslow (1954) Noddings (2005) also recognizes the presence of basic or life course needs which give way to both inferred needs (those defined by others, not the cared for) and expressed needs. While the former cannot be ignored; a teacher cannot set aside the judgement of inspectors or the curriculum; expressed needs are foregrounded, pressing, and may be overwhelming. Brenda's acknowledgment that 'we need to do whatever it takes to get out of this' [notice to improve] is an expressed and overwhelming need. While there is a direct reference to the inferred need, that is, the school needs to follow the recommendation of inspectors to achieve a 'good' rating; a sensitive interpretation is of an overwhelming desire to resist negative formulations of the school and its teachers and therefore reclaim status and esteem. Attending to standards is therefore an initial means to caring for each other, as Julie says:

Well, everybody has been working thinking of Ofsted, thinking; what do we do, how can we improve, you know? It's had a huge impact on the whole school obviously and everybody has just, they have pulled together... (15 July 2011)

Drawing on similar themes Nias (1989, 138) posits:

Teachers appear to become incisively aware of their relationships with their colleagues... Their recurrent search for friendship and reassurance within the staff group points... to their continuing need, particularly in times of stress, for contact with adults who will affirm their self-worth and mirror for them an idealized picture of strength and concern.

For Norma contact and work with colleagues as a member of a team is important:

NORMA: I think we are an incredible team, we are really close, we work together, we work together well, but we're friends together as well and I think there is a really strong sense of team here which is nice. That's a lovely environment to come in to work...

ME: Is there anything you would change about your participation as part of the school team?

NORMA: Nothing really, I just still want to be part of the team. I'd like to feel that I am supportive to other people and they're supporting me. In that sense I like the way it's going you know, we are (pause). We do gel as a team and it's not, I mean, it could have gone really badly, in that parts of the school have been criticised and other parts haven't and there could have been sort of animosity between people but I don't think that has happened. I think we have stayed together in trying to help each other and, you know, I can look to teachers who came out really well and try and learn from them and they're supporting me in trying to get there. (13 July 2011).

Contact with other adults may be through a reference person or a reference group. Norma looks both to the whole team and to individual colleagues who 'came out really well' in the inspection. However, for others the reference group may be small and may, indeed, be based upon an individual reference person. Maggie, for example, speaks about the support she has received from a number of colleagues but singles one out in particular:

Before I even started [Lyn] let me have an opportunity to talk to her. Let me observe some of her teaching techniques, like with phonics which I haven't taught for a long time...

Simone gave me lots of her time. After school she spoke to me about assessment, and I just kept asking. I hope they didn't feel I was a nag but I just kept asking but throughout all of it I just felt very supported by [Brenda, Simone and Lyn].

I found Norma supportive just for being a friendly face and in fact every member of the school were open and friendly, but professionally the most support came from Simone who has really inspired me, really. (13 July 2011).

However tensions can arise if the focus is only on standards and not sufficiently on the maintaining a sense of esteem or the 'felt need for the care and protection of a stronger 'other' [who they] see as an extension of themselves' (138):

I am also running G and T [Gifted and Talented] for kids in (two classes) who are consistently good at ICT. They are great fun to work with and they ooze enthusiasm which is great. [Another member of staff] and I are running a drama and dance on Monday lunch which has way too many kids but I didn't have the heart to turn any away. I have planned a visit to the local church and park for year two as they are such a lovely class. They deserve a treat but unless I link it to a subject it will not please Ofsted. It doesn't matter that the children will benefit in lots of ways from a visit to the park. Speaking of trips I have organised the trip for y2 and reception to go to the library on 3 March. This took a lot of organizing and the library have booked a librarian to read the children and they are putting on juice and biscuits. So I was well annoyed when [member of SLT] told me I couldn't go... (Marie's diary entry, 11 February 2011).

At a time when the teachers feel their competence is being questioned and their esteem is shaken, Marie's needs cannot be satisfied through the everyday activities of schooling. Although she frames her needs in the context of her work, she is

attentive to educating the children outside the inferred normative processes. She requires affirmation of her wider aims and confirmation of her worth from a senior colleague. For Marie, the refusal to allow her to organise the trips is seen as powerful intervention foregrounding inferred needs, not as an initial means of the member of SLT caring for her.

While Nias frames teachers as having a range of needs she does not explicate this in terms of care receiving. Instead she highlights dispositions such as love and processes of (self) recognition as important to teacher esteem. This can also be argued to be relevant to Noddings' work as she too begins from the position of the agent/subject in her thinking about care (Tronto 2014a). Noddings might argue that in her modelling and dialogue with the senior teacher, Marie's expressed needs have been misrecognized. Tronto also agrees that errors can occur in caring about – in the care giver's recognition of a need and her subsequent decisions of how to meet that need. That the member of SLT frames Marie's needs in terms of staying in school, not external, out of school activities, is a problem since Marie is reduced to the very difference that separates her from the senior teacher. That is, she is reduced to the status of a care giver (in achieving standards/inferred needs) and is not recognized as also being a care receiver. While the senior teachers might be accurate in her judgement from the standpoint of standards it misappropriates the actuality of Marie's experience. This is important since power is the foundation of Marie's unease, and the boundary between inferred needs and expressed needs is political (Tronto 1993; 2014a).

How they are cared for by the school and Local Authority

While all of the participants were of the view that they needed to work towards an alternative (and better) inspection judgement, they did not all agree how this should be achieved. Indeed, at times, SLT were viewed as developing a particularly directive and managerialist approach, as Marie discusses in her interview:

[They] devised that Non-Negotiable action plan which they held the whole staff meeting (one and a half hours) to discuss and negotiate. What a laugh, it was all NON-NEGOTIABLE!!! It appears that [KS2

teachers] run the school (very dictatorial). [The head teacher] allows it and should you dare to question anything you get a 'talk to the hand' look... and ignored. (15 July 2011).

Consistent with Nias's (1989) findings, there was tension and disappointment where the SLT focused only on standards, was resistant to innovation, and did not live up to their expectations in relation to the felt need for care and protection, as Maggie says:

I do like [member of SLT] and everything, you know. She is a good person but she needs to be stronger, you know, and that's where it all goes wrong in my opinion. (13 July 2011).

In these circumstances the participants develop and identify smaller groups to which they are either positively affiliated, 'friends'; or negative reference groups, 'cliques', that is, those groups from which they are excluded or do not have membership. Positive reference groups were based on shared commitments and values and extended beyond a professional to a social remit, Julie admits (15 July 2011):

Everybody has their friendship groups. I have mine. I have some good friends here who feel the same.

However, members of SLT are not uncaring; they are working in circumstances that require them to balance their work, and the work of the other teachers, between inferred and expressed needs. Achieving balance takes time as they try to work out how to meet some expressed needs, particularly if the expressed needs conflict with the inferred needs of inspectors, for example for pedagogical innovation and creativity. A basic approach to motivating others towards what inspectors and therefore SLT require, is rewards or sanctions – confirmation of practice if the desired is evidenced, enhanced monitoring if not (Noddings 2006). Moreover, the teachers do turn to senior colleagues and external advisers for confirmation of competence and attainment, indeed there are consistent references in the data to trust and admiration for external colleagues including Local Authority appointed School Improvement Partners (SIPs). Members of SLT found particular value in the care offered by the latter.

Caring leaders are teachers too and seek to balance the demands of external, powerful agents with the needs of their colleagues. To achieve this, members of SLT use SIPs both to achieve inferred goals, good pupil progress and outcomes, and to understand wider educational goals and expressed needs. In this SIPs help school leaders to keep alive discussion of the practice of teacher participation and responsible experimentation (Noddings 2006, 344), as Simone notes in her diary:

(28/1/11) Yesterday [Charlie] and I presented data to [SIPs]. Went well and seemed pleased with our analysis, although we have not quite nailed it yet! However give us a boost I think. SIP complementary and yes it does matter to get positive feedback... So this weekend getting my head back after a hectic three weeks. Re-looking at teaching – if it's not working – change it!

(9/2/11) Had a meeting with [Local Authority literacy adviser]. Very supportive. After reading about action plan we talked about the job... Will also work hard for the rest of this year and try to get things ready for Ofsted. Need to feel done best I can.

Other teachers too have sought balance in the words of external advisers, as Marie notes in her diary:

I met with our ICT adviser yesterday and it was lovely to hear her say that among the advisers our school was recognized as being a huge success story. They appreciate the way we have followed all the advice and basically jump through all the hoops. I do think we really are a great school again and I am proud to say I work at [Crosstown]. (19 February 2011).

What is clear in the process of notice to improve is that all involved are both care givers and care receivers. However, when care givers (in this example, SLT and SIPs) hold a different status to the care receivers (the teachers), the process of care is immanently political. There is a danger that the teacher's needs are firstly framed

in a context of 'getting things ready for Ofsted' and that they are therefore passive in decisions of how needs are met; it is 'non-negotiable'! Those in positions of power can understand needs too concretely, in terms of outcomes first, which can lead to problems in being insufficiently attentive to other needs (Tronto 1993).

How they perceive 'the system' cares about them

Not all advisers are seen as helpful all of the time, some are considered to have a more instrumental approach, as Lyn describes in her diary (1/2/11):

Was really looking forward to [SIP's] visit but feel completely deflated and pissed off. After spending the past two weeks staying until 5:30 PM+ to rearrange classroom and impress her, she rubbished my hard work by barely glancing at it and saying not to worry too much about my number area that there would be some good ideas at the next course day! What about my ideas – that at least are original and not just regurgitated for the whole of the list of schools that are in 'notice to improve'!!!

Where does it end? Probably divorce and/or nervous breakdown!

The spectre of managerialist and instrumental practices based on what inspectors and the 'system' requires is often linked to anxiety and heightened tension, with the staff meeting highlighted by Lyn below also discussed by others in their diaries and interviews:

Stress of situation showing at staff meeting. Was really sad to see Norma and Charlie in tears both trying to do what they think is best. Very frustrating spending time doing things you think are a waste of time, and on the other hand – do we just bend to the whim of the Novac? Rang Norma and she's fine. But where does it all end? (19 January 2011).

Whereas in their personal communication and advice SIPs are generally considered helpful, the NOVAC (Notification of Visits and Contact) report, written by SIPs as an

aspect of the regulatory and performative framework, is taken up as having particular mediating power. Nias' findings also highlight increasing job dissatisfaction over the ten years of her study; positing, stress and fatigue, poor working conditions, and lack of autonomy as particular concerns (Nias 1998, 132). The question posed by Lyn, 'where does it all end?', can be understood as rhetorical in the context of Nias' findings of changing teacher perceptions over time; particularly of 'perceived encroachments into teachers' control over classroom practice, staffing, and curricular policies, by parents and local and central government' (133). Brenda, in her interview (13 July 2011), also acknowledges performative and regulatory encroachments over time:

BRENDA: Ofsted, how had I experienced it before?

That's interesting because it never came quite so much to light in those days. I guess it was just the senior managers that had to cope with it and it didn't really become an issue until perhaps a week or two before, where they'd come into your classroom...

It didn't play a huge part to start with. You knew people were coming into your lesson and you wanted to do the best you could. In those days, so long as you were doing a good job it wasn't the outcome, so much for the children. I remember one PE lesson and I was told, 'you really did a good job, you couldn't have got any more out of them'. So the onus was on me, so long as I was trying hard and I knew I was trying hard, it wasn't really a big worry. So long as they could see your effort. Nowadays, it's not, well it is your effort, but ultimately it's the impact that you have got on the children.

ME: How do you become aware of these changes?

BRENDA: That's more recent really and that would have come through from advisers and things you read and, you know, what Ofsted was looking for...

While Nias posits teacher disequilibrium as an aspect of a developing sense of self, Noddings' (1984; 2002) focus continues to be on proximity and reciprocity. In positing that the process of care involves care giving and care receiving she acknowledges that the relationship is asymmetrical; therefore the process may begin

when advisers suggest a new approach to the teachers, who receive and work through the new ideas until they are satisfied. As such, a need has been recognized, care has been offered, received, and a need fulfilled, so that a care relationship is established. Significantly, for Noddings too, the process of care involves the teachers' sense of self as an aspect of their trust and relationship to the wider world, that is, a sense of being worthy of receiving care (Bergman 2004). For her sense of self to be maintained, in receiving care the teacher learns how to care and that she in turn must care. Teachers must learn 'to be cared for [by the agents of the system, as] the first step in moral education' (Noddings 2002, 24). In this regard, 'selves are not born' (98) but are constructed.

Brenda acknowledges her difficulties in adapting to change and to learning from the notice to improve:

I can only do so much paperwork and then I wanna get up and wander, or I save it for an evening, but I find that harder these days. It's, you know, getting the balance.

But she appreciates that: 'the support was very good from the LEA' (sic)... I think we are a stronger school from it' (notice to improve). She has been cared for and has gained strength to care for others from this experience.

While there is consensus between Noddings and Tronto that care involves both care giving and care receiving there are tensions when care is seen as individualizing, as focussing only on individuals and their commitments and actions. This gives rise to a further concern of parochialism, when individuals are not required to look beyond their own immediate circumstances to consider wider aspects, needs and concerns (Tronto 1993). The adviser who sees the teacher in need of guidance, frames her as needy within a particular context and, as a consequence develops and maintains an unequal relationship, one in which the teacher is 'other' within the categories and expectations of the regulatory framework. Consequently, while Brenda believes the school to be stronger she is aware of the limitations of her power in the system:

There was something (in the Ofsted report) about dull and boring lessons. And I thought, 'no'. I'm sorry, we might have got a lot of things wrong with but our lessons are not dull and boring, they are just not... And then you try to get them to change it because you are allowed to have some correspondence afterwards, but really they only change the factual. So I managed to get rid of dull and boring, or some such wording, and changed it a little bit, so it was less, sort of, 'arrgghh!'

While some changes have been made, neither the inspection report nor the findings, are fundamentally changed. The outcome is that those who made the judgement and wrote the report accept their own account and definition of need, their own assessment of what is necessary to care for the teachers, as definitive. In this regard a form of paternalism is prevalent as, teachers as 'care receivers are ignored, as the tension between competence and met needs works out in favour of experts' (Tronto 1993, 146).

How teachers come to care is not only a matter of relationships between the self and other individuals, it also involves the possibility that institutions care (Tronto 2010) or that others, who are not intimately involved, care from a distance (Tronto 1993). The focus of care based on psychosocial needs and concepts of self; or as disposition and reciprocal action, place too much emphasis on the care giver and her attentiveness to needs. However Tronto (1993; 2014a; 2014b) also argues that care receiving is an essential aspect of the care process. While Noddings acknowledges care receiving she argues that this is the only requirement of the cared-for. Conversely, Tronto argues it is necessary for all involved in the care process, including those removed from its intimate relations, to consider their part in the care process. Consequently, while teachers should consider their approach, so too should managers, bureaucrats and the political elite who have introduced policies taken up by the teachers in their work. The teachers are also care receivers, from their standpoint it is important that their responsiveness in their everyday is understood as enmeshed with the work of the political elite. In this regard the work of the elite can be understood as care, perhaps 'bad' care, but care nonetheless (Tronto 2010; 2014a).

CONCLUSION

Caring happens when integrity is achieved as part of the caring process (Tronto 1993). When researching 'how to teachers come to care?', the focus is not on what, or who, teachers care 'about', but on developing deeper understanding of the participants' experience in light of the political, particular and plural, and purposive aspects of their work. This is achieved through data synthesis, that is, when several layers of the data are woven together to explicate the actuality of experience. *The Listening Guide* aids data synthesis through a process of several readings of the data, both in terms of what's the story being told but also through critical consideration of the concepts and themes that support analytic frames.

The reflexive purpose is to explore and reveal the organizing power at the disjuncture, the lines of fault (Smith 2005), between the actualities of teachers' everyday experience of work as it is organized by powerful structured and structuring relations. This gives rise to political, moral and epistemological concerns. While the problematic starts with individuals' experience, the focus of analysis and evaluation is in the 'complex web of relations that reach beyond and coordinate what [they] are doing in relationship' (Smith 2005, 41-42). This requires analysis to move beyond the individual motivations to reveal the organization of teachers' work within an institutional context and from the teachers' standpoint (McCoy 2006). The teachers do care about standards and meeting the expectations of Ofsted, they also care about the whole child. There is an acknowledgement that prior to the Ofsted inspection, care was too focused on the latter and not sufficiently on the former; there was a need to change, for example:

The school at that time; it was (pause), it was (pause), personality wise and relationship wise it was pretty much the same, erm, the only thing was, that's when it was sloppy... they weren't targeting assessment of the children like they are now (Marie interview, 15 July 2011).

While the work of Nias and Noddings does help to explore the story being told they are insufficient in explicating the sophisticated institutional technologies that are taken up by teachers and which mediate their everyday work and experience. The examples of teachers' talk in the chapter provide evidence of a duality in

understanding 'need' and 'care' based on social/emotional aspects or performative requirements. However, within the data there is also evidence that teacher's work is mediated through texts, which they take up in achieving balance between the different concepts of care. As Lyn in her interview (11 July 2011) said:

I think Ofsted did affect us actually 'cos we had ideas of what we were going to do [in Key Stage One] and those ideas were just wiped off and we had to go with what the rest of the school had to do...

Erm, and you know when relationships aren't going well, you know, it affects me and I worry about it when I am at home... But I think really it's about not taking responsibility that (long pause) I think that's a big thing really.

Lyn's worries about work extend into her home life and involve how she might balance different understandings of responsibility. Importantly, the teachers' talk is also a form of text which, in its utterance, helps to develop understanding of the actuality of the everyday. Texts are therefore taken up socially, as an aspect of the everyday actuality of the teacher's work.

Data has been assembled and synthesised to reveal connections, richness and complexity in the teachers' diverse experiences; analysis explicates wider relations of ruling and disjunctures in attentiveness and responsibility. As such there is a need to move away from positions that objectify the teachers and their experience, to recognition of institutional ruling relations and the mediating power of texts. Epistemologically this chapter moves away from interpretations of the data that can engage in 'othering'. It is helpful to draw on Nias and Noddings in analysis and to recognize that their understanding and approaches do not include all people and all possibilities. Not to move beyond these approaches is to become involved in 'othering', to develop a category of 'others'; those who do not meet particular theoretical conditions and who cannot be assimilated into their norm. As argued in Chapter Two, conceptions of care focused on proximal relationships do not sit well with IE since, for example, the concept of 'engrossment' transforms people and people's doings into objects and as conceptual outsiders (Smith 2005, 28).

Teachers are both care givers and care receivers, however this is not simply an aspect of a particular psychosocial state, or of proximal relations. It involves questions of attentiveness and responsibility, of emphasis of care giving over care receiving, which implicates those who seek to direct teachers' work at a distance from its intimate relations. In Chapter Two I argued that Margaret Urban Walker's (1998) Expressive Collaborative model focuses on the moral practice of responsibility. Responsibility implies a hierarchy in both power and relationships and Walker's model seeks to reveal how people are positioned in relation to each other and through what understanding of responsibility. If hierarchical practices of responsibility are political practices (Sevenhuijsen 1998), focusing on the teachers' attentiveness and responsibility to care giving and care receiving works to explicate wider relations of ruling. An aspect of this is their attentiveness to what is in regulation, policy and guidance, consequently what is in higher order, trans-local regulatory and guidance texts is the focus of the next chapter.

However, as discussed in Chapter Three, there is a relationship between everyday experience, for example of responsibility, care giving and care receiving, and thought, where each is shaped by and shapes the other (Allman 2007; 2010). These concepts are in internal relation so, as the teachers take up and develop new understandings of the concept they persistently do so within the relation between consciousness and material experience, and between their objectivity and subjectivity (Allman 2007, 33). Consequently, discussion in this chapter considers perceptions of care. Although I have utilized Nias and Noddings to illustrate a move from theory to subjective experience, to do so alone is to produce a form of false consciousness. Importantly however, Tronto enables focus on the relation between subject and object and in the dynamic between material conditions and social relations, which enables explication of unknown consciousness. This is more fully explored in Chapter Seven, specifically discussion reveals how consciousness and local material conditions shape and are shaped by wider mediating forces.

Chapter 6 : ORGANIZING FIDELITY TO POLICY – TRANS-LOCAL INSTITUTIONAL TEXTS

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter explored recognition of teachers' need for relations that move beyond recognizing them as care givers to include their experience and consciousness of care receiving. In the actuality of their everyday work much of the teachers' experience of care is on them as care givers rather than also as care receivers. Indeed this understanding is critical to the thesis. The most common misrecognition of care when discussing this research with others arises in the often asked question, 'how do teachers come to care about *what?*' To focus on 'what' serves to objectify the teachers as care givers only, particularly if the 'what' is framed in regulatory texts and guidance as achieving good pupil progress and outcomes. This is inherent in the comment, 'we still care about the kids but now we care about them in this way', illustrating practice that is normative and based upon the expectations of powerful forces that situate teachers work within performative frameworks. However, 'we still care' suggests a wider consciousness of care, albeit mediated in the rules, regulations, laws and institutional relations of ruling.

As discussed in Chapter Five, crucial to Tronto's (1993) understanding and practice of care is the concept of need. Importantly, to move beyond a simple description of the elements of care practice (from questions that focus on 'what' teachers need to care about) also requires consideration of moral and political concerns (institutional relations of ruling). Consequently, building on the work of Tronto (1993) feminist scholars, for example Sevenhuijsen (1998; 2004), have demonstrated how policy texts are not simply developed from value neutral facts but conceal complex concepts and ideological positions (Barnes 2011). To achieve Tronto's first phase of care (caring about) need must first be recognized and assessed. To move to the second phase of care (taking care of) requires 'attentiveness' (Tronto 1993, 128) to the identified need, and subsequently assuming responsibility in meeting that need. As highlighted in Chapter Five, the disjuncture between care giving and care receiving, and therefore between the teachers' understanding of needs and

responsibilities as care givers and care receivers, involves 'feedback loops' (Tronto 2014a, 22), or 'texts in action' (Smith 2005); that is, textual mediation and organization of the teacher's everyday experience.

Texts are the means through which people in a local site of activity take up coordinating trans-local ruling relations and put them to work (Smith 2005). Texts take many forms (see Figure 1.1) and include higher-order, trans-local regulatory texts and lower-order 'other' texts, which in the context of primary school education include Ofsted reports and local school texts. Indeed the examples of teacher's talk in Chapter Five highlight a range of 'other' organizing texts including, planning and assessment proforma, Ofsted reports and letters, SIP reports and feedback, school policies, and peer discussion. Ofsted and policy texts developed in the school are discussed further in the next chapter. Importantly, these develop from higher order texts including policy, procedural and guidance texts, such as the *Social, Emotional Aspects of Learning* (DfES 2005), statutory guidance on safeguarding, the *National Curriculum Level Descriptions for Subjects* (QCDA 2010) and *Assessing Pupils' Progress: A teachers' handbook* (APP) (DCSF 2010a). These were visible in the school and in the pupils' workbooks.

As highlighted in previous chapters, ruling relations inherently involve context, power, politics, history, temporality and intertextual discursive practices (Smith 2006). Furthermore teachers' experience is both structured within an institutional system and structures the institutional system in taking up the texts. Experience is structured, for example, in the taking up of trans-local policy which in turn structures and organises the daily work within the school through the development of local policies and documentation. Trans-local policies are ideologically and politically founded and are developed and initiated over time; they are also contextualized as they are taken up in local sites of activity (Ball 1993; Maguire, Hoskins, Ball, & Braun 2011). The majority of policies were explicit in the everyday work and talk of the teachers, others however were inferred. For example, while safeguarding was an explicit narrative, during my time in the field, the wider legislative and policy basis for this was not. Revealing what the subject may not know is an important aspect of the institutional ethnographer's work (Smith 2005). Nonetheless, all organizing texts are

traceable though analysis of the data and this chapter discusses significant textual points of leverage within policy at the foundation of 'how do teachers come to care?'

Four texts that were revealed as significantly organizing teachers' work were:

- *Assessing Pupils' Progress: A teachers' handbook* (DCSF 2010a), and,
- *National Curriculum: Handbook for teachers in England* (DfEE/QCA 1999).
- Every Child Matters (DfES 2003a) and the safeguarding agenda including the *Working Together to Safeguard Children* (HM Government 2010) guidance.
- *Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning* (DfES 2005).

These four documents encapsulate the scope of the educational and child welfare reforms that were a significant feature in the ruling relations for teachers' caring work. They were however not the only texts in evidence; APP and the *National Curriculum: Handbook for teachers in England* (DfEE/QCA 1999), for example, are only two documents organizing the work of the national curriculum (DfES 1999). Their purpose is to stipulate the duties and responsibilities of teachers in meeting the expectations laid out in the ERA 1988. They are discussed firstly and jointly as they were particularly evident, were interdependent and lay out what is expected of teachers in relation to the national curriculum.

Subsequently discussion focuses on ECM as a vehicle for policy alignment and reform that involved not only education policy but wider child welfare policy including the *Children Act 1989* (CA89), the statutory guidance *Working Together to Safeguard Children (Working Together)* (HM Government 2006/2010) and *The Common Assessment Framework* (CAF) (CWDC 2006). These documents were significant in the definition and organization of children's needs as an aspect of teachers' work including not only educational needs but wider welfare needs.

Finally, SEAL is an important document as it reinforces both education and welfare policy in teachers' work. SEAL was a whole school approach to enhance the Personal, Social and Health Education requirements of the national curriculum and was delivered through a heavily prescribed spiral curriculum, that is, subjects are

introduced and followed at particular points in the academic year which includes colour coded scripts in their introduction.

Appendices 6a and 6b provide an overview of policy developments and texts mediating teachers' work during the study. However this is indicative and further governing texts includes guidance for school governors (DCSF 2010c). As such these texts are part of a wider, historical complex of powerful institutional relations that discursively shape teachers' everyday experience of care (Smith 2005). The focus in this chapter is on higher order policy texts whereas the next chapter highlights the range of other local texts, including Ofsted reports, which mediate teachers' work. Discussion in the chapter utilises Sevenhuijsen's (2004) Trace framework to consider the ideological and moral positions of the authors of texts explicated and taken up by the teachers.

The aims of this chapter are therefore to:

- Make visible the organizing higher order texts that mediate the everyday experience of 'how do teachers come to care?'
- To explicate texts in action and therefore the wider context of ruling relations in which teachers, school leaders and inspectors activate discourses of care in their work.
- To demonstrate how the political debates and the research and theory discussed in Chapter Five relate to higher order policy texts and work to create disjunctures when taken up by teachers.

ASSESSING PUPILS' PROGRESS: A TEACHERS' HANDBOOK (APP) and the NATIONAL CURRICULUM: HANDBOOK FOR TEACHERS IN ENGLAND.

These documents mediate the everyday work of teachers at Crosstown School. They are explicitly present in the daily work of teachers and pupils in the form of target statements and subject outcomes. They frame lesson planning and assessment and are a significant aspect of practices of accountability since they provide the framework for the assessment of pupil progress – and therefore of

teacher effectiveness. The APP, for example, makes explicit reference to the national curriculum and sets out 'Assessment Focuses' (AFs) (sic) that are specifically designed to enable assessment of pupils' attainment against the national curriculum standards framework for each subject of the curriculum. It is argued in the APP that AFs:

Provide a more detailed assessment framework [than provided by the national curriculum handbook] against which teachers can judge the outcomes of their teaching and their pupils' learning. They are tools for assessment...' (9).

As such the APP also details the standards against which both pupils and teachers may be judged, indeed the document specifies just how such judgements should be made and the evidence required in making a 'secure' judgement.

The detail on assessment in the APP develops the broader focus of the *National Curriculum: Handbook for primary teachers in England* (DfEE/QCA 1999) which sets out the aims and values of the national curriculum. It also makes explicit reference to the wider social, cultural and moral purposes of the curriculum:

Foremost is a belief in education, at home and at school, as a route to the spiritual, moral, social, cultural, physical and mental development, and thus the well-being, of the individual. Education is also a route to equality of opportunity for all, a healthy and just democracy, a productive economy, and sustainable development. Education should reflect the enduring values that contribute to these ends. These include valuing ourselves, our families and other relationships, the wider groups to which we belong, the diversity in our society and the environment in which we live. Education should also reaffirm our commitment to the virtues of truth, justice, honesty, trust and a sense of duty (10).

In this statement, the national curriculum conflates education with the democratic purposes of the state and the economy and therefore with a wider neoliberal,

economic purpose which requires the development of virtuous citizens in its purpose. Accordingly, the handbook further sets out the aims and main purposes of the national curriculum, namely:

Aim 1: The school curriculum should aim to provide opportunities for all pupils to learn and to achieve.

Aim 2: The school curriculum should aim to promote pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development and prepare all pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of life.

Purposes:

1. To establish an entitlement
2. To establish standards
3. To promote continuity and coherence
4. To promote public understanding

Exploration of these purposes further reveals the neoliberal discourse of the handbook. While all young people are entitled to an education this is on the basis of a prescribed number of areas of learning including English, mathematics and science as core subjects; and the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes, not just in the interest of the self but as 'an active and responsible citizen' (12).

Progress towards this is to be achieved through a set of prescribed standards against which not only pupils but teachers and schools can be measured and held accountable. Developing responsible citizens is an important aspect of the curriculum across the age range and is feature of the organization of teachers' work from the early years through to the post-compulsory sector.

The national curriculum therefore develops and exposes all groups; pupils, teachers, parents, managers and employers, to a discourse of standards, progress and improvement. Indeed the national curriculum has been essential to the development of managerial-technical approaches to education in light of neoliberal transformations and economic change (Biesta 2004).

The handbook also reinforces the development of teachers' work in an instrumental way by foregrounding the range of skills required of pupils as they move through education. Key skills include (DfEE/QCA 1999, 20-22):

- Communication
- Application of number
- Information technology
- Working with others
- Improving own learning and performance
- Problem solving
- Thinking skills
- Financial capability
- Enterprise.

This range of skills is consistent with those identified by the Confederation of British Industry as necessary to add value to business outcomes and productivity (CBI 2010), and are common features of the wider employability agenda (Hinchcliffe & Jolly 2011).

The basis on which judgements are made is through the use of 'attainment targets'. The core subjects of English, mathematics and science are broken down into several attainment target areas; English for example consists of three attainment target areas; speaking and listening, reading, and writing, each with six levels of attainment. Similarly, mathematics and science both had four attainment target areas with six levels of attainment. There were also attainment targets and levels for design and technology, information and communication technology, history, geography, art and design, music and physical education. The level descriptors are the basis for assessment of pupils' attainment at the end of each key stage of their school career and the handbook is specific about the levels expected of pupils, for example, pupils in Key Stage One are expected to attain a minimum of levels two whereas those in Key Stage Two should attain at least level four (DfEE/QCA 1999,

17). While the target was clearly level 4 by the end of year 6 there was pressure on the teachers to encourage the 'more able pupils' to achieve a level 5 or 6.

The national curriculum handbook was used by teachers to ensure the required range of subjects were being taught and assessed and as a benchmark for pupil attainment. Evidence of attainment was laid out and framed by the APP and the AFs. These provided a more detailed explanation of the expectations for pupil attainment under the national curriculum and included guidance on the action to be taken should a pupil be assessed at 'not at the required level', or there being insufficient evidence to make an assessment. The AFs for English (Reading) add to the complexity of work mediated by the range of texts supporting the implementation of the national curriculum. As the national curriculum is statutory for all maintained schools, those managed by a Local Authority, teachers have no choice but to organise their work around this discourse.

Once again there is a skills focus in the AFs with pupils required to, for example; use, describe, identify, explain, comment and relate. Subsequently the increasing prescription in relation to the nature of evidence and what the AFs mean in practice highlights a focus on what is measurable; indeed the purpose of the narrative within the national curriculum, APP and national curriculum handbook is to organise what teachers teach, how they assess, and how they evidence their judgements. The APP also makes it clear that this is a cyclical process (page 23) so that teachers are required to evaluate and modify planning with reference to the planning framework before each cycle of assessment.

In this cycle, teachers' work is organised by the *Primary Framework* (national curriculum and concomitant texts) and they are required to 'assess', 'identify', 'modify' and 'secure a fuller evidence base' where necessary. That teachers were planning appropriately for underperforming pupils or where there was a lack of sufficient evidence of attainment was also a key concern for school managers and the APP also made clear the responsibility of school managers in ensuring appropriate in-school moderation. Oversight, standardization and managerialist practices were therefore taken up. Although the document suggests termly accountability during the notice to improve this was undertaken on a more regular

basis. Frequency depended on an assessment of the teacher's capabilities and needs based on; experience and status, subject responsibilities, and particularly, inspectors' or school managers' judgement of each individual's standard of practice. Indeed, observation of practice was a frequent aspect of the teachers' experience with, for some, observation by a member of the senior leadership team, the subject lead, and a School Improvement Partner in the course of a half-term.

The APP and national curriculum handbook are two texts under the auspices of the national curriculum that contribute to the organization of teachers' work and develop expectations in relation to particular tasks: planning, assessment, data management, and the monitoring of student progress. As these are statutory guidance, the teachers at Crosstown were obliged to take up and reproduce texts as they are held accountable managerially and legally. The teachers' everyday work is a matter of compliance and adherence to a process in education of daily planning, assessment, review, and evaluation. In this regard they were required to 'care about' pupil attainment and outcomes not just as a responsibility but as a duty, and 'take care of' their work in meeting that duty (Tronto 1993). How teachers become involved in 'care giving', in embodying and implementing their duties in face-to-face work with pupils and peers, is further framed in light of other aspects of the narrative within the APP and national curriculum handbook.

VALUES FOR EDUCATION

A stated purpose of the national curriculum is to help pupils:

Develop a full understanding of their roles and responsibilities as citizens in a modern democracy... [and] to develop the knowledge, skills and understanding they need to live confident, healthy, independent lives, as individuals, parents, workers and members of society (DCSF 2010a, 4).

Consequently:

Education influences and reflects the values of society, and the kind of society we want to be. It is important, therefore, to recognize a broad set of common values and purposes that underpin the school curriculum and the work of schools (DCSF 2010a, 10).

The broad set of values is:

- The self
We value ourselves as unique human beings capable of spiritual, moral, intellectual and physical growth and development.
- Relationships
We value others for themselves, not only for what they have or what they can do for us. We value relationships as fundamental to the development and fulfilment of ourselves and others, and to the good of the community.
- Society
We value truth, freedom, justice, human rights, the rule of law and collective effort for the common good. In particular, we value families as sources of love and support for all their members, and as the basis of a society in which people care for others.
- The environment
We value the environment, both natural and shaped by humanity, as the basis of life and a source of wonder and inspiration (DCSF 2010a, 147-149).

According to trans-local policy therefore, what teachers must value is individualistic, based on relationships between people, and ideologically frames what is virtuous – everybody working to the same goals, families as the primary source for socialization and for care giving, and protecting the environment. The discussion in Chapter Two highlights the tensions in foregrounding a moral framework based on the principles of masculinist, normative rules and a predominant logic of duty and consequence

that informs justice-orientated approaches to the ethic of care. Consequently, these powerful texts frame moral decision making as a matter of differentially and hierarchically distributed power that privilege the neoliberal ideology of the government. This negates engagement in a process through which the teachers and pupils and parents in Crosstown interact to develop understandings of moral 'care giving' in their work so that good outcomes are achieved (Walker 1998).

In addition to the statutory guidance on the core subjects, the national curriculum handbook also provides non-statutory guidance for *Personal, Social and Health Education* (PSHE) (DCSF 2010a, 136-141). Although non-statutory, and therefore a responsibility rather than a duty, PSHE was understood as an important aspect of the curriculum by the teachers to be integrated within other aspects of the curriculum, for example reading might include a text on relationships and bullying. The guidance lays out a framework for both Key Stage One and Key Stage Two and includes reference to the 'breadth of opportunities' to be made available to pupils in assuring pupil attainment. Examples of the 'breadth of opportunities' suggested are those through which the knowledge, skills and understanding for PSHE are to be taught. Significantly these align with wider government policy on social welfare and the concomitant texts that organise teachers' work, including safeguarding narratives.

WORKING TOGETHER TO SAFEGUARD CHILDREN

Where the introduction of the ERA 1988 led to significant changes in the organization of work in education, the Children Act 1989 did the same for child and family welfare. Significantly in 2003 the then Labour government brought the scope of these statutes and therefore education and child and family welfare policy under one policy umbrella – ECM (DfES 2003a) agenda. Hitherto, education and child and family welfare policy were managed by different departments of state. However, following a number of child deaths, ensuing moral panic and media outrage, the government integrated all aspects of children policy under ECM and the single Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) - the very name of which gave some clue to the emphasis in terms of priorities for the new department. The stated purpose of ECM was to use increased social investment to improve the life

chances of all children and to reduce inequality through enhanced co-operation of education and children's social care departments. This realignment was achieved primarily through the development of a 'safeguarding' and 'working together' discourse.

The stated aim of ECM was to enhance children's life chances by making sure all those working with children and young people worked together to ensure children's well-being and good outcomes in their development. In the foreword, Prime Minister Tony Blair stated:

Crucially, for the first time ever (we are) requiring local authorities to bring together in one place, under one person, services for children, and at the same time suggesting real changes in the way those we ask to do this work carry out their tasks on our and our children's behalf (DfES 2003a, 1).

ECM promoted five outcomes, which resonate with the PSHE guidance, to secure good outcomes for children:

- being healthy: enjoying good physical and mental health and living a healthy lifestyle
- staying safe: being protected from harm and neglect
- enjoying and achieving: getting the most out of life and developing the skills for adulthood
- making a positive contribution: being involved with the community and society and not engaging in anti-social or offending behaviour
- economic well-being: not being prevented by economic disadvantage from achieving their full potential in life.

Crucially ECM develops a discourse of children at risk of harm or as risky - being anti-social, offending or not contributing to society as economically active citizens. It meets the responsibilities of government in national legislation, specifically the Children Act 1989 (CA89), and consequently the UK government's responsibilities as

a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (UN 1988). In addition to the 'paramountcy principle' enshrined in section 1 (S1) of the CA89, which requires that in all decisions made about the welfare of children the welfare of the child is paramount, three further aspects of the Act are particularly relevant in the organization of teachers' work:

- S2 to 4 – parental responsibility
- S17 – children in need
- S47 – duty to investigate actual or suspected harm.

The CA89 was crucial to the then Conservative government in dealing with the vexed question of the role of the State in family life. Sections 2, 3 and 4 began the work of reconceptualizing the State's relationship with parents and children through the notion of parental responsibility. Section 3(1) of the Act defines parental responsibility as, 'all the rights, duties, powers, responsibilities and authority which by law a parent of a child has in relation to the child and his property', and both parents have responsibility if married at the time of the child's birth. Otherwise, section 2 states:

Where a child's father and mother were not married to each other at the time of his birth—

- (a) the mother shall have parental responsibility for the child;
- (b) the father shall have parental responsibility for the child if he has acquired it (and has not ceased to have it) in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

Mothers always have responsibility but unmarried fathers didn't although the situation changed post 2003 when unmarried fathers gained parental responsibility if their name appeared on the child's birth certificate. The problem with the legislation is two-fold; firstly, it cedes responsibility for children's welfare from the State to families thus linking to the wider neoliberal agenda of responsibility of families to bring up children in a manner consistent with society's needs, wishes and norms. Secondly, the legislation organises particularly gendered notions of responsibility. All

women and in particular mothers became to be seen as conduits for ensuring the welfare of their children through the taking on of parental responsibility (Featherstone, 2004), with particular resonance in a primary school context where the staff are predominantly women, and contact between teachers and parents is primarily via the mother.

Section 17 of the CA89 covers the provision of services for children in need and in s17 (1) states:

It shall be the general duty of every local authority (in addition to the other duties imposed on them by this Part) —

- (a) to safeguard and promote the welfare of children within their area who are in need; and
- (b) so far as is consistent with that duty, to promote the upbringing of such children by their families.

The term 'local authority' is inclusive of schools and teachers and as such it is a teacher's 'duty' to 'safeguard and promote the welfare of children... in need', although this section reinforces the expectation that families rather than the State carry the burden for a child's upbringing. Safeguarding was now part of the professional lexicon, as was the concept of 'need' with a child taken to be in need if (s17 [10]):

- (a) he is unlikely to achieve or maintain, or to have the opportunity of achieving or maintaining, a reasonable standard of health or development without the provision for him of services by a local authority under this Part;
 - (b) his health or development is likely to be significantly impaired, or further impaired, without the provision for him of such services; or
 - (c) he is disabled,
- and "family", in relation to such a child, includes any person who has parental responsibility for the child and any other person with whom he has been living.

(11) For the purposes of this Part, a child is disabled if he is blind, deaf or dumb or suffers from mental disorder of any kind or is substantially and permanently handicapped by illness, injury or congenital deformity or such other disability as may be prescribed; and in this Part – ‘development’ means physical, intellectual, emotional, social or behavioural development; and ‘health’ means physical or mental health.

The traditional use of the male pronoun in legislation to denote all children and the archaic language in legislation in describing disability is notable. Significantly however, as a consequence of section 17, several organizing features of teachers’ work emerge; the concept of safeguarding, the need for a continuous assessment of need (since the Act does not define ‘reasonable standard of health or development’), and a focus on intellectual, emotional, social and behavioural development.

Section 17 therefore develops a broad official discourse of safeguarding children in need and moves away from previous narrow forensic definitions focused on protecting children from abuse. Nonetheless the protection aspect of a teacher’s work remained crucial and was reinforced in section 47 (1) which states:

Where a local authority—

(c) have reasonable cause to suspect that a child who lives, or is found, in their area is suffering, or is likely to suffer, significant harm,

the authority shall make, or cause to be made, such enquiries as they consider necessary to enable them to decide whether they should take any action to safeguard or promote the child’s welfare.

Once again, ‘local authority’ includes schools and teachers. The important issue here is the introduction of the concept of ‘significant harm’ which is further defined in s31 (9):

- Harm means ill-treatment or impairment of health or development including for example impairment suffered from seeing or hearing the ill-treatment of another;

- Development means physical, intellectual, emotional, social or behavioural development;
- Health means physical or mental health;
- Ill-treatment includes sexual abuse and forms of ill-treatment which are not physical.

Not only does the CA89 therefore develop a particularly gendered approach to parental responsibility, it also requires teachers to be cognisant of children's wider developmental needs and frames a significant lack of developmental progress as harmful and potentially abusive. In realigning responsibility for a child's welfare away from the State to families the CA89 develops the idea of children at risk within their families and other sites they use, for example schools. Consequently this organises teachers as monitors of a child's life outside the classroom and as assessors of parenting, particularly of mothers' work in this regard. It also organises teachers' work as guardians of development; the links between the PHSE curriculum guidance and the definition of development of s31 (9) of the CA89 are evident.

However, despite the duties enshrined in the CA89, up to 2003 the ERA was seen by government as having priority in teachers' work, particularly in relation to curriculum development and pupil assessment. Eventually, the duties enshrined in sections 17 and 47 of the CA89 were reinforced in section 175 of the *Education Act 2002*:

(1) A local education authority shall make arrangements for ensuring that the functions conferred on them in their capacity as a local education authority are exercised with a view to safeguarding and promoting the welfare of children.

(2) The governing body of a maintained school shall make arrangements for ensuring that their functions relating to the conduct of the school are exercised with a view to safeguarding and promoting the welfare of children who are pupils at the school.

This separation in priority and focus between the duties of the ERA and CA89 was also comprehensively dealt with by the introduction of ECM in 2003. The reinforcement of the requirement for teachers to meet their duties enshrined in the CA89 was in part a response to the inquiry report into the death of Victoria Climbié (Laming 2003) in which all agencies, including education and social welfare, were criticised for not effectively 'working together'.

On coming to power in 1997 the Labour government sought to ensure a broader multi-agency response to meet the safeguarding objectives of the CA89. The statutory guidance produced to achieve this was *Working Together to Safeguard Children* (DH, Home Office, DfES 1999). However, the document did not provide a clear definition of safeguarding and a report produced jointly by eight chief inspectors argued that while the idea of safeguarding children had become a major government priority the term had not been defined in law or government guidance (DH 2002, para.1.5; Parton 2014).

Further clarification was provided in the next iteration of the guidance when the 2006 version of *Working Together*, stated:

Safeguarding and promoting the welfare of children is defined for the purposes of this guidance as:

- protecting children from maltreatment
- preventing impairment of children's health or development, and,
- ensuring that children are growing up in circumstances consistent with the provision of safe and effective care; and undertaking that role so as to enable those children to have optimum life chances and to enter adulthood successfully (HM Government 2006, para.1.18, original emphasis).

Once again teachers' work was organised through statutory guidance so that they had a duty to protect the development of children and ensure the provision of safe and effective care, although quite what this meant wasn't made clear. To reinforce the importance of the document this was the also the first guidance published by HM

Government rather than by particular government departments as before. At Crosstown however, few teachers were explicitly aware of *Working Together* guidance since the majority of the content of guidance was on child protection assessment, procedures and processes which were usually undertaken by a single child protection lead in the school. As such there was a dual definition of 'safeguarding'; the need for child protection in light of suspected abuse in line with s47 of the CA89, or the promotion and attainment of wider developmental outcomes for children in need in line with s17 of the CA89. Teachers' work was more consistently organised in relation to the latter and there was evidence of the extent to which the 'safeguarding' discourse had become formalised as a feature of teachers' work. The safeguarding ethos appeared in several texts prominently displayed across the school thus highlighting the school's aim in promoting the broad welfare, including educational attainment, of children. This was further evoked in the school Mission Statement (displayed outside the staff room door) (my emphasis in bold type):

At [Crosstown] Primary School we are all **working together** as a team to provide a quality learning environment and to help everyone achieve their best.

While teachers did not necessarily become involved in the assessment of children for whom there were specific child protection concerns they were involved in assessment of need otherwise. This work was organised through CAF (CWDC 2006). Under the auspices of ECM all children were considered to have needs although most children's needs would be met by available welfare services, for example education and health, and by appropriate parenting. Those children requiring further support were considered either as children with 'additional' needs or children with 'complex' needs. A child with additional needs might be one who required intervention in the form of a more individualized package of learning or individual education plan because of learning needs, disability or behaviour. Indeed, CAF highlighted risk of poor attendance or exclusion from school, bullying, special educational needs, and disengagement from education, training or employment post-16 as specific examples of additional need. Many of these children would have their additional support managed by the school without reference to outside agencies or

professionals. However, some children's needs might require integrated support from others, for example an educational psychologist. Children with complex needs would be those requiring support from a range of professionals including the children's social care department and/or health services, for example children whose names appear on the 'at risk' child protection register or those with complex disabilities.

Where APP (DCSF 2010a), and the *National Curriculum: Handbook for teachers in England* (DfEE/QCA 1999) organised teachers' work with the majority of pupils without additional needs, CAF further organised their work with pupils with additional needs. For children with complex needs due to a child protection concern, section 47 of the CA89 and *Working Together* came into play. Understood as a process to be undertaken by any practitioner when concerned about a child failing to attain any of the five ECM outcomes, the assessment is prescriptive because of its use of generic assessment forms and definition of need. Nonetheless, the relevance of CAF for schools was reinforced in *The Practitioner's Guide* (CWDC 2009) which dedicated a whole page (15) to 'CAF in Practice – Schools'. Developing from the definitions of the CA89, ECM and *Working Together*, and a further guidance the *Framework for Assessment* (Department of Health, Home Office, and Department of Education and Employment 2000, 17), CAF focuses on three aspects of concern:

1. The developmental needs of children (health, education, emotional and behavioural development, identity, family and social relationships, social presentation and self-care skills).
2. The capacity of parents or caregivers to respond appropriately to those needs (basic care, ensuring safety, emotional warmth, stimulation, guidance and boundaries and stability).
3. The impact of wider family and environmental factors on parenting capacity and children (family history and functioning, wider family, housing, employment, income, family's social integration and community resources).

CAF therefore provided guidance for teachers on their professional functions in undertaking an integrated assessment in meeting a child's additional needs. Not only did it prescribe what was to be assessed and by whom, it also defined the CAF process as circular except that the teachers could not close their involvement since their work is also continually organised in relation to the curriculum via APP and the national curriculum handbook.

SOCIAL and EMOTIONAL ASPECTS OF LEARNING

A key component of ECM is focused on safeguarding children's welfare through protective interpersonal work including child-parent attachment, parenting capacity, partnership with education, role models, including professionals as role models, and self-esteem (Gillies 2008). Where CAF cited attendance or exclusion from school, bullying, special educational needs and disengagement from education as additional needs, concern was also raised about those pupils who lacked the emotional and social capacity and concomitant skills to participate as good members of society (Gillies & Robinson 2013).

SEAL was particularly based on Goleman's (1995; 1996) ideas on emotional intelligence and draws upon psychological understanding of child development and needs. An earlier iteration of SEAL, *Social and Emotional Behavioural Skills* (DfES 2003b), was developed at the same time as ECM (DfES 2003a) and defined the skills required in 'almost every aspect of school, home and community life, including effective learning and getting on with other people' (7). The integration of school, home and community life was founded on:

An ability to:

- be effective and successful learners;
- make and sustain friendships
- deal with and resolve conflict effectively and fairly
- solve problems with others or by themselves
- manage strong feelings such as frustration, anger and anxiety
- recover from setbacks and persist in the face of difficulties

- work and play cooperatively
- compete fairly and win and lose with dignity and respect for competitors
- recognise and stand up for their rights and the rights of others
- understand and value the differences between people, respecting the right of others to have beliefs and values different from their own. (DfES 2003b, 7).

In setting out these abilities the DfES acknowledged their genesis in the psychology of 'personal and social development, emotional literacy, emotional intelligence, and social and emotional competence' (DfES 2003b, 7). The significance for teachers was that Goleman (1995) suggested that emotional intelligence could be taught.

The SEAL guidance posited five broad social and emotional aspects of learning: self-awareness, managing feelings, motivation, empathy and social skills. These in turn could be aligned under one of two categories, the personal (e.g. self-awareness) and the interpersonal (e.g. social skills) (DfES 2005, 6). The skills and abilities associated with these categories were considered to be developmental and therefore change over time. Teachers should be prepared to revisit the social and emotional aspects of learning as pupils progressed through their academic career and subsequently through school and were reminded that teaching the skills was not a 'one-off' but that they were 'fundamental to school improvement' (DfES 2005, 7).

Links with wider policy were made explicit in the SEAL documentation (DfES 2005, 13) with explicit links to CAF and ECM. Indeed children were classified to those whose needs are being met, children with additional needs but which can be met within the school, and requiring further support including from other agencies because of the complexity of their needs.

SEAL was also explicitly integrated with the wider curriculum (DfES 2005, 11) and emphasised the responsibility of all staff within the school in its implementation, a focus on emotional development, behaviour and skills, and the need to involve

parents in its aims. Furthermore, SEAL explicitly recognizes the need for staff development events to enable staff to meet the objectives of the concomitant guidance:

(Such) professional development activities should emphasise the essential role of all staff in modelling the social, emotional and behaviour skills that the materials seek to develop in children. A useful activity is to work in pairs or small groups to generate ideas and language that promote children's skills in each of the social and emotional aspects of learning (DfES 2005, 23).

The requirement for teachers to act as role models in developing esteem and emotionally literate and competent young people is a limiting definition since it constructs 'knowing', 'learning and emotion in an economically instrumental way, based on human capital theory, and assum[es] a harmony of interests' (Benozzo and Colley 2012, 305) between teachers, children and their parents, and the powerful elite. Indeed, the discourse of SEAL argues that the evidence base for the guidance includes 'greater social cohesion [and an] increase in social capital' (DfES 2005, 49). The commodification of emotion as an aspect of work highlights the organization of social relations between teachers and their pupils as an 'objectified form of exchange relations' (Shan 2012, 353). The consequence is the othering of both teachers and pupils as policy seeks to achieve its objectives by drawing upon the intimate and personal resources of teachers (Rikowski 2002), especially their emotions (Colley 2003).

The discursive context in which emotion is used in policy and guidance to organise teachers' work relies on Goleman's (1996) conception of emotional intelligence, an approach that does not deal adequately with its construction of a dichotomy of emotion that includes limiting emotions to a private, individual domain which ignores the prevailing discourse, material, historical, and social context (Benozzo and Colley 2013). Teachers are expected to reflect on their emotional availability and response to pupils but have little time to be self-reflexive about their own needs; a critical requirement of Tronto's process for the ethic of care (Tronto 1993, 2013). Emotions,

in this context, are constructed with the aim of managing emotion and privileging (irresponsibly) what is desirable and ultimately maintaining ideological advantage.

Legislation and policy succeeds in reducing practical and moral engagement with children; for example, in parenting, inclusion, behaviour, and emotional and moral development, into an individualistic, commodified sphere. This is particularly evident in the development of SEAL and the objectification of children and teachers to a dichotomy of risk or as a risk to others in relation to social and emotional relationships and behaviour. There is stress on the teacher's responsibility for others and 'knowing' the consequences of individual action – both theirs and the pupils'. Knowing comprises both self-realization in preparing children for the future and a collectivist position that sets teachers' work in terms of a social obligation to share responsibility in contributing to future well-being. There is the promise of esteem for teachers and children and adhering to institutional requirements and being seen as 'normal' in these terms, whereas those who cannot or do not comply are outside and different or abnormal (Maguire, Hoskins, Ball, and Braun 2011). Alternatively there are terms on which teachers can be trusted and circumstances in which they are not (O'Neill 2013).

DISCUSSION

IE maps the social relations and textually-mediated processes at play in a certain site of inquiry at a specific time. Doing so exposes historical sequences and events that continue to shape teachers' everyday experiences. The texts discussed arise directly in the research either by mapping from particular practices, for example, from planning or assessment and the associated documentation to the prescription of the national curriculum, and so forth; or because they have been specifically named. They are visible in each reading of the data when utilizing *The Listening Guide* (Mauthner and Doucet 1998). They are a significant presence in the story being told, (reading one) and in understanding the teachers' experience within the social, political and cultural context (readings three and four). What is in texts is therefore critical in understanding how the institutional is significant in relations of ruling.

Both the higher order policy texts discussed in this chapter and the historical 'other' documents explicated in Chapter Five have been important in how regulators, inspectors, managers and teachers have come to conceptualise their work. However, while Chapter Five focuses on the wider discourses of need and care, taken up historically and materially by actors at every level, focus in this chapter is on higher order policy developments since the Plowden / Callaghan debates which work to create disjunctures when taken up by teachers. Moreover, it is possible to demonstrate how essentializing and ideological positions are at work within policy texts by drawing on Sevenhuijsen's (2004) *Trace* framework for policy analysis.

Drawing on the work of Tronto (1993) Sevenhuijsen's framework was developed to analyse policy documents to reveal the unspoken ideological and moral positions of the authors. Specifically, Sevenhuijsen recognizes that policy is formulated by human actors in relation and therefore inherently includes settlements and:

Embodies different and sometimes competing discourses that may enable co-operation or alliances in service delivery between those who adopt different ideological positions, but which may also contain the seeds of unsustainable differences (Barnes 2011, 156).

Consequently feminist scholars and care ethicists, including Marian Barnes, have utilized *Trace* to explicate the personal, social, political and moral in relation. *Trace* develops an analysis based on four stages beginning with the following questions (Sevenhuijsen 2004, 23-30):

- Text production. Who is speaking to whom here, with what authority and with which power relations?
- What's the problem and how is it defined?
- What values are at work within the texts?
- How are people and their human nature framed?
- Is care mentioned at all, and how is it defined and elaborated?
- Is the role of gender in caring arrangements acknowledged?

- How is the role of the state framed in relation to institutions, the family, and individuals?
- What are the rhetorical characteristics of the text?

I draw on Trace to address these questions in both this chapter and the next, the latter specifically considering in further detail; people and their human nature, care and its definition, and the role of gender in caring arrangements. The answers to these questions are helpful in reading three and reading four of *The Listening Guide*. In this chapter therefore the questions are applied directly to analysis of the texts discussed herein. I do not use Trace as a particular analytic approach but as tool to explain the textual mediation of teacher's every day lives.

Text production, the problem and what values are at work

These questions are dealt with comprehensively in the previous chapter and in this chapter. The need to balance the relative rights of society and the individual had been a continuing issue of governmental concern since the end of the Second World War. The founding of the United Nations saw issues of personal freedom, civil liberties and civil rights come to the fore, especially through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN General Assembly 1948). There followed a developing dialogue and understanding of the status of children as citizens leading up to the inception of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989, adopted into English legislation through the Children Act 1989. In this context, increasingly liberal approaches to education were given a voice in the Plowden Report (CACE 1967), as were the developmental theories and approaches of Piaget in vogue at the time.

Plowden extensively referred to the need to place the 'whole child' at the centre of understanding (CACE 1967, para 65, page 22). Accordingly, the child was understood to be at the heart of the educational process and emotional development was a matter of both developmental psychology and moral psychology. However the differences between these two fields in psychology were yet to be fully critiqued by Gilligan (1982) and were therefore treated unproblematically. There is a tension, for example, in the developmental stage model developed by Piaget and the moral

psychological development of girls, since his view was ‘the most superficial observation is sufficient to show that, in the main, the legal sense is far less developed in little girls than in boys’ (Piaget 1965/1932, 77). This was the basis on which Kohlberg (1973; 1976) developed his work on moral development, subsequently challenged by Gilligan in her argument for a different ethic of care (see Chapter Two). There is therefore a disjuncture or boundary in the moral standpoint of the Plowden Report which draws upon Piagetian moral principles (which in turn draw upon a Kantian moral theory based on justice, utilitarianism and virtue) and later approaches which view moral development as relational and involving the work people do (Held 2006).

In arguing that teachers must develop the whole child, Plowden drew on a range of developmental theorists (paragraph 510,189) and praised the work of teacher institutions with a Froebelian philosophy, therefore arguing for child-centredness, the idea that the early years were crucial to a child’s social and emotional well-being. In this regard, the work of women and mothers in developing appropriate secure attachments was emphasised. Consequently the theoretical underpinnings posited in the Plowden Report were criticised on three fronts; firstly, through alternative feminist understandings of the ethic of care and moral psychology, secondly, alternative viewpoints within developmental psychology, and thirdly, politically and ideologically.

As discussed in Chapter Two, Gilligan criticized approaches based on sexually-neutral theories (Gilligan 1982, 6), Held (2006) also argued that caring work and practices arise in the private sphere and these are differentiated from the alternative virtues and rational approaches from a more utilitarian public sphere. Noddings (1984; 1999; 2003; 2005) subsequently argued that relationships, especially caring relationships, are necessary for promoting and achieving a moral education. In her view it is incumbent on the teacher to develop relationships based upon an understanding and acknowledgement of the needs of the whole child. Subsequently Tronto (1993, 160) posited that any approach that reduces care to a private sphere of relationships or virtues excludes institutional or structural types of care that ignore conflict.

Alternative approaches were also used in developmental psychology. Martin Buber, for example, posited a child-centred approach, inclusive practices, conscientious teachers – in the sense of teachers in relation – and how to ensure for a pupil a sense of identity through dialogue. Buber (1947, 2002) advocated teacher / pupil mutuality as a challenge to the power and authority of the teacher in the classroom, and set the classroom as a relational space. Teachers' work occurs in an educational, caring and moral space, a place for reciprocity, mutuality, and growth. A key point of departure between Buber and Plowden is with the centrality of the Piagetian approach. Buber saw more virtue in Vygotsky's (1978) 'Zone of Proximal Development', so that the caring, ethical teacher acts as a scaffold for pupil development. Others, for example, Donaldson (1978) and Sylva (1987), have criticised the educational and theoretical basis of the Plowden Report citing theoretical difference about the nature of learning.

The relation between political, ideological and theoretical texts, policy (Chapter Five) and regulatory texts (this chapter), and teachers' work is an aspect of 'feedback loops' (Tronto 2014a, 22), or 'texts in action' (Smith 2005). Specifically, texts at all levels are taken up and are organised by and organise the other as an aspect of an intertextual labour process (Burawoy 1985; Thompson and Smith 2000). That is, teachers are conscious both of the historical and material conditions of their experience and their compliance with the categories of ruling within texts. The historical roots of the labour process are in the debates over the efficacy of the Plowden 'whole child' approach and the economic instrumentalism of Jim Callaghan, with the views of the latter being adopted by government and industry and resonating with contemporary narratives, including complaints from industry about employability skills, and:

Methods of teaching which seem to produce excellent results when they are in well-qualified hands but are more dubious when they are not.

Let me repeat some of the fields that need study because they cause concern. There are the methods and aims of informal instruction, the strong case for the so-called 'core curriculum' of basic knowledge; next, what is the proper way of monitoring the use of resources in order to

maintain a proper national standard of performance; then there is the role of the inspectorate in relation to national standards; and there is the need to improve relations between industry and education... Another problem is the examination system... (Callaghan 1976, online).

Some rhetorical characteristics of the text

This historical overview is important in understanding the 'ideological circle' or 'institutional circuit' (Smith and Turner 2014, 10) which makes the teacher's everyday work recognisable, representable, and actionable with the structures that authorize teachers' work (Smith 2006). Michael Gove, as Secretary for State for Education (2010-2015) demonstrated this in a speech, *On the moral purposes of school reform*, to the National Council for School Leadership on 16th June 2011, in which he claimed, 'knowledge is power', with 'intellectual capital' achieved through prescriptive approaches to learning and assessment.

Yet in the speech Gove appropriated some terms and concepts found in alternative discourses of children and young people's lives, for example for social justice, and partnership. There was a stated commitment to 'empower school leaders to innovate' and to 'a moral commitment to helping those most in need'. There was also a commitment to reducing bureaucracy for schools – a goal substantially achieved by Gove – and a commitment to social justice in particularly meeting the needs of poor pupils for whom educational outcomes were below the standards of more affluent pupils. However these commitments and achievements were ideologically framed within the speech, emphasizing neoliberal and neoconservative demands for:

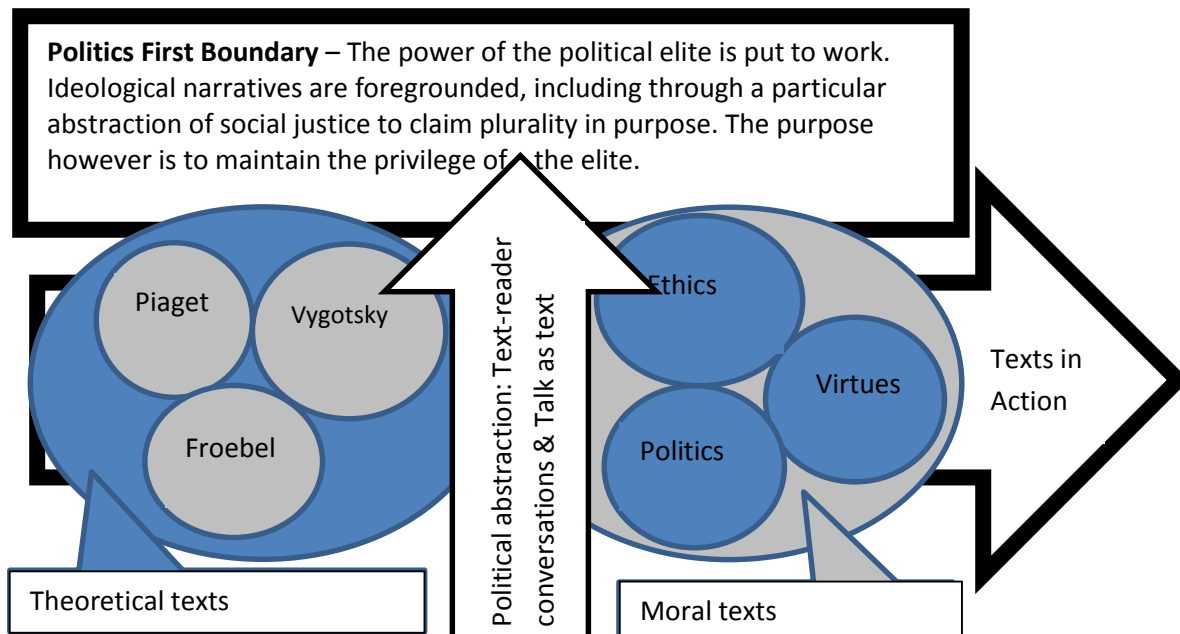
- Collaboration, with a 'competitive edge' and the development of more academy schools outside local authority management,
- A tougher approach to underperformance, so 'that 60 per cent of pupils should achieve Level 4 in English and maths at Key Stage Two or make an average level of progress', and,

- A proper national framework of accountability. Requiring Ofsted inspectors 'to focus on the four core responsibilities of schools – teaching and learning; leadership; attainment; behaviour and safety.

Overall the political purposes of Gove's tenure were confirmed in a speech to the Education Reform Summit on 10th July 2014 when he reemphasised the neoliberal moral purpose of education as social mobility specifically as an aspect of an economic imperative in a globalised and technologically advanced world. Significantly, Gove frames education as a call for a more 'liberal' education in which education and learning has value in and of itself. In this context teachers' work is a matter of order, discipline, time, adult authority, traditional subjects, an abstraction of a functionalist approach to moral values based on theoretical-judicial understanding. The moral purpose of teaching was to safeguard educational progress for children. Under the inspection regime introduced by Gove, teachers and schools were deemed to be failing if they were unable to evidence four points of progress for each child in an academic year.

These historical and contemporary examples of political talk and theoretical debates are the basis on which the primacy of higher order regulatory and policy texts are developed. These 'other' texts are the basis through which the ideology and power of the elite, through 'crusade', is maintained and extended intertextually by asserting values of a particular kind. In this context there is a disjuncture at the boundary of politics, theory and morality since these are not intertwined equally but moral action of a particular kind is organized as a means to a political end (Tronto 1993, 8). People's doings are framed as moral insofar as they accord with the needs of the elite in maintaining their own privilege in a struggle for power and resources, and moral action is instrumental to politics. The abstraction of theoretical and moral texts through political talk as text works to achieve a 'politics first' (Tronto 1993, 6-7) approach to moral action. That is, the primacy of the neoliberal narrative is provided as desirable and righteous, and to avoid doubt, is set through regulation and control.

Figure 6.1: Conceptualizing 'Other' Organizing Texts - Some Examples



How is the role of the state framed in relation to education, schools, the family, and individuals?

Following the significant changes introduced by the ERA 1988 the Conservative Government sought to reform policy in relation to children and their families more broadly. Both the ERA and CA89 have been instrumental in shifting the nature of the State’s relationship with its citizens. This project continued under the Children Act 2004 when the reconfiguration of services for children and their families brought education and welfare together under a unified department of state, the DCSF. This refocused education and welfare provision on the importance, for government, of social mobility, early intervention and prevention in safeguarding the welfare of the child through a top-down performance management approach (Parton 2014). This political settlement was later managed under the auspices of ECM (DfES 2003a).

The ERA came to play a fundamental part in the reconfiguration of the relationship between the State and its citizens, from the social democratic welfare state to a consumerist, individualist model in which the citizen is increasingly responsible for her own outcomes. The result for teachers is an ideological abstraction of their work based on a culture of accountability rather than reciprocal democratic relationships, characterized by a shared understanding of responsibility (Biesta 2004). By driving a shift away from notions of mutuality, reciprocity, democracy, concern for the person,

and shared responsibility, the ERA is a technology of the forces of ideological advantage that exercise power and control in mediating teachers' caring work through multiple spheres of responsibility - an acknowledgement made by Nick Clegg, the Deputy Prime Minister (2010-2015), when he said:

We already expect our teachers to be social workers, child psychologists, nutritionists, child protection officers. We expect them to police the classroom, take care of our children's health, counsel our sons and daughters, guide them, worry about them – and on top of that, educate them too (cited in Vasagar and Stratton 2011, online).

The ERA reconfigured the need for education as a particular aspect of economic exchange rather than as a more universal concept of caring practice; as an activity that maintains, continues and repairs our world so that we can live in it as well as possible (Fisher and Tronto 1990, 40). In a system where education is commodified; teachers are the workers who take care of education and its wider purposes, and pupils are passive recipients. Both are 'other' since they are identified primarily as disembodied elements of social exchange because the need for education, as established by the prevailing legislative and regulatory texts of the day, is ideologically framed by neoliberal capitalism.

As highlighted previously, Tronto (1993) urges us to focus on politics, particularity and plurality, and purposiveness in coming to understand the ethic of care. The discussion in this chapter reveals a complex yet particular web of purpose and power in the convergence of legislative, policy and regulatory texts as organizing forces in mediating teachers' work. For the teachers of Crosstown the extent to which the school functions as a caring institution is a matter of the 'locus of the needs-interpretation struggle' (Tronto 2010, 168). In relation to 'politics' the institutional texts that define and interpret need have, at their foundation, a consistent pursuit of neoliberal capitalism which has particularly involved othering, objectification, the management of emotion in the organization of teachers' work, and ultimately the silencing of teachers as care receivers.

The ERA gave government the power to specify what was taught in schools through the national curriculum and how the outcomes for teaching would be assessed through Standard Assessment Tests at years two and six. Consequently, school and teacher performance are closely monitored. The work of the teachers at Crosstown has been characterized politically by a powerful and dominating agenda which, through its texts, demands fidelity from teachers to the prevailing institutional structures and devices. Fidelity to the national curriculum, for example, is regulated by Ofsted and evidenced in numerous procedural texts so that the teacher fulfils institutional functions by gathering information to meet the prevailing standards and quality agenda. Although the teacher is given some responsibility to make her own judgements this is done on the basis of checklists, proforma and prescription. There is therefore a hierarchy (Smith 2006) through which texts at a trans-local level co-ordinate other texts extra-locally and locally. The national curriculum and APP, for example, provide the 'concepts and categories' that are taken up by teachers which 'can be recognized as an instance of expression of the textually authorized procedure' (Smith 2006, 83).

While ECM emphasises the particular needs of 'every' child these needs were to be assessed utilizing CAF. Significantly there were also workforce reforms including enhanced roles for support staff in helping teachers meet expectations for pupil education progress and wider responsibilities for welfare. As such, the organizing power of ECM was to place teachers at the centre of a change agenda with their work crucial to ensuring children met the outcomes of ECM, but also in an interpretation of childhood and family organised discursively and materially (Parton 2011; Prout 2014).

Where there is no agreement or discussion of the aims and purposes of education and teaching between the teachers and those who hold dominative power and organise their work, 'plurality' is absent. The focus on the 'particular' or individualistic narrative is the relations of ruling required to meet the purposes of government (Ball, Maguire, Braun & Hoskins 2011b) with little attention paid to the disjuncture and incoherence understood by teachers (Braun, Maguire & Ball 2010). The conflation of education legislation and policy as a constituent of wider family policy and legislation leaves teachers open to the 'chaos' of policy since it engages with social

relationships and emotion yet requires them to organise their work in an economically instrumental way (Dewar 1998). Institutional categories limit the scope of exchange between teachers and children so that children are not seen as experts on their own needs and possibilities. Teachers' professional and personal extension is managed on the basis of how they mobilise their internal and external resources in order to achieve goals defined on others' terms. In this regard policy texts mediate an approach to education that is neither plural nor purposive.

The focus of this chapter has been on higher order regulatory legislative and policy texts. However, it is difficult in this thesis to cover in full detail the institutional organizing power of legislation, policy and guidance. The sheer volume of policy initiatives in New Labour's first term included 459 documents just on literacy teaching (Alexander 2010), with over 650 initiatives on the basics in primary education (Tymms, cited in Henderson 2003). Through the national curriculum, teachers' work was increasingly prescribed and, as Labour entered its second term, ECM further compounded the sheer complexity of education initiatives by fully involving teachers in welfare.

Is the role of gender in caring arrangements acknowledged?

Tronto (1993, 6-8) is concerned when what is in policy texts is developed from a 'politics first' approach to moral values. That is, one in which the ideology and power of the elite is maintained and extended through asserting values of a particular kind intertextually, preserving this through regulation and control. In this context, there is a disjuncture at the boundary of politics and morality since these are not intertwined equally but moral action is a means to a political end. People's doings are framed as moral insofar as they accord with the needs of the elite in maintaining their own privilege in a struggle for power and resources, and moral action is instrumental to politics. This chapter demonstrates that narratives of risk and riskiness, good or inadequate, needy or privileged, are consistent within the range of trans-local regulatory and policy texts that organise teachers' everyday work. These texts shift into one another to be taken up to be about education and the whole lives of children and teachers. At one level, for example, children are framed as needing to learn about particular subjects in certain ways, needing safeguarding, to behave, and to

develop emotionally and socially to become virtuous citizens. Consequently, teachers need to ensure that the required outcomes are met. Particularly, the SEAL guidance works to ensure that teachers' emotional labour is an aspect of this work through an incorporation of the teacher and her emotions into capital (Colley 2011). In framing teachers' everyday work and their emotions as care giving, guidance does not address the gendered assumptions of policy makers. However, explicating experience and what is in the texts that are taken up develops understanding material and social relations of ruling through the actualities of women's lives as both a social object in their work and a conscious and embodied being.

CONCLUSION

In taking up these regulatory and policy texts teachers have a statutory responsibility to care about and assess the needs of pupils as framed in the texts. Statutory responsibility ensures their attentiveness to these particular formulations of need and that the teachers understand their concomitant legal and regulatory responsibilities. The focus is on teachers as care givers and their understanding of needs and responsibilities as both care givers and care receivers, is reinforced through 'feedback loops' (Tronto 2014a, 22), or 'texts in action' (Smith 2005). The diminution of care within policy to a particular function in meeting the needs of vulnerable groups, pupils, promotes care as embodied in relationships and not as concerning wider relations of ruling. As Marian Barnes argues:

The discursive construction of care as marginal, inevitably associated with paternalism and protection and subordinate to choice and control, reinforces precisely those moral boundaries that Tronto (1993) sought to dismantle to argue for the necessity of care to social justice (Barnes 2011, 166).

However, any analysis that only foregrounds texts is insufficient in understanding the textual mediation of teachers' work. Consideration must also be given to how teachers take up these texts and the disjunctures that this creates (Barnes & Prior 2009). In particular, Ofsted and local texts are shaped by the trans-local policy texts discussed here so that teachers' work is further mediated through textual

intervention. The next chapter highlights how teachers' practices and perceptions are shaped by other texts (Smith 2005), including Ofsted, consultant, and school texts. Specifically, further analysis is undertaken of the creation of the disjuncture between the teachers' consciousness as care givers and care receivers and their material experience of policy and guidance. Building on Tronto (1993), Sevenhuijsen's (2004) *Trace* framework aids focus on the relation between subject and object, and in the dynamic between material conditions and social relations. In this chapter a number of Sevenhuijsen's questions are applied to analysis of higher-order policy and regulatory texts, whereas in Chapter Seven they are used to illustrate the entwinement of consciousness and material conditions.

Chapter 7 : OFSTED AND SCHOOL TEXTS: TEACHER CONSCIOUSNESS, CARE GIVING, CARE RECEIVING, POEMS AND SILENCE

INTRODUCTION

Where the previous chapter highlighted the mediating power of legislative and policy texts and their relation with the political, ideological and theoretical texts discussed in Chapter Five, this chapter focuses on local texts taken up by teachers in their everyday work. This includes Ofsted texts, local school texts and further examples of teachers' talk as text. As previously argued, this is consistent with Smith's (2005, 167) conceptualization of texts in action (see Figure 1.1). Where previous chapters reveal something of the pre-Ofsted inspection context in school and the teachers' data, this chapter highlights the disjunctures arising in the aftermath of the Ofsted inspection. In addition the chapter addresses a number of the questions arising from Sevenhuijsen's (2004) *Trace* framework for analysing and evaluating normative policy. The questions in focus are: people and their human nature, care and its definition, and the role of gender in caring arrangements.

It should be noted that, while there have been two changes of government and two Secretaries of State for Education during the period of this research, the policy trajectory has not changed. Nor has the role of Ofsted. Consequently discussion initially focuses on the inspectors' reports as examples of extra-local organizing texts. Texts do not possess agency but are activated as they are taken up by teachers in their everyday work, this is illustrated by examples of the teachers' talk in taking up the reports. This discussion begins the work of explicating the courses of action taken in the local site as trans-local texts are activated.

However, a particular focus of this research is the dialectical understanding of the concept of care in a context of primary education and regulation. Understanding concepts requires explication of the institutional context of teachers' work, specifically of the sensuous activities that entwine the teachers' consciousness with the everyday actuality of their material experience. In this regard, as discussed in

Chapter Three, IE draws on Marx's dialectical conceptualization which involves a relationship between consciousness and reality:

Marx conceptualises consciousness and reality as an internally related unity of opposites. Additionally, reality is conceptualised dynamically, as the sensuous, active experience of human beings in the material world. Therefore, at any one moment in time, consciousness is comprised of [*sic*] thoughts that arise from each human being's sensuous activity. The consciousness of any human being will also include thoughts that have arisen external to the individual's own sensuous activity, from other people's sensuous activity both historically and contemporaneously (Allman 2007, 32).

Allman goes on to argue that the relation between consciousness, everyday sensuous doing, and the actuality of experience, is a theory of praxis. Furthermore, the mediation and ruling of people's everyday work involves a process and relation between concepts and discourses in the actuality of experience. Ruling relations are not present in concepts 'but are forms of consciousness and organization that are objectified in the sense that they are constituted externally to particular people or places' (Smith 2005, 13). Explicating ruling relations therefore is not a matter of linear process of the teacher's thought-action cycle with a subsequent move from theory to subjective experience; it requires consideration of the forms of consciousness at play in the actuality of the everyday as 'people are continually engaged in a process of becoming' (Allman 2007, 31). This is the basis of Smith's awareness of her own double consciousness, or 'bifurcation of consciousness' (1987, 82), as an academic, and wife / mother. Her awareness was of the material actuality of her everyday work, where a dominant mode of the 'abstract' academic world, governed by male-orientated rules and sociology, mediated the 'concrete' world of domestic life. Consequently she came to view men as abdicating their more intimate, caring relations to women and of being unaware of the actuality of the concrete work women did that supported men's own abstract work.

As in Chapter Five, teachers' talk as empirical data is again analysed in this chapter, first to confirm earlier findings of the organizing power of regulatory texts, although the focus here is on local texts or texts that specifically relate to Crosstown as a particular site. Secondly, consideration is given to an example (Lyn) of consciousness both as a professional (at work) and as a mother and partner (at home). Discussion then highlights the sensuous activity of social belonging, and ceasing to belong, to groups. Particular emphasis is given to the issue of validation and the 'unknowing' of peers! Consideration is then given to consciousness and the sensuous activities of care giving and care receiving. Utilizing the participant's I Poems as empirical data, subsequent analysis highlights an emphasis on care giving and relegation and silencing of care receiving.

The purpose is clear, while focus is on the local, that is, particular people, acting in a certain site at a particular time, the concern is not simply local. In these terms the local is both particular and plural (Tronto 1993), indeed, the local is the site where wider relations of ruling (explicated in Chapters Five and Six) are taken up, mediated and organised through locally situated social relations (Smith 2005; Ng & Mirchandani 2008). As discussed in Chapter Two, some people are cared for, some are givers and others can absent themselves from caring responsibility altogether, therefore any notion that human capacity is equal fails to account for inequality in relations. This is also demonstrated in the diminution of teachers as care receivers in Chapter Five. Such inequality renders the notions of attentiveness, responsibility or privileged irresponsibility problematic and a moral concern (Tronto 1993). Within IE, the focus is not on the interaction of local and wider global relations as two separate entities, but as entwined, dialectically, and materially (Allman 2007). The concept of responsibility is understood in its relation to its counterpart, irresponsibility, and their relation to other concepts, for example, attentiveness. The particular and plural, the local and global, the individual and social, are in dialogical relation. In IE, discourse refers to the mediation of social relations, the actuality of everyday experience, and consciousness (Smith 2006). The actuality of the everyday is initiated by teachers in this study within 'a local moment of use' (DeVault 2006, 44) and in the dialogical struggle for what has not yet been spoken to find expression, in the moment of its utterance, though a language embedded in relations of ruling (Smith 1997; 2005). Utterances, including I Poems, are therefore a rich source of data.

The aims of this chapter are to:

- Reveal the disjunctures arising in actors' talk and the organization of practices of care through the materiality of inspectors' reports.
- Explicate different forms of consciousness in the relation between care giving and care receiving
- Utilise I Poems in analysis to reveal participant objectivity and subjectivity and the relation between thought and material experience.
- Describe how externally-mediated relations of ruling shape every day work with children.

THE ORGANIZING POWER OF OFSTED

How care is mentioned and its definition

As highlighted earlier, trans-local regulatory and policy texts are key texts in shaping other texts, including those that organize the work of Ofsted and school inspectors, and consequently the work of teachers. Consequent to Michael Gove's appointment as Secretary of State for Education, the 2010 White Paper and the *Education Act 2011*, Ofsted updated *The Framework for School Inspection* (Ofsted 2013c) which lays out principles for inspection under section 5 of the Education Act 2005. Specifically, (page 5):

Inspectors are required to report on the quality of education provided in the school and must, in particular, cover:

- the achievement of pupils at the school
- the quality of teaching in the school
- the behaviour and safety of pupils at the school
- the quality of leadership in, and management of, the school.

When reporting, inspectors must also consider:

- the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils at the school

- the extent to which the education provided by the school meets the needs of the range of pupils at the school, and in particular the needs of disabled pupils and those who have special educational needs.

When evaluating the achievement of pupils, inspectors consider how well:

- pupils make progress relative to their starting points
- pupils learn, the quality of their work in a range of subjects and the progress they have made since joining the school
- pupils develop a range of skills, including reading, writing, communication and mathematical skills, and how well they apply these across the curriculum
- pupils are prepared for the next stage of their education, training and / or employment
- disabled pupils and those who have special educational needs have achieved since joining the school (page 17).

Consequently, although the judgement of the 2010 inspection report was that the school be given a notice to improve, the inspectors acknowledged the school provides:

A friendly, caring and supportive atmosphere. As a result, pupils feel valued, grow in confidence and increase their self-esteem. Staff know pupils well and give much time to their care and support.

This is also confirmed by the pupils who ‘enjoy school, feel well cared for and find adults who work in school kind and supportive’. In addition the inspectors note; ‘secure relationships’ between teachers and pupils and were of the opinion that Crosstown ‘is a caring school, with much emphasis given to the pupils’ welfare’. However, it was Brenda who insisted that their caring approach was acknowledged, saying in a conversation with me that ‘it was important to us that they said we are a caring school’. This, for the participants, was a positive acknowledgement of the

social and relational aspects of their work in an otherwise critical report that judged harshly, in their view, their professionalism. Therefore it is possible to discern at least three meanings for the word 'care' taken up in the Ofsted comments. The first is the use of care as social and relational, involved with feelings, enjoyment and positive psychological well-being. Second, in framing care as a pedagogical device; 'supportive atmosphere... grow in confidence... care and support'; and, third, as a key component in child protection, 'welfare'.

The inspectors' use of care has its roots in the regulatory texts discussed in the previous chapter. The notion of care as social and relational is firmly embedded in the SEAL guidance. As such care is understood to be a matter of proximal relationships and of care giving by teachers. The acknowledgement of a caring school arises from the wider social, cultural and moral purposes of the curriculum detailed in the *National Curriculum: Handbook for primary teachers in England* (DfEE/QCA 1999). The discourse of welfare is both particular to the safeguarding agenda, and plural, evoking the ECM outcomes and in particular 'enjoy and achieve', 'being healthy' and 'staying safe'.

The taking up of the discourse in higher order texts is reinforced in the school inspections handbook (Ofsted 2013a):

Inspectors form a judgement on a school's overall effectiveness based on their findings from the inspection of the school. The following judgements, in particular, influence what the judgement of overall effectiveness will be:

- The school's capacity for sustained improvement.
- Outcomes for individuals and groups of pupils.
- The quality of teaching.
- The extent to which the curriculum meets pupils' needs including, where relevant, through partnerships.
- The effectiveness of care, guidance and support.

Some (more) rhetoric

The organizing power of the word 'effectiveness' must be noted. It appears in the range of texts discussed in Chapter Six, for example:

- The *Overview of the Assessment Focuses for English (Reading)* (DCSF 2010a, 11-12) (Figure 6.2) states, 'In APP, classroom discussions about books and open-ended questions from pupils, as well as teachers, provide *effective* evidence for this AF[3]';
- Safeguarding and promoting the welfare of children includes 'ensuring that children are growing up in circumstances consistent with the provision of safe and *effective* care' (HM Government 2006, para.1.18); and
- *Social and Emotional Behavioural Skills* (DFES 2003b), required in 'almost every aspect of school, home and community life, including *effective* learning and getting on with other people' (7) (My emphasis).

For Ofsted, 'Care, guidance and support' are valued when the relevant strategies and approaches are effective in assuring pupil progress. Indeed, in their first report in 2010, the inspectors focus on levels of pupil progress and developmental outcomes rather than the quality or actuality of caring practices, noting that:

The high levels of pastoral care and secure safeguarding arrangements help to explain why some outcomes in relation to pupils' personal development are good.

Consequently, in the recommendations for improvement in the school focus on the measurable and reinforce the care for desired degrees of pupil progress:

Increase the rate of pupils' progress and raise attainment in English, mathematics and science... by;

- Improving the quality and consistency of all teaching...
- Checking that pupils have targets and know how to achieve them.

Further improve quality of leadership and management by:

- Ensuring the monitoring of teaching and learning focuses consistently on pupils' learning.

- Giving subject leaders more opportunity to check on their subjects so that they can make informed decisions about what needs doing to secure improvement.
- Using information about pupils' progress more systematically to drive and secure improvement.

This is further reinforced in the monitoring inspection report some nine months later (autumn 2010) which focused on the quality of teaching and 'teachers [who] continuously assess pupils' progress', 'which is evident in lesson observations, pupils' work and school records'. The inspectors' comments continue:

In most classes, pupils' use of targets has improved considerably and this is helping them to increase their rate of progress. Clear short-term targets directly linked to well-planned longer-term goals help pupils to understand what they need to do in each piece of work to achieve higher National Curriculum levels. Marking is very effective in helping pupils to improve their work.

Since the inspection, the role of the English and mathematics subject leaders has improved, particularly their contribution to the more *effective* use of information about pupils' progress. For example, they frequently discuss progress data with each teacher to identify underachieving pupils and to plan support that will help these pupils to catch up. Other subject leaders are at an early stage in developing their role. The English and mathematics leaders are increasingly involved in evaluating the quality of teaching across the school. Their focus is the impact of teaching on pupils' interest and progress, which was not always the case at the time of the inspection. (My italics)

That Crosstown 'is a caring school' is not mentioned and the emphasis in this letter is on organizing teachers' work around pupil progress based on targets and outcome data. However, following this second report there was no objection from the participants to the lack of acknowledgement of care, unlike their reaction to the first inspection report. Rather what they did care about was the inspectors' judgement.

This was a particularly positive letter for many of the teachers since the lead inspector reported:

Having considered all the evidence I am of the opinion that at this time the school is making satisfactory progress in addressing the issues for improvement and in raising the pupils' achievement.

There was relief in the school at the acknowledgement of progress and a validation of the decisions to pursue the working practices that led to this outcome. The teachers' own words provide evidence of the link between the inspectors' observations, his judgements, and the participant's organization of their work:

This is what we all feel like! [Simone recreates Munch's 'The Scream'! A small figure, a head with a wide-open mouth, with hands and fingers spread full of fear and anxiety, restless]. It doesn't matter what you do, it's never enough. We need to be clearer what we want people to do because we are really nervous about (the) 'Blitz' visit (from School Improvement Partners). It matters what they think of us. Pride is at stake too and the knowledge of the impact it has on other visits. There's a feeling it matters so much, I need approval and why the lack of confidence? It doesn't matter how much people say external reports aren't important, I still feel they are! Thing is, sometimes I feel I'm doing okay, then bam! I feel rubbish again!

I'm scared for the visit on 11th, and again feel underprepared – that's why I had the dream I suppose....I'm feeling terribly inadequate again.

A feeling that never truly goes away. Feeling of not :

being good enough

ever doing enough

reaching the mark

knowing enough.

Of being found out.

(Simone diary, undated).

The desire to 'reach the mark', to meet the demands in guidance for pupil progress is substantial. The final substantial paragraph in the inspector's letter is also telling, giving emphasis to the role of external experts in organizing work and the actions that the school leaders need to take in sustaining progress:

The local authority's post-inspection action plan was judged by Ofsted to meet requirements. The school improvement adviser and School Improvement Partner [SIP] ensure that support is carefully tailored to the school's priorities. The school uses this support well and both leaders and teachers are benefitting considerably from local authority guidance. School leaders now need to take more responsibility for helping their colleagues to improve so that they increase the school's capacity further to sustain rising standards when external support reduces.

'Reaching the mark' is not just a matter of taking up the particular demands of the inspectors' texts, it also involves the negotiating and taking up SIP texts. However, the actuality of the teachers' lived, embodied experience of their work is set aside in the inspectors' accounts. Yet the texts produced by inspectors and SIPs, developed in their taking up of higher order regulatory texts, are taken up by the Crosstown senior leadership team in subsequently organizing the work of the teachers. At the local level the tension in the boundary between regulatory demands and the wider consciousness of the embodied teacher is made evident in Marie's comments previously highlighted in Chapter Five:

The staff meeting was an interesting one this week. I heard that two staff members ended up in tears due to instructions from Novac. It does seem that many non-SMT staff members feel it is dictatorial at the moment and only SMT have the right to an opinion.

It has been quite an eventful couple of weeks of school and there is quite a lot of disgruntled staff at the moment. We received the Novac report two weeks ago and (deputy head and head teacher) devised that Non-Negotiable action plan which they held the whole staff

meeting (one half hours) to discuss and negotiate what a laugh it was all NON-NEGOTIABLE!!! It appears that (deputy head and year 6 teacher) run the school (very dictatorial). (The head teacher) allows it and should you dare to question anything you get a "talk to the hand" look from (deputy head) and ignored. I may have said already that (deputy head and year 6 teacher) have worked their socks off to build the school up at times their attitude and management skills stink!! (Marie, diary entry 15/07/11).

Novac is used by the local authority's SIPs to record a monitoring visit to the school and to record observations and make recommendations. The inspector produces a knowledge pressure in valorising the work of SIPs in his report, and in recommending that:

School leaders now need to take more responsibility for helping their colleagues to improve so that they increase the school's capacity further to sustain rising standards when external support reduces.

In the taking up of inspectors' texts and the Novac the teachers are placed in relation to desired educational outcomes and desired teaching practices. 'Responsibility' is managerial, 'non-negotiable', and focused on outcomes and normative practices, reinforcing what is desired and valued by the state. The taking up of what is desired and valued is achieved in talk in team meetings, in the production by managers of forms to collect data, in the observation and feedback of teachers' practices by managers, and in continual generation of outcomes data which is eventually fed into an electronic system to record pupil outcomes. The teachers become active participants in the ruling practices developed within the school through the requirement to create forms of data that can be inputted into the electronic recording system, the results of which are used authoritatively by managers, consultants and inspectors, to generate further ruling relations. This co-ordination of the teachers' work is not limited to the generation of electronic data required particularly towards the end of each term. It involves a consistent focus on priorities framed, in particular in the taking up of the APP, in the school's policy on 'marking, assessment and recording'. Specifically:

All teachers should:

- Ensure weekly plans match medium/long term planning and fulfil the requirements of the curriculum.
- Evaluate weekly planning to ensure coverage and effectiveness for individual learners.
- Ensure all lessons have a clear objective which is appropriate to each child's abilities.
- Focus on the attainment of individuals and keep records of this.
- Pass on and discuss records with the next teacher.

The Subject Leaders should:

- Ensure termly plans match the requirements of the new curriculum and show clear objectives leading to progression.
- Monitor marking in subject areas.
- Monitor continuity and progression throughout school and support staff with any planning as appropriate.
- Organize regular opportunities for moderation of assessment in school and where possible across the cluster.

The Assessment Subject Leader should:

- Maintain and improve the quality of teaching and learning throughout school.
- Maintain and improve the management of assessment, marking and recording through the school.
- Provide advice and documentation to help staff assess their pupils' work in an effective way.
- Organize assessment and recording resources so that statutory requirements are met.

Senior Leadership team should:

- Monitor planning for coverage and progression.
- Look at weekly plans to ensure they reflect the aims and policies of the school and plans are evaluated by staff.

- Keep under review the quality and impact of planning and assessment throughout school.

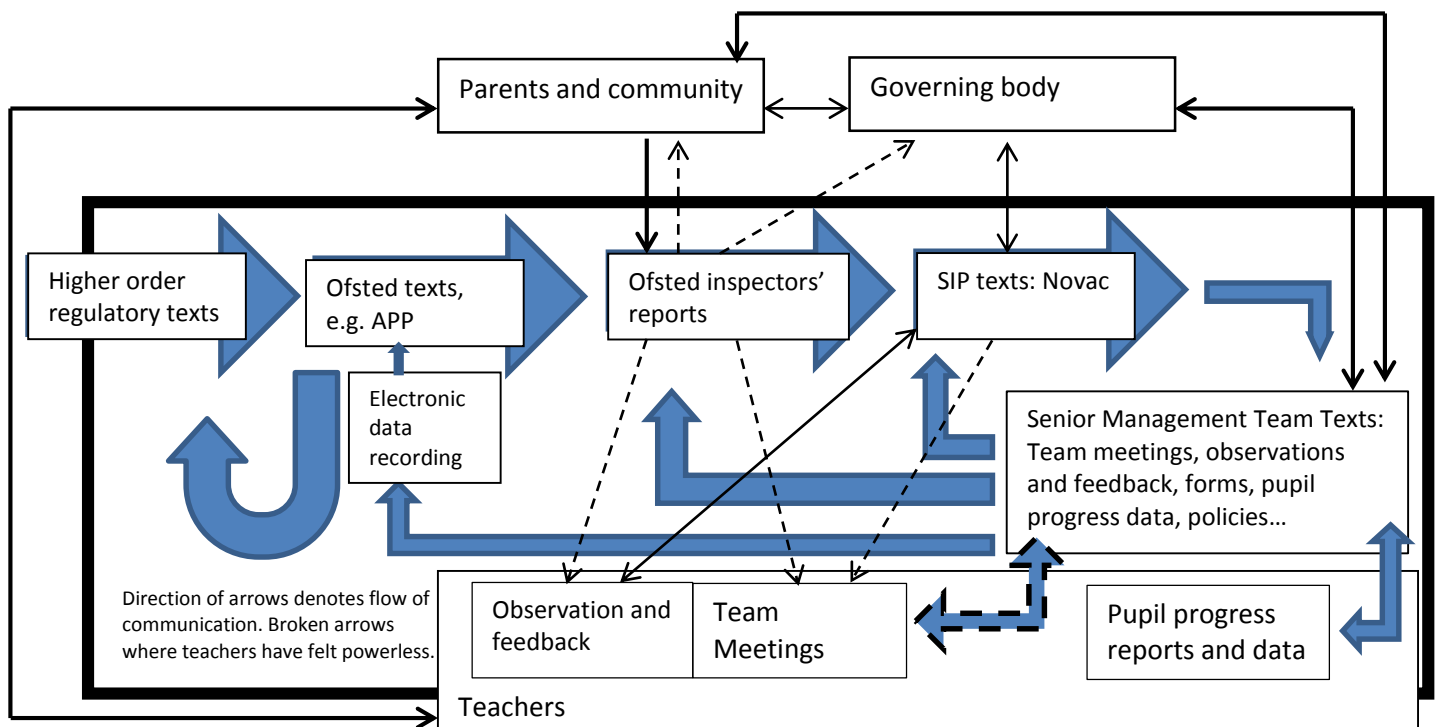
These work objectives require the generation of several types of report:

- All teachers will complete written reports for all children at the end of the summer term, one copy of which will be sent home and form the basis for parent discussions, and the other copy kept in the student's file.
- End of year reports will be completed electronically and concentrate on what the child can do. They should be positive in tone and identify targets for development.
- All teachers keep appropriate records to inform them of on-going progress of all children in academic subjects, which then inform future planning and next steps.
- Pupil profiles/summative records are regularly updated and used to form the basis for discussion for parent interviews and passed between teachers at the end of each academic year.
- Year 2 and 6 parents are given teacher assessment levels and SAT levels.
- Year 1 parents are given the phonics test result.
- Special needs records are kept in the head teacher's office and monitored regularly by class teachers and the SENCO.
- Pupil's books are a record of work covered. They provide constructive feedback through daily marking and show evidence of progress over time.
- Class teacher records and planning are a record of differentiation and how the work has been accessed by the pupils.
- The school publishes achievements on its website.

From this it is evident how the teachers' work is co-ordinated institutionally, through the taking up of the institutional as authoritative. The sheer volume of outcomes means that significant effort and time have to be put into achieving these outcomes.

This is time and effort that expands into other aspects of the teachers' lives including their homes and relationships, and which therefore mediates their everyday and every night being. It is also possible to map the textual organization of teachers' work that includes the enactment of their part in the process:

Figure 7.1: Textual Organization of Teacher's Work



A RATIONAL, MORAL POINT OF VIEW

People and their human nature

Importantly, as the conceptual map and the examples of teachers' talk above demonstrate, this approach fails to engage with the situated basis of professional communication and the relational nature of work. The power invested in the taking up of texts in the actuality of the teacher's work begins with the political and ideological and produces an asymmetrical accountability circuit (Smith 2005). The teachers are dispossessed of their voices except in terms of normative practices and pupil outcomes. Marie's comment above about the approach adopted by management, including the Years Five and Six teachers are important. These

teachers were picked out by the inspector in his letter as performing particularly well. The former is a member of the SLT and the latter co-opted. The inspector's report not only reinforces the responsibilities and power of the managerial hierarchy; in taking it up the teachers develop a notion of asymmetrical relationships, that is, those in which there are different positions of power. They are also conscious that this power extends outside the school boundary into their home and family life.

This illustrates another moral boundary in the ruling relations of 'how do teachers come to care?' In positing a 'moral point of view boundary' Tronto (1993, 9) argues that Kantian versions of morality have several consequences for people and their daily lives. In particular she is concerned about the relegation of emotions and feelings to a rational realm so that morality cannot be shaped by people in their local circumstances. In this moral point of view the actuality of teachers' experience is not important, they are disinterested and disengaged moral actors except in relation to their capacity to reason. Kantian morality is foregrounded as the capacity of people to reason, to achieve the greater good as defined in organising texts, so that the differences between people is a matter of lower order thought. In these terms, alternative moral points of view of the teachers, those that highlight their emotional labour, are of a lower order since they focus on moral work and actions and not on depersonalized moral thought. The desired moral actor from this point of view is 'detached and autonomous, willing to surrender special connections and circumstances... to achieve a rationally justifiable account...' (Tronto 1993).

The textual work of inspectors and SIPs is taken up from normative and individualizing ethical-political standards to produce particular forms of ruling relations and social interaction. This produces a political, social, and moral aspect in organizing teachers' work and frames responsibility as particular, related to rational thought, and outcomes focused rather than plural, relational and democratic. It excludes experiences, understanding and qualities that are problematic to the normative standard. For Tronto (1993; 2014) this is evidence of parochialism and paternalism taken up by the teachers as they activate texts.

Parochialism and paternalism are continually relayed through an intertextual feedback loop that reinforces functionalist approaches to professional practice and

depersonalises the embedded, situated and embodied nature of that practice. Texts are continually taken up by a series of gatekeepers who work from a particular rational point of view and claim power by virtue of their positions in the hierarchy. Teachers, in taking up the concomitant texts, come to develop a deeper understanding of how society works, and what is desired, since they are subject to, and experience, the powerful forces of subordination that the privileged do not. This understanding is explicit in the oppression expressed in the words 'non-negotiable' and 'dictatorial'.

This rational, morality-first approach is reinforced over time. Where the second inspectors' report in 2010 made no mention of care the subsequent re-inspection report (Spring 2011) did highlight care, but as an organising technology in that, 'the school's good care, guidance and support are based largely on the frequent review of pupils' progress to identify those who have barriers to learning'. From the first report in 2010 when it was important for the teachers that, 'we are a caring school' be highlighted in the inspectors' report, to the second report where care was absent; the continuous feedback loop involving pupil outcomes as central had achieved a normative shift in the purposes of care. The 2011 report aligns 'good care' to 'pupils' progress' leading to the comment; 'we still care about the kids but now we care about them in this way'. The report organises 'care' in teachers' work as 'good' when 'progress' is apparent with a need to 'identify... barriers to learning'. In this report overcoming barriers to learning, as identified through the recommendations for improvement made by inspectors, focuses on improving the consistency of teaching and challenge in lessons and further enhancing the effectiveness of leadership and management in achieving pupil progress. The reward for the changes achieved by the teachers was that, in the inspectors' opinion, Crosstown was a 'satisfactory' school and no longer in need of a "notice to improve".

In the next inspection report (early 2013), when the school progressed from a judgement of 'satisfactory' to 'good', 'care' is only mentioned in the brief comment that 'staff take good care of [the] children'. In this context 'care' is an aspect of the pastoral work undertaken by teachers, as care givers, to achieve good pupil progress. This latest inspection occurred under the new inspection regime instigated by Michael Gove, so 'satisfactory' was no longer a category available to inspectors.

The emphasis on teacher performativity and measuring pupil progress remained however:

The very clear focus of all senior leaders and staff has ensured that all areas identified in the previous inspection report as in need of improvement have been successfully tackled and pupils' levels of attainment have risen in all key stages. This success clearly demonstrates the ability of school staff to bring about further improvement.

The quality of teaching has improved from satisfactory to good since the last inspection. This is because senior leaders robustly monitor teaching in all year groups and take swift action, through the management of staff's performance, to improve areas of weakness. Despite this, in a small number of classes, further improvement is needed if teaching overall is to become outstanding.

Staff targets link directly to pupils' achievement and the school's development plan. Checks on the performance of staff are undertaken rigorously and the head teacher uses this information to make decisions on teachers' pay.

The teacher is expected to be a rational, dispassionate being and to set aside her own morality standpoint or morality arguments:

After [the] Ofsted inspection we went into 'notice to improve' and, in all honesty, most of us felt we were lucky to escape 'special measures'. Staff meetings were a shambles with everyone talking at once. We would get bogged down discussing important issues but come to no conclusion on things we agreed didn't get done. Staff meetings rarely (if ever) supported or improve teaching and learning in the school. A waste of time. Confidence (and respect) in the leadership was lost (mine) (Norma, diary entry 14/01/11).

The teachers struggled to reconcile the judgments and demands of Ofsted to 'improve teaching and learning' and a wider understanding of their everyday work.

Significantly however, Norma adds that progress began to be made when relationships were reset:

The turning point for me was when (Simone) read the Ofsted report in a meeting and ending up crying because she felt that it was so unfair. She was really angry and I felt we stopped blaming each other. I certainly felt (Simone) was the strength we needed and I would do everything I could to help turn things around. This has been hard work at times!! (Diary entry 14/01/11).

However, the arguments, debates, and differences in local sites, in taking up Ofsted judgements and requirements, again, involve both the incorporation of emotions into capital (Colley 2011) and an intertextual labour process (Burawoy 1985; Thompson and Smith 2000) that is; local decisions about the nature of work were developed following criticism of previous practices as illegitimate courses of action. The desire for legitimacy also involves the silencing of care. While relationships were reset the focus was firmly on the need to meet the requirements of Ofsted and consequently the SLT to do 'whatever it takes to get out of this'. It is important therefore to acknowledge that the actuality of teachers' experience isn't simply that they are objectified to teaching but that they are embodied in a rational and moral space. A more appropriate title for Figure 7.1 would therefore be 'A Rational, Morality First Textual Organization of Teachers' Work' (see also Figure 8.3).

OFSTED SHAPES CARE GIVING AND CARE RECEIVING

Care and its definition.

Over the period of my involvement in the field, there was a definite shift in prioritizing care giving as a necessary technology in achieving pupil progress. This was supported by electronic technologies that reinforced the managerial, performative agenda, since the system required a particular type of data, to be presented at a particular time, in a particular format. The focus on rational thought, that is, the capacity to think through the lens of a pre-ordained greater good which relegates

their wider consciousness to a lower order, is supported by a political boundary of moral action which frames teachers as care givers, pastorally and pedagogically, indeed in everything that they do. As highlighted throughout this thesis, Tronto posits that care involves five phases: caring about, taking care of, care giving, care receiving, and caring with (Tronto 1993; 2012). To care well also requires us to recognize care as practice, as work and not reduced only to emotions, and that often the five phases are in conflict. This is seen in the previous chapters particularly in relation to tensions between the teachers as care givers and care receivers, for example in Marie's frustration at the member of SLT who refused to allow her to organise trips. The care offered by the member of SLT was understood as inferred care giving rather than care receiving as an aspect of Marie's expressed needs. Marie has a different idea about her needs than her colleague, and is frustrated at the expectation of her as a passive recipient of the care-giving. For Tronto (1993), conflict is a consistent aspect of the care process that can be put to work to fragment and control people's everyday caring practices and to locate people as particular. For example, to revisit Lyn's words discussed previously:

I know we did it for the kids but I wouldn't have worked every bank holiday and up 'til two o'clock in the morning and I wouldn't have worked every day, all day on a weekend to just get that [judgement of notice to improve]. I won't do that next year, I'll do as much as I can but I won't kill myself doing it 'cos I just think you get bitter and twisted and you end up falling out with your family and everything else. [My partner's] brilliant but the impact was I have not done things with my kids, not been able to pick them up and take them places I should have really been involved with.(11 July 2011).

There are several ways in which Lyn's experience of regulation and inspection has fragmented the actuality of her care giving and care receiving. Her caring practice as a teacher working hard to meet the institutional requirements of inspection, is foregrounded before her work as a mother, partner, friend. Her caring work at school and at home, are not integrated as a result of the requirements placed upon her to meet particular managerialist standards. This devalues her as a care receiver and frames her private caring at home as less important. Her bifurcated consciousness

(Smith 2005) of her work as a teacher and mother/partner involves an awareness of her material experience and the conflict between care giving and care receiving through which emotions are brought to the fore. There is a danger that foregrounding care through standards as an aspect of teaching works to frame care at home as a disposition, a private activity. A situation in which care in home and school life are not integrated, and in which needs arising at home cannot cross over into school because they are private, frames Lyn as helpless (Tronto 1993).

The privileged who design institutional policies and processes so that teachers care about standards, are focusing on teachers' caring work in schools and ignore their caring work elsewhere. Consequently, they 'other' teachers to a particular sphere through a separation of public and private caring work. This fragmentation of the public and private is a manifestation of 'privileged irresponsibility' (Tronto 1993), so that Lyn is unable to bring her grievances about care giving and care receiving at home to the attention of privileged elite, who therefore do not need to think about her wider needs. For them there can be no responsibility for Lyn outside the framework of her professional role.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE AND BELONGING

Significantly, Lyn's experience demonstrates that, while the private is not fully integrated with the public, and other aspects of care are not recognized in school, public life does interfere with private life. There was significant evidence of telephone calls and the use of texting between the teachers at home and elsewhere. This in part reflected the significant periods of time spent working at home both during evenings and weekends, which was particularly intense when inspectors or advisers were expected, or when evidence for quality in the form of paperwork was required for scrutiny. Telephone and text contact out of school was both professional and social in that it addressed the conflicts experienced by diminishing and constrained familial contact and because peers also experienced the conflicts and demands of the job. This led to strong bonds:

I think the people I have worked with have changed and I think you form friendships with the people. [An experienced colleague] used to make me feel... she used to scare me really because she seemed to know what she was doing all the time... It was hard to break in, I think, and it has changed as I work closely with [her]. I've got a different view and I love school (Julie, interview 15 July 2011).

Social interaction and belonging were also significant aspects of Nias' (1989) findings. Social identity theory may provide some insight into the identification and membership of friendship groups. Group participants are either included or excluded through categorisations (SLT, teacher, TA; performing or not performing; outstanding, good or requires improvement) which reinforce 'the individual's knowledge that (s)he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to [her] of the group membership' (Tajfel 1972, 31). Julie for example, initially felt excluded by more experienced teachers. Where Julie provides an example of coming to belong, Charlie struggles with the work and contribution of a colleague who is a member of SLT and who she perceives as not caring:

I feel betrayed by [colleague] in a way because she would always say, 'I think you have worked really hard...', but I don't think she really meant that. With her I do think it's the money and I think she knows that she's not doing or hasn't contributed as much to school. I have not really spoken to [her] and I don't know whether I feel a bit awkward with her because I feel a bit resentful, and you shouldn't feel that, should you? (Interview 11 July 2011).

Charlie's relationship with her colleague changed and they each subsequently identified with working more closely with other colleagues. This was increasingly common during the period of notice to improve, Julie, for example, articulated a difference in her sense of belonging when a colleague 'friend' was appointed to a management position:

One thing I don't like that's happened because of the inspection process is that [deputy head] used to be a friend; she is a friend but

she is now deputy and I'm now more scared of her (Interview 15 July 2011).

As membership of groups reformed there was a sense of inclusion or exclusion:

I am happy with the clique I am in but I can imagine it's not nice for some of the people who aren't in that clique, but I like to hope I don't make people feel excluded...

I've had to come to 'teaching' things, you know, and they've been going for a drink afterwards but they've not discussed it and then they sneak off, but they should know everybody finds out (Marie, interview 15 July 2011).

However, Tajfel's (1972) theory of social identity cannot fully account for the teachers' social and material consciousness; the awareness of organizational mediation in their work and how 'a commitment to the ideals of connection and mutual support... is to care' (Tronto 1993, 117). To practice care is to meet needs, yet the privileged foreground particular needs in the form of standards. Teachers work to meet these standards – and consequently the needs of the privileged – while their consciousness of their own wider needs is undermined. Their needs have lower relative value than those of the privileged, and as teachers struggle to come to terms with this conflict, to deal with subordination (Tronto 1993), they experience exclusion and difference:

I feel I've not been able to say how well I think I did [in my observation by an inspector]. I haven't said it to anyone apart from (teaching assistant) because... it wasn't like that for everybody, I don't think...like it didn't go well for (deputy head) and her lesson, she didn't get what she wanted straight away and she had to speak to them and you don't feel like [pause]. 'Cos last time we were, like, really giddy and everything and I felt [pause]. I don't know.

That's maybe why I haven't shared it with anyone. It's like at the end of the lesson that man comes in and shares the feedback and it's, like, gone in five minutes and you don't get a record of that, no one else has heard. I dunno, I feel like, do people think you are making it up 'cos there's only you and him in the room? Do you know what I mean?

I don't know; it's just that way that after the last Ofsted that [Brenda] built it up – 'ooh, I've got two outstanding teachers', and I think other people just think "ugh, not that again, ugh, ugh, and she's, ugh". I don't think other people believe it because they've never seen you do your job as well (Charlie, interview 11 July 2011).

Charlie's experience demonstrates that care is difficult work through which there is an understanding, 'of value in human life' (Tronto 1993, 117). There is also her consciousness of the potential for her 'self' to be perceived as 'other', and treated with disdain. As such, care offers a route to understanding, not emotions or relationships, but the embodiment of society's abstract approaches to power, privilege and socially-mediated relations in a context of teaching. Charlie's caution as a care giver, in withholding the successful outcome of the observation of her teaching practice, can be read as an approach to avoid her being 'other' to her peers. Yet if we consider Charlie as a care receiver, it can be argued that her sense of otherness is an aspect of the socially-mediated relations developed in the taking up and co-ordinating work of the policies and processes of inspection and regulation.

She desires, yet is denied, validation of her success. The system requires that she is observed by a more powerful care giver and that communication is contained and managed. She is therefore isolated from her peers during and after the observation, so that her experience as a care receiver is hidden and devalued. In this regard care is not symmetrical but develops inequalities that privilege the needs of the elite. The attention is on what Charlie does as a teacher in a regulatory and panoptic context with no acknowledgement of her everyday experience as a care receiver. Her needs as a care receiver are silenced; indeed, I would argue that care is silenced since the unavailability of validation, as an aspect of her thoughts and material experience, is

unknown to her peers and those with power who both implement and inspect the implementation of standards.

The role of gender in caring arrangements

Tronto (1993) views this lack of acknowledgement as a specific aspect of gendered Western culture since it is women who are disproportionately seen as carers, whose needs as care receivers are hidden. In addition, if 'caring about' education is framed by the taking up of and adherence to rules, policies and procedures then this is a particularly masculinist theoretical-judicial approach, one in which significant aspects of the everyday experience of those who 'take care of' education as their daily work is ignored. These moral issues are further explored in the reading of I Poem data, however before doing so it is necessary to say something about this reading.

READING I POEMS FOR CONSCIOUSNESS AND MATERIAL RELATIONS

While I Poems are widely understood to reveal something of the subject's subjectivity, it is worth acknowledging concerns have been raised about the use of 'I Poems' in analysis. Specifically, Edwards and Weller (2012) raise questions about the ontological positioning of the researcher. I have addressed researcher reflexivity and my achievement of the standpoint of the participants in Chapter Four, which demonstrates reading of data in my own I Poem that moves beyond my subjectivities to institutional processes and their coordinating power.

The creation and reading of an I Poem is intended to enable the researcher to understand how participants speak of themselves and the epistemological move from listening to participants to interpreting their voices, ultimately to reveal 'the silent and invisible inner world' of the participants (Gilligan, Spencer, Weinberg & Bertsch 2003, 157; cited in Edwards & Weller 2012, 207). However, as discussed in Chapter Two, there are concerns of foregrounding an essentialist and parochial (Sander-Staudt 2011) voice that does not attend to an ethics of responsibility, one that situates people and their responsibilities in a context of their doings, in 'the actualities of their lives' (Smith 2005, 29). Poststructural readings frame the

participant's knowledge of self in the language present in the I Poems, and therefore removed from the materiality of their everyday experience. In this regard, my reading of I Poems involves a reading not only for the participant's consciousness of their subjectivity but, drawing on reading three and four in the reading of the poems, a reading for their unknown consciousness and the relation between thought and material experience, the entwining of objectivity and subjectivity (Allman 2007).

I Poems – Revealing Consciousness and Sensuous Activity

Research that treats people's everyday social reality as existing outside of their conscious being is found wanting as this is to objectify experience as outside the person. In this study the teacher's social world is understood to involve both their thoughts and the actuality of their everyday work and interactions, and how these work together to make meaning. Consequently, my reading of the I Poems is attentive to individual and social consciousness in relation with the teacher's everyday activities. For example, Charlie's I Poem speaks to performativity in her work as a teacher throughout her career; however, since her arrival at Crosstown she notes two phases of concern for pupil progress; an earlier phase which was unconcerned with inspection and the more recent phase in which practices and outcomes have changed, and to which she has responded:

I remember
I have still got lesson observations from in my NQT year
I really enjoyed that, the write up and
I have still got, you know.
When I came here, the first ever inspection I had, there was none of that
I don't know, I think and we had [previous deputy]
I couldn't feel any want to do really well
I think we came out as satisfactory
I don't, the thought of that made me feel a bit deflated
I think you just... it made me want to just coast along
I got pregnant
I felt that the inspection had impacted on me
I felt it was really personal

I know it wasn't, just that you felt a big weight
I think that's where I thought it made something inside me
I did want to do better and improve
I really enjoyed this last 18 months
I sort of feel like
I have improved myself
I have worked hard to do that.

The dialectical relationship between Charlie's concrete, material experience and her consciousness as a teacher reveals the potential of institutional relations of ruling in mediating her everyday work. In this utterance concepts are explicit, for example, in her articulation of 'lesson observations', 'NQT', 'inspection', 'satisfactory'. Her material, sensuous everyday experience is acknowledged in 'the write up', feeling 'deflated', and the inspection process as 'a big weight' that 'made something inside' her change 'to do better and improve'. Her experience is current and also involves those outside her direct experience yet who have sought to organise her work both historically and contemporaneously. The counterpart to 'satisfactory' and 'deflated' are 'do better and improve' so that Charlie 'really enjoyed this last 18 months' having 'improved' herself. Her consciousness comprises her understanding of the actuality of her sensuous activity and the sensuous activity of others who have brought about and continue to organise the regulatory process and its requirements. Charlie's is an example of a dialogical struggle from 'satisfactory' and 'deflated' to a mediated realisation of 'improved' embedded in relations of ruling. This is reinforced later in her poem which reveals her work in developing numeracy in the school, her desire to affect change, and to be recognized for her efforts:

I only felt part of that management team
I asked to be on it.
I was never all last year.
I remember when we went into 'notice to improve'
I said that I think I should be
I said, 'well it's all about numeracy'
I need to be part of those decision making things.

I felt as if I was sometimes an outsider
I didn't, which is unusual for me, like to voice my opinions
I would like to have a bigger effect
I mean, I love working with [Simone]
I love the assessment
I just want to be recognized.

Significantly, Charlie's thoughts and efforts in enhancing numeracy were only validated when she developed a management role that enabled her to effect decisions and voice her opinions. She became fully involved in developing assessment for pupil progress processes. Before this she considered herself an outsider, an object of the hierarchical and regulatory labour power structures that worked to silence her as a care receiver.

There are similar themes in this section of Lyn's I Poem:

I was crapping myself as usual
I was really quite scared
I think the first observation
I only got

I just thought, 'Oh my god'.
I was with the kids on my own
I didn't think we would get 'good'
I just thought she had meant my teaching.

I was really
I had managed reception
I was just really pleased
I did feel really bad

I didn't think that was fair
I felt slightly guilty
I had got 'good'

I was really pleased for us

I am sure they must think

I am just looking all right

I have worked my socks off

I just thought 'thank god for that'

I can't do any more than I am doing

I can't give any more

I can't possibly

I haven't got the time

I can't think of anymore

I could do.

There is a pressure and emotional response associated with processes of inspection and observation and, despite a successful outcome for her personally and her Key Stage, further feelings of guilt and worry at what peers who weren't so successful might think. Moreover, involvement in the process is so exhausting that she has nothing else to give, emotionally, physically or intellectually. As such, she cannot seek validation from her peers, nor can they enter a dialogue of equals in which respective expressed needs are explored. Consequently, her capacity as a care giver to her colleagues is diminished, as it is at home:

I have not done things with my kids

I should have really

I have had a lot of problems

I don't know how

I have managed to keep it together

I have been really, really stressed.

Her consciousness as a care receiver, as a professional and as a mother /partner, is constrained both by the performative demands placed upon her, and disequilibrium

in her material experience of inferred and expressed needs. The silencing of her (un)expressed needs ultimately manifests in stress.

Both Charlie's and Lyn's experience of the school inspection process through observation, feedback and distancing from peers, is an example of the focus of inspection on individual attainment, behaviour, and capacity to change. Such an approach ignores the mediation of teachers' work by wider relations of ruling. Furthermore, a focus on an individual's attainment and behaviour within a masculinist theoretical-judicial approach frames their capacity to change, to learn, only as an aspect of cognitive and psychological faculties, and not also of power (Carpenter 2011). For the inspectors, and the elite who design and define the inspection process, the social is something that exists outside the actuality of the teacher's embodied experience – it is something with which teachers interact.

The problem is that the individual is privileged before the social. Consequently concepts in the inspection process such as 'improvement' (Charlie) and 'good' (Lyn) are presented as ideologically concrete. The expectation is that teachers take up these abstract concepts as part of the structure and regulatory discourse that frames their everyday experience, and which are reified by inspectors as the inferred needs of the prevailing system of education. However, for Charlie and Lyn, their knowledge of their inspection experience arises in their entwined consciousness of the historical and material, and their sensuous activities in their everyday work. Their I Poems are read and interpreted for the embodiment of this dialectical relationship, which reveal the diminution and silencing of care receiving.

CONSIDERING SILENCED CARE

A difficulty with inspection judgements based on observations of teachers in their daily work, on records of interviews, reviews of documentation and on outcomes data is that the focus is on a particular normative approach to consciousness – that which can be voiced. This encourages consideration of an individual's words, spoken and written, and action. It also encourages research on particular forms of discourse and narratives that ignore the material world and consciousness in relation. Importantly researchers have made moves to recognize that data also exists in what

has not been voiced and that non-normative approaches to voice should be attended to. For example both Mazzei (2003; 2009) and Spyrou (2011) consider silence as an important consideration for researchers, and what has emerged in this research is a silencing of consciousness and silencing of care, specifically care receiving.

A significant difference between this study and the work of Mazzei and Spyrou is that the latter approach silence poststructurally, as 'nonresponses, the evasions, the denials, the pauses, the breaths, the sighs, the deflections, and reframings' (Spyrou 2015, 6) in the relationship between researcher and participant. These narrative 'happenings' exist outside the actuality of the participant's utterance. Nonetheless, their findings are helpful in developing understanding of what else might be known of silence arising from the everyday material and sensuous actuality of the teacher's work. Mazzei (2003, 364-366) for example, offers five categories of silence: polite, privileged, veiled, intentional and unintelligible, although Spyrou recognizes that other categories are probable.

For Mazzei, polite silences occur when a person is apprehensive or fearful of causing offence. Privileged silences, it could be argued, are similar to Tronto's (1993) concept of privileged irresponsibility since the privileged are silent when they ignore their very privilege and actions. However an important difference between privileged silence and privileged irresponsibility is the absence of politics and the material. Veiled silences are silences of deceit since a person hides his identity or aspects of his being from others. Similarly, intentional silences are used to hide for fear of exposing one's self or being exposed by others. Lastly, unintelligible silences are recognisable but unreadable, their purpose unknown. However, these concepts of silence are normalizing and situated outside the person as an object of study. In this study silence is embodied, something being done in time, by particular people, in a particular local setting, in locally mediated and organised practices.

My concept of silence is epistemological and not separate from the teacher or person but an aspect of their bodily being and consciousness. This includes the unknown, consciousness which is yet to find meaning through a moment of utterance. Furthermore, silence is in the actuality of the teacher's everyday experience, particularly in the diminution of aspects of care in their daily work, or in

their understanding of their daily work. Their interaction between care receiving and care giving is entwined, dialectically and materially related (Allman 2007), not as separate entities. The concept of care giving is understood in its relation to its counterpart, care receiving, and their relation to other concepts, for example, attentiveness and responsibility. As the teachers respond to the demands of the elite and those in power to 'care about' pupil progress and outcomes, they 'take care of' this as a consequence of moral, legal and contractual responsibility and labour-power relations as an aspect of their work. To re-quote Avis (2005: 211) this raises concerns about such a 'regime of truth that refuses other conceptualisations of good practice, which therefore become silenced and are denied legitimacy'. Since 'care giving' and 'care receiving' are entwined, conflict arises when the former is foregrounded and teachers strive for balance in caring with integrity. The local response to attentiveness to, and responsibility for, care is organised by the elite as a particular local problem (Carpenter 2011). While teachers are aware of wider organizing relations they are unable to mediate those relations in their everyday work. They must conform within their local context to become 'good' or 'outstanding' teachers, and therefore good care givers. Consequently there is limited opportunity to engage meaningfully with the more powerful global forces that shape their consciousness and material experience as care receivers.

The elite organise local school spaces and the work within them through a process of inspection and regulation. The process requires fidelity and particular forms of responsiveness to their standards. Conversely, those involved in enforcing the process are unresponsive to local conditions and wider conceptualisations. In England, the inspection of schools is primarily undertaken by Ofsted which produces both reports on local sites and reports on schools performance nationally. These national reports sets schools apart, lauding those deemed 'outstanding' and criticizing those judged to be failing. Those 'failing' must ultimately improve, and staff move towards the standards set by the more successful schools for fear of losing control of their own school.

Thus, Ofsted both organises and disciplines the local school and schools more widely. It enforces the terms and requirements of an education system organised to the needs of a globalized and marketized economy with a concomitant need for

economically-productive citizens. Teachers come to understand pupil attainment as a matter of economic imperative within a globalised market place. This conforms to the findings of other institutional ethnographies. In her doctoral research, Sara Carpenter (2011), for example, demonstrates how ‘people who honestly and authentically want to engage with the world, make it a better place, and lessen human suffering are left with only a limited scope for their understanding and participation in such struggles’ (252). This is also the case for the teachers at Crosstown who have a broad understanding and experience of care, and of the potential of care to make the world a better place, yet find aspects of care diminished. This, I suggest, is the ‘institutional’ silencing of care.

Silenced care is not absent care or bad care. Since care is both particular and plural the teachers are conscious of care receiving in other spaces and places; throughout my time in the school Lyn talked of her joy in the social interactions of dance lessons, Charlie of her own children. In their everyday work in school however care receiving especially is diminished, and care giving is organised in relation to pupil progress and outcomes. The teachers are proud of their attainment in inspection observations and feedback yet unable to experience validation with each other. This is a moral and political aspect of how teachers come to care in their local conditions. For Tronto (2011; 2013) this approach to care is not democratic since it fails to recognize care receiving equally, reinforces inequality between the powerful and the teachers, and treats care as a local rather than plural or global phenomenon. The textual mediation of care has been demonstrated in this and the previous chapter.

CONCLUSION

Norma’s idea of ‘balance’ gives rise to the organization of her work involving regulatory ruling relations and other organizing texts as material and embodied. Additionally, ‘balance’ is not simply present, it has to be found; it is therefore active and ‘occurring in time and in the course of, indeed as part of, courses of action’ (Smith 2005, 167). For Tronto (2011) the notion of balance is a matter of the asymmetry between teachers as care givers and care receivers. Where imbalance is a matter of political and moral power a moral boundary is created between the

teachers' understanding of the different components in their bifurcated consciousness.

The dialectical conceptualization in the intertextual hierarchy involves a consistent and entwined relationship between texts and talk, where each is shaped by and shapes the other (Allman 2007; 2010). A constant feedback loop (Figure 6.4) is crucial to texts being taken up in the local setting. The taking up of the concept of 'care' is part of a sequence of action, an 'occurrence' (Smith and Turner 2014, 9) that moves from higher order, regulatory texts and talk and enters into the inspector's course of action when he takes these up. The consequent emphasis is not on the inspectors' report, IE does not attribute any agency to the report, the focus is on the actuality of the inspector's work when taking up the concept in the production of his own report; which is in turn taken up and activated by others. Feedback is therefore in how the teachers' actions are fed back as texts and taken up in different places and different times. This feedback loop or 'institutional circuit' (Smith and Turner 2014, 10) makes the teachers' everyday work recognisable and representable, and actionable with the structures that authorize teachers' work (Smith 2006).

The development of the feedback loop is important in explicating how political power mediates teachers' practices and relegates aspects of experience and consciousness as lower order and disconnected. Dennis Smith, for example, provides an interesting historical account of the development of both 'civilized' and 'humiliation' habitus, with humiliation having its roots in patriarchy, hierarchy and powerful institutional practices. He proposes four types of mechanism that develop humiliation experiences – conquest, relegation, expulsion and reinforcement (Smith 2001, 542-544). Conquest involves the subordination of people to the needs and demands of the more powerful elite. 'Notice to improve' achieves this by reducing teachers' autonomy and reinforcing a hierarchy of status (inspection categories; outstanding, good, satisfactory, notice to improve, inadequate). The pupils become a unit of statistical analysis. Relegation is a feature of this since certain groups, like the teachers in Crosstown, are pushed down the hierarchy. Not to comply with the demands of the privileged is to risk expulsion from teaching altogether and this fear is reinforced when others are seen to be routinely relegated and expelled. Reinforcement is also in the consistent work of the feedback loop. However, it is also

important to acknowledge the boundaries between the social, relational and political, inherent in the comments, 'we still care about the kids but now we care about them in this way', 'we are a caring' school' and 'we need to do whatever it takes to get out of this'. These are moral boundaries (Conradi & Heier 2014), developed from experience, to form both a 'politics first' relationship in action, and a 'morality first' relationship in teachers' thought (Tronto 1993).

As discussed in Chapter Three and above, consciousness arises out of the subjective experience of individuals and involves the object and subject in internal relation. As individuals come together, consciousness develops a social and material relation, that is, the actual experience of individuals and groups generates ideas through the materiality of language, hence talk as text. In this regard the individual's consciousness involves thoughts and feelings and her consciousness of disjunctures may be expressed only through a sense of alienation (Allman 2007, 2010) so that the comment 'we still care about the kids but now we care about them in this way' has a particular resonance.

A sense of alienation suggests a realm in which 'politics first' has primacy since there is a worry about being less powerful, indeed this is the most significant of Tronto's moral boundaries. According to Tronto (1993, 8):

The point of the politics first view is that, insofar as moral principles explain to us how we should treat others morally, such principles may be irrelevant, and are at least subsidiary, to the central concerns of politics, which involve a struggle power and the control of resources, territory, etc... In this situation ethical questions... will only arise when there is a strategic advantage to be gained in appearing to be moral.

Tronto (1993, 93) subsequently argues that to maintain power requires a moral base and that virtue is utilized to exert a kind of power. At the most basic level, if some possess the virtues valued by society, for example a rational approach to morality, then others must not and as a consequence they are less moral. Politics therefore calls into action a moral position that functions ideologically and reinforces the power and privilege of the elite.

There is a complex, relational, ethical and political context in which the teachers' work is organized by powerful texts and the intertextual processes that frame care, so that there is conflict, or disjuncture, in the teacher developing and taking up understanding of practices of care. If teachers are continually framed as care givers then their consciousness as care receivers is diminished or of a lower order. The distinction that this asymmetry develops involves care as a service or commodity in achieving pupil progress, rather than involving care as situated, relational and embodied.

Chapter 8 : HOW DO TEACHERS COME TO CARE?

DEVELOPING UNDERSTANDING OF TEACHERS' EVERYDAY EXPERIENCE

This research was undertaken during a period when the teachers of Crosstown School were experiencing a particular regulatory gaze as a result of a judgement by Ofsted of notice to improve. The silencing and concealment of aspects of care, particularly the teachers' consciousness as care receivers, has grave implications for schools as, in some cases, teachers become stressed and angered by the process of inspection sometimes leading to absence through illness or teachers leaving the profession. In an article in *The Guardian* (15 January 2014) Sir Michael Wilshaw, Chief Inspector at Ofsted, attributed the fact that forty percent of teachers leave the profession within five years to poor pupil behaviour, poor teacher training and poor support from senior teachers. There was no reference to the institutional mediation of teachers' work by his own organization, nor of how the inspection process might become more inclusive of the needs of everyone involved. Such a lack of reflexivity works to maintain the power of the elite and to situate teachers as other.

Consequently, the thesis reveals the 'centrality of otherness' in moral thinking which organises, through texts and institutional relations of ruling, the contemporary world so that teachers think most clearly about their experience and conscious selves as:

Outsiders, who must on some level accept the terms of the debate as they have been historically and theoretically constructed by those in the center (sic) of power, must choose from that starting point one of two positions on the questions of difference.

To claim that they should be admitted to the center (sic) of power because they are the same as those already there, or because they are different but have something valuable to offer those already there.

(Tronto 1993, 13)

This politics of difference is revealed through IE as a method and theory in the co-construction of knowledge, and participant empowerment that begins in the actuality of teachers' everyday work. While it has been argued that a teacher's work is a relational yet a distinctly individual activity, with teachers typically working with 'my' class in 'my' classroom, 'the minute by minute decisions made within the shifting, unpredictable, capricious world of the classroom and the judgements teachers reach when they are reflecting on their work' (Nias 1989, 13) are unique. Yet social engagement includes a dialogical process in which teachers engage with their own consciousness and material conditions and those of others, in time and space, taking up texts to collectively organize their daily lives and settings (Tronto 1993; Smith 2005). While Nias (1989, 138) argues that 'teachers appear to become incisively aware of their relationships with their colleagues' she does not consider those aspects of teachers' social and material conditions that are often invisible to them and their peers, specifically the powerful and mediating relations of ruling that shape their everyday experience. Her constructivist ontology is inadequate in explaining the disjunctures and sense of alienation in a teacher's experiences. This thesis however is concerned to explicate this everyday experience understanding the importance of historical and material conditions in which the subjective idealism and objective realism of consciousness are entwined.

Care emerges as a topic for research because it arises in the teacher's subjectivities and material conditions. Care therefore is an enacted concept posited as a 'way of seeing the embodiments of our abstract ideas' (Tronto 1993, 124). This is important in recognizing the germane interests of Tronto and Smith's (2005) institutional ethnography. For Tronto, caring moves beyond a person's thoughts or capacity, it involves people going about their everyday lives and the process of living those lives. Using IE to explore teachers' everyday work and how they come to care exposes a variety of standpoints on care giving and care receiving, and reveals textual ruling relations mediating the work in Crosstown School. These texts are routinely taken up and explicitly organise the teacher's practices so that some aspects of care are privileged over others.

Nias (1997) later asks 'would schools improve if teachers cared less?' She offers five understandings of the term care: liking children; altruism, self-sacrifice and

obedience; quality in human relationships; moral responsibility for children's learning; personal investment, commitment and guilt. These are problematic since they foreground care as about relationships, dispositions and/or as an aspect of a masculinist ethical framework. In her conclusion she argues:

Given that primary *teachers* cannot fulfil all the *expectations* that *are* held of them, and that some at least of their wounds *are self-inflicted*, they should decide to *care* less about those *aspects* of their jobs which seem to them individually to be least worthwhile, *especially* when the factors *affecting* these *are* outside their control. Instead, they should *care* more about their own professional skill and the impact that this *can have* upon their pupils' learning. Schools will 'improve' only if they *succeed* in their primary task – that of equipping children for life in the twenty-first century.

Paradoxically, therefore, *teachers* who *care* more will *have* in the future to steel themselves to *care* less, *especially* when caring is a matter of *self-image* rather than moral obligation (Nias 1997, 21, original emphasis).

This is to fundamentally misunderstand care as a political concept and such arguments reinforce the power of the elite to set the demands for teachers of what is politically and morally just. Her argument requires teachers to silence and conceal their own needs and understanding in a working environment of trust and mistrust – which itself is morally questionable. To Nias 'moral obligation' is similar to accountability and justification.

Critical and Reflexive Understanding: Towards Empowerment

Research that ignores the orientating power of policy and the organizing potential of external mediating influences engages in a dangerous and debilitating conceit (Ball 1997). Ball does not believe that teachers' work can be wholly explained by reference to educational principles or pedagogy and to do so is to revert to a politics of blame – 'the problem' is 'in' the school or 'in' the teacher but never 'in' policies (Ball 1997, 265). In this regard Ball is arguing for an approach that shifts the focus of

power by challenging the prevailing hegemony and normative conceptions of 'good' working practices. This argument corresponds with Walker's (1998) Expressive Collaborative model which focuses on the practice of responsibility. Responsibility implies a hierarchy in both power and relationships and the model seeks to reveal how people are positioned in relation to each other and through what understanding of responsibility. These ideas are also relevant to the participant-researcher relationship inasmuch as the researcher is in a position of power within the education hierarchy in relation to the teachers.

In researching the problematic of care, acknowledging hierarchical practices of responsibility requires consideration that there are those who are researched, those who research, and those who seek to direct and control research but who are removed from the intimate relations of the research relationship. Applying Walker's Expressive Collaborative model gives rise to the potential of hierarchies in the research relationship and when allied to Tronto's conceptual framework provides a model for understanding the actualities of research practices. Yet a critical approach requires more than recognition of the tensions between researcher and participant, or the organizing potential of research policies, or the development and use of a conceptual framework for understanding research practices. It is also important to think of empowerment and to avoid objectification of participants to external and powerful mediating forces such as policy or the relevance of a conceptual framework. Empowerment is not a simple matter of adopting one paradigm over another; just as positivism has the power to displace what people know, believe and experience, there is potential in policy-orientated research to objectify people to a counter hegemony that is externally developed and generalized to their knowledge, beliefs and experiences (Smith 2005).

Nor is empowerment achieved by objectifying participants as subject to a particular conceptual framework or as the objects of research. In contrast to technicist normative approaches, interpretive research seeks to develop understanding and knowledge from the participant's perspective. However interpretation requires awareness of how the 'particular' and 'plural' are being defined and by whom. Consequently, empowerment is also a matter of interpretive responsibility and standpoint. Walker's concept of a 'practice of responsibility' seeks to reveal how the

researcher and participant are positioned in relation to each other. Nonetheless, approached uncritically or non-reflexively, there is a danger of 'institutional capture' (DeVault and McCoy 2002; Smith 2005, 155-156). That is, the imposition of concepts of 'privileged irresponsibility' or the 'practice of responsibility' on the participants' experience. Where this occurs the research process privileges the researcher's position or knowledge, for example, the researcher foregrounds the concepts in interpreting participant experience and text-participant interactions.

'Interpretive responsibility' is acknowledged in adopting IE as the theoretical and methodological approach in the study. In particular, the standpoint of IE organizes the social relations of objectivity so that participants maintain a presence as subjects in the study rather than as objects for study. The concern of IE is to explore and explicate how everyday experiences are organized by the mediating power of texts in organizations. For Smith IE is critical and empowering since it begins 'in the actualities of the lives of some of those involved in the institutional process and focus(es) on how those actualities were embedded in social relations – both those of ruling and those of the economy' (Smith 2005, 31).

A Political and Moral Concern

It is Margaret Urban Walker's work that gives Tronto's argument a substantive political framework. Walker's (1998) promise in the Expressive Collaborative model is that people are not seen as objects of concern based on individualistic notions of moral development or theoretical-judicial ethical models. Rather there is need for an alternative epistemology that seeks to understand moral work through relations of power and practices of responsibility. The foundation of the Expressive Collaborative model is similar to that for IE since the former promotes a social epistemology with a focus on the institutional organization of moral work through understanding of mediating power that differentiates people and their understanding of responsibility. In these terms 'practices of responsibility' are taken to mean power and credibility inherent in the persuasive and ordering effects of texts.

The distinction here of the ordering effects of texts is important in aligning the Expressive Collaborative model with IE. 'Practices of responsibility' implies work,

social relationships and power, in that one person may assume or be required to be responsible for something or somebody though not necessarily on equal terms. This is relevant both at the level of the researcher-participant relationship and in the concern to explicate coordinating relations of ruling. Significantly the Expressive Collaborative model looks at moral life as a continuing negotiation among people, a practice of mutually allotting, assuming, or deflecting responsibilities of an important kind, and understanding the implications of doing so' (Walker 1998, 69). In this context the Expressive Collaborative model posits a cultural practice through which people account to each other and acknowledge each other as responsible. The doing of moral work therefore necessarily involves questions of who is doing what, when where and how? This creates the possibility that a sociological study of people undertaking moral work, utilizing the Expressive Collaborative model, situates the phenomenon 'in' people as objects of concern for investigation. The use of an I poem as a reflexive tool revealed this danger.

Consequently, aligning Tronto's argument and Walker's Expressive Collaborative model with IE works to avoid objectification since the answers to 'Who cares for?', 'Who are the cared for?', 'What is included?', 'What is excluded?', 'Who can absent themselves?', and so forth are taken to exist in a context of relations that includes texts, intertextual conversation, and the activities of people who produce and use texts and engage with the concepts therein (Devault and McCoy 2002). IE therefore develops a critical and emancipatory function. While some teachers chose to engage in a private process of reflection and critical learning it is still possible to gain insight into ruling relations and their understanding of the institutional technologies and processes at play. Significantly the research developed space and place for dialogue, data generation and analysis and created a means to explicate how a community of teachers come to care.

HOW DO TEACHERS COME TO CARE?

The teachers of Crosstown School reported that they 'are a caring school' and sought to explain the differences in their experience pre-Ofsted and post-Ofsted. In particular they were aware, pre-Ofsted, of their capacity to focus on a wide range of

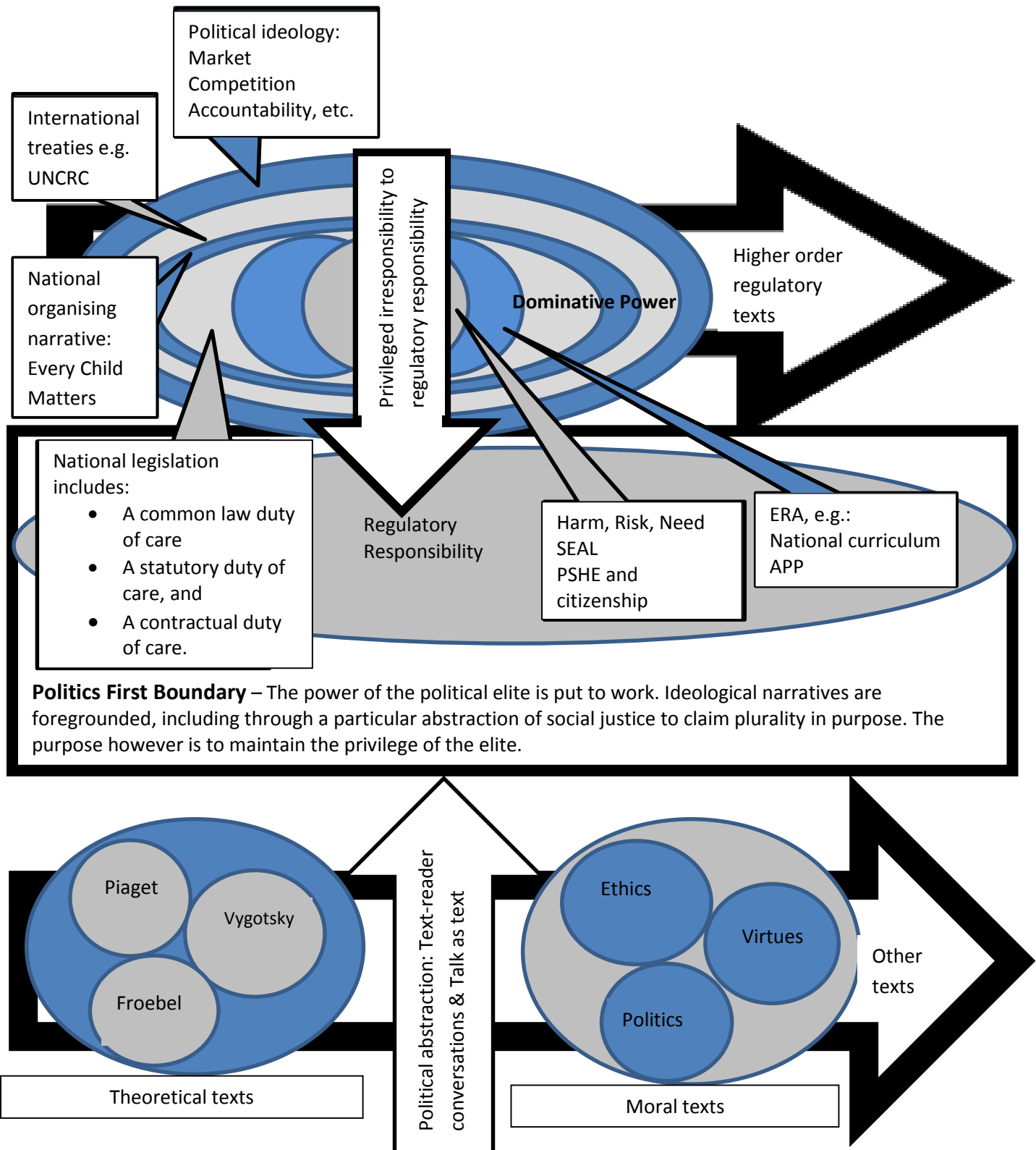
needs and on relationships as an important aspect of meeting these needs, including their own:

Figure 8.1 The Caring Process Pre-Ofsted

5 Phases of Caring	5 Elements of Caring	5 Aspects of Care
<p>Caring About</p> <p>Needs based on social emotional and educational outcomes. Child focused</p>	<p>Attentiveness</p> <p>Care for pupils AND recognition of need for balance between work and home.</p>	<p>Conflict</p> <p>External performative demands but teachers work to maintain integrity in wider relationships.</p>
<p>Taking Care of</p> <p>Teachers assume a moral, legal and contractual responsibility as an aspect of their work. This includes care for outcomes and care for pupils as human beings.</p>	<p>Responsibility or 'Privileged irresponsibility' (Tronto 1993, 120)</p> <p>National curriculum and Ofsted impose specific demands removed from the intimate work of teachers in the school.</p>	<p>Particularity and Universality</p> <p>Caring for a wide range of needs in recognition of local socio-economic conditions. Emotional labour as women, mothers, partners and teachers.</p>
<p>Care Giving</p> <p>Daily care giving to pupils and colleagues as care receivers.</p>	<p>Competence</p> <p>Competence in quality practice as assessed by the teachers but not Ofsted. Difficulty in enabling the powerful to avoid care giving.</p>	<p>Resources</p> <p>Resources within the control of the school are focused on a wide range of pupil need and include personal and social outcomes.</p>
<p>Care Receiving</p> <p>Children and peers report feeling happy.</p>	<p>Responsiveness (of the care receiver)</p> <p>Attempts are made to understand the other although with a panoptic gaze and the social/managerial structure of the school.</p>	<p>Standard</p> <p>Teachers work hard to balance care in light of conflict, resource issues and competence.</p>
<p>Caring with</p> <p>Involves the temporal dimension of care where trust and solidarity are developed through the experience of care.</p>	<p>Integrity</p> <p>Although there are dilemmas and conflicts arising through performative demands the teachers work to achieve a holistic process of care.</p>	<p>Practice</p> <p>Teachers take a plural approach to care seriously.</p>

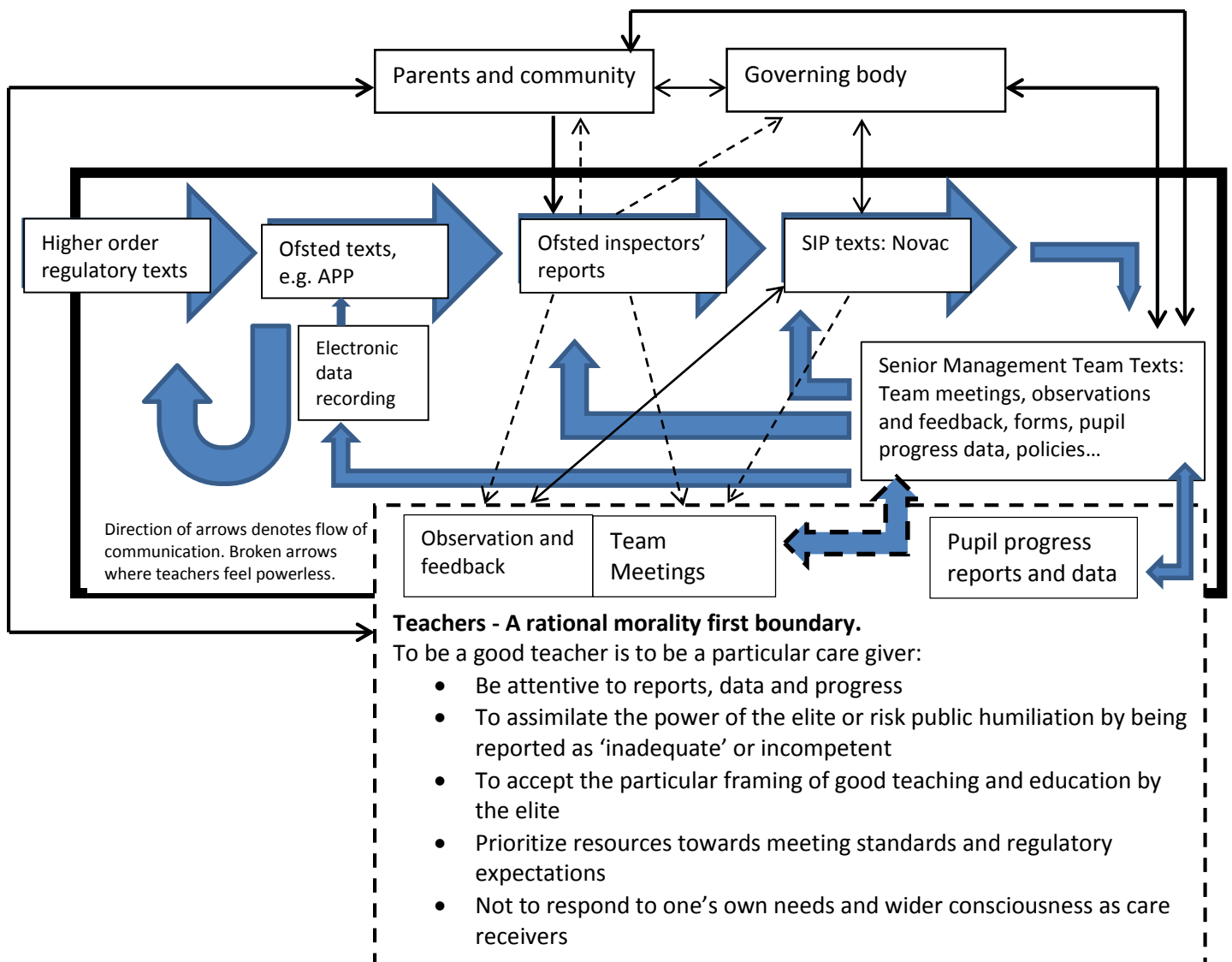
Post-Ofsted the teachers' report disjunctures in their caring experience. Chapters Five and Six explicate a range of higher order regulatory texts and other theoretical and ideological texts in action to reveal a politics first boundary in teachers' work (Figure 8.2). This boundary is relevant to the first of Tronto's (1993) phases of care, 'caring about', especially how teachers come to understand, note and make assessments of needs. Their attentiveness to the needs of children and their own needs are shaped by political and ideological abstraction which frames certain forms of action, based on particular approaches to child development and pupil progress, as desirable. Furthermore teachers are required to 'take care of', the second of Tronto's phases of care, as an aspect of the particular moral, legal, regulatory and contractual responsibilities that arise when the 'privileged irresponsible', those who are removed from the direct, front-line work of teachers, exercise control in the spheres of teacher attentiveness and responsibility. During a period of notice to improve teachers are required to be attentive to and responsible for effectiveness, improvement and outcomes in a context of pupil progress.

Figure 8.2: How Do Teachers Come to Care - Texts in Action



Political and theoretical abstraction gives rise to questions of how the privileged define needs and consequently how teachers as care givers balance these requirements with their own understanding and experience as care givers. There are tensions in the foregrounding of particular aspects of teachers' work which ignore wider, universal aspects of their experience and consciousness. This includes the shaping of gender differences, for example of the teacher's emotional labour, which exposes a rational, moral boundary:

Figure 8.3: A Rational, Morality First Boundary of Care Receiving



As highlighted, teachers are not only care givers but are also care receivers (Tronto 2011) and their experience as care receivers is in their wider consciousness as women, human beings, mothers, *et cetera*. There is therefore an asymmetry in their

experience of care, since the textual organization of their everyday lives foregrounds care giving over care receiving. When teachers' care practices are framed in terms of their responsibility to care, there is no recognition of their care needs. This is problematic since it does not recognize that care is reciprocal and social (Tronto 2011, 34). Tronto's argument is that every person is a mortal being whose needs, both physical and socially organized, are not fully met by the self; we require others to help us meet our needs. Yet, care giving is foregrounded as culturally and morally desired. This creates an imbalance especially when the lack of recognition of the teacher as a care receiver is achieved through textual processes that challenge and organize their esteem as professionals. The disjuncture between teachers as care givers and care receivers creates conflict in their responsiveness to their material experience and consciousness and suggests that the institutional organization of their work lacks integrity (Tronto 1993; 2011). This is an important distinction since disjunctures in the relations of ruling operate in the boundaries between one and the other.

A flaw in the work of those who utilize Tronto's process of care is to over emphasise 'care giving', an issue she acknowledges is 'probably a flaw in the original argument in *Moral Boundaries*' (Tronto 2014b). It appears that this is also a particular institutional approach of the elite in meeting their own needs. Consequently the last of Tronto's phases of care, 'caring with' which involves a temporal dimension in coming to care, develops teachers' experiences of care in which trust and solidarity are placed under strain.

Trust(ing) Teachers

While Tronto (1993) views trust as an essential component in 'caring with' and in meeting the needs of both care receivers and care givers, other feminist ethical theorists have gone further in utilizing trust to critique dominant masculinist, rule-orientated approaches to ethics. Annette Baier (1986), for example, posits a particular approach to trust in a context of a masculinist approach to rules and contract which aligns trust with the concept of power since there are those who assume a moral responsibility for developing the rules and contracts with which others must comply. Significantly, she exposes difficulties in the assumptions made

when different people involved in the contractual process assume trustworthiness on behalf of the other. Particularly, trust is undermined and morally corrupt when the powerful and elite develop rules and contracts to meet their own needs and empower the other only when they, the teachers, exercise discretion in meeting the desired obligations of the powerful. In the context of this study therefore, teachers come to care when they enact and embody their discretionary power in coming to care as care givers primarily.

This is not to argue that the teacher's work excludes wider aspects of care. Where the national curriculum and APP frame teachers' work as an aspect of pupil progress the power of safeguarding and SEAL guidance is to offer an alternative neoliberal narrative of children's needs and best outcomes. It can be argued that this creates a balance by generating some trust in their work in meeting the wider needs of the whole child. It is pupil progress however that is desired and discretionary power in wider aspects of care is given as long as teachers are working towards a particular good based on pupil outcomes. Significantly, trust of the teachers is suspended by the elite when the latter come to believe that the teachers do not care about the same things in the same way. The process for removing trust in the teacher and her work is institutional, utilizing texts, the regulatory framework and policing of performance by Ofsted in particular. Trust is regained when the teacher performs and complies with the requirements of the elite, a transformation that is enabled and begins in the panoptic gaze of 'notice to improve'.

Nor is the teacher's consciousness as care receiver absent. She understands this however in a context of mistrust which generates feelings of unhappiness, stress, confusion and anger. Mistrust arises since she is aware of her needs, is aware of the lack of trust placed in her by the elite, and aware that she must conceal her wider embodied understanding of her needs and knowledge of care. The teacher is conscious of the material conditions of her everyday work and the use by the elite of a 'threat advantage' to maintain their relationship (Baier 1986, 255). She is consequently required to maintain their trust as an aspect of their regulatory and economic relationship and to conceal her wider understanding of care and its practices so as not to be seen as a threat to the particular demands of the elite. Consequently care giving is foregrounded and care receiving is silenced and the full

conscious experience of the teachers and their material conditions are not celebrated equally. How teachers come to care therefore involves consciousness of a wider material understanding of care and trust and mistrust in the embodiment of experience and practice. The relation between these involves consciousness of a disjuncture, specifically to maintain the trust of the elite, to trust and be trusted, is to perform and be effective. Yet this involves mistrust: mistrust of the regulatory and panoptic gaze, mistrust of the elite to 'care about' and 'take care of' the teachers' wider care needs; and mistrust in having to conceal and silence aspects of care, particularly involving some aspects of their care giving and care receiving.

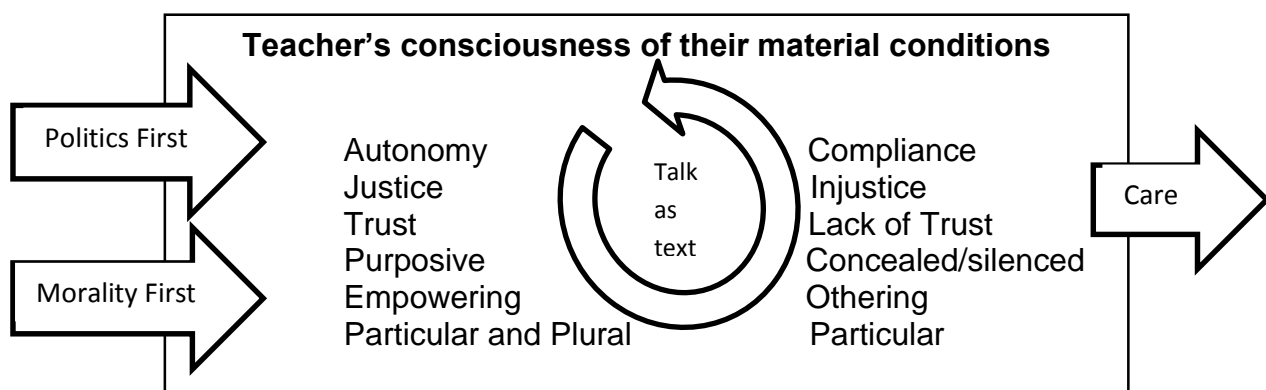
Virginia Held also argues for an entwined relationship between care and trust, acknowledging that they are not the same thing but that one sustains the other (Held 2006, 42). Like Baier she posits that trust is relational, developed over time and from people's practices of caring. Consequently, if trust is achieved in relation it may be broken and is fragile to the exercise of power and control. For trusting relationships to thrive, people in conflict must work towards regaining trust – so trust which might have previously been misplaced doesn't do greater damage than mistrust. Indeed people need to develop trust between each other and between members of society and government to achieve change and collaboration and cooperation. Trust therefore requires autonomous people to be aware of their own needs, the needs of others and to work towards a just outcome in meeting the needs of all. These themes of autonomy and justice are also crucial concepts within Tronto's (1993) caring process. Specifically, good care involves autonomous people working from the actuality of their everyday experience towards the autonomy of the other. Conversely, to utilise care as an approach to restrict autonomy, to disempower and to ensure one's own needs are met above all others is an unjust use of institutional power that creates the teacher as 'other'. The teachers remain other both through individual and collective responsibility until they meet the performative terms and requirements of the elite. That is they are individually and collectively held responsible in the regulatory framework for school effectiveness.

Notice to improve therefore involves a significant asymmetry in trust and involves a period when aspects of the teachers' experience of care; especially as care receivers, is silenced. The elements of care that are silenced are not however

ended, they are concealed, and people remain both care givers and care receivers at the same time. This silencing and concealment of care involves the mediation of the teacher's emotional labour. As stated earlier; the teacher's consciousness is not wholly internal, her objectivity and subjectivities are not just within herself but there is knowledge of ruling relations, specifically a form of 'emotional labour' that 'requires [her] to suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others' (Hochschild 1983, 7).

The silencing and concealment of care is an important aspect of relations of ruling that work to replace trust with a culture of accountability (O'Neill 2013). However Onara O'Neill argues that trust cannot totally be replaced and that those, including the elite, who foreground a positivist approach to the measurement of outcomes and school success, misunderstand both the relational nature of trust and people's work. Like Baier and Held she posits that accountability and trust are in relation since questions arise about the systems and processes of accountability and whether or not they, themselves, can be trusted? In addition to their consciousness of the relation between themselves and the elite, the teachers at Crosstown also question their trust in the systems and process of accountability they are required to take up through the wider textual mediation of their work. Julie's comment 'We still care about the kids but now we care about them in this way' is an aspect of an intertextual conversation that reveals her consciousness of her material conditions and a struggle in balancing her personal, embodied and intimate understanding of a process of care in conditions of trust and mistrust:

Figure 8.4: Teachers Taking Up Politics First and Morality First Boundaries - Mediation of the Personal



An implication of this is that policy enactment is never resolved. The teacher's consciousness and the actuality of her material conditions are always in dialogue and shifting as her material conditions shift, her knowledge and understanding developing over time. Consequently, dilemmas and conflict are a feature of experience both pre-Ofsted (Figure 8.1) and more significantly when Ofsted intervenes to reset the teachers' practice to meet the needs of the elite:

Figure 8.5: The Caring Process During 'Notice to Improve'

5 Phases of Caring	5 Elements of Caring	5 Aspects of Care
<p>Caring About</p> <p>Needs based on social emotional and educational outcomes. Pupil progress is foregrounded.</p>	<p>Attentiveness</p> <p>Care for pupils AND recognition of need for balance between work and home. However relations outside school put under strain.</p>	<p>Conflict</p> <p>External performative demands place significant strain on teacher's wider relationships including as mother, partner. Stress is frequently reported.</p>
<p>Taking Care of</p> <p>Teachers assume a moral, legal and contractual responsibility as an aspect of their work. The demand is for effectiveness based on metrics and progress.</p>	<p>Responsibility or 'Privileged irresponsibility' (Tronto 1993, 120)</p> <p>Significant relations of ruling arise in the taking up of legal, procedural and regulatory texts. Neoliberal appropriation of need.</p>	<p>Particularity and Universality</p> <p>Caring for a wide range of needs in recognition of socio-economic conditions, particularly the political demand for economically active citizens. Emotional labour utilized as a tool in this regard. Shift in the relationship between the State and citizens.</p>
<p>Care Giving</p> <p>Daily care giving to pupils and colleagues in a context of needing to release the regulatory grip of inspectors and SIPs. The focus is on the progress of the former and increasingly the capability of the latter.</p>	<p>Competence</p> <p>Competence in quality practice as assessed by Ofsted and the teachers in light of regulatory demands. The elite frame care giving as moral when pupils make progress academically and behaviourally.</p>	<p>Resources</p> <p>Additional resources released to affect change in meeting regulatory requirements. Resources within the control of the school are focused increasingly on pupil progress.</p>
<p>Care Receiving</p> <p>Care giving remains a significant aspect of the teachers' work especially in relation to the pupils. Relationships with peers under strain and care receiving needs silenced.</p>	<p>Responsiveness (of the care receiver)</p> <p>Confusion and conflict are overwhelming. The teachers are acutely aware of the political and moral boundaries and seek within their personal boundary to achieve balance between their own awareness of their needs and needs as defined by the elite.</p>	<p>Standard</p> <p>Teachers work hard to balance care in light of conflict, resource issues and competence. However each of these framed to work towards getting out of 'notice to improve'.</p>
<p>Caring with</p> <p>Trust and solidarity are in disequilibrium as previous understandings of care are undermined and new experiences of care involve incursions into private time over particular period.</p>	<p>Integrity</p> <p>Integrity is reset as the elite as the achievement of pupil progress. The teachers work to reclaiming integrity in seeking balance between personal, political and moral boundaries.</p>	<p>Practice</p> <p>Teachers take a plural approach to care seriously but take up the institutional relations of ruling that foreground care giving as an aspect of pupil progress.</p>

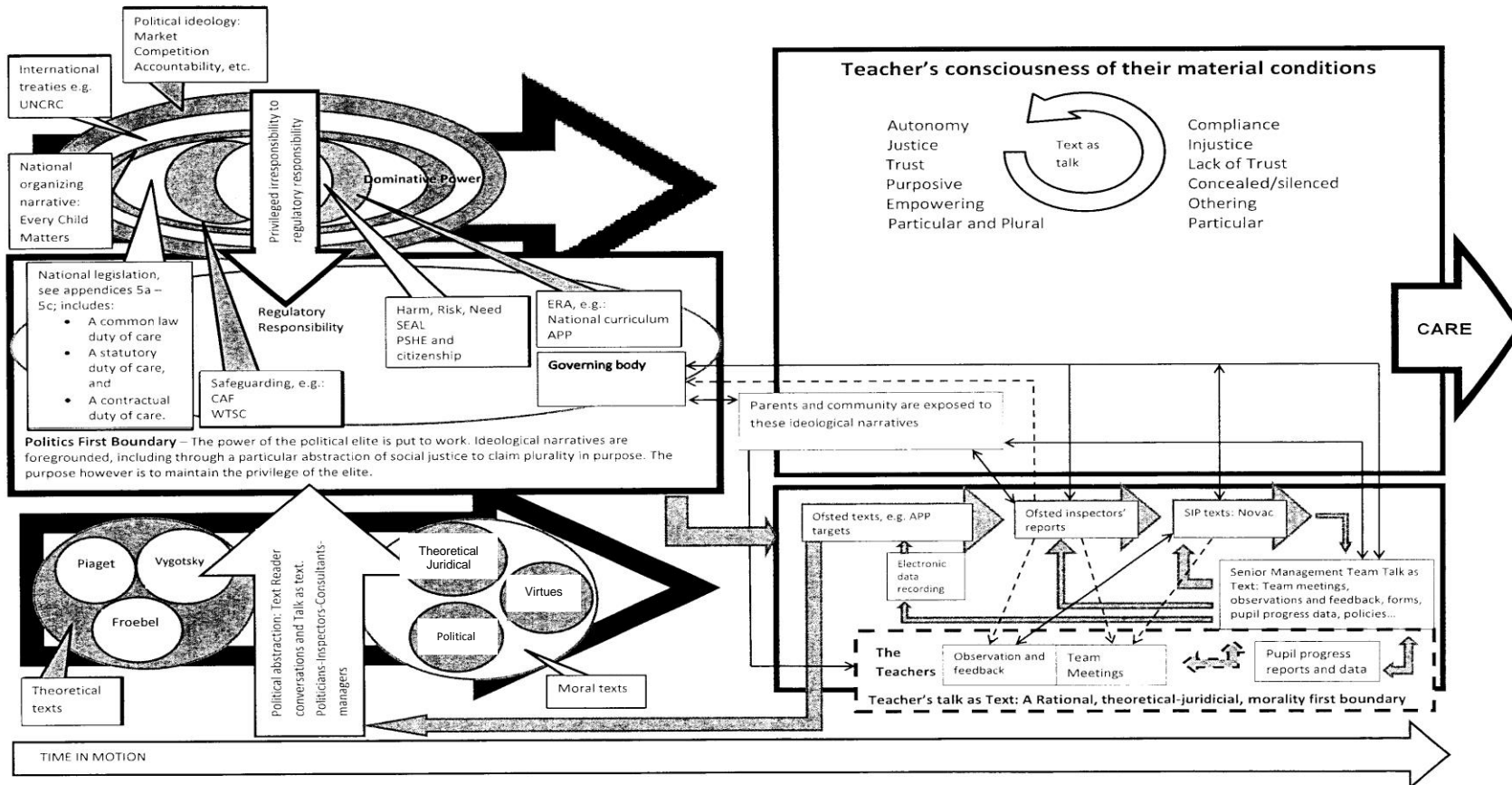
AN ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

This thesis provides an original contribution to knowledge in several ways. The privilege of observing the inspection process as it occurred provides a unique insight into the everyday experience of the teachers at Crosstown School. The alignment of institutional ethnography, Tronto's political ethic of care, and *The Listening Guide* to achieve the standpoint of the participants (Chapter Three) is, to my knowledge, unique. Consequently, the research develops existing approaches to IE and confirms Dorothy Smith's (2006) view that there is not one way of doing IE, it innovates. Indeed, utilizing the 'I Poems' of *The Listening Guide* as a tool in researcher reflexivity (Chapter Four) promotes an ethical approach to researcher reflexivity, enabling an explicit analysis of my subjectivities in the use of ethnographic methods, and a deeper understanding of privilege and power on my part. The approach works to negate researcher authority over the textual representations of the research participants and objectification of them. Moreover, Chapters Five to Seven demonstrate the veracity of generating data through ethnographic methods, analysing the data utilizing *The Listening Guide*, and synthesizing the work through the epistemological lens of Institutional Ethnography. All of which produces new learning in entwining consciousness into the material concepts of Tronto's political ethic of care, and of how aspects of teachers' experience and understanding of care are silenced.

The research has developed new knowledge on how teachers come to care and the asymmetry created in the material conditions of notice to improve and their consciousness as care givers and care receivers. In activating and appropriating the textually mediated relations of higher order regulatory policy, extra-local Ofsted reports and their own local texts, the teachers negotiated a period of notice to improve by developing practices and outcomes desired by the elite, thus conforming to the categorization of their work as 'inadequate', 'good' or 'outstanding'. Particularly in moving from a school in need of improvement to a 'good' school the teachers reinforced these ruling categories and the ideological abstractions at their foundation. However this is not a simple approach to policy enactment since the teachers, over time, also work towards meeting more personal or local, yet concealed needs. The research draws on Joan Tronto's (1993) process of care to

posit political and moral boundaries as teachers take up textually mediated social relations. In particular the texts that create these boundaries are taken up and mediated personally and locally. Policy enactment therefore is not a straightforward process of accountability but also includes a personal boundary in which the teacher is in constant dialogue with herself, her consciousness and material conditions, so that process of policy enactment is 'never complete and the reproduction of official discourses is never absolute' (Peacock 2014, 199). This is demonstrated in Figure 8.6 (below) which illustrates a conceptual map of how teachers come to care in accounting for both textual mediation in wider relations of ruling and a personal interaction within a personal boundary that is never fixed but constantly responding to local conditions.

Figure 8.6: How Teachers Come to Care



FINALLY

Thank you again to the teachers of Crosstown School who so generously gave of their time and experiences during a period of significant change, concern and upheaval. This research is not about you, it is for you. While it recognizes that in taking up policy and regulatory demands you give power to the very relations that rule and govern your everyday experience, it also recognizes that you care despite the powerful forces that work to silence and conceal your wider understanding and experience. Yours is an impossible job to meet the array of tasks, benchmarks and regulatory requirements expected of you. Yet you care beyond narrowly defined relationships, dispositions and performative demands to make the everyday lives of the children with whom you work better.

You are not alone in your concerns about the inspection process and the feelings, frequently difficult and negative, to which it gives rise. Onara O'Neill (2013) offers a number of solutions in achieving what she terms 'intelligent accountability'. In this she argues that accountability should not be limited to dubious metrics and processes but that an intelligent system of accountability recognizes all stakeholders and their needs. She does not view performance indicators as helpful especially as 'many things that are important for education cannot be counted, or added, or ranked because there is no genuine unit of account' (page 14). You understand this from experience. I would therefore include care, especially care receiving, as something that is silenced in current policy.

As demonstrated in this thesis, how you come to care is relational and what is therefore required are relational judgements of success. O'Neill continues by arguing that the focus should not be on performance indicators convenient to processes of accountability. If we were to establish care as a significant component in policy and practice then your lived experiences provide a foundation for understanding collective responsibilities and to challenge paternalistic practice (Barnes 2012). From your specific site you have unique insight into your needs, the needs of children and their families, the needs of the local community and the needs of society that inspectors do not. You are uniquely placed to inform our understanding so that all

needs and all means of meeting those needs are accounted for. I celebrate your work in everything you do to bring about better outcomes for pupils.

This thesis does not disallow metrics rather it empowers by giving voice to how you have come to 'care with' (Tronto 1993) the pupils and others with whom you are intimately involved. You have articulated through a range of tools and media the actuality of your everyday experiences, your understanding of the other and how you are meeting the needs of the other (Lomax, Fink, Singh and High 2011). Your experience works to challenge limited rights based discourses of schooling and teaching and provides a basis for replacing these with participatory approaches that address absences in current policy making (Barnes 2012). Your experience offers redress to the appropriation by the elite of a moral, ethical and just society. Social justice is achieved from the actuality of people's everyday and every night experiences, their doings and consciousness.

LIMITATIONS

While an observation is that you did 'what is necessary to get out of this' and therefore 'gave power to the relations that overpowered' you (Smith, 1990b), since my withdrawal from working in the school you have been re-inspected and judged as a 'good' school. You have therefore appropriated the ruling relations of inspection and school regulation to achieve validation in your own interests and those of the children and community you work with. This gives rise a limitation of the study since my presence was very much in the immediate aftermath of 'notice to improve' and there is potential for further research in the period beyond this. I must also acknowledge that, as part of my responsibilities as a volunteer, I worked more with years five and six than other years in the school. This therefore gave me more opportunity to gather data in that domain although I did spend some time with all the teachers and in every class. I was also able to observe whole key stage or whole school activities.

I observed creativity in the teachers' work, indeed some argued that their creativity was being stifled by regulation, however I did not pay attention to the possibilities offered by alternative, creative, methods of data generation. Use of digital tools, photographs or the development of art-based artefacts may have also offered rich

data in understanding the teachers' experience and consciousness of care. While I was conscious of constraints on time and the foregrounding of the materiality of inspection, photographs, for example, would have offered further possibilities in considering the geography and textual materiality of the school.

Although I had no previous experience of working in a school I had appropriated discourses of accountability and standardisation in my previous career as a social worker and teacher of social work, particularly as this professional context also involves Ofsted, indeed Smith (1995, 205) has argued, 'people bring to any moment of activity the deposits of their idiosyncratic biographies'. Reflexivity is important in recognising the power of researcher standpoint and the avoidance of 'institutional capture' (Smith 2005). Consequently, I am aware that my interpretations are taken up for a purpose but I argue that this has been explicated within the thesis (Chapter Four). Importantly this involves consideration of my relationship with knowledge generation and therefore praxis. However, other research could bring a different literature to bear for example. This has implications for both researchers and teachers engaged in policy interpretation and enactment (Maguire et al 2011). Nonetheless, within this thesis I have explored my own standpoint and worked to utilise your standpoint as the lens to understand how text-mediated discursive and social relations operate within Crosstown school, through several layers of text, to mediate your work, experience and consciousness of care.

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Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet

University of Huddersfield

School of Education and Professional Development

Information for Informants* taking part in research leading to the award of Doctor of Education

Thank you for agreeing to participate in research being undertaken by Jim Reid of the University of Huddersfield for a thesis as part of his Doctor of Education (EdD) programme. This programme is offered by the University of Huddersfield and will be supervised by a relevant member of staff from the School of Education and Professional Development (SEPD) to ensure compliance with both the University's and British Educational Research Association Guidelines. These guidelines are available to view online at:

<http://www2.hud.ac.uk/gradcentre/regulations/ethicsguide.php>

<http://www.bera.ac.uk/files/guidelines/ethica1.pdf>

Please inform Jim if you require a paper copy of the guidelines.

*Informants is the term used in ethnography to describe participants in research

The research approach

The research project is based on the principles and theories of ethnography. Ethnography involves the study of a 'culture' (the school) from within, as a member, of that culture. As such Jim will act as a volunteer in school on one day per week in classrooms and on tasks to be agreed with the school. The focus of the research however is not the children but rather the staff. The proposed title for the research is:

Under surveillance: Teacher's experiences in an urban primary school during a period of inspection

Data collection

The study design is subject to approval by an SEPD ethics committee and is reviewed for appropriateness periodically. At the outset the stated objective of the research is:

To explore teachers and teaching assistant's experiences of an OFSTED s5 inspection and subsequent 'notice to improve'.

Data collection will include observations, field notes, individual and focus group interviews, and informant recordings. This will begin in January 2011 and will continue throughout the remainder of the academic year. The final thesis is anticipated in 2014.

Implications of the research for the participants

Entering the school during the period of 'notice to improve' is a delicate matter and requires recognition of the potential vulnerabilities of both the informants and the pupils and their parents. Great care will be taken to preserve confidentiality for all. Confidentiality does not extend to safeguarding concerns.

Each informant will be responsible for data in their possession, for example, diaries. Once this is handed over to Jim it will be removed from the school to the university where it will be securely stored.

The views of informants will not be shared with other informants during the data collection period. Comments however may be used to illustrate themes and concepts in the thesis. These however will be fully anonymised.

Anonymisation will also include any reference to the name of the school or its precise geographical location. The aim is to remove all identifiable information about informants and the school. Anonymisation of comments is not possible in group discussions. These issues will be raised with informants at the time of any group discussion.

Each informant will be asked for their written informed consent to participate in the research and will be offered the opportunity to raise any questions prior to signing their agreement to participate.

In addition to the thesis data may be used within scholarly articles or chapters to be published in academic journals and books, or in presentations to conferences and seminars. On all occasions confidentiality and anonymisation will be maintained.

Informants are welcome to approach Jim at any time with queries about the research. He is contactable in school or:

By email – j.reid@hud.ac.uk

By phone – 01484 478211.

Withdrawal from the research

You have the right to:

- refuse to participate in the research;
- withdraw from the research, without having to give a reason, and with the assurance that Jim's role as a volunteer will not be affected in any way.

These rights cannot, however, extend to the withdrawal of already published findings or be invoked in such a way as to compromise anonymised data sets that are being used as specified above.

Dealing with problems

Any issues should be addressed with Jim as soon as possible. If you think it necessary to discuss issues or concerns with someone else you should be mindful of the relevant school policies initially. Subsequently you can contact the Director of Postgraduate Research at the School of Education and Professional Development - 01484 478249

Dissemination

The thesis will be published and placed in the library at the University of Huddersfield. It will also be available electronically through the university's open access facility – The University Repository: <http://www2.hud.ac.uk/cls/library/researchers/repository.php>

Please do not hesitate to contact Jim if you have further queries or concerns.

Appendix 2: Participant Consent Form

Dear

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my research study as part of my Doctor of Education programme at the University of Huddersfield. In signing below you are agreeing that you have been given a copy of the '*Information for Informants...*' by me and that you understand the following:

- The objectives of the research;
- The research design and methods of data collection;
- Your right not to participate in the research;
- Your right to withdraw from the research at any time;
- The limitations to withdrawal
- All data will be treated as confidential and all personal information fully anonymised. Confidentiality does not extend to safeguarding concerns;
- Where data will be stored;
- How to approach issues or problems that arise;
- When and how dissemination will occur.

I really appreciate your willingness to allow me to work with you in school and to be part of my research project.

Regards

Jim Reid

I agree to participate in the research being undertaken by Jim towards his Doctor of Education and acknowledge that I understand the issues listed above.

Signed:

Date:

Appendix 3a: Early Reflexive Writing

I remember day one in the field, I am sitting in the small staff room as the staff gather for the Friday morning briefing before the children come into class. I am briefly introduced by the head teacher before she moves the business on to 'observations of teaching' and 'differentiation' and as I listen and look at the unfamiliar visual references and artefacts in the room I am struck by what I don't know, my lack of reference points and hence the enormity of what I am about to undertake. I feel like I'm navigating in a strange landscape without a map but with the comfort of some skills to draw upon; enough to keep me there and to 'give it a go'! Unsurprisingly, I ask myself whose needs I am meeting in being there and I find myself looking at the individuals in the room and wonder what they are thinking, particularly about me. The predominant voice (in my head) is mine.

In these early days of involvement in the school I struggle to gain a sense of competence and understanding and my head is full of 'stuff'. Some of this spills out and is procedural; I am following a 'recurrent time mode', sampling 'on a regular pre-determined basis' (Fridays) and 'hold[ing] conversations with people to ascertain the similarities and differences over time of processes or specific events' (Jeffrey and Troman (2004, p31). Other spillages are less reassuring but nonetheless helpful as I continue to recognise the need to face the impact of my 'self' on the research project (Troman 2000). I recognise, for example, that the two teachers I work most closely with have moments when they foreground and are very aware of being observed:

Julie is worried. She feels she is being inspected; she is worried about doing something wrong. She tells me that she

Purpose – research/er

Demands/expectations from doctoral study

Neophyte – both in relation to school and ethnography.

Epistemological concerns – consider participant as object or subject and relation between these positions.

Lack of familiarity, again

Processes and expectations – where do these arise?

Supervision

Talk with peers

Reading

EdD guidance

In my own head?

would, 'love to know what you write in that little book'. I tell her, 'you can read it if you want, the bits that are about you', but she declines! She talks about her move from teaching a year 2 class to the year 5 class that leaves her 'lacking confidence'. There is a sense of uncertainty or lack of clarity about my roles as volunteer and researcher, the balance is yet to reveal itself. (Field notes 15/10/10).

I am concerned about this and I wonder about the ethical foundations of what I am doing. I ask myself if I am able to negotiate and renegotiate the ethical dilemmas that arise from this exchange? I am particularly apprehensive about the possibility of 'ethical violence' (Adams 2008, 188) and consequently in the possibility of observer effects (Monahan and Fisher 2010). As a result I begin to think about my position as a researcher.

My concern about whose voice is being foregrounded is troublesome and brings to mind Willis' appeal (2004, 169), cited in Walford (2009, 280); 'to tell me, tell your readers, something about the world...rather than endless methodological discussions where we learn everything about the sacred bourgeois formation of the writer and nothing about the profane formation of the subject'... More positively however the development of the reflective account does allow for acknowledgement of the troubling space I am occupying and therefore further analysis and review of the context and experience of the fieldwork. As Boal (1995, 42) argues it is an ethical imperative to use texts to critique.

So, there is a constraint to the deliberations; they are influenced by appeals to utilitarian and deontological principles. More balance is required and Beach and Eriksson's (2010)

Needs and position – whose needs are being foregrounded and why? There is a consequence to meeting my needs in this particular context.

Epistemological concerns – consider participant as object or subject and relation between these positions.

I do not feel comfortable in making the teachers' feel wary and uncomfortable. This is power and I am drawing on my previous experience in social work.

Again, the disjuncture arises in the competing demands of doctoral study and the representation of the teachers' experiences.

What are the rules and where do they come from?

consideration of the relationship between ethical positions and methodological approaches points to the possibilities offered other ethics. In citing Flinders (1992, 113), for example, Beach and Eriksson (2010, 135) express relational ethical guidelines as based upon 'collaboration', avoidance of imposition' and 'confirmation'. In this regard it is possible to perceive an approach to reflection that moves from confessional to ethical, is reciprocal and is more fully cognisant of the power relations in the field.

My aim is to develop both an authoritative voice and a supportive stance in the reflective process (Chase 2005), that is, where my 'his-story' is explicit and analysed to inform the study but not to foreground it. In this regard I am mindful to develop an approach that moves away from an exploration of the process of construction to uncover the complex layers of meaning that are inherent within my narrative and perception of myself. To this end I decide to use the 'Voice Centred Relational Method of Data Analysis' (VCR) (Brown and Gilligan 1992; Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan 1995; Mauthner & Doucet 1998; Gilligan et al 2003). But, do I still objectify?

There are different approaches to reflexivity. The disjuncture is not just about being reflexive but what the aims of reflexivity – move beyond narcissism to...?

Again, epistemological concerns – consider participant as object or subject and relation between these positions.

So far this is 'an exploration of process' ...

Power of the researcher

Research in relational

Positionality

How to achieve 'complex layers of meaning'?
Analyse data about myself???

Appendix 3b: Lyn Diary Entry (An extract for Reading One and Reading Four)

20/1/11

Went to CLLD course rather peed off as [LA Advisor] had said my kids phonics results looked really bad for December and it didn't seem to match up with data, cheeky sod! Have gone back over descriptors for phase 2 and I'm confident in my judgement. So asked SLP to clarify exactly what they need for phase 2! EVENTUALLY – he admitted that he thought I was doing them right but is anyone else in [LA]???

Another night not in until 6:15 PM this week, but am very excited about changing room around. How sad am I?

21/1/11

got déjà vu today modelling phonics yet again for year one. Actually I'm being mean – [New colleague] seems lovely and really keen. The long chat about phonics at lunchtime and she's going to plan for her and [colleague B] (though [colleague B] said not to plan anything on a Friday for her?) Then she watched my phonics for pace and structure. She said it was helpful so – hope so!!

1/2/11

was really looking forward to [SLP] visit but feel completely deflated and pissed off. After spending the past two weeks staying until 5:30 PM+ to rearrange classroom and impress her, she rubbished my hard work by barely glancing at it and saying not to worry too much about my number area that would be some good ideas at the next course day! What about my ideas – that at least our original and not just regurgitated the whole of the list of schools that are in 'notice to improve'!!!

Or does it end? Probably divorce and/or nervous breakdown!

READING ONE:

Data is important and there is power and mediation of teachers' work through data outside the local site of the school and across the local authority area.

Advisors and SLPs are in a powerful position to enforce policy and the expectations of Ofsted, but there is confusion.

Lyn has pride in her own judgment and professionalism and also cares about the class room as a learning space for the children.

Centrality of phonics in nat. curr. Lyn has responsibility to take this up and helps others understand the requirements. Her understanding in developed by attending courses.

Possible to see the institutional beyond the school.

Chaos – disjuncture in ideas about what is important and therefore what should be cared about. Needs being framed outside the immediacy of the class room.

Lack of validation and understanding which has consequences beyond the

20/1/11

Went to CLLD course rather peed off as [LA Advisor] had said my kids phonics results looked really bad for December and it didn't seem to match up with data, cheeky sod! Have gone back over descriptors for phase 2 and I'm confident in my judgement. So asked SLP to clarify exactly what they need for phase 2! EVENTUALLY – he admitted that he thought I was doing them right but is anyone else in [LA]???

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Or does it end? Probably divorce and/or nervous breakdown!

Reading Three

Extra local relations – LA:

LA advisor

SLP

Peers from other schools attending the course.

Query through what means LA advisor and SLP take up their understanding of guidance and requirements, including what guidance and requirements? Trans local relations.

Repetitive coordinating the local – Lyn take up the advice from above and has responsibility in helping her colleagues understand expectations. **Resistance** from colleague B exclaimed whereas new colleague open to suggestions. Different understanding of what to care about? Check resistance to who/what? The centrality of phonics in narratives about early years education.

SLP ideas foregrounded and expectation that these will be taken up with teachers from other schools at courses – extra local coordination at work. The institutional is referencing the needs of the LA, expectations framed trans locally above Lyn's particular understanding of own needs.

Appendix 3c: Charlie's Interview (An extract for Reading Two and Reading Three)

11 July 2011

I don't know
I have always wanted to be a teacher
I was young
I know it sounds really corny
I used to play teachers
I used to love pretending
I'd have all my teddies out
I have always wanted to teach
I did my work experience
I was in year 10
I had always thought
I was doing my A levels
I really liked history
I was told I would fail
I probably would have gone history wise
I did actually get a B
I worked really hard
I had already applied to go and do
teaching
I wanted to but
I don't know

I think I would have done history
I don't know
I suppose I just dreamed

I will have been teaching 12 years
I qualified.

I don't think it has changed for me
I think it has changed because of
I have taken on to do
I don't know
I teach
I have always come from this sort of intake
I have never worked in a really leafy lane
school
I have had
I think, a lot more paperwork
I have done this or this
I don't think has changed.

Reading Two – I Poem

Introductory questions:

Tell me a bit about yourself and why you decided to become a teacher?

When did you train to be a teacher?

Over those 11 years, how has teaching changed?

Historical and material experience.

Gendered play?

Experience as a pupil and as a helper.

Awareness of standards and outcomes.

Consciousness of experience mediated by the expectations and ruling of others, of a pathway to teaching foregrounded over an interest in history.

Disjuncture in the path taken and the path 'dreamed' about.

Consciousness remains after 12 years teaching.

The relationships in teaching haven't changed but requirements have.

A consciousness of teaching as something that is defined by the self (relationships and relational) or defined by others. The latter involves 'paperwork' – bureaucracy and performativity?

Not all teachers/schools are the same! Homogeneity in regulation/observation is problematic?

READING THREE

Jim: How was the run up to the 2009 inspection the same or different?

Charlie: I wasn't here then.

Jim: Were you on maternity leave?

Charlie: No [child] was ill and she had a thing where your arm swells up really badly and she was in hospital and erm so it being half term she'd had gastroenteritis and she had been in hospital for that as well and then she had to go back in and they had got the call on the Monday and I felt very; I was torn because I could have come in but at the end of the day I don't think it would have had a huge amount of difference and also I would have literally been walking into a cold classroom and the kids wouldn't have, you know,? So I made a decision not to come in, but I did, I felt guilty. But at the end of the day I didn't think I would have swayed... it would have been big headed to think I would have swayed any decision cos I think the decision was already probably made before.

Jim: By whom?

Charlie: By Ofsted. I don't see... and I think as a school, certainly Simone and I were resigned to the fact that we were going into notice to improve.

Jim: So you did get preliminary feedback even though you weren't here?

Charlie: Erm, pause. I probably felt a bit out of the loop in the beginning cos I had missed that and I wanted to be, even though it was a bad thing, I still would have liked to have been here cos I think it is a shared. You feel that you're sharing it and it wasn't a surprise to me and I was probably quite glad because I thought 'this is it'. If it hadn't have happened we would have got satisfactory wouldn't we, and we would have kept on going and the fall would come later I think.

Jim: What was it like then when you came back into school? What was the atmosphere like?

Charlie: My memory is terrible. I think it has .. pause .. all I remember is that people were down but people wanted to fight back. What I have learnt from this is from that last 18 months is that nobody has been negative to this experience or they haven't voiced their negativity. Sometimes they have been fed up and not wanted to. Sick of people saying you have got to do this and you have got to do that, but at no time has anyone said 'I don't wanna do it', apart from, I mean xxxx obviously, but she had, I think, her own issues and didn't want to be here before the inspection anyway, I don't think. But nobody's given in and I think there was a strong that we will fight this and at the end of the day people realised that it was for the best and we could only get better hopefully.

Reading Three:

Family, caring responsibilities and expectations beyond school – which come first although there is conflict between needs of family and school/colleagues.

Leads to feelings of guilt and lack of power.

Concern about efficacy of outcome and process of inspection (based on what?)

Data... based on data since Charlie is lead for numeracy and Simone lead for literacy. (Follow data processes and requirements).

Need to explore feedback loop/lines of communication.

Caring for self and colleagues but acknowledgement of wider relations. Disjuncture between what was happening in the school and requirements, therefore some tension between colleagues – those who know what the institutional is and seek to meet its demands and others who don't!

Again, meeting regulatory expectations is 'for the best', including mediation feelings / emotional labour.

Appendix 6A: Examples of the Changing Structure, Contents and Focus of Government Education Legislation and Child Protection/Safeguarding Guidance since 1988

(Differently shaded areas represent changes in political party / parties in government)

Education Legislation and Texts	Other related education documents	Child protection / Safeguarding Document	1. Number of pages 2. Reading Lists, References and Internet Sites	Other Directly Related Documents	Other / Comments
<p>Important pre-1988 documents:</p> <p>1967 Plowden Report recommends: full parental participation and parental choice of schools; educational priority areas to combat social disadvantage; cooperation between educational, health and social services; universal nursery education for three- to five-year-olds; end of 11-plus; teaching to use a combination of individual, group and whole-class work;</p>					

<p>phasing out streaming; introduction of teachers' 'aides' and training for classroom assistants.</p> <p>1974 Establishment of Assessment of Performance Unit marks first attempt systematically to monitor national standards (in languages, English, maths, science, aesthetic development, personal and social development, and physical development) at 11 and 14.</p> <p>1975 Bullock Report into the teaching of English undermines claims that schools are concentrating on 'creativity' at the expense of 'basics' and argues for whole language approach to literacy.</p> <p>1976 Rumours of</p>					
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<p>anarchy at William Tyndale junior school fuel right wing claims about rampant progressivism and lead to the 1976 Auld inquiry.</p> <p>1978 Primary Education in England, a major HMI survey, identifies serious inconsistencies in curriculum breadth, balance, quality and management across schools.</p>					
<p>1988 Education Act</p> <p>Focussing on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the National Curriculum - new rules on religious education and collective worship - the establishment of curriculum and assessment councils; - admission of pupils to county and voluntary schools; - local management of 	<p>1988 Warnock Report, Special Educational Needs: the education of disabled children, encourages integration</p> <p>1988 Local Government Act</p> <p>Section 28 of this act forbade local authorities from 'promoting teaching in any maintained school</p>	<p>1988 <i>Working Together: A Guide to Arrangements for Inter-Agency Cooperation for the Protection of Children from Abuse</i> (DHSS and the Welsh Office)</p>	<p>1.72 (made up of 48 pages of Guidance and 9 Appendices of 24 pages</p> <p>2. 11</p>	<p>1989 Children Act</p> <p>Included in s17 local authority duties in relation to children in need:</p> <p>(1)It shall be the general duty of every local authority (a)to safeguard and promote the welfare of children within their area who are in need; and (b)so far as is consistent</p>	<p>During this period two departments of state were responsible for these different aspects of policy and their concomitant texts - The Department for Education and Skills and the Department for Health and Social Security. Although the <i>Working Together</i> guidance was primarily aimed at social services, health and the</p>

<p>schools (LMS); - grant maintained (GM) schools</p>	<p>of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship'</p> <p>1988 Kingman Report into Teaching of English Language</p> <p>1989 Cox Report recommendations on attainment targets and programmes of study for the English component of the new National Curriculum.</p> <p>1989 Elton Report into discipline in schools in England and Wales.</p> <p>1990 Rumbold Report on early years education.</p>			<p>with that duty, to promote the upbringing of such children by their families,</p> <p>The Act introduced the concept of Parental Responsibility so changing teachers' relationship with some parent, particularly fathers.</p> <p>Children's needs were framed in terms of health, development or disability and in s17 (11) the Act defined "development" as physical, intellectual, emotional, social or behavioural development; and "health" as physical or mental health thus imbricating schools and teachers in more than educational development .</p>	<p>police it did include recognition of the role of education departments. The <i>Children Act 1989</i> also made it clear that all professionals were responsible for meeting children's needs and in their protection. School staff were cautious about becoming involved in difficult situations with parents and their responsibilities not only for the curriculum but meeting children's needs more broadly were reinforced in s175 of the Education Act 2002.</p>
<p>1991 School Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1992 Education</p>	<p>1992 Further and Higher Education Act 1992 'Three Wise Men</p>	<p>1991 <i>Working Together under the Children Act 1989: A Guide to Arrangements for Inter-</i></p>	<p>1.126 (made up of 60 pages of Guidance and 9 Appendices of 66 pages)</p>		<p>1996 Education (Student Loans) Act</p>

<p>(Schools) Act made provision for the establishment of Ofsted (the Office for Standards in Education).</p> <p>1993 Education Act based partly on the 1992 white paper and partly on the 1993 Dearing Report. Its first five parts covered:</p> <p>I. Responsibility for education II Grant-maintained III Children with special educational needs IV School attendance V Schools failing to give an acceptable standard of education ('special measures').</p>	<p>Report¹, Curriculum Organisation and Classroom Practice in Primary Schools: A discussion paper significant in cementing the neoliberal agenda in education. Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education) replaces HMI</p> <p>1992 White Paper, 'Choice and Diversity: A new framework for schools'</p> <p>Dearing review of the National Curriculum (1994) argued that the curriculum had become an unwieldy structure which was virtually impossible to implement and that the time spent on paperwork and testing was damaging good teaching and learning. The National Curriculum Council (NCC) and Schools</p>	<p><i>Agency Cooperation for the Protection of Children from Abuse</i> (Home Office, Department of Health, Department of Education and Science, the Welsh Office)</p>	<p>2.39, of which 35 were HMSO or a Government Department</p>		
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<p>Part VI Miscellaneous covered a huge range of matters including: establishment of new schools by local authorities and other 'promoters'; nursery education in grant-maintained schools; rationalisation of school places; incorporation of governing bodies; the abolition of the National Curriculum Council (NCC) and the School Examinations and Assessment Council (SEAC) and their replacement by the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA).</p> <p>1994 Education Act made provision for the establishment of the Teacher Training Agency (TTA)</p> <p>1996 Education Act consolidated all</p>	<p>Examination and Assessment Council (SEAC) should become one body: the Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA.)</p> <p>The Warwick Evaluation (1994) Focused on the 'Implementation of English in the National Curriculum'</p>				
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<p>previous education acts since 1944.</p> <p>1996 Nursery Education and Grant-Maintained Schools Act introduced a voucher scheme for nursery education</p> <p>1996 School Inspections Act consolidated previous legislation on school inspections.</p> <p>1997 Education Act gave governors new responsibilities in relation to discipline and behaviour ; allowed teachers to use 'such force as is reasonable' to restrain pupil; allowed teachers to detain pupils after school without parents' consent (5); amended the admission rules for selective schools; allowed schools to require parents to sign home-school partnership</p>					
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<p>agreements; allowed the secretary of state to require governors to set annual performance targets for pupils ; abolished the National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ) and the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA) and replaced them with the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) gave the secretary of state the right to order inspections of local authorities .</p>					
<p>1998 School Standards and Framework Act: defined the responsibilities of LEAs and gave the secretary of state powers to ensure that they fulfilled them; empowered LEAs and the secretary of state to intervene in schools judged to be 'failing' by</p>	<p>1997 White Paper Excellence in Schools included: class sizes for five, six and seven year olds were to be reduced to 30 or under; at least an hour a day in primary schools would be spent on English and an hour on maths; schools were to have targets for raising</p>	<p>1999 <i>Working Together to Safeguard Children: A Guide to Inter-Agency Working to Safeguard and Promote the Welfare of Children</i> (Department of Health, Home Office and Department for</p>	<p>1.119 (made up of 102 pages of Guidance and 6 Appendices of 17 pages) 2. 12 A 'Reading List' (Appendix 6) of 50 References, of which 31 were HMSO/Stationery</p>	<p>Published at the same time as: Department of Health, Department of Education and Employment, and the Home Office (2000) <i>Framework for the Assessment of Children in Need and their Families</i>. Also issued under Section 7 of the</p>	<p>1998 Teaching and Higher Education Act established the General Teaching Council (GTC) and allowed the secretary of state to make regulations concerning the induction period for teachers , extended the duties of HM Chief Inspector to include</p>

<p>Ofsted - such schools would be given two years to improve or they would be closed or have radical management changes imposed on them.</p> <p>2002 Education Act Implemented the proposals of the 2001 White Paper Schools - achieving success.</p> <p>Significantly S175 of the Act detailed the 'Duties of LEAs and governing bodies in relation to welfare of children'</p> <p>S175 (1)A local education authority shall make arrangements for ensuring that the functions conferred on them in their capacity as a local education authority are exercised with a view to safeguarding and promoting the welfare</p>	<p>standards. School performance tables would show the rate of progress pupils had made as well as their absolute levels of achievement.</p> <p>1997 <i>Excellence for all children: Meeting Special Educational Needs</i></p> <p>1999 <i>Fresh Start</i> Support for Labour of selection through specialist schools</p> <p>1999 <i>Excellence in Cities</i>. Education Action Zones and further introduction of business links within education.</p> <p>1999 Moser Report <i>Improving literacy and numeracy: A fresh start</i> set out the National Literacy Strategy and introduced National Learning Targets. This represented a</p>	<p>Education and Employment)</p>	<p>Office or Government Departments. There were no Internet links/web addresses</p>	<p>LASS Act 1970 and was incorporated into <i>Working Together to Safeguard Children</i></p> <p>The Assessment Framework was 109 pages long; including 7 Appendices of 20 pages; had a Bibliography of 140 references of which 83 were HMSO/Stationery Office or Government Departments. There were no Internet links/web addresses</p> <p>Working Together to Safeguard Children: A Guide to Inter-Agency Working to Safeguard and Promote the Welfare of Children' (1999) used the word 'safeguarding' for the first time in official guidance about child abuse and explicitly framed the issues in terms of s17(1) of the Children Act</p>	<p>teacher training and in-service courses. Qualifications for head teachers introduced.</p> <p>Sure Start established to support parents of under-threes in areas of high deprivation.</p> <p>1999 Early learning goals published to guide under-fives practitioners</p> <p>2000 Learning and Skills Act allowed the introduction of City Academies</p>
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<p>of children.</p> <p>(2)The governing body of a maintained school shall make arrangements for ensuring that their functions relating to the conduct of the school are exercised with a view to safeguarding and promoting the welfare of children who are pupils at the school.</p> <p>In this regard teachers were reminded of their duties in relation to safeguarding in light of the deaths of Victoria Climbié and Baby Peter Connolly and the context of the forthcoming ECM.</p>	<p>considerable increase in government interference in the curriculum. Whereas the previous government had told teachers what to teach, Labour now told them how to teach it: the 'Literacy Hour' (and later, the 'Numeracy Hour') spelt out content and teaching methods in enormous detail.</p> <p>National Curriculum 1999.</p> <p>2000 contracting out / privatisation of Local Education Authority's deemed to be failing</p> <p>2000 National curriculum is slimmed down but otherwise fundamentally unchanged. Foundation stage for three- to five year olds is introduced with a curriculum organised into six areas</p>			<p><i>Assessment Framework (2000) as in Working Together (1999) above, primarily through the Integrated Children System (ICS)</i></p> <p><i>The Common Assessment Framework (CAF) was developed to combine the Framework for the Assessment with other assessment frameworks. It included education as part of assessment of a child's development, one of three areas of concern:</i></p> <p>Learning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Understanding, reasoning and problem solving • Progress and achievement in learning • Participation in learning, education and employment <p>A key concept of CAF</p>	
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	<p>of learning.</p> <p>2001 White Paper <i>Schools - achieving success</i> proposed: giving schools more freedom to manage their own affairs, and a lesser role for LEAs; more involvement of the private sector in state provision; 'Standards Contracts' to enable private, religious and voluntary organizations to support the management of both failing and successful schools; more specialist schools and city academies attracting private sponsorship; compulsory use of Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) where schools or local authorities were failing, and encouragement of the use of PPPs by successful schools.</p>			<p>was the Team Around the Child, the notion that a group of professionals would develop an integrated approach in meeting a child's needs. In the early years this was allied to 'wrap around care'.</p>	
<p>2003 ECM Every Child Matters</p>	<p><i>Precursor to a single Department of Children</i></p>	<p>Every Child Matters led to a significant number</p>	<p>The 5 outcomes of ECM are:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Making a positive</i> 	<p><i>'Safeguarding' became firmly embedded in the</i></p>

provide 'joined-up' education and care with multiagency co-ordination and extended schools.	<i>Schools and Families bringing together education and children's social care.</i>	<i>of texts and therefore text mediated practices. It crossed all policy areas.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Being healthy</i> • <i>Enjoying and Achieving</i> 	<i>contribution</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Staying safe</i> • <i>Economic well-being</i> 	<i>lexicon of teachers.</i>
<p>2005 Education Act Reviewed the inspection of schools, child minding, day care, nursery education and careers services, the training of school staff and 'other persons who teach'.</p> <p>2006 Education and Inspections Act: all schools could become trust schools by forming links with external partners who would be able to appoint the majority of the governors, local authorities would be required to promote choice, diversity, high standards and the fulfilment of potential for every child, respond to parental concerns about the quality of local schools, appoint</p>	<p>2004 <i>Five Year Strategy for Children and Learners</i> including allowing all schools to become specialist schools; new 'independent specialist' schools; an expansion of the academy programme.</p> <p>2004 Ofsted published Reading for Purpose and Pleasure - an evaluation of reading in primary schools.</p> <p>2004 <i>Building Schools for the Future</i>, £5bn of infrastructure investment partly funded through PFI.</p> <p>2005 White Paper <i>Higher Standards, Better Schools for All</i></p> <p>2005 Extended Schools:</p>	<p>2006 <i>Working Together to Safeguard Children: A Guide to Inter-Agency Working to Safeguard and Promote the Welfare of Children</i> (HM Government)</p>	<p>1.231 pages long, Including 155 pages of Statutory Guidance, 30 pages of Non-Statutory Guidance, and 6 Appendices of 28 pages</p> <p>2. 43</p> <p>78 References and Internet Links, including 69 internet Links/Web Addresses, of which 60 were gov.uk</p>	<p>Assessment Framework (2000) as in Working Together (1999) and (2006) above. Chapter 6 on Supplementary Guidance on Safeguarding and Promoting the Welfare of Children makes direct links to other supplementary statutory guidance:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. sexually exploited children (2009) 96 pages 2. children affected by gang activity (2010) 52 pages 3. fabricated or induced illness (FII) (2008) 88 pages 4. investigating complex (organised or multiple) abuse (2002) 5. female genital mutilation LA circular 2004 	<p>2003 £5m pilot programme to tackle bullying and disruptive behaviour in children as young as five</p> <p>Children Act 2004 effectively enacted Every Child Matters in making significant changes to the management of children's services, the introduction of a Children's Commissioner and duties in relation to different agencies and professionals working together. There was a duty on all agencies to safeguard and promote the welfare of children and young people. New powers of intervention in failing authorities. Powers under the Education Act 1996 to</p>

<p>School Improvement Partners for maintained schools, strengthen the status of the Code on School Admissions, In addition, the Act: required governing bodies to promote well-being and community cohesion, and to take the Children and Young People's Plan into consideration; created a power for staff to discipline pupils; extended the scope of parenting orders and contracts; improved provision for excluded pupils; set new nutritional standards for food and drink served in maintained schools; merged several existing inspectorates to form an enlarged Ofsted,</p>	<p>Access to Opportunities and Services for All. DfES programme in embedding the broad ECM objectives in schools. Schools to offer: A menu of activities, including study support and homework clubs, sport, music, arts and special interest clubs, combined with formal, 'wraparound' childcare in primary schools; Parenting and family support, including family learning; Swift and Easy Access to targeted and specialist services (for example, speech and language therapy, behaviour support); (If appropriate) community access to school facilities such as sports grounds, ICT and adult and family learning.</p> <p>2006 Review of the teaching of early</p>	<p>2010 Working Together to Safeguard Children: A Guide to Inter-Agency Working to Safeguard and Promote the Welfare of Children (HM Government)</p>	<p>1. 399 pages which included: Executive Summary 15 pages; Statutory Guidance 228 pages; Non- Statutory Guidance 51 pages; 6 Appendices of 34 pages</p> <p>2. 273</p> <p>200 'References and Internet Links' including 124 with Internet Links/Web Addresses, of which 78 are gov.uk</p>	<p>6. forced marriage and honour-based violence (2009) 26 pages 7. allegations of abuse made against a person who works with children, plus Appendix 5, 10 pages 8. abuse of disabled children (2009) 84 pages 9. child abuse linked to belief in 'spirit possession' (2007) 23 pages 10. child victims of trafficking (2007) 55 pages</p>	<p>secure proper performance of local education Authorities' functions. A duty to promote the educational achievement of looked after children. Local Safeguarding Children Boards were established and Children's services authorities must produce a plan setting out the authority's strategy for discharging their functions in relation to children and those young people for whom they are responsible under the general duty to co-operate.</p> <p>2004 White Paper <i>14-19 Education and Skills</i></p> <p>2006 Childcare Act continued the implementation of ECM and Children's Plans. It placed a duty on local authorities to work</p>
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	<p>reading, a government commissioned report from Jim Rose, seeks to resolve debate about the place of phonics in the teaching of reading.</p> <p>2009 The government's Rose review of the curriculum proposes that traditional subjects are combined within six areas of learning. To be implemented in 2011.</p> <p>The National Curriculum Handbook for Primary Teachers in England: Key Stages 1 and 2 2008</p> <p>Assessing Pupils' Progress: A teachers' handbook (DCSF 2010)</p> <p>The Education (School Performance Targets) (England) Regulations 2004 (as amended)</p>				<p>with a range of providers to ensure child care and early years education to close the gap in outcomes for children up to 5 years of age. The Act introduces a new regulatory and inspection framework for early years education and child care, it established the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) and created a single quality framework.</p> <p>2007 <i>The Children's Plan: Building Brighter Futures</i> including greater involvement for parents in their child's education and enhancements to the curriculum - including more time for reading, writing and mathematics; smoother transition from play-based learning in the early years into primary</p>
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					<p>school.</p> <p>The EYFS 2008 included Early Learning and Development goals:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Personal, Social and Emotional Development ■ Communication, Language and Literacy ■ Problem Solving, Reasoning and Numeracy ■ Knowledge and Understanding of the World ■ Physical Development ■ Creative Development <p>The framework also included significant detail on assessment and a set of 'Welfare' requirements that include caring adults and safeguarding.</p>
<p>2010 Academies Act Which removed local authorities' power to veto a school becoming an academy; dispensed with parents' and</p>	<p>Major policy themes: expansion of the academies programme; creation of 'free schools'; drastic budget cuts;</p>	<p>2013 <i>Working Together to Safeguard Children: A Guide to Inter-Agency Working to Safeguard and Promote the</i></p>	<p>The newest version of <i>Working Together</i> pairs down the 2010 guidance to simply include reference to safeguarding and</p>	<p>Both the 2010 <i>Working Together</i> and 2000 <i>Assessment Framework</i> are replaced by the new document.</p>	<p>A slimmed down nation curriculum was introduced and phonics screening for year 1 pupils, to be repeated in year 2.</p>

<p>teachers' legal right to oppose such plans; and allowed schools categorised by inspectors as 'outstanding' to 'fast-track' the process of becoming academies.</p> <p>2010 Children, Schools and Families Act further detailed provision for children with disabilities in education.</p> <p>2011 Education Act The Act: Provides 15 hours free early years education for the most disadvantaged children; replaces independent appeals panels for exclusions with independent review panels; removes the duty to appoint a School Improvement Partner for every school (consultants and advisers continue to be heavily used); gives</p>	<p>scrapping of the new primary curriculum, school sports partnerships, diplomas, QCDA and the schools rebuilding programme; fewer places in higher education and vastly increased tuition fees.</p> <p>2010 White Paper, <i>The Importance of Teaching</i>.</p> <p>2011 the Secretary of State for Education announced a review of the National Curriculum in England.</p> <p>Section 78 of the Education Act remains relevant so that: Every state-funded school must offer a curriculum which is balanced and broadly based and which promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society, and</p>	<p><i>Welfare of Children</i> (HM Government) 2010 The Equality Act further protected the rights of children by making sure UK government policies take account of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC).</p> <p>2010 Child Poverty Act sets ambitious plans for the eradication of child poverty.</p> <p>2015 Counter Terrorism and Security Act – The Prevent Duty. Non-statutory duty placed on schools to have 'due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism' (section 26).</p>	<p>welfare of children which is defined... as: protecting children from maltreatment; preventing impairment of children's health or development; ensuring that children are growing up in circumstances consistent with the provision of safe and effective care; and taking action to enable children in need to have optimum life chances.</p>	<p>Moves have also been made to remove some of the expectations placed on head teachers to engage fully with the safeguarding system.</p> <p>The focus is clearly on achieving change in education through by further textually-mediated social organization.</p> <p>2012 Welfare Reform Act introduces changes to the provision of social welfare including benefits this affecting families.</p> <p>2014 Children and Families Act - An Act to make provision about children, families, and people with special educational needs or disabilities; to make provision about the right to request flexible working; and for connected purposes</p>	<p>Legislation for the phonics screening check forms part of the Education (National Curriculum) (Key Stage One Assessment Arrangements) (England) Order 2004 (SI 2004/2783) made under the Education Act 2002.</p> <p>The National Curriculum review is working within existing legislation, within the Education Act 2002, part 6.</p>
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<p>precedence to Academy proposals and Free Schools; and sought to ensure this by giving greater power to the Secretary of State; closed the Local Government Ombudsman's complaints service, and required complaints about school to be made to the Secretary of State. Made provision for direct payments for SEN services, and abolished 5 quangos (the Training & Development Agency, the General Teaching Council for England, the Qualifications & Curriculum Development Agency, the Young People's Learning Agency and the School Support Staff Negotiating Body)</p>	<p>prepares pupils at the school for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of later life.</p> <p>Full details of the controversial new curriculum to be introduced in 2014 and concomitant guidance are available at www.education.gov.uk.</p> <p>SEND: 'Support and aspiration: a new approach to special educational needs and disability - progress and next steps' in May 2012 'SEND code of practice: 0 to 25' received approval in July 2014 and came into force on 1 September 2014.</p>				
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Notes:

- The contents of this table are partial as it details only a few important examples of primary and secondary legislation as major texts organizing educational and social care developments since 1988. Primary texts are the major Acts of Parliament; secondary or delegated legislation includes; statutory instruments; quasi legislation in the form of guidance, orders or Departmental Circulars.

- As such this table simply serves to illustrate the complexity of policy and guidance experienced by teachers over the period in question. Further detail of the range of texts detailing legislation, policy and guidance relevant on entering the field is detailed in table 6b, below.
- Changes of political party / parties in government are denoted by the differently shaded areas.
- The Conservative governments from 1988-1997 were very focused on education and while they introduced the Children Act 1989 to meet the lessons of the Cleveland Inquiry and the UNCRC 1988 their primary agendas were a neo liberal context for education and the management of state interference in family life.
- From 1997 and the election of the Labour government the context changed with a double whammy in the significant growth in policy and guidance in social care grew alongside developments in education. This was in part due to a discourse of social justice but also due to later media and moral panics following the deaths of Victoria Climbié and Baby Peter Connolly.
- In the immediate period following their election, Labour adopted with vigour the previous government's neo liberal intent in education but also fundamentally, through ECM, changed the nature of the relationship between the state, parents and children.
- Whilst education (Enjoy and Achieve) was not subjugated to any of the other ECM outcomes it had no more weight than the others indeed each of the outcomes was imbricated within education so that teacher were as equally responsible for assuring all five.
- All legislation and policy relating to children was driven by a newly formed department that brought together education and children's social care, the Department for Children, Schools and Families – DCSF.
- Between 2010 -2015 there was a Coalition government with a Conservative secretary of state. The focus has reverted to traditional conservation education and social care positions. While there has been a renaming of the department, back to Department of Education, the scope of responsibility remains the same. The change of name does however demonstrate how emphasis is again back on educational change.

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Appendix 6b: Statutory Guidance for Schools 2010 – 2015: A Snapshot

For a comprehensive look at the range of legislation and guidance relevant to schools go to: <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/statutory-guidance-schools#admissions>

<u>Area of Focus</u>	<u>Governing Legislation</u>	<u>Policy</u>	<u>Guidance</u>	<u>Focus</u>	<u>Area of Focus</u> (<u>statutory guidance relevant to Crosstown introduced during 2010-2015</u>)
Administration and Finance					<p>Change of land use due to an academy conversion - 17 December 2010</p> <p>Home-to-school travel and transport - 18 July 2014</p> <p>Schemes for financing schools - 26 February 2014</p> <p>Schools causing concern - 20 January 2015</p>

Admissions	85(3) of the School Standards and Framework Act 1998 Education and Skills Act 2008.	Every Child Matters (2003) The Children's Plan (2007) 21 st Century Schools (2008)	School Admissions Appeal Code 2009	The code came into effect in February 2009 and deals with appeals by parents against the decision of a governing body or appeals by governing bodies against decisions by the Local Authority	School admissions appeals code - 1 February 2012
	Education Act 1996 School Standards and Framework Act 1998 Education Act 2002 Education Act 2005 Education and Inspections Act 2006 Education and Skills Act 2008	Every Child Matters (2003) The Children's Plan (2007) 21 st Century Schools (2008) (a)	School Admissions Code 2010	The code came into effect in February 2010 and set out to promote fair and lawful admissions policies in maintained schools	School admissions code - 19 December 2014
Behaviour and Attendance	S52 Education Act 2002 Sections 97-108 Education and Inspections Act 2008	Every Child Matters (2003) The Children's Plan (2007)	Improving behaviour and attendance: guidance on exclusion from schools and Pupil Referral Units 2008	Guidance applicable to all maintained schools when making decisions to exclude a pupil from school	Alternative provision - 10 January 2013 Behaviour and discipline in schools - 17 July 2013 Children missing

		Back on Track (2008) (b)			<p>education - 26 November 2013</p> <p>Parental responsibility measures for behaviour and attendance - 13 November 2013</p> <p>School exclusion - 10 February 2015</p>
	<p>Children Act 1989</p> <p>Children Act 2004</p>	<p>Every Child Matters (2003)</p> <p>Working Together to Safeguard Children (2010)</p>	<p>Handling Allegations of Abuse made against Adults who work with Children and Young People 2009</p>	<p>Although in the form stated this policy is orientated towards safeguarding children and young people by 2010 the discussion had moved on to include concern about false allegations by pupils and was also linked to pupil behaviour.</p>	
Behaviour and Attendance	<p>S93 Education and Inspections Act 2008</p> <p>S45 of the Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006</p>	<p>Every Child Matters (2003)</p> <p>The Children's Plan (2007)</p>	<p>The use of force to control or restrain pupils 2010</p>	<p>All school staff have a legal power to use reasonable force to prevent pupils committing a criminal offence, injuring</p>	

	S245 Apprenticeship Skills Children and Learning Act 2009	Back on Track (2008) (b) Your Child, Your Schools, Your Future: Building a 21 st Century Schools System (2009)		themselves or others or damaging property, and to maintain good order and discipline.	
Curriculum, Assessment and Support	Education Reform Act 1988 S351 Education Act 1996	Schools Achieving Success (2001) Every Child Matters (2003) The Children's Plan (2007) 21 st Century Schools (2008) (a)	The National Curriculum Handbook for Primary Teachers in England: Key Stages 1 and 2 2008 Assessing Pupils' Progress: A teachers' handbook (DCSF 2010) The Education (School Performance Targets) (England) Regulations 2004 (as amended)	The policies of the Labour Government relating to curriculum drew closely on the standards identified in the policy and legislation that underpinned the National Curriculum first published in 1988, prior to ECM. Several reviews were under way prior to the election of the Coalition Government in 2010 particularly in light of the White Paper: <i>Your Child, Your Schools, Your Future: Building a 21st Century Schools System</i> (2009).	P scales: attainment targets for pupils with SEN - 16 July 2014 Curriculum (from September 2014) National curriculum in England: framework for key stages 1 to 4 - 2 December 2014 National curriculum in England: primary curriculum - 6 May 2015
	Education (Pupil Information) (England) Regulations 2005 (SI)	National Curriculum (2008) (c)	Assessment and Reporting Arrangements Key Stage One (includes	The national curriculum in England, more so than in the UK devolved	

	<p>2005/1437). Article 11 of The Education (National Curriculum) (Key Stage [1] and 2 Assessment Arrangements) (England) Order 2003, SI 2003/1038 (amended by SI 2009/1585 and SI 2010/290). This Order is made under sections 87(3) and 87(11) of the Education Act 2002.</p>	<p>Every Child Matters (2003) Early Years Foundation Stage (2008) (d)</p>	<p>EYFS) and Key Stage Two 2010</p>	<p>administrations or other European countries, requires schools to focus their attention on subjects. The uniqueness of England's assessment policy is demonstrated by the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • there is more external, standard testing in England; • external, standard testing occurs more frequently; • external, standard testing begins at a younger age; • external testing occurs in more subjects/subject areas, including science; • external test results are published in league tables that rank schools according to the success of their pupils in the 	
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				<p>tests;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • testing is 'high stakes'; and • external, standard testing is accompanied by obligatory summative teacher assessments at the end of each key stage, the results of which are reported to parents, and at KS2 are also reported to Government agencies and are used to hold schools to account. <p>(Hall and Øzerk 2008)</p>	
Curriculum Assessment and Support	<p>S176 Education Act 2002</p> <p>S53 Children Act 2004</p> <p>S7 Education Act 2005</p> <p>Childcare Act 2006</p> <p>S38 Education and Inspections Act 2006</p>	<p>Every Child Matters (2003)</p> <p>The Children's Plan (2007)</p>	<p>Working Together: Listening to the Voices of Children and Young People 2008</p> <p>Aiming High for Children (2007)</p> <p>Aiming High for Disabled Children (2007)</p>	<p>These policies, complementary to the National Curriculum, are focused on the notion of 'partnership' with children and young people and meeting a range of needs.</p>	

Early Years	Childcare Act 2006	Every Child Matters (2003) Choice for Parents, the best start for children (2006)	Early Years Foundation Stage 2008	The conception of the government's 10 year plan to widen early years provision including more places and extended provision in schools.	Early years (under 5s) foundation stage framework (EYFS) - 29 July 2014
Looked After Children	Children and Young Person's Act 2008 The Designated Teacher (Looked After Pupils etc)(England) Regulations 2009	Every Child Matters (2003) The Children's Plan (2007)	The role and responsibilities of the designated teacher for looked after children: Statutory guidance for school governing bodies 2009	Statutory requirement for schools to appoint a designated teacher with responsibility for enhance the achievement of children and young people looked after or in public care.	Directors of children's services: roles and responsibilities - 8 April 2013
Organisation, Infrastructure and Finance	Education Act 1996 School Standards and Framework Act 1998 Local Government Act 1999 Education and	Strong and prosperous Communities (2006) Comprehensive Area Assessment (2009)	Financial Management Standard in Schools 2009 Keeping Your Balance 2000 Getting the Best from your Budget 2000	FMSiS was a mandatory requirement to provide assurance to the DCSF, HM Treasury, National Audit Office and Local Authorities that schools have adequate arrangements in place to manage their resources	Constitution of governing bodies of maintained schools – 27 March 2015

	<p>Inspections Act 2006</p> <p>The Local Government and Public Involvement in Health Act 2007</p>		<p>School Governance – Making it Better 2001</p> <p>Purchasing Guide for Schools 2001</p> <p>Best Value for Schools 2002</p> <p>DCSF Guidance on Benchmarking 2008</p> <p>Making Changes to a Maintained Mainstream School (Other than Expansion, Foundation, Discontinuance & Establishment Proposals) A Guide for Local Authorities and Governing Bodies 2010</p> <p>Home to School Travel and Transport Guidance 2007</p> <p>School Governance (Constitution) Regulations 2007</p> <p>School Governance</p>	<p>effectively.</p> <p>The range of guidance are designed to meet stringent financial reporting requirements and to ensure probity in spending public funds.</p>	
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			(Federation) Regulations 2007 School Governance (Collaboration) Regulations 2003		
Safeguarding	Children Act 1989 Education Act 2002 Children Act 2004 Childcare Act 2006 Safeguarding Vulnerable Groups Act 2006 Rehabilitation of Offenders Act 1974; Part V of the Police Act 1997 S35 and S36 of the Criminal Justice and Court Services Act 2000 Data Protection Act 1998	Every Child Matters (2003) The Children's Plan (2007)	Working Together to Safeguard Children (2010) Safeguarding Children and Safer Recruitment in Education (2006)	Safeguarding children and young people including the need for a designated safeguarding lead member of staff, co-operation with other agencies, enhanced Criminal records Bureau checks and barred employee lists, for example, List 99.	Disqualification under the Childcare Act 2006 - 17 March 2015 Keeping children safe in education - 18 June 2015 Promoting the education of looked-after children - 23 July 2014 Supervision of activity with children - 10 September 2012 Working together to safeguard children – (2013 version replaced 26 March 2015

<p>School and Pupil Information</p>	<p>School Standards and Framework Act 1998</p> <p>Children Schools and Families Bill 2009</p>	<p>Every Child Matters 2003</p> <p>Your Child, Your Schools, Your Future: Building a 21st Century Schools System (2009)</p>	<p>Home School Agreements</p>	<p>To Cover:</p> <p>The ethos of the school</p> <p>The importance of, and responsibility for, regular and punctual attendance</p> <p>The importance of, and responsibility for, good discipline and behaviour</p> <p>What is expected from schools, parents and pupils in relation to homework</p> <p>The information schools and parents will give one another.</p>	<p>Home-school agreements - 29 July 2013</p> <p>Listening to and involving children and young people – 16 January 2014</p>
<p>Special Educational Needs</p>	<p>Children Act 1989</p> <p>Education Act 1996</p> <p>Special Educational Needs and Disability Act 2001</p> <p>Children Act 2004</p> <p>Children and Young</p>	<p>Every Child Matters (2003)</p> <p>Removing Barriers to Achievement – The Government’s Strategy for SEN (2004)</p> <p>Aiming High for Disabled Children (2007)</p>	<p>Special Educational Needs Code of Practice (2001)</p> <p>Inclusive Schooling – Children with special educational needs (2001)</p> <p>Removing Barriers to</p>	<p>The Education Act 1996 set out the framework for the education of pupils with special education needs within mainstream schools. Later guidance also paid particular attention to the education of Looked</p>	<p>Education for children with health needs who cannot attend school - 17 May 2013</p> <p>SEND code of practice: 0 to 25 years - 1 May 2015</p>

	<p>Person's Act 2008</p> <p>The Education (SENCO) (England) Regulations 2008 (SI 2008/2945)</p> <p>Equality Act 2010</p>		<p>Achievement (2004)</p> <p>National Standards Framework (2004)</p> <p>The Government's 5 Year Strategy for Schools (2004)</p>	<p>After Children.</p>	<p>Supporting pupils at school with medical conditions - 1 September 2014</p>
Staffing and Workforce	<p>Teaching and Higher Education Act 1998</p> <p>Learning and Skills Act 2000</p> <p>Education Act 2002</p> <p>Safeguarding Vulnerable Groups Act 2006</p> <p>The Education (Induction Arrangements for School Teachers) (England) Regulations 2008</p>	<p>Various: This is a complex area that covers policy, for example, on selection, recruitment, remuneration, equality and performance management.</p>	<p>Statutory Guidance on Induction for Newly Qualified Teachers (NQT's) in England (2008)</p> <p>The Education (School Teacher Performance Management) (England) Regulations 2006: SI 2006/2661</p>	<p>Qualified teachers who are employed in maintained schools, non-maintained special schools, maintained nursery schools and pupil referral units in England must, by law, complete an induction period after gaining qualified teacher status (QTS).</p> <p>Conditions of employment, remuneration and performance management.</p>	<p>Induction for newly qualified teachers (NQTs) - 16 December 2013</p> <p>Initial teacher training criteria - 22 June 2015</p> <p>Managing staff employment in schools - 25 February 2014</p> <p>School teachers' pay and conditions 2014 - 25 September 2014</p> <p>Teachers' standards - 1 July 2011</p>
Miscellaneous -	<p>Equality Act 2010</p>	<p>Disability Equality Policy</p>			

Examples of additional policies required of schools	Freedom of Information Act 2000 Health and Safety at Work Act 1974	Gender Equality Policy Race Equality Policy Publication scheme Health and Safety Policy			
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