Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education

Romuald Normand · Min Liu
Luís Miguel Carvalho
Dalila Andrade Oliveira · Louis LeVasseur
Editors

Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession

Global and Comparative Perspectives

教育科学出版社
Educational Science Publishing House
Springer

Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education

This book series brings together the latest insights and work regarding the future of education from a group of highly regarded scholars around the world. It is the first collection of interpretations from around the globe and contributes to the interdisciplinary and international discussions on possible future demands on our education system. It serves as a global forum for scholarly and professional debate on all aspects of future education. The book series proposes a total rethinking of how the whole education process can be reformed and restructured, including the main drivers and principles for reinventing schools in the global knowledge economy, models for designing smart learning environments at the institutional level, a new pedagogy and related curriculums for the 21st century, the transition to digital and situated learning resources, open educational resources and MOOCs, new approaches to cognition and neuroscience as well as the disruption of education sectors. The series provides an opportunity to publish reviews, issues of general significance to theory development, empirical data-intensive research and critical analysis innovation in educational practice. It provides a global perspective on the strengths and weaknesses inherent in the implementation of certain approaches to the future of education. It not only publishes empirical studies but also stimulates theoretical discussions and addresses practical implications. The volumes in this series are interdisciplinary in orientation, and provide a multiplicity of theoretical and practical perspectives. Each volume is dedicated to a specific theme in education and innovation, examining areas that are at the cutting edge of the field and are groundbreaking in nature. Written in an accessible style, this book series will appeal to researchers, policy-makers, scholars, professionals and practitioners working in the field of education.

More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/14177

Romuald Normand · Min Liu
Luís Miguel Carvalho · Dalila Andrade Oliveira
Louis LeVasseur
Editors

Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession

Global and Comparative Perspectives

ESPH 教育科学出版社 Educational Science Publishing House

Springer

Editors
Romuald Normand
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Strasbourg
Strasbourg, France

Min Liu
Institute of International and Comparative Education
Beijing Normal University
Beijing, China

Luís Miguel Carvalho
Institute of Education
University of Lisbon
Lisbon, Portugal

Dalila Andrade Oliveira
Faculty of Education
Federal University of Minas Gerais
Belo Horizonte, Brazil

Louis LeVasseur
Faculty of Educational Sciences
Université Laval
Quebec City, QC, Canada

ISSN 2366-1658 ISSN 2366-1666 (electronic)
Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education
ISBN 978-981-10-8278-8 ISBN 978-981-10-8279-5 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5

Jointly published with Educational Science Publishing House, Beijing, China

The print edition is not for sale in China Mainland. Customers from China Mainland please order the print book from: Educational Science Publishing House.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018947472

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd.
The registered company address is: 152 Beach Road, #21-01/04 Gateway East, Singapore 189721, Singapore

Foreword

The traveling reforms of education projects centered on a logic of human capital formation have had a profound imprint on the teacher profession in numerous sites around the world. Beginning in the early 1990s, as notions of "knowledge economies" and "learning societies" gained purchase globally, concepts such as new public management and audit culture have served the useful purpose of naming and describing the altered administrative and bureaucratic landscape. In this new order, educational professionals were thrust into a uniquely prominent position. While the teaching profession has long been tasked with delivering the schooling panacea within modernization and national development projects, the responsibility placed on teachers began to shift from producing "the good society" to producing "the good economy."

As this book persuasively documents, this rise in the importance accorded to the professional knowledge and professional work of educators has been accompanied by significant increases in the (re)regulation of teachers' work. In our current day and age, educators' professional expertise is both placed on a pedestal and pathologized. In many instances, legitimating and de-legitimating discourses are simultaneously propelled by the same institutions, actors, and networks. The same empowerment discourses that aim to free teachers from bureaucratic restraints perceived as interfering with "quality teaching" also bring their own tyranny of regulative restrictions.

The new regulatory pressures that circulate in globally mobile ideas emphasize accountability, learning outcomes, and quality assurance. These technical mechanisms (re)regulate teachers work through concepts like autonomy, creativity, and self-responsibility—all of which cut deeply into teacher subjectivities and identities. Teacher performance has become an increasingly common organizing concept worldwide. And, as data and quality measurements shift toward greater individualization, not only do new criteria for promotion and reward begin to circulate, but we also see a reconfiguring of professional collegiality and a reworking of the school as a social institution.

Against globe-flattening universalizing narratives about teaching, and in contrast to assumptions about the easy translocal portability of professional knowledge, the chapters in this book carefully document the reconfigurations that occur within the contexts of specific national settings, institutional frameworks, and bureaucratic traditions. This volume also shows us that teachers do not interact with globally mobile new professionalism in a merely reactive and renegotiating ways. There are important cases where globally circulating discourses provide welcome opportunity for education professionals to access authority for the exercise skills and expertise outside of the local bureaucratic structures within which they normally work. This is a useful reminder that globalization processes and phenomena can involve "reaching-in" and also "reaching-out." A global-in-the-local analytic framing helps us to understand the ways power circulates in and through teachers' professional skills and knowledge, as they are embodied and enacted.

Now, a quarter-century removed from the earliest stages of these administrative and bureaucratic transformations, it makes less and less sense to refer to these patterns as "new" public management. Nor, can we ignore what has continued to change over this period. Information communication technology has enabled ever more sophisticated techniques of evaluation. The currency of data-based and evidence-based practices has notably increased in value and popularity. Among its major contributions, this book brings these recent transformations into sharp focus. The contours of efficiency, quality, and performance have not remained stable, but instead continue to be shaped and reshaped at both global and local levels worldwide.

As educational professionals continue to transform into knowledge workers—as well as resist and redirect that transformation—we need renewed attention to evolving political regimes and emerging techniques and mechanisms that inform the professional practice, knowledge, and position of educators. This book is a tremendous accomplishment that will help researchers, policymakers, and teachers move in this direction.

Chicago, USA

Noah W. Sobe
Professor of Cultural and Educational
Policy Studies
Loyola University Chicago

Noah W. Sobe is Professor of Cultural and Educational Policy Studies at Loyola University Chicago where he also directs the Center for Comparative Education. He is a historian of education who studies the global circulation of educational policies and practices with a particular interest in the ways that schools function as contested sites of cultural production for the making up of peoples, societies, and worlds. His recent researches include work on education in post-socialist contexts, affect and emotion in education, and educational merit and meritocracy. He is President (2017–18) of the US-based Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) and also serves on the Executive Committee of the International Standing Conference on the History of Education (ISCHE).

Contents

Editors and Contributors

About the Editors

Romuald Normand is Professor of Sociology at the University of Strasbourg, Faculty of Social Sciences, France. (Research Unit SAGE: Societies, Actors and Government of Europe). He works on comparative education policies and politics, Europeanization and lifelong learning, higher education and research. He is Convenor of the network 28 "Sociologies of European Education" at the European Educational Research Association. He is Member of the editorial board of the *British Journal of Sociology of Education* and Co-Editor of the Routledge series "Studies in European Education," 2014, with Martin Lawn; *Shaping of European education. Interdisciplinary Approaches*, London: Routledge, 2016, with Jean-Louis Derouet; *A European Politics of Education. Perspectives from Sociology, Policy Studies and Politics. Routledge*, 2016; *The Epistemic Governance of European Education. Towards Homo Academicus Europeanus?*, Dordrecht, Springer.

Min Liu is Associate Professor at the Institute of International and Comparative Education, Beijing Normal University and Director of Chinese-French Center for Innovation in Education of BNU. Her researches focus on education in France, educational governance and policies, international comparative policies in education. She has published around 30 papers about French higher education, high school reforms in France, governance of French universities in academic journals and one book about French university's reforms and some translation works. She has participated in many research projects for MOE, NSFFC, such as "modernization of institutions of universities: a comparative research."

Luís Miguel Carvalho is Professor of Education at the University of Lisbon, Institute of Education, where he works on the Educational Policy and Administration research and teaching area. He is the author of several studies and publications on educational policies, schools as organizations, and educational knowledge. His recent researches focus on international comparative assessments,

the making and transnational circulation of education models and reforms. He is Member of the editorial board of the *European Educational Research Journal*.

Dalila Andrade Oliveira is Professor of the Faculty of Education and the Graduate Program in Education of the Federal University of Minas Gerais in the area of Public Policy and Education. She develops studies and research with an emphasis on education policy, school management, and teaching in Latin America. She was Co-Ordinator of the Working Group "Educación, political y movimientos sociales" in the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO) between 2006 and 2009 and International Cooperation Director of the National Association of Educational Policy and Administration (ANPAE) between 2007 and 2009. She was Vice President of the National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Education (ANPEd) between 2005 and 2009 and President (2009–2013). Currently, she holds the overall coordination of the Latin American Network about Teaching Work Studies (RedEstrado). She is the author and co-author of several books and articles in national and international journals. Noteworthy are the books: Democratic management of education: contemporary challenges (Voices, 2009 11th Ed.); Basic Education: management of labor and poverty (Voices, 2010, 2nd Ed); Policy and work at school (Authentic, 2003 3rd Ed.); Management and education policy (Authentic, 3rd Ed, 2008); Educational reforms and teaching workers in Latin America (Authentic, 2003), educational policies and teaching work in Latin America. (Fondo Editorial UCH, Peru, 2008); Work and teacher education policies: new subjects of regulation (Buenos Aires: Noveduc, 2006); Work in basic education: the teaching condition in seven Brazilian states (Thin Dash, 2012). She was the member of the Steering Committee of the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO) between November 2012 and January 2014. Currently, she held senior stage (Visiting Fellow) at the Institute of Education, University of London (IOE).

Louis LeVasseur is Professor at the Université Laval, Faculty of Educational Sciences, sur la formation et la profession enseignante (CRIFPE). His works focus on school culture and the themes of academic subjects in relation to student socialization, the history of education in Quebec, and education policy and its impact on the work of teachers from a sociological perspective.

Contributors

Jenny Assaél Department of Psychology, School of Social Sciences, University of Chile, Santiago, Chile

Mélanie Bédard Centre de Recherche Interuniversitaire sur la Formation et la Profession Enseignante (CRIFPE), Université Laval, Quebec, Canada

Luís Miguel Carvalho Institute of Education, University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal

Branka Cattonar Interdisciplinary Research Group in Socialisation, Education and Training (GIRSEF), Université Catholique de Louvain (UCL), Louvain-La-Neuve, Belgium

Rodrigo Cornejo Department of Psychology, Observatory of Chilean Educational Policy (OPECH), University of Chile, Santiago, Chile

Vincent Dupriez Interdisciplinary Research Group in Socialisation, Education and Training (GIRSEF), Université Catholique de Louvain (UCL), Louvain-La-Neuve, Belgium

Myriam Feldfeber Institute for Research in Educational Science, Universiity of Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Galina Gurova School of Education, University of Tampere, Tampere, Finland

Michael Krüger Ludwigsburg University of Education (LUE), Ludwigsburg, Germany

Louis LeVasseur Université Laval, Quebec, Canada

Régis Malet Graduate School of Education, University of Bordeaux, Bordeaux, France

Monica E. Mincu Catholic University, Milan, Italy

Rick Mintrop Graduate School of Education, University of Berkeley, Berkeley, USA

Christina Elde Mølstad Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences—INN University, Elverum, Norway

Romuald Normand Faculty of Social Sciences, Research Unit SAGE: Societies, Actors and Government of Europe, University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg, France

Dalila Andrade Oliveira Faculty of Education, Federal University of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, Brazil

Marcel Pagès Sociology Department, University of Barcelona (UAB), Barcelona, Spain

Daniel Pettersson University of Gävle, Gävle, Sweden; Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden

Nelli Piattoeva School of Education, University of Tampere, Tampere, Finland

Xavier Pons University Paris-Est Créteil (UPEC), Créteil, France; LIPHA Paris-Est, Créteil, France

Tine S. Prøitz University College of Southeast Norway, Nottoden, Norway

Annette Rasmussen Department of Learning and Philosophy, Aalborg University, Aalborg, Denmark

Palle Rasmussen Department of Learning and Philosophy, Aalborg University, Aalborg, Denmark

Marvin Roller Ludwigsburg University of Education (LUE), Ludwigsburg, Germany

Guri Skedsmo Department of Teacher Education and School Research, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway

Pierre Tulowitzki Ludwigsburg University of Education (LUE), Ludwigsburg, Germany

Antoni Verger Sociology Department, University of Barcelona (UAB), Barcelona, Spain

Sofia Viseu Institute of Education, University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal

Chapter 1
Introduction

Luís Miguel Carvalho and Romuald Normand

Educational professions are worldwide scrutinized by policy-makers and experts. After accountability reforms in most countries, the implementation of New Public Management restructures relationships between professionals and the Educative State. The government by numbers is extended to the government of the workforce through policies which claim modernization and quality improvement in education. The restructuring of education system is pursued, inventing new regulating and evaluative tools, but also targeting teachers considered as a main asset for reforms.

International Organizations are key players in the restructuring of education professions. The OECD's TALIS survey is a good example, displaying a diversity of characteristics and practices among the teaching profession, from which recommendations are addressed to States while teachers are considered the key for the knowledge economy. Teachers' knowledge is also at the core of international reports arguing for making their professional practices more effective and based on evidence. These discourses, recommendations, governing tools travel at global level through policy borrowing and knowledge transfer from one continent to another, one country to another. However, the implementation of reforms in terms of evaluation, management, training and evidence-based technologies varies from one country to another, as do the conceptions of teaching work and professionalism. So, in this book, different contributors are gathered, with different backgrounds, to characterize the scope and consistency of this international restructuring of professions in education, from South America to Europe and China. History, traditions, cultures remind us the local and situated dimensions of education reforms because

L. M. Carvalho
Institute of Education, University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal
e-mail: lmcarvalho@ie.ulisboa.pt

R. Normand (✉)
Faculty of Social Sciences, Research Unit SAGE: Societies, Actors and Government of Europe, University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg, France
e-mail: rnormand@unistra.fr

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_1

professions are not only professional bodies but also institutions embedded in society and its governance.

In this introduction, we firstly illustrate reforms advocated by States and International Organizations with their consequences on professions. The restructuring of education systems is underpinned by governing tools and transformations of the State but also by new conceptions carried by a plurality of international actors and experts. Secondly, we consider the way this restructuring of professions corresponds to the implementation of New Public Management requiring a new professionalism. It has an impact on relationships between principals and teachers but also on professional identities and working conditions in schools.

1.1 Education Professions Under Disturbance: Some Global Perspectives

Reforms of educational professions are influenced by international organisations and agencies that have developed assessment tools for education systems and discourses focused on effectiveness and quality. This reforming agenda, which travels at global level, has challenged teachers' knowledge and expertise, and their professional autonomy, in promoting new standards, recommendations and best practices. However, there are various and multiple paths leading to the transformation of profession and the emergence of a new professionalism among countries.

1.1.1 International Organizations: Bringing Reforms to the Education World

Throughout the last decades, International Organizations have participated in education governance as sources and as legitimators of a universe of knowledge which ensures that expert-based reforms can lead nations to became, through education, 'strong performers' in the knowledge-economy (see Lindblad and Popkewitz 2004). Their semantic universe—based on key-words such as quality, modernization, evaluation, performance, competitiveness—, together with specific regulatory tools—like standards, contracts, audits, benchmarks, assessments and other evidence-based technologies—have been the carriers of an agenda for education, but also of policies enacted in various national spaces.

Therefore, education professions and educational work, which have been ordered and reordered, shaped and reshaped since the late nineteen century and throughout the twentieth century by the wide-spreading nation-building project, are nowadays intensely affected by this transnational knowledge economy project for education (Seddon et al. 2013). Thus, at the forefront of education 'problems' and

'reforms' are the desiderata of generating advantages in global competition and the capacity to produce a flexible workforce and self-responsible individuals.

In parallel with the development of this agenda, changes have been noticed in the governing of education: policy processes become more intense in numbers, indicators, performances, and new policy arenas emerge, transnationally and within the nations (Ozga and Lingard 2007; Ball 2016). Furthermore, a collection of policies with impact on education professions has been put on the move worldwide: school autonomy and school-based management, external evaluations (of schools and education systems), parental choice, diversification of school offerings and standardization of national curricula, teacher evaluation and performance-indexed salary for teachers (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2013).

Accordingly, in the context of the restructuring of education systems, witnessed since the 1980s, teachers, particularly, but principals and inspectors as well, has been subjected to new regulatory pressures and processes: from increasing control over—and tighter organization of—their work to the development of new mechanisms for evaluating their performances.

1.1.2 Education Professions: In a State of Perpetual Change?

Largely fuelled by the agendas of international organizations, through a variety of forms, including frameworks, assessment tools, reports and recommendations, the new regulatory pressures exerted over education professions were enacted by national authorities, frequently adding or combining control by norms and control by results. Nonetheless, pressures also arose from a greater 'public scepticism' towards teachers' professional authority (Gewirtz et al. 2009a, b). What is most relevant, teacher's professional expertise has been—and still is—strongly challenged (Robertson 2013).

Indeed (and perhaps not paradoxically), at a time when national political actors are called upon to take care of the return of teachers to the epicentre of the (social, cultural, economic) change processes (OECD 1998), when teachers are said 'to matter' to national policy agendas (OECD 2005), their competencies and their professional autonomy are, simultaneously, highly-questioned or, even, devalued (Nóvoa 1999).

Significantly, the international organization that, due to its agency towards the alignment between economy and education, has reached a preponderant place in the 'field of symbolic control' over teachers' policies and practices (Robertson 2012) is the same actor that postulates the very fragility of teachers' professional knowledge. The case of the report prepared by the OECD for the 2012 International Summit on the Teacher Profession exemplifies the narrative thread that defines such way of thinking teachers expertise: school systems need versatile teachers who adapt, learn and constantly develop their professional knowledge; it is necessary these versatile

teachers are provided with a core of technical knowledge specific to the teaching profession; however, presently, such technical knowledge is fragile and doesn't have a universally recognized existence; therefore, to bridge this gap, new standards need to be generated by selecting, joining and legitimizing diverse innovation and knowledge sources and agencies, neither only from the professions, nor only from the State—, but from science, firms, practitioners, and users (see Schleicher 2012, pp. 33–45). Likewise, OECD's PISA reports have been significant carriers of this vision, portraying teachers both as transformational actors, i.e., agents of transformation, and 'reformable' actors, who must have the 'will'/disposition to adopt new knowledge (Petterson and Molstad 2016).

Thus, disturbance brought to education professions doesn't only come-out only from the detection of their knowledge insufficiencies. It is also founded on the detection of their promising practices. This means that, like all other so-called high-level knowledge workers, education professionals are being discursively condemned to a condition of perpetual or constant improvement.

1.1.3 Reshaping the Education Professions: The Weaving of Integration and Diversification Dynamics

Changes that are reshaping the professions of education need to be analyzed taking seriously into account the regulatory interventions of the international organizations. These collective actors have, indeed, broadened their scope of action, influencing national debates as well as the aims, goals and structures for/of education systems, and they have also produced new arenas and new forms of educational governance (Leuze et al. 2007). These processes have not necessarily eliminated the role of national states in the governing of education systems, but they have certainly forced them to make new decisions, such as those concerning the loci and agencies responsible for the coordination of action in the educational field (Dale 1999).

Nonetheless, in order to address the circulation of the international organizations' regulatory knowledge, it is necessary to recognize the fluidity, multiplicity and historical contingency of its transit (Popkewitz 2000). Indeed, the move of 'problems-solutions' diffused and legitimated by international organizations towards the national spaces involve more than a simple physical transposition of elements (whether these may be frames, theories, tools or working methods). It encompasses multidirectional dynamics, combining diffusion and active/selective incorporation processes. These involve the interdependencies between social actors with diverse dispositions, interests and resources for action, according to the specificities of the systems of meanings and the power relations of the contexts in which they intervene. In the educational literature, these have been captured as processes of mediation, involving reinterpretation, de-and-recontextualization,

resulting in effects such as bricolage (Ball 1998), intranational diversification (Schriewer 2000) or hybridization (Maroy 2009), to recall a few.

Surely, the reshaping of education professions is made up of a complex set of actions and interactions carried out by multiple actors in multiple policy spaces. Accordingly, bringing together accounts from varied political and cultural/civilizational regions, the book expects to bring further light on the impact of the worldwide restructuring of education professions and on its context-specific 'embodiments', diverse in scope, rhythm or intensity—thus, offering a nuanced and complex picture about the continuities and changes in professions.

1.2 Professions Facing Accountability and Managerialism: Towards a New Professionalism?

Beyond the influence of international organizations and agencies, the State is also active in restructuring professions. Since several decades, governments and policy-makers, believing in accountability and New Public Management, have sought to change teachers' professionalism and to adapt it to a new organization of schools. More than a discourse, this new professionalism reinvents professional relationships and practices within, while it reconsiders professional autonomy, promotion and careers according to new rules of control, flexibility, and mobility. This new policy modifies deeply the relationships between the State and institutionalized professions in education.

1.2.1 Professions and the State: Towards a New Professionalism

Changes in the professions are strongly related to the transformation of the State. Historically, the expansion of the number of students in secondary and higher education increased the number of teachers and headteachers in schools. As well as nurses and social workers, professionals in education were, at least in Europe, the Welfare State's agents ensuring equality for all. Lately, the compromise between professions and the State has been revised because of the reduction of public expenditures, the criticism faced by teachers considered as incapable of maintaining and raising standards, the development of cost-effectiveness diagnoses and management, and the collapse of the comprehensive school under the influence of New Right and Third Way politics (Ball 2008; Clarke and Newman 1997).

Since the 1980s, basic skill policies and accountability mechanisms have been the driver for restructuring the teaching profession away from professional autonomy, based on expertise in disciplines and discretionary practices in classroom, to professional dependency to external standards, benchmarks and targets designed by

the State or local authorities (Gewirtz et al. 2009a, b). Teachers have obligation to adjust their pedagogical practices to national or local curricula. Today, they must prove their effectiveness in raising student achievement along the school year. Teachers are also collectively accountable for their own outcomes at school level. Summing up Julia Evetts's words, we can assume that teaching as "occupational" professionalism has been transformed into "organizational" professionalism (Evetts 2008).

On one side, the first kind of professionalism is based on truth, competence, a strong identity and solidarity among peers (Evetts 2009). Central values are shared by professional groups (struggling against inequalities, being neutral and impersonal through universalistic standards, affirming the authority and legitimacy of academic knowledge). Within this institutional order, educational professions are stable and work for bureaucratic and hierarchical organizations. They serve public interest and professional ethics according to their specific knowledge and skills based on abstract concepts and formal learning. At the same time, in some countries, these professions benefit from a sort of monopoly, or occupational jurisdiction, by which they control the access, and the conditions of work and maintain their interests through professional bodies and trade unions (Abbott 1988). However, this jurisdiction is largely controlled and regulated by the State's rules, particularly when professionals are selected and recruited as civil servants.

On the other side, organizational professionalism incorporates the control of managers and increases standardized work and practices in schools. It relies on accountability mechanisms and performance reviews determined by national and local authorities, subjecting teachers to a large array of tests, indicators and standards (Gleeson and Husbands 2001). Organizational professionalism comes from the development of New Public Management and serves as a powerful justification for controlling professions at a distance whereas it structures professional relationships from the recognition of their performative skills, individual accountability and personal involvement in team work outside the classroom (Hood 1991; Gunter et al. 2016). Under this new regulation, professions are considered as flexible, mobile, and they must use flows of information and data from which their expertise and performance are recognized. The conditions of selection, recruitment, and career are no longer uniform but depend on individual eagerness and achievement. Teachers serve primarily the needs of students, parents and local communities even if they are still working under a hierarchical line. So, professionalism is a discourse and a policy which are largely constructed and imposed "from above" by public employers rather than advocated or negotiated by the teaching profession itself.

1.2.2 Professionalism: Changes and Continuities

Moreover, the notion of professionalism is used by the State and its agencies to promote alternatives in the government of professions in education and to reshape identities and practices of different professional groups. This discourse is used to

challenge professional autonomy and occupational control by teachers themselves and to advocate new modes of supervision and accountability limiting discretionary practices. New Public Management contributes to rationalize and discipline practices while it promises an improvement of statuses, mobilities and salaries despite budgetary restrictions (Pollitt 1990; Pollitt and Bouckaert 2004). Defending the idea of new careers, better interactions at school level, recognition of personal involvements, collaborative practices, professional development, comprehensive leadership, this appeal to a new professionalism can be very welcomed by practitioners tired of bureaucratic control, ready to develop innovations and networks, searching for a better professional recognition beyond the current procedures based on seniority. Some teachers and headteachers want to be committed to other forms of control, to be inner-directed and self-defined, and to move away from the routinized work of bureaucracy.

Beyond this dual opposition between two kinds of professionalism and the multiple interpretations it has created within the research community, some changes and continuities can be observed in most of education systems and policies. Bureaucracy remains after all because new professionalism is coupled with post-bureaucratic regimes which maintain hierarchy and rules for controlling professions. However, the standardization of teaching practices is arranged through new devices, standards and normative techniques which correspond very often to quality assurance mechanisms (Mahony and Hextall 2000). Moreover, professionals are subjected to managerial expectations through mechanisms of empowerment, autonomy and self-responsibility (Gunter et al. 2007). They must demonstrate their professionalism according to audits and school self-evaluation procedures (Power 1997). Quality management is a means to promote teachers who are put in competition against each other and to recognize their level of performance. This individualization undermines the collegiality of occupational professionalism and it transforms the conditions of promotion and career. However, cooperation and solidarity have not completely disappeared. But, instead of serving collective aims among professional groups, they are converted into managerial forms of collaborative practices and networking in search of effectiveness and quality. Consequently, new territories and opportunities emerge in challenging the traditional bureaucratic control: teachers can experience new professionalism in being invested in innovative networks, continuous professional development programmes, leadership functions in and outside schools, and in other services delivered to local communities.

1.2.3 New Managerial Technologies and Professional Identities at Stake

These new managerial strategies, restructuring the internal and external dynamics of professions in education, are largely based on the development of accountability

systems and policies. But they have changed over time and it is the main merit of this book to make a significant contribution to our understanding of these recent evolutions. Technologies of assessment and evaluation have been sophisticated: through the development of the Internet and its digital devices, student outcomes can be traced in much details and data gathered to be compared at different levels. Horizontal accountability, developing comparisons through benchmarks and rankings, has been added to vertical accountability steering at distance through indicators. Internal evaluation of schools, or self-evaluation, has completed external evaluations achieved by audit or inspection. The recent success of evidence-based technologies is a new step. Practitioners have not only to meet standards, they are invited to adjust their practices to recent findings extracted from "what works" research produced by techniques of randomization and meta-analyses. Some evidence-based packages are designed and delivered to schools to make them more effective in raising student achievement.

But this is only one aspect of the New Public Management implemented in education systems. It can be considered as a political regime reorganizing the entire relationship between professions and the State according to new values and visions and not only instrumental ways of standardization of educational practices and training. Professional identities are at stakes as explained in this volume. It is displayed through narratives that promote the sense of the self and responsibility through a neo-liberal vision considering competition and mobility as the common sense of people's commitment and public interest. It redesigns local and national cultures in hybridizing traditional values and a technocratic vision promising a better future for students at risk and inclusion for all. The language of quality is used to make the bridge between old references and new ones. But in re-contextualizing knowledge and practices through a cult of efficiency, New Public Management creates dilemmas among teachers, headteachers, and inspectors. Being reduced to knowledge workers, implementing accountability and evidence-based policies, professions in education become differentiated and fragmented while they lose their cohesiveness and inclusiveness. This fragmentation or dilution leads to a new institutional order in which the young generation of educators seeks its own way according to multiple identities and subjectivities. Professions in education experience a new paradigm which shapes selves and practices in school organizations progressively spatially and temporarily reinvented.

1.3 The Organization of the Chapters

The first part of the book characterizes the international travelling of policies reforming educational professions and raising new professional standards. These reforms are narrowly linked with a cognitive conception of knowledge economy and productivity, as shown by Susan L. Robertson and Tore Sorensen. Narratives about a professional world subjected to risk and uncertainty, coupled with pressure from international surveys on education policies and practices, have also major

consequences. The chapter written by Christina E. Molstad, Daniel Petterson and Tine S. Proitz points out the downloading/uploading processes by which education policy from PISA reports shapes performative and restructuring discourses towards educational professions. In the following chapter, Regis Malet argues that international standards carry other perspectives on professionalization according to paradigms which remain dependent on local political and cultural conditions. It is also true for changes experienced by the European inspectorates, as examined by Xavier Pons, with variations in the implementation of a new professionalism from one country to another. Portuguese principals, studied by Luis Miguel Carvalho and Sofia Viseu, balance between continuity and change facing reforms inspired by New Public Management. These global influences give ways to multiple translations in teacher training in China as well as in Germany. In the Chinese context, as illustrated by LIU Min, the PISA survey has a clear impact in restructuring training and qualification standards for teachers, while principles of knowledge economy and Lifelong Learning are affirmed. In Germany, according to Pierre Tulowitzki, Michael Krüger, and Marvin Roller, teacher training is more characterized by a mosaic because of the multiplicity in governing scales and actors involved in the definition of new standards. In Argentina, Myriam Feldfeber demonstrates that teacher training, despite national differences, is also subjected to accountability and managerial requirements and guidelines.

The second part of the book is focused on to the extent of accountability mechanisms and policies and their impact on educational professions. Vincent Dupriez and Branka Cattonar describe how these new policies are based on evidence-based technologies which legitimize a new definition of professional knowledge and expertise among teachers but also among researchers. In their investigation on accountability policies in Spain and Catalonia, Toni Verger and Marcel Pagès show that New Public Management and accountability, influenced by the dissemination of OECD standards, daily impact on teachers' work and professionalism. These requirements for evidence, performance and effectiveness are progressively strengthened as it is attested in Norwegian case studied by Guri Skedsmo. School leaders are more and more incited to use student outcomes to decide about their management and creates dilemmas in their conceptions of professionalism. It is the same in Denmark, as exemplified by Annette and Palle Rasmussen, through the development of quality assurance and modernizing strategies, even if a compromise is reached between cultural traditions and performance management. In Russia, Gallina Gurova and Nelli Piattoeva show how quality assurance measurements and assessment tools influence teachers' subjectivities and local practices.

The book ends with some considerations about the real impact of New Public Management on professions. Rick Mintrop explains that the Weberian model of public administration in the USA has been replaced by managerial technologies which emphasize performance evaluation and standards on behalf of New Public Management. If bureaucracy and managerialism coexist, it is often developed against professionals. In Brazil, as illustrated by Dalila Andrade Oliveira, New Public Management is also implemented, whereas external accountability is

imposed to schools with important and negative consequences on teachers. In the following chapter, Romuald Normand shows that New Public Management reforms take different paths and, because they do not consider teachers' professional culture and ethics, they remain enclosed in a narrow definition of effectiveness and performance undermining communication and cooperation in schools. The following contributions study the impact of New Public Management on teachers' identities and subjectivities. Monica Helena Mincu, from the Italian case, highlights the way some changes in teacher training, in a context of decentralization, lead to fragmenting the teaching profession. In Chili, the education system is under a strong accountability and standardization, according to Jenny Assael and Rodrigo Cornejo, and New Public Management increases pressure on teachers with a loss of professional autonomy. Finally, Louis LeVasseur and Mélanie Bédard analyse the situation in Quebec where education reforms, based on accountability and managerial standards, polarize the teaching community and professional identities.

References

Abbott, A. (1988). *The system of professions: An essay on the division of expert labour*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ball, S. J. (1998). Big policies/small world: An introduction to international perspectives in education policy. *Comparative Education, 34*(2), 119–130.

Ball, S. J. (2008). *The education debate*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Ball, S. J. (2016). Following policy: Networks, network ethnography and education policy mobilities. *Journal of Education Policy, 31*(5), 549–566.

Clarke, J., & Newman, J. (1997). *The managerial state: Power, politics and ideology in the remaking of social welfare.* Londres: Sage.

Dale, R. (1999). Specifying globalisation effects on national policy: A focus on the mechanisms. *Journal of Education Policy, 14*(1), 1–17.

Evetts, J. (Ed.) (2008). Professional work in Europe: Concepts, theories and methodologies. *Special Issue of European Societies*, *10*(4), 525–544.

Evetts, J. (2009). The management of professionalism: A contemporary paradox. In S. Gewirtz, P. Mahony, I. Hextall, & A. Cribb (Eds.), *Changing teacher professionalism: International trends, challenges and ways forward* (pp. 19–30). London: Routledge.

Gewirtz, S., Mahony, P., Hexall, I., & Cribb, A. (2009a). Policy, professionalism and practice. In S. Gewirtz, et al. (Eds.), *Changing teacher professionalism: International trends, challenges and ways forward*. Oxon: Routledge.

Gewirtz, S., Mahony, P., Hextall, I., & Cribb, A. (Eds.). (2009b). *Changing teacher professionalism: International trends, challenges and ways forward.* Routledge: Londres.

Gleeson, D., & Husbands, C. (Eds.). (2001). *The Performing School. Managing learning and teaching in a performance culture*. Londres: Routledge Falmer.

Gunter, H., & Fitzgerald, T. (2013). New public management and the modernisation of education systems. *Journal of Educational Administration and History, 45*(3), 213–219.

Gunter, H. M., Grimaldi, E., Hall, D., & Serpieri, R. (Eds.). (2016). *New public management and the reform of education: European lessons for policy and practice*. London: Routledge.

Gunter, H., Rayner, S., Butt, G., Fielding, A., Lance, A., & Thomas, H. (2007). Transforming the school workforce: Perspectives on school reform in England. *Journal of Educational Change, 8*(1), 25–39.

Hood, C. (1991). A public management for all seasons? *Public Administration, 69*(1), 3–19.

Leuze, K., Martens, K., Rusconi, A. (2007). Introduction. In K. Martens, A. Rusconi & K. Leuze (Eds.), *New arenas of education governance*: *The impact of international organizations and markets on education policy making*. London: Routledge.

Lindblad, S., & Popkewitz, T. S. (2004). Educational restructuring: (Re) thinking the problematic of reform. In. S. Lindblad & T. S. Popkewitz (Eds.), *Educational restructuring: Perspectives on traveling policies*. Greenwich, US: Information Age Publishing.

Mahony, P., & Hextall, I. (2000). *Reconstructing teaching: Standards, performance and accountability*. London: Routledge.

Maroy, C. (2009). Convergences and hybridization of educational policies around 'postbureaucratic' models of regulation. *Compare, 39*(1), 71–84.

Nóvoa, A. (1999). Os professores na virada do milênio: do excesso dos discursos à pobreza das práticas [Teachers at the turn of the millenium: from excess in discourses to poverty in practices]. *Educação e Pesquisa, 25*(1), 11–20.

OECD. (1998). *Education policy analysis—1998*. Paris: Center for Educational Research and Innovation.

OECD. (2005). *Teachers matter: Attracting, developing and retaining effective teachers.* Paris: OECD Publishing.

Ozga, J., & Lingard, B. (2007). Globalisation, education policy, and politics. In B. Lingard & J. Ozga (Eds.), *The Routlege/Falmer in education policy and politics*. New York: Routledge.

Petterson, D., & Molstad, C. E. (2016). PISA teachers: The hope and the happening of educational development. *Educação & Sociedade, 37*(136), 629–645.

Pollitt, C. (1990). *Managerialism and the public services: The Anglo-American experience*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Pollitt, C.,& Bouckaert, G. (2004). *Public management reform: A comparative analysis* (2a edn). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Popkewitz, T. (2000). Globalization/regionalization, knowledge, and the educational practices. In T. S. Popkewitz (Ed.), *Educational knowledge: Changing relationships between the state, civil society, and the educational community*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Power, M. (1997). *The audit society*. Londres: Demos.

Robertson, S. L. (2012). 'Placing' teachers in global governance agendas. *Comparative Education Review, 56*(3), 584–607.

Robertson, S. L. (2013). Teachers' work, denationalisation, and transformations in the field of symbolic control: A comparative account. In T. Seddon & J. S. Levin (Eds.), *Education, professionalism, and politics: Global transitions, national spaces, and professional projects (World-yearbook of Education 2013)*. London: Routledge.

Schleicher, A. (Ed.) (2012). *Preparing teachers and developing school leaders for the 21st century: Lessons from around the world*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

Schriewer, J. (2000). World-system and interrelationship-networks. In T. S. Popkewitz (Ed.), *Educational knowledge*. Albany: State University of New York.

Seddon, T., Ozga, J., & Levin, J. S. (2013). Global transitions and teacher professionalism. In T. Seddon & J. S. Levin (Eds.), *Education, professionalism, and politics: Global transitions, national spaces, and professional projects (World-yearbook of Education 2013)*. London: Routledge.

Luís Miguel Carvalho is Professor of Education at the University of Lisbon, Institute of Education, where he works on the Educational Policy and Administration research and teaching area. He is author of several studies and publications on educational policies, schools as organizations, and educational knowledge. His recent research focuses on international comparative assessments, the making and transnational circulation of education models and reforms. He is a member of the editorial board of the European Educational Research Journal.

Romuald Normand is Professor of Sociology at the University of Strasbourg, Faculty of Social Sciences, France. (Research Unit SAGE: Societies, Actors and Government of Europe). He works on comparative education policies and politics, Europeanization and Lifelong Learning, Higher Education and Research. Romuald Normand is convenor of the network 28 "Sociologies of European Education" at the European Educational Research Association. He is a member of the editorial board of the British Journal of Sociology of Education and co-editor of the Routledge series "Studies in European Education". 2014, with Martin Lawn, *Shaping of European education. Interdisciplinary Approaches*, London: Routledge, 2016, with Jean-Louis Derouet, *A European Politics of Education. Perspectives from Sociology, Policy Studies and Politics. Routledge*, 2016, *The Epistemic Governance of European Education. Towards Homo Academicus Europeanus?*, Dordrecht, Springer.

Chapter 2
Soft Infusion: Constructing 'Teachers' in the PISA Sphere

Christina Elde Mølstad, Daniel Pettersson and Tine S. Prøitz

Since their inception, international large-scale assessments introduced by the OECD, such as PISA, have been widely discussed and disseminated in various social fields, e.g. policy, research, practice and the media. Administrative and political actors have responded to PISA and taken part in discussions about the results (e.g. Pettersson 2008; Hopmann 2007, 2015; Ozga et al. 2011; Ertl 2006; Grek 2009). The PISA phenomenon frames educational discussions about what education is and should be like and, as such, shapes a reasoning (Hacking 1991) on education (cf. Pettersson et al. 2016). The conceptualisation of 'teachers' embedded in this reasoning is often regarded as crucial for successful and effective schooling (cf. Hattie 2009). In this study, we show how 'teachers' are conceptualised in the sphere of PISA, both internationally and nationally, and that time and space are crucial for an elaborated understanding of the process of creating educational knowledge (cf. Pettersson and Mølstad 2016).

In glonacal times (Marginson and Rhoades 2001), policies do not 'travel' between different levels, e.g. between the international and national or the national and local, but are instead intertwined and entangled to the extent that it can be difficult to determine where they begin or end. Due to these observations, we analytically elaborate on processes of uploading and downloading (Prøitz 2015) to

C. E. Mølstad (✉)
Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences—INN University, Elverum, Norway
e-mail: christina.molstad@hihm.no

D. Pettersson
University of Gävle, Gävle, Sweden
e-mail: Daniel.Pettersson@hig.se

D. Pettersson
Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden

T. S. Prøitz
University College of Southeast Norway, Nottoden, Norway
e-mail: Tine.Proitz@usn.no

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_2

investigate the conceptualisation of 'teachers'. Instead of policy 'travelling', we refer to policy transgressing by linguistic "soft infusion" between interconnected sites. Hence, we investigate language and the way in which phenomena are talked about. We argue that language is important, because the way we talk shapes the order of things. Paying attention to different sites and layers of policymaking enables us to make claims about how 'teachers' are conceptualised and portrayed.

2.1 Framing the Study

The OECD has framed an international policy reasoning by means of its rankings, publications, international knowledge assessments and national and thematic policy reviews. With these activities, a specific 'language' is constructed that enables the various international actors to communicate on common grounds. Martens (2007) contributes by suggesting a 'comparative turn', which is a scientific approach to political decision-making. Further, the OECD's greatest impact can be seen in its agenda with indicators and its role in constructing a global policy field of governance by comparison (cf. Grek et al. 2009), which can be discussed in terms of a datafication of governance (Hansen 2015). Nóvoa and Lord (2002) state that comparisons like these should not be regarded as methods, but can in fact be seen as policy. Policy is driven by an expert discourse which, by means of comparative strategies, tends to impose natural or 'common sense' answers on national settings (e.g. Steiner-Khamsi 2004; Taylor et al. 1997). Eisner (1996) maintains that the difficulty does not lie in the creation of model schools or correct education, but rather in the idea that schools and education can easily be 'replicated' in other contexts, thus implying that the process is biological, not political and social. Thus, the OECD serves national policymakers well with a comparable reasoning in terms of statistics and provides them with a global policy lexicon of what education is and ought to be—stated as 'facts' and 'truths' about education (cf. Carvalho 2012).

What is especially in focus in this article is constructed knowledge about 'teachers'. This is investigated in terms of how knowledge moves as linguistic "soft infusions" in time and space. Here, it can be argued that PISA data is not just collected by knowledge tests, but through a conglomerate of activities that affect how educational linguistics moves across borders. Due to this, PISA activities can be seen as a process that cross borders of time and space to create policymaking parallels rather than dependencies. In other words, policymaking takes place in parallel and moves independently as linguistic "soft infusions". A discourse like this is continuous between and across the different borders, where knowledge, instituted as 'facts' and 'truths', moves and at the same time changes and develops in parallel processes.

2.2 Mapping the Construction of 'Teachers'

'Teachers' and teachers' activities can be framed in different ways, which means that the premises for teachers' work can be constructed differently. Teacher autonomy is an important analytical concept, which is often used to describe something considered as central to teachers' work. Teacher autonomy can be defined as the freedom and responsibility given to the teaching profession to plan teaching based on professional decisions and justifications (Gerrard and Farrell 2013; Scholl 2012), for example by constructing teachers as *deliverers* or *developers* of teaching and education (Priestley et al. 2012). Framing teachers in this way constructs different types of teacher autonomy, i.e. restricted or extended autonomy (Mølstad 2015). Finally, we elaborate on specific characteristics, here formulated as the need to enlighten teachers and teachers already being enlightened, as opposites in a reasoning about teachers. This can either be perceived as teachers as a specific class or group of people representing reason, or as teachers in need of being enlightened about how to talk, act and perform. We elaborate on three different dimensions that move back and forth by means of linguistic "soft infusion". These are: (a) teachers as deliverers or developers, (b) teachers' work as restricted or extended and (c) teachers in need of enlightenment or as being enlightened. The analytical map below illuminates these different dimensions of how 'teachers' can be conceptually portrayed. The map includes three different lines, which facilitate the placing of different interpretations about what 'teachers' are and how they should behave. We will return to this map later in the article when discussing the empirical investigation of the PISA reasoning on 'teachers' (Fig. 2.1).

To investigate where the PISA reasoning is on the map, three different kinds of documents are analysed by content analysis. The first set of documents consists of

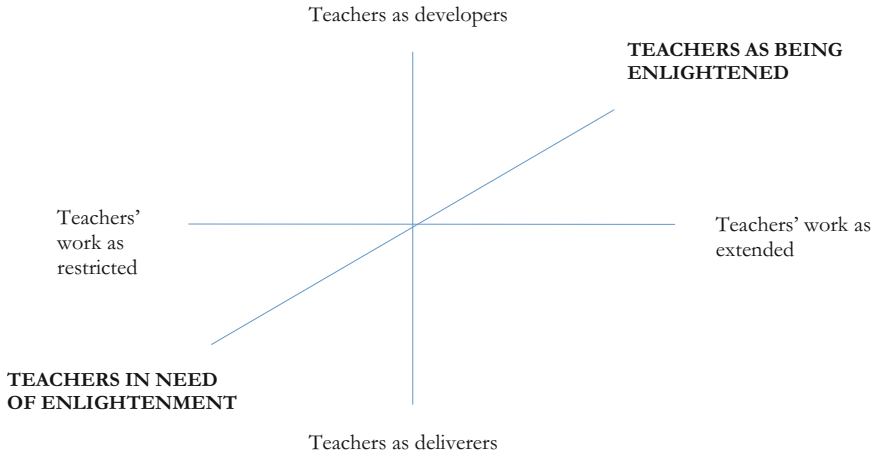

Fig. 2.1 A constructed analytical map of the PISA terrain

PISA assessment frameworks and technical reports, the second set includes international PISA reports and the third consists of selected national reports that present the PISA results to a national audience.

2.3 PISA on 'Teachers'

Identifying and analysing how teachers are conceptualised enables us to illustrate the different ways in which student performance data is transformed into constructions of concepts about teachers and how this affects the understanding of teachers and their activities. We are not suggesting that the conceptualisations of teachers automatically lead to policy change, but rather that policy texts can be seen from the perspective of an ongoing process of linguistic 'soft infusion' that does not just describe social processes and structures but also creates and supports them (Hacking 2007; Saarinen 2008).

In the PISA texts drawn on in this study, teachers are described as actors who perform activities that are important for reaching the set goals. We regard the different types of data as being involved in a process of uploading and downloading (Prøitz 2015). First, the formulations used in assessment frameworks and the technical reports where national representatives have negotiated and decided on the content are regarded as examples of uploading. Second, international reports of PISA achievements describe and compare different nations' performances and are regarded as downloading. Here, education is transformed from a continuous process involving students and teachers embedded in a context of schooling to fixed numbers signalling success or failure. Education is thus narrowed down to one single focal point based on measured numbers. The numbers function as both the 'fact' and the 'truth' about educational knowledge and include phenomena such as 'teachers' and 'teaching'. Third, the national reports that are used to present PISA results to a national audience, thereby transforming an international reasoning on education into nationally relevant concepts, are also regarded as examples of downloading.

2.4 Assessment Frameworks and Technical Reports

We should point out that assessment frameworks represent the uploading process in that they frame upcoming PISA tests. In contrast, technical reports describe what has been done. The analysed texts are listed in Table 2.1:

When performing a systematic content analysis on the concepts of 'teacher', 'teachers' and 'teaching' in the selected documents, it is clear that the older publications are somewhat limited in their discussions about teachers and teaching. Initially, it is stated that one of the aims of PISA is to create a situation for "teachers to teach better" (OECD 1999, p. 9). Here, the reasoning emphasises teachers'

Table 2.1 Presenting the assessment frameworks and technical reports used for analysis

OECD. (1999). *Measuring student knowledge and skills: A new framework for assessment*. OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2002). *PISA 2000 technical report*. OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2003). *The PISA 2003 assessment framework—Mathematics, reading, science and problem solving knowledge and skills*. OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2005). *PISA 2003: Technical report*. OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2006). *Assessing scientific, reading and mathematical literacy: A framework for PISA*. OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2009a). *Assessment framework: Key competencies in reading, mathematics and science.* OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2009b). *PISA 2006: Technical report*. OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2013). *PISA 2012 frameworks—Mathematics, problem solving and financial literacy.* OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2014). *PISA 2012: Technical report.* OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2016a). *PISA 2015 assessment and analytical framework: Science, reading, mathematic and financial literacy*. OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2016b). *PISA 2018: Draft analytical frameworks. May 2016*. OECD: Paris.

characteristics and teaching as important for successful schooling and better student performances. Teachers' morale, behaviour and the support they give to students listed as important characteristics (e.g. OECD 2005). The development from a focus on teachers' characteristics to a stronger orientation on teachers' qualifications and training requirements can be observed changing the concept of 'teachers' from around 2005 (OECD 2005). A change of emphasis on how teachers are presented is also identified. Instead of seeing teachers as enlightened, having a good morale and extensive knowledge, a new discussion appears, this time emphasising the need for teachers to be enlightened about better student performances. Teachers are discussed less in terms of subjects and more as 'objects' that can be changed. In a sense, the argument and urge to create the new 'teacher' is mostly discussed in relation to general societal changes, e.g. in the use of technology for information (e.g. OECD 2009). This is an example of how a reasoning about teachers/teaching is linked to changes in society (e.g. Labaree 2000) and the need for new knowledge requirements. Teaching can subsequently be considered as changing to learning, with 'teachers' as navigators a landscape of knowledge. The focus thus shifts to highlighting the teacher-student relation. Rather than characteristics, qualifications and training requirements for dealing with a changing society become part of being a 'teacher'. Consequently, instead of being enlightened, 'teachers' are conceptualised as being in need of enlightenment.

To summarise, strong formulations are found in the PISA assessment frameworks and technical reports about the necessity for teachers to be involved in a constant process of development. Being a teacher is conceptualised as being active and in a state of constant change and development. The idea of an active developing

individual is presented as improving students' performances. The 'teacher' is thus constituted as adaptable, active, learning, context sensitive and, at an overall level, as a transformable individual. In contrast, 'bad' education is performed by teachers who are not enlightened or transformed and are unable to adopt to new social needs.

2.5 Teachers in the International PISA Reports

Knowledge about the construction of the tests and the strengths and weaknesses of comparing performances between nations and schools is expressed in the reports as vitally important (e.g. OECD 2013a). Statements relating to these issues in the PISA reports highlight the PISA reasoning and present a somewhat multifaceted picture of what the test stands for in terms of benefits and deficits. Hence, the reasoning revolves around an educational 'fact' and a 'truth' that PISA promotes better student performances and that this is more likely if teachers are aware of and can reflect on the issues raised and transform this knowledge into teaching. Consequently, the message is that if PISA as a phenomenon is acknowledged and used, it will ensure teachers' knowledge and lead to better student performances. The analysed international reports are presented below (for a more extended presentation see e.g. Lindblad et al. 2015) (Table 2.2):

The international reports illuminate teachers meeting the challenges of instructing socio-economically disadvantaged children. This is portrayed as

Table 2.2 The analysed international PISA reports

OECD. (2001a). *Knowledge and skills for life: First results from the OECD programme for International Student Assessment (PISA).* OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2001b). *Literacy skills for the world of tomorrow: Further results from PISA 2000.* OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2004). *Learning from tomorrow's world—First results from PISA 2003.* OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2007). *PISA 2006 science competencies for tomorrow's world (Volume I and II).* OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2010). *Volume I, what students know and can do: Student performance in reading, mathematics and science.* OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2013a). *What students know and can do: Student performance in mathematics, reading and science (Volume I).* OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2013b). *Excellence through equity: Giving every student the chance to succeed (Volume II).* OECD: Paris.
OECD (2016a). *Volume I: Excellence and equity in education.* OECD: Paris.
OECD. (2016b). *Volume II: Policies and practices for successful schools.* OECD: Paris.

something that teachers have to deal with (e.g. OECD 2013a) in terms of the knowledge that is required, the issues themselves and the planning of the teaching. The reasoning is also illustrated by the 'fact' that social inequality leads to 'achievement gaps' amongst students. However, effective teaching is also linked to questions about how to close these 'achievement gaps'. Here, 'effective' teaching is portrayed as teaching that eliminates social inequality. The concept of teaching is sometimes also expressed in terms of instruction (e.g. OECD 2004) more than teaching. In these formulations, it is explicit that universal policies aim to raise the standards for all students. It is further discussed that in countries with comparable student performances, universal policies will play a greater role. Such policies are said to include changing the content and pace of the curriculum, improving instructional techniques, introducing whole day schooling, changing the school-entry age and increasing the time spent on language classes (e.g. OECD 2007). Despite the rather strong emphasis on reasoning about social inequality, some examples concern the teaching that students receive, such as in the following example, in this instance expressed in terms of instruction:

> By implication, much of the difference in the literacy and numeracy proficiency of young adults today is likely related to the effectiveness of the instruction they received in primary and lower secondary school. (OECD 2013a, p. 33)

The analysis of the international reports shows a strong reasoning about teaching as a way of solving what is perceived as 'achievement gaps', which are normally connected to performance data and differences in social background. In the reports, teachers are seen as helping to close the measured 'achievement gaps' connected with social inequality. This description is presented as a universal educational 'fact' that is important to understand the differences in student performances. In line with this reasoning, 'good' teachers are those who recognise differences amongst students and can adapt their teaching to help students from less favourable social backgrounds to perform better. Therefore, the suggested strategy for ensuring knowledge is that teachers should know and understand what an international knowledge assessment like PISA can offer in terms of insights into the strengths and weaknesses of their teaching. This is presented in the reports as a way of improving student performance and as a strategy for closing the 'achievement gaps' caused by social inequality.

In the international reports, committed and enlightened teachers are highlighted as important for achieving a transformation of education for better student performances. Knowledge about social inequality is also stated as important for achieving this transformation. Most importantly, teachers are assigned the role as developers of strategies for achieving this transformation. Teaching is also highlighted as an important aspect of the transformation of education (e.g. OECD 2001a, 2004, 2007, 2013a, 2016a), which indicates that teachers are perceived as important for students' learning and for helping them to become autonomous so that they can take responsibility for their own learning. Consequently, a 'good' teacher is someone who can teach students to do just that. This reasoning is discussed in several ways, where e.g. the importance of attainment, problem solving and interest

among students are highlighted. Teachers and the activity of teaching are also seen as transformation agents for encouraging better student performances. Teachers are thus rhetorically highlighted as important for educational transformation. The role can be interpreted as essential due to their ability to close students' so-called 'achievement gaps', which are said to be due to social inequality. In line with this reasoning, 'effective teaching' is presented as the solution for closing such 'gaps'. The transformation of education is conclusively understood as closing the 'gaps' by teaching under-privileged groups so that these 'gaps' will decrease or diminish. Teachers are thus seen as enlightened developers of strategies for closing performance 'gaps'.

The reports often focus on policies for improving the quality of teaching staff, for example by increasing the requirements for teacher certification, providing incentives for high-achieving students to enter the profession, raising salaries to make the profession more attractive, offering incentives for teachers to engage in in-service teacher-training programmes, or by changing the criteria and benefits associated with teachers' career advancement (e.g. OECD 2014b). Reasoning about the importance of data is also apparent. Further, if nations follow the advice derived from the PISA tests, better performances will be possible. The importance of raising standards among teachers is also stressed. Consequently, teachers are not only seen from the perspective of the knowledge they have, but also in terms of their characteristics. In these discussions, specific characteristics for promoting better performances are highlighted. Based on the results of the PISA tests, a 'data behaviourism' is created that includes teachers being opened-minded enough to change their teaching methods in order to close the aforementioned 'achievement gaps'.

2.6 The Portrayal of Teachers in National Reports

For this part of the study, examples of how the process of downloading is portrayed and the issues that are at stake are taken from the national reports from Australia, Norway, Scotland and Sweden for the time period 2000–2011. A Nordic report from 2006 (Nordic Council of Ministers 2006) has also been consulted, which discusses student performances in relation to PISA in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and three autonomous areas—the Faroe Islands, Greenland and Åland (all situated in northern Europe). The above reports are presented in Table 2.3:

The importance of teachers is evident in all the above reports. Many of them refer to teachers as most important for upholding different characteristics. At an overall level, it can be said that teachers are expected to have a positive approach to their students, emphasise students' performances, demonstrate supportive and encouraging behaviour, have a high morale, be able to maintain discipline in the classroom and have good relations with students. In the national reports, it is noted that teachers are described as the most important factor for improved educational

Table 2.3 The national reports used for analysis

Lokan, J., Greenwood, L., & Cresswell, J. C. (2000). *The PISA 2000 survey of students' reading, mathematical and scientific literacy skills: 15-up and counting, reading, writing, reasoning… how literate are Australia's students?* ACER/OECD: Camberwell.
Thomson, S., Cresswell, J., & De Bartoli, L. (2004). *Facing the future: A focus on mathematical literacy among Australian 15-year-old students in PISA 2003*. ACER/OECD: Camberwell.
Thomson, S., & De Bartoli, L. (2008). *Exploring scientific literacy: How Australia measures up. The PISA 2006 survey of students' scientific, reading and mathematical literacy skills*. ACER: Camberwell.
Thomson, S., De Bartoli, L., Nicholas, M., Hillman, K., & Buckley, S. (2011). *Challenges for Australian education: Results from PISA 2009. The PISA 2009 assessment of students' reading, mathematical and scientific literacy*. ACER: Camberwell.
Lie, S., Kjaernsli, M., Roe, A., & Turmo, A. (2001). *Godt rustet for framtida? Norske 15-åringers kompetanse i lesing og realfag i ett internasjonalt perspektiv*. Universitetet i Oslo: Oslo.
Kjaernsli, M., Lie, S., Olsen, R. V., Roe, A., & Turmo, A. (2004). *Rett spor eller ville veier? Norske elevers prestasjoner i matematikk, naturfag og lesing I PISA 2003*. Universitetsforlaget: Oslo.
Kjaernsli, M., & Roe, A. (2010). *På rett spor: Norske elevers kompetanse i lesing, matematikk og naturfag I PISA 2009*. Universitetsforlaget: Oslo.
Scottish Executive. (2004a). *Programme for International Student Assessment 2000: Scotland analysis*. Scottish Executive: Edinburgh.
Scottish Executive. (2004b). *Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2003: Initial report on scotland's performance in mathematics, science and reading*. University of Glasgow: Glasgow.
The Scottish Government. (2007). *Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2006: Highlights from Scotland's results*. The Scottish Government: Edinburgh.
The Scottish Government. (2010). *Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2009: Highlights from Scotland's results*. The Scottish Government: Edinburgh.
Skolverket. (2001). PISA 2000: *Svenska femtonåringars läsförmåga och kunnande i matematik och naturvetenskap i ett internationellt perspektiv*. Skolverket: Stockholm.
Skolverket. (2004). *PISA 2003. Skolverket*: Stockholm.
Skolverket. (2010). *Rustad att möta framtiden? PISA 2009 om 15-åringars läsförståelse och kunskaper i matematik och naturvetenskap*. Skolverket: Stockholm.

(continued)

Table 2.3 (continued)

Skolverket. (2011). *Eleverna och nätet: PISA 2009 om 15-åringars förmåga att söka, läsa och värdera digital information*. Skolverket: Stockholm.
Nordic Council of Ministers. (2006). *Northern lights on PISA 2006: differences and similarities in the Nordic countries*. Nordic Council of Ministers: Copenhagen.

performance. Consequently, we can see an emphasis on the importance of teachers as key figures for achieving better student performances. The reports also show a linguistic movement that considers teachers as needing to be better equipped in terms of qualifications and training requirements. In addition, there seem to be some kind of negotiation about how to interpret and construct 'teachers' in national contexts.

What is actually at stake here? We regard the explicit separation of teachers' characteristics or qualifications as an interesting field for discussion. This duality in the conceptualisation of 'teachers' can be discussed analytically from a standpoint of teachers as enlightened or in need of being enlightened. The differences between characteristics and qualifications stated in the national reports can also be linked to the differences between being enlightened or in need of it. In the national reports, there are contradictions about these matters in terms of how 'teachers' are presented and described. These contradictions appear as a back and forth argumentation in the reports, which pendulate between teachers as already being enlightened or their need for enlightenment. This duality leads to different solutions for how to teach, which automatically affects how 'teachers' are perceived. Against this background, it can be ascertained that the majority of formulations in the national reports stress the need to enlighten teachers about better student performances. The reports can be seen as an opportunity for policymakers to emphasise reforms that regulate teachers' work and put more pressure on teachers to deliver results in terms of better student performance.

2.7 Teachers: The Hope and Happening of Educational Development

The analytical separation into three dimensions of teachers' characteristics indicates what is perceived as 'good' education and the role that teachers play in its construction. In all these cases, 'good' education is associated with improvements in student performance—measured and visualised by performance data. When investigating the important knowledge that is required and how teachers can improve students' performances, we found that several topics could be included in what can be called a specific PISA reasoning. This takes different forms and is stated differently in relation to different issues. When analysing the different textual statements, one observation is that the results are presented with a view to providing

the different actors in the various educational systems with 'facts' and 'truths' for making weak performances stronger. Hence, it is obvious that aggregated performance data helps the various actors to transform education. Different solutions are presented depending on which educational actor is being addressed. For instance, when the reports are aimed at policymakers, curriculum and educational state reforms are emphasised. When aimed at teachers, the emphasis is on teaching and evaluation as ways of improving students' performances. The reports also contain several examples of how to ensure that educational reforms will result in better educational performances. Normally, teachers are at the centre of such discussions, where the emphasis is on the importance of well-educated teachers who can change and are willing to adopt new knowledge and adjust their teaching to it. In line with this, the reports promote specific 'tracks' for teacher development. A strong belief is expressed in all the reports that competent teachers lead to better student performances. The reasoning is framed in a 'knowledge paradigm', which is discussed in terms of a close connection between teachers' knowledge and student performance and the emergence of a specific 'data behaviourism' (Rouvroy 2012). In the national reports is it clear that teachers' knowledge needs to be improved in order to achieve better student performances.

The role played by teachers in raising educational standards is very explicit. In this context, they refer to as 'key figures'. Teachers are therefore important as individuals and for the activities they perform to ensure educational transformation and reform. In this, hierarchies are established between 'good'/'bad' teachers and 'effective'/'ineffective' teaching. When it comes to the characteristics of the teachers, the reports highlight teachers who can adopt teaching approaches that help to close the 'achievement gaps' between students. Moreover, 'good' teachers and 'effective' teaching are constituted as teachers and strategies that enable socially disadvantaged students to catch up with their more advantaged peers, thereby leading to the closure of 'gaps'. Consequently, the reports emphasise teachers as developers of education rather than deliverers of policy, although to some extent this depends on where the statements are made in the process of uploading and downloading. Teachers are thus seen as indicators of the effectiveness of the education system and as important for raising performance standards. In one sense, there is an explicit striving to raise teachers from yesterday's ashes into a new 'teacher phoenix' who adapt to what is seen as tomorrow's knowledge.

Figure 2.2 presents the PISA reasoning on the three dimensions of teacher characteristics discussed in the reports. It is evident that the different kinds of reports appear in different places in the figure. This indicates the differences in the reasoning depending on where in the policy process they are situated.

In the above figure, the framework and technical reports are placed in the positions in which teachers are perceived as enlightened, important developers and where the notion of teachers' work is extended. Earlier in the text we indicate that after 2005 teachers' work is described in more restricted terms as deliverers that need to be enlightened about better student performances. These reports differ somewhat from the international reports on PISA results, where teachers are regarded as enlightened and developers of education. However, this contradicts the

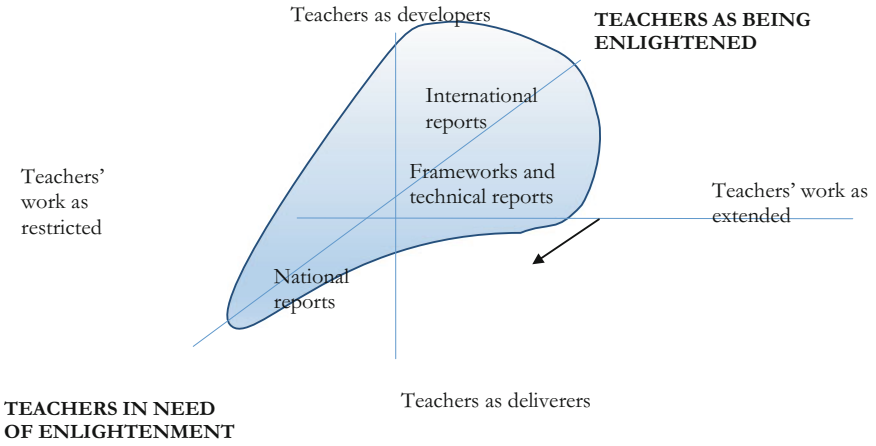

Fig. 2.2 The reasoning on 'teachers' in PISA

national reports, where the need to enlighten teachers is emphasised, as is the need to further restrict teachers' work for better performances, e.g. by more assessments. In the national reports teachers are seen as deliverers of education. Consequently, there are differences in the analysed texts concerning how teachers are conceptualised, although at an overall level the reasoning about teachers is rather narrow and dense. In the above figure, we have tried to indicate that PISA reasoning in general provides more opportunities than restrictions for actors participating in the discourse. However, this changes somewhat when PISA is presented in national contexts, thus indicating that the reasoning depends on where in the process of uploading and downloading the statements are presented. Finally, the national reports are more restricted than their international counterparts in giving teachers opportunities to stage education. At the end of the day, teachers are thus both the hope and the happening of educational development. In the international reports this is expressed as a hope and in the national as the happening of educational development.

References

Carvalho, L. M. (2012). The fabrication and travel of a knowledge-policy instrument. *European Educational Research Journal, 11*(2), 172–188.

Eisner, E. W. (1996). *Cognition and curriculum reconsidered*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Ertl, H. (2006). Educational standards and the changing discourse on education: The reception and consequences of the PISA study in Germany. *Oxford Review of Education, 32*(5), 619–634.

Gerrard, J., & Farrell, L. (2013). Remaking the professional teacher: Authority and curriculum reform. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 46*(5), 634–655. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220272.2013.854410.

Grek, S. (2009). Governing by numbers: The PISA 'effect'in Europe. *Journal of Education Policy, 24*(1), 23–37.

Grek, S., Lawn, M., Lingard, B., Ozga, J., Rinne, R., Segerholm, C., et al. (2009). National policy brokering and the construction of the European Education Space in England, Sweden, Finland and Scotland. *Comparative Education, 45*(1), 5–21.

Hacking, I. (1992). 'Style' of historians and philosophers. *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science, 23*(1), 1–20.

Hansen, H. K. (2015). Numerical operations, transparency illusions and the datafication of governance. *European Journal of Social Theory, 18*(2), 203–220.

Hattie, J. (2009). *Visible learning: A synthesis of over 800 meta-analyses relating to achievement*. London: Routledge.

Hopmann, S. (2007). Restrained teaching: The common core of Didaktik. *European Educational Research Journal, 6*(2), 109–124. https://doi.org/10.2304/eerj.2007.6.2.109.

Lindblad, S., Pettersson, D., & Popkewitz, T. S. (2015). *International comparisons of school results—A systematic review of research on large scale assessment in education*. Stockholm, Sweden: Swedish Research Council.

Labaree, D. F. (2000). On the nature of teaching and teacher education: Difficult practices that look easy. *Journal of Teacher Education, 51*(3), 228–233.

Marginson, S., & Rhoades, G. (2001). *Conceptualising global relations at the glonacal levels*. Paper presented at the annual international forum of the conference of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, Richmond, VA.

Martens, K. (2007). How to become an influential actor—The "comparative turn" in OECD education policy. In K. Martens, A. Rusconi, & K. Lutz (Eds.), *Transformations of the state and global governance*. London: Routledge.

Mølstad, C. E. (2015). State-based curriculum-making: Approaches to local curriculum work in Norway and Finland. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 47*(4), 441–461. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220272.2015.1039067.

Nóvoa, A., & Lord, M. (Eds.). (2002). *Fabricating europe: The formation of an education space*. Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Ozga, Jenny, et al. (Eds.). (2011). *Fabricating quality in education: Data and governance in Europe*. New York: Routledge.

Pettersson, D. (2008). *Internationell kunskapsbedömning som inslag i nationell styrning av skolan* (Ph.D.). Uppsala University, Uppsala.

Pettersson, D., & Mølstad, C. E. (2016). PISA teachers: The hope and the happening of educational development. *Educação & Sociedade, 37*(136), 629–645. https://doi.org/10.1590/ES0101-73302016165509.

Pettersson, D., Popkewitz, T. S., & Lindblad, S. (2016). On the use of educational numbers: Comparative constructions of hierarchies by means of large-scale assessments. *Espacio, Tiempo y Education, 3*(1), 177–202.

Priestley, M., Robertson, S., & Biesta, G. (2012). Teacher agency, performativity and curriculum change: Reinventing the teacher in the Scottish curriculum for excellence. In B. Jeffrey & G. Troman (Eds.), *Performativity across UK educaiton: Ethographic cases of its effects, agency and reconstructions* (pp. 87–108). Painswick: E&E Publisher.

Prøitz, T. S. (2015). Uploading, downloading and uploading again—Concepts for policy integration in education research. *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy (NordSTEP), 1*(1), 70–80. https://doi.org/10.3402/nstep.v1.27015.

Rouvroy, A. (2012). The end(s) of critique: Data-behaviourism vs. due-process. In M. Hildebrandt & E. De Vries (Eds.), *Privacy, due process and the computational turn. Philosophers of law meet philosophers of technology*. Oxford: Routledge.

Scholl, D. (2012). Are the traditional curricula dispensable? A feature pattern to compare different types of curriculum and a critical view of educational standards and essential curricula in Germany. *European Educational Research Journal, 11*(3), 328–341. https://doi.org/10.2304/eerj.2012.11.3.328.

Steiner-Khamsi, G. (2004). *The global politics of educational borrowing and lending*. New York & London: Teachers College, Columbia University.
Taylor, S., Rizvi, F., Lingard, B., & Henry, M. (1997). *Educational policy and the politics of change*. London: Routledge.

Christina E. Mølstad is associate professor at Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences—INN University, Norway. Currently her research interested concerns the connection between governing of education and assessment. Specifically, how assessment governs education and defines the concept of teacher profession. Moreover, how research on large scale assessment systems portray and define knowledge and the field of education.

Daniel Pettersson is associate professor at the University of Gävle and Uppsala University, Sweden. He is also member of the research unit STEP (Studies in Educational Policy and Educational Philosophy) at Uppsala University. Pettersson is General Editor and Chief Editor at the journal NordSTEP—Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy. His research interests are within international large-scale assessments, educational policy, history of education, evaluation and curriculum.

Tine S. Prøitz is associate professor at University College of Southeast Norway and special advisor at the Nordic Institute for Studies in Innovation, Research and Education (NIFU) in Norway. She has research experience from studies on education reform, assessment and evaluation. Her research interests are within the field of education policy with a particular eye to learning outcomes and data use in education.

Chapter 3
Politics of Professionalization of Teaching: Contemporanean Development and Variations of Uses

Régis Malet

3.1 Introduction

During the last decades, educational systems have developed in the context of an increasing integration of the educational questions in world economic and political stakes. This process had for consequence a bigger dependence of the national politics on these supranational stakes, reducing the margins of initiative of the national states or undertaking them at least to integrate into the educational politics a mainstream supranational rationality, carried and spread by authorities which have on the subject a decisive influence (OECD, World Bank, UNESCO, etc.). From then on, the traditional mission of the education systems of reproduction of a national culture and a working strength has more sense than in a globalized prospect (Canário 2007).

These phenomena of dissemination of principles of regulation and organization of education systems indeed spread from the point of view of an economic rationality becoming dominant, which produces mainstream concepts standing out in most of the educational worlds, which tend in particular to promote a utilitarian dominant vision of the future of education and to erase the classic distinctions between the initial education and continuous training.

In this context, the evaluation has become a parameter-key of the regulation of the school systems instruments which spread at various levels of education systems and soak gradually the work of his staffs (Dupriez and Malet 2013). Consequently, the rise on an international level of the "rhetoric of the professionalization" in education seems bound to the classic designs of the professionalization, but also to the fact that it develops as a certain mistrust towards the teachers themselves: expertise, responsibility and professional ethics are here and there pushed aside in their foundations, by fixing a new horizon to the process of professionalization,

R. Malet (✉)
Graduate School of Education, University of Bordeaux, Bordeaux, France
e-mail: regis.malet@u-bordeaux.fr

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_3

which raises the question of the power in the organization of the work of the teachers and transforms the "classic professionalism", based on an ideal of service and a strong mandate with the State (Welfare State) in a more and more flexible professionalism (ibid) (Hargreaves 2003).

The professional development of the teachers is a decisive shift of the politics of professionalization currently at the international level. The political rhetorics converge in a prevailing view to see developing a "culture of the cooperation" in teachers' work. This trend spread and became a reality in a variable way according to countries, in agreement with local political administrative reference frames, which transform the content and practices of regulation of the school and the work of the teachers in a distinctive way according to political cultural contexts. On a political level, this joins in the logic of the lifelong learning which was identified as one of the priority axes of the management policies of the human resources, at least at the European level (Education and Training 2010; European Commission 2005, 2011), and which is practised for a long time in the Scandinavian countries. The promotion of a conception of the professionalization marked by such a concern of professional development is boosted by strong concerns about the attractiveness of the profession and about the possibility of leading a vertical career or of promoting the professional mobility in the course of the activity (Hargreaves and Fullan 2012).

The notion of professional development and the promotion of Professional Development Schools has a long history in North America (Holmes Group 1986). This conception of the professionalization based on the development of partnership was widely supported during the next two decades by researchers as Darling-Hammond (2005). On the conceptual plan, professional development has been for ages at the core of the imaginary of the occupations aspiring to be professionalized and constitute a decisive dimension of the professionalization process (Ingersoll and Merrill 2011a, b). The paradigm of professional development strongly mobilizes the school as the place of learning and apprenticeship, promoting the peers as co-workers in the learning process. It moves de facto the question of the in-service training besides the individual to the collective, from the logic of individual training in the classroom to the collective apprenticeship within schools, from the logic of the skills to that of the capacities (Fullan 2007; Hargreaves and Hopkins 1991).

The chapter aims at studying the conditions and forms of the promotion and international dissemination of the paradigm, its variations in space and time, its evolution and implementation impacts, and finally its renewal and regeneration through the professional development paradigm. Various elements of international comparison regarding education, training and status policies of teachers will be put in perspective internationally and the models of professionalization and professional development on different political and cultural areas will be discussed.

3.2 More or Less Injunctive Forms of Professionalization

Some nations are, through the history of their school and through their working forms identified by the school organization, teachers status and so on, more permeable in the cooperation design which is more and more placed at the core of the professionalization process. An OECD study (2012) shows how the countries of the North of Europe, in particular Finland, are particularly moved forward on this plan. Other studies show that China and Japan develop this type of collaborative practices of training in schools, with some success (OECD 2011, 2012).

Paradigm of the professional development combines elements inspired by a reflexive model of professionalization, with the tacit principle that the expertise builds itself on the professional ground and in the class and feeds on the collaboration within schools. At the same time, according to contexts, it spreads in agreement with orders of individual and collective efficiency which are very distinctive.

It is the case in particular in the Anglo-Saxon world, in particular in the United States. Indeed, this promotion of a professionalization design guided by the professional development agenda stands by the organizational turning point of these last two decades, in numerous countries, in particular Anglo-Saxon (Holmes Group 1986; Malet 2009, 2011). The promotion of a situated professional collective indicates a strong correlation between the quality of schools and, within them, teachers themselves, the satisfaction of the actors of the educational community and the success at school of the pupils. This conviction was already present in the Holmes report (1986), which expressed very clearly it by defining five pillars for the reform: "to make schools better place for teachers to work, and to learn. This will require less bureaucracy, more professional autonomy, and more leadership for teachers" (Holmes Group 1986: p. 4). The importance of the development of a collective professionalism, supported by "communities of practice" built and developed in schools, was still strongly reaffirmed in the reforms undertaken by US Republicans (NCLB No Child Left Behind) and democrats (Race to the Top) in the 2000s.

However, the specificity of this encouragement in the professional development and in the promotion of a favorable school climate, in the United States, was to be weakly supported by training devices or support of the teachers (Malet 2009), as we can observe it in certain European countries, as Norway, the Scotland or Ireland, but developed on the contrary with a regulation by the performance and a limitation of the means (Malet 2009). The promotion and the meeting of the culture of the efficiency and the collective professional imagination (professional and learning communities), which penetrates into certain national schools, have two effects on teaching professionalism, apparently paradoxical, but in reality very much connected: the institutionalization of a professional collective in situ, devolved to its task of promotion of schools and in "the passion of the excellence" (Ball 2003), and one certain bankrupt of the professional solidarities, on which the teaching profession built its ideal of autonomy and, in many contexts, its identity, for the benefit

of an identification strengthened and forced to the school organization and to its performances. In this context, the teacher, this "agent of the change" (Judge 1995), becomes co-responsible, and individually accountable as such.

Some researches (Hargreaves and Dawe 1989; Little 1989) showed that the collective dimension in the work of the teachers is not inevitably virtuous and that according to the contents which we place and the social dynamics and the moral climate where this dimension spreads, it could turn out as well positive as noxious for schools; Fullan (1990) speaks in this case about "forced corporatism". The stake is indeed to comprehend for whom this collective is set up, at which end, and from this point of view, we observe a difference in the intentions, the uses, practices and the forms of regulation between North America, in particular in the United States, and Europe (Brisard and Malet 2004; Barrère and Lessard 2005).

3.3 The Learning School, the Collective Professionalism and the University

If we can consider that certain contexts of deployment of communities of practice and a collective professionalism denote a distance from the university-case of the USA—the encouragement of schools to assume an assignment of development, dialogue and finally vocational training of the teachers in Europe (in the notable exception of England) translate rather a will to create the conditions of a complementarity of the teachers' education arenas—both academic and professional—than to separate them (Hargreaves and Fullan 2012).

The movement of universitarisation of the formation which knew all the European countries for twenty years, organizing role which was confided to the university—including in France with the creation of the ESPE—and the joint development of the «alternance» scheme are the indicators of a very distinctive appropriation of it paradigm. The links are narrow in texts and recommendations of the European and national political decision-makers, between teachers' assessment and professional development of the teachers (Wentzel 2014), mobilizing and spreading a lexicon which draws a new image of the teacher-professional and thus new policies of professionalization, which aim to mobilize individuals and collectives: self-assessment, evaluation by the peers, collective reflexivity, contracts of performances, audits, collaborative inquiries (European Commission 2007, 2009, 2012).

Also, and this is a specificity of the European policies of professionalization on the subject, the universitarisation of the formation of the teachers comes along with a joint promotion of the expertise, with the responsibility and the teachers' professional autonomy, on one hand, and research, identified as the proper way of realizing the lifelong learning project, on the other hand: "There is has significant scope for the teaching occupations to play has more activate role in matters such

have defining professional standards and deontology and promoting research teaching and learning" (European Commission 2012: p. 40). This recommendation, which indicates an ideal construction of an European conception of the teaching professionalism, based at the same time on the critical reflexivity and practitioner researcher's formation throughout their career, extends more and more to «the teachers' educators, who should be involved both in theory and in practice, in dialogue between teaching and research, and maintain a good balance of all these aspects» (European Commission 2012: p. 59).

The acception of these conceptions of professional development and communities of practices, which mobilize networks, places of collective reflexivity on teaching, practices analysis and experience capitalization, are extensive, as Stoll notes (2006: p. 6): "professional learning communities are groups of teachers or school leaders, or even whole schools or groups of schools—also known as learning networks or networked learning communities. This interpretation is inclusive and expansive. It allows for wide participation and varied involvement".

In contrast, the contemporary movements of «desuniversitarisation» of teachers' education, the standardization of the teaching skills and the regulation of the education by the efficiency and the performance, which has spread both in North America and South America for twenty years, translate a distinctive, performative and probationary conception, from the imagination of the collective professionalism depicted by Hargreaves (2000) or the collaborative and democratic professionalism drawn by, on the background of massive reduction of the means assigned to the training and the professionalization of the teachers. As writes it Tardes and Borgès about the context from Quebec: «more must be done, but with less».

In these contexts indeed, accountability policies in education bloomed at the same time as the rhetoric of the professional development and the school improvement, and we observe in the conceptions of the developmental paradigm within professionalization the same variations between the European space (soft) and North American (strong) that for the performance-based policies within the new public management scheme (Dupriez and Mons 2011; Dupriez and Malet 2013; Dutercq and Maroy 2014).

If some research studies underline the increase in value of the combination of accountability devices and the development of communities of practice (Robinson 2011), a number of others observe the damage produced by these evolutions on the teachers' professional autonomy and accountability, poorly coherent with a social professional legitimacy conquered on the assertion of ethics and professional and collegial judgment (Ball 2003; Osborn and McNess 2005; Popkewitz and Fendler 1999). It leans on the strengthening of a federative culture, an ethos gathering individuals aiming at the success of their school (performance-driven culture/market-driven professionnalism) (Jenkins and Conley 2007). For certain researchers, this "iconic" promotion of the school and the situated and collective professionnalism deeply affects the teaching profession: its ethos, nature and the relations which organize it, in particular by the extension of the tasks of the teachers—combining administration, animation, dialogue, transmission, justification, scaffold of roles peaking at a "high level of stress and exhaustion (burnout stemming)

because of the workload". This teachers' increasing and extensive wokload, dedicated to serve the success and the efficiency of their school (target-driven culture) appears among the most frequent reasons concerning the phenomena of burnout and withdraw of the teachers in the United States and in England, for example (Malet 2009).

Ostinelli (2009) proceeded to a comparison which illustrates this difference between both forms of valuation of a collective professionalism, by taking example England, with Finland and with Sweden. In the English case, collective professionalism is promoted on the background of standardization of the skills of the teachers and the technicization of the occupation. The rhetoric of the professional development is omnipresent in the texts of centring and guidelines, but it expresses much more a shape of instrumentalization of the professional myth than its recognition and blooming. It reduced the idea of a formation of the teachers within schools in a professional conformation: "restricting the need for has more practice-oriented teacher education to the idea of training" (Ostinelli 2009: p. 305; see also Malet 2008, 2015; Moreau 2013; McNamara and Murray 2013).

The question is indeed about mobilizing what the professional imagination contains of collective and of cooperative, avoiding that this encouragement means diversion from a culture of autonomy and responsibility of the teachers, and, on the contrary, including the new teachers in dynamics of training and learning throughout their career within the framework of authentic learning communities. Between these two conceptions of teachers' professionalization, lies an important difference which we envisaged globally: the confidence of societies in their teachers.

3.4 Confidence or Defiance? Research on the «Added Value» of Teachers Efficiency and Their Consequences in Terms of Political Regulation of the Profession

For a long time, social sciences and research in education showed that the determinants of the pupils' achievement were outer the school and the classroom, and that facto of it were mainly social, cultural, economic.

Gradually, thanks to the evolution of the social sciences and, especially, the policies in the direction of the schools, the attention on the observable differences according to the educational contexts, the schools and to the pupils' achievement grew. In connection with the accountability policies, obvious evidence-based policies developed on this conviction that the educational action did not have to save the producing of evidence of its efficiency, and that besides, this indexation of the teaching activity in its effects on pupils' achievement was the proper way to put the profession shielded from any partisan or ideological spirit (Gove 2013).

In the field of the professionalization of the teachers, research works explored the question of the correlation or the predictability between the quality of the teachers, their training and their efficiency in the classroom: in other words the

success of their pupils (Darling-Hammond 2000; King Rice 2003; Rivkin et al. 2005).

These works, North American mainly, put this possible correlation at the expense of training, at the expense of the gratitude of the merit of the teachers and the capacity of the good teachers to place their pupils in a positive arrangement with regard to the learning and with regard to the school subjects. These researches and their mobilizations, debated in the scientific community (Durso 2012; Hattie 2009; Harris 2010), sometimes even by the authors in the overinterpretation which are made of them, are reactivated, in a more or less allusive way, in certain recent texts of the political decision-makers and sometimes the international organizations, to direct the public action towards more of predictability regarding efficiency of teachers' training. So, in a resolution of the European parliament of 2008 on the improvement of the quality of the studies and the training of the teachers, it is indicated "that it exists an obvious and positive correlation between a high-quality training offered to the teachers and the high success rates of their pupils" (p. 12), referring to a report of the OECD (2005) which describes some of the mentioned studies, every grounds that there is debate on the validity of these inquiries.

This logic of the individual added value of the teachers (Milner 2013) and schools tends to be more and more a decisive object of regulation for the access or the persistence in the employment in certain countries, as the United States. So, in the United States, this evaluation of the individual «added value» of the teachers are measured in certain States in standardized ways, through the evolution of the scores obtained by the pupils for whom they were responsible (performance-based accountability). Certain young teachers are thus not appointed on a permanent basis at the end of their period of induction, if the results of the pupils in these standardized external tests are not satisfactory; other, in service ones, are simply dismissed for them even reasons.

The confidence in these technical and standardized procedures indicates a shift from the confidence in a profession and his members towards the acception to techniques and statistics (Durso 2012). This indexation of the future of the teachers at the end of their training or in the course of employment in the results of their pupils in the tests, tends to impoverish the curriculum of education and in deprofessionnalize the teaching occupation, reducing the quality of the teachers to their capacity of formation in tests (Mathis 2012). This technical paradigm, which spreads in the United States but also in some provinces of Canada and in numerous countries of South America, does not establish at all an indicator or an instrument of evaluation of the quality of teachers' education, but is simply concerned with equipping technically an external regulation of the teaching profession, on the basis of the performances of their pupils and indifferently in dimension of the activity of education.

This trend in these countries marks the exacerbation, not to say the racing, of paradigm of the «effective teacher» (Malet 2015), for which tools of control and regulation in schools, through the standards curriculaires are declined, as are designed new targets of performance, standardized tests, monitoring indicators of success of schools and teachers. We observe a surprising coupling in these forms of

regulation between accountability policies concerned with efficiency and about performances and professionalization policies, centered on the critical reflexivity of the teacher (Dutercq and Maroy 2014).

3.5 What Achievement Can We Expect from Teachers' Professionnalization Policies?

Research, released of a positivist and mechanical conception such as it can be used in certain contexts, tends to show that the commitment of the future teachers in the initial training and formation, as well that of in-service teachers, is very strongly compromised by top-down policies and accountability policies, notably used in certain contexts, in particular Anglo-Saxon, where a poor teachers retention has been observed by many.

On the contrary, a vision of the change and the formation conceived in a more circular top -down/bottom-up and outside-inside way (Mincu 2014), seems to have mobilizing and cohesive effects, on the condition that a support is brought to the teachers and to the educators in this intention of constructing individual and collective capacities (capacity-high rise: Fullan 2007, 2011) and on the condition that the latters are recognized and are not submitted to norms or sommative evaluation which have rough effects on the educational community and on the teachers (Hargreaves and Fullan 2012).

In this context of positive mobilization aiming at the commitment and at an intrinsic motivation of the teachers through, as underlines it Mincu (2014), long-lasting partnerships between schools, become places of learning, cooperation but also research («enquiry-based education»), and other schools («peer to peer based partnerships») or external institutions (as University) within the framework of the mobilization of expertises in an aim of advice and support (advisory-support), training reveals strong effects of stimulation of the professional community and the individuals (Mincu 2015; Thomson 2010).

These elements of appreciation, which were explored in research studies led to Canada (Hargreaves et al. 2009), in Scotland, in Netherlands and in Finland (BERA 2014; Mincu 2015) are now admitted by the international organizations (OECD 2012). Experiments in French schools also show the potential of this link of the spaces of training, between schools and university to build new spaces and opportunities of learning.

In the international literature on the subject, the role of research seems also decisive in this context of mobilizations of the individual and collective resources for the success of establishments and teachers, in initial training and just as much in in-service training. The project to irrigate training and professional development of the teachers through research, to integrate them into a project of professionalization by making a component of the posture professional, is not new: Lawrence

Stenhouse already spoke about the importance to educate teachers who are also researchers: teachers as researchers.

This conviction that research is a major instrument for professionalization is stressed by a lot or research on teachers' professionalization: a posture of research in the sense of production and reflexive capitalization and capitalization of the experiences and the professional practices, would have a positive effect on identification, socialization and recognition, on the condition of creating bridges between the teaching expertise and the expertise of research and of fighting against the fragmentation of learning spaces; in this perspective, the training of the trainers, in the interface between ground professionals and the university, is decisive (Foster et al. 2008).

On this plan again, the literature spots that in certain countries, as Finland, South Korea or Japan, the organization of the working time of the teachers takes into account this collaborative dimension and the research agenda (Mincu 2015; OECD 2012). Such devices of school time organization/adaptation are also set up in Canada (Ontario Plan—Levin 2010).

The management of schooling has been identified as decisive by research, in the implementation, the support of devices of professionalization in situ, postures of professional cooperation as much as of research, whether it is in initial training or in service education: the question of the school time organization but also of the ecological organization of schools are essential, just like are the modalities of collaboration with the partners and the users of the school (Darling-Hammond 2000; Day et al. 2007; Fullan 2011). These studies show in particular that because of their strategic position in the system, the head teachers are able of intervening positively or negatively, in other words of promoting or of inhibiting the development of dynamics and initiatives of learning, work and professionalization in school, individually and collectively (Fullan 1990; OECD 2012; Mincu 2015).

Other studies showed the positive effects of the promotion of the paradigm of the professional development and the recognition of dynamics of formation and collective apprenticeship in schools (professional learning communities), on various aspects of the school life and, accordingly, the success of schools (Ingersoll and Merrill 2011a, b).

In the same vein, Ellis et al. (2013) led an investigation with American university educators followed during an academic year, to understand from the inside the way was lived the experience of training, from the point of view of those who dispense it. The study allows to seize a specificity of the forms of intervention which characterize the domain of the teacher education. Ellis et al. observed that the activity of the educators of teachers, in their interventions with the students in training, was massively in a relational register, its quality and its care, implying a recurrent work of contact between various actors in and outside the school.

Ellis et al. conclude that it is very much this relational register which qualifies, more than any academic expertise, the specificity of the intervention of the educators in the construction of teaching professionalism, what is not obviously contradictory with the necessity that they benefit from a high-level education in this sense.

This study is convergent from the examination of the international literature relative to the success factors of the reforms regarding professionalization of the teachers. Since teachers education is released of a positivist and mechanical conception, the examination of the literature, supported by diverse national experiences and case-studies, allows to clear at least six dimensions, of ecological, social and organizational order, which can promote an effective implementation of new approaches to the professionalization of the teachers (Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership 2013; BERA 2014; Ingersoll and Merrill 2011a, b; Mincu 2015; OECD 2012).

1. A clear, coherent and cohesive vision of expectations and missions of the teachers, assuring new and in-service teachers a strong support and allowing them to make a commitment in the profession in a aware, confident and motivated way.
2. An integrative learning-mode elaborated on a strong articulation of the expertises mobilized in the formation, both in initial and in in-service training, elaborated as a continuum allowing a transition framed by the neo-teachers, the insurance of mentoring and support strengthened during the phase the entrance into the profession.
3. A high-level education for the management staffs in school and the teachers' educators.
4. A solid partnerships between the various grounds of the education—schools and universities based on shared objectives, concerted actions which avoid the cleavage between partners.
5. The collective construction and the definition of priority axes of development for a the education of expert teachers in and by research, and a renewed concern with the formalization of the expertises, knowledges of the teachers and of the professional collectives.
6. A processual conception of the professional development of the teachers, based on the promotion of a reflexive posture fed by the research, of a culture of the debate and the analyses of practices, pursued within the framework of the in-service training, in a stimulating professional environment and arranging opportunities of deepening or professional mobility.

3.6 Conclusion—To What Extent Can Teacher Education Be Professionnalized?

To educate professional teachers, for the contemporary period and on a global plan, it is at least to presume the possibility that a professional knowledge appropriate to the teaching act does exist, which can constitute a corpus of more or less stabilized knowledge giving rise to specific devices of learning and apprenticeship, and adequate to lead to a qualification for the exercise of the teaching profession.

One must admit, as Wittorski puts it in a clear and introductory definition on the subject, that a profession "maybe defined by three criteria: the specialization of the knowledge, a high-level education and an ideal of service". On the matter of teaching education, this is quite a recent postulate, if one considers that the education—and thus the professionalization—of teachers were for a long time either absentees of the concerns of teachers in their forms of identity affirmation, or crossed by such political concerns, intimately bound to the constitution of Nation states, that they were a matter of a moral education just as much as of a teacher education.

But to what extent can we consider, at the end of this chapter which allowed to measure at the same time the ambivalence and the wealth of the notion, in principles and in uses, that the teachers can be professionalized?

The teaching profession is a «mass profession» and thus certainly suffers in its recognition as such. Besides this first aspect though, the profession combines characteristic dimensions of any recognized occupation—high-level education, knowledge specification and expertise, social responsibility, ideal of service—and at the same time it has some specificities which are common to occupations subordinated to a strong outside control—programs, subordination in a hierarchy… (Labaree 1992; Larson 1977; Ostinelli 2009).

Whatever its condition is throughout the world, the teaching activity seems positioned halfway between the professional and the state employee (Ostinelli 2007). Contrastively to recognized professions indeed, in the domains of the law or the medicine, established in not only by social recognition but also and especially by control by the professional group of its development and of its modalities inclusion and education of its new members, teachers, because they practice a structurally subordinated activity, whether it belong to internal or peripheral actors of the school, have difficulty in being identified with the process of professionalization.

This phenomenon of stationing because of the situation of the teachers in the social hierarchy of the qualifications, the fact still of the massification of the occupation itself, but also its feminization and of the diversification of the educational staffs in schools was observed in Quebec (Mellouki 1990), in the United States, in France (Malet Brisard 2005). For these reasons, the stabilizing concept of "semi-profession" (Lortie 1969, 1975) was imperative to characterize the teaching profession, in its tension towards a status of recognized profession, as much as its limitations to reach the status.

The massive increase of the number of the teachers during the second half of the twentieth century, under the influence of a school explosion which affected all the developed countries, would however have been able to favor the assertion of the collective professional voice of the teachers (Malet 2015; Novoa 2007; Prairat 2009).

The professionalization movement is de facto mainly supported by the political decision-makers, the intergovernmental organizations, the administrators and other managers in education, without worrying about the consensus on this promotion and especially without the profession itself. In many national contexts, this

produces a peculiar situation that makes this concern of professionalization, often lived as a guile of external control and subordination of the profession (for example for the case of Quebec, Perron et al. 1993; Great Britain, Ozga 2005, for the United States, Ginsburg 1988).

The school massification process and the consequent increase of the number of professors had effects on the nature of the professional exercise, but also on the image social of the teachers. While for a long time, in the whole of industrialized countries, the number of teachers of the primary sector was superior to those of the secondary sector, the trend was recently reversed. It pulls a reduction in the social prestige of the teaching profession and a banalization of the occupation (Duru-Bellat and van Zanten 2005; Malet 2011).

The legitimacy of the teaching profession can be meaningful only if society gives it and its members credit and confidence, within the framework of a moral contract which establishes the educational and school institutions, and that this activity is recognized by all members and by society in the definition of its own ends: yet, both the moral contract between nations and the teachers and the coincidence between an inherited social identity and a real-life professional activity seem today failing (Malet 2008), even if we measured that this fragility was very indexed to contexts and to political choices.

The reasons are diverse according to the cultural and social contexts there, but whatever the policies of professionalization tend to be, either injunctive and coercitive as it is the case in certain North and South American contexts, either more participative and inclusive as they are in the European context, including the internal and peripheral actors of the school (teachers, managers, trainers, academics, users, etc.), there is a common ground to these diverse contexts, that of the difficulties which are very much connected to the diversification of the school public in our mass education systems, which engendered uncertainties on the teachers' capacity to assume the missions that we assign to them, and a quasi-impossibility to express a common and recognized professional identity of all.

What about the idea of professional autonomy in the process? For Crozier (1963: p. 218), one has a power «who holds an expertise which he can negotiate within the structure". It is not assured today that the empowerment by the autonomy contained in the promotion various versions of professionalization insures such a "power". However, the idea of teaching professionalism is, as we measured it, very unstable in time and space, and even if it is tangible that in some respects the contemporary policies in the direction of the schools and teachers affect the teachers' soul (Ball 2003). These questions still demand research works, which allow to enlighten, in a comparative and international perspective, the effects of the forms of social administration and the resources which are offered to the teachers to answer these orders or constraints which weigh on them.

References

Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (2013). *Early teacher development—Trends in initial teacher education*. Standing Council on School Education and Early Childhood (SCSEEC).

Ball, S. (2003). The teacher's soul and the terrors of performativity. *Journal of Education Policy, XVIII*(2), 215–228.

Barrère, A., & Lessard, C. (Éds.) (2005). Les enseignants et l'établissement: l'injonction au travail concerté. Dossier de la revue *Recherche et Formation*, *49*, Paris: INRP.

BERA. (2014). *Research and the teaching profession building the capacity for a self-improving education system*. London: BERA.

Brisard, E., & Malet, R. (2004). Evolution du professionnalisme enseignant et contextes culturels. Le cas du second degré en Angleterre, Ecosse et France. *Recherche et Formation, 45,* 131–149.

Canário, R. (2007). L'école et l'approche comparée. Nouvelles réalités et nouveaux regards. In R. Malet (Coord.) *L'Ecole, lieu de tensions et de médiations. Quels effets sur les pratiques scolaires? Comparaisons et analyses internationales*, Actes du colloque de l'AFEC.

Commission Européenne. (2012). *Supporting the teaching professions for better learning outcomes*, Bruxelles.

Commission Européenne/European Commission. (2007). *Improving the quality of teacher education*. Brussels.

Commission Européenne/European Commission. (2013). Teacher education and training in the western Balkans. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Crozier, M. (1963). *Le phénomène bureaucratique*. Paris: Seuil.

Darling-Hammond, L. (1996). The quiet revolution: Rethinking teacher development. *Educational Leadership, 53*(6), 4–10.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2000). Teacher quality and student achievement: A review of state policy evidence. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *8*(1). http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v8n1.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2005). Teaching as a profession: Lessons in teacher preparation andprofessional development. *Phi Delta Kappan*, *87*(3), 237–240.

Day, C., Sammons, S., Stobart, G., Kington, A., & Gu, Q. (2007). *Teachers matter*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Dupriez, V., & Malet, R. (dir.). (2013). *L'évaluation dans les établissements scolaires*. Bruxelles: de Boeck.

Dupriez, V.,& Mons, N. (dir.). (2011). Les politiques d'accountability. *Éducation Comparée*. n° 5.

Durso, C. S. (2012). *An analysis of the use and validity of test-based teacher evaluations reported by the Los Angeles Times: 2011.* Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved February 27, 2013, http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/analysis-la-times-2011.

Duru-Bellat, M., & van Zanten, A. (2005). *Sociologie de l'école, troisième édition*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Dutercq, Y., & Maroy, C. (Coord.). (2014). Le développement des politiques d'accountability et leur instrumentation dans le domaine de l'éducation. *Education Comparée*, *11*.

Ellis, V., Glalckin, M., Heighes, D., Norman, M., Nicol, S., Norris, K., et al. (2013). A difficult realisation: The proletarianisation of higher. *Journal of Education: International Research and Pedagogy, 39*(3), 266–280.

Foster, R., Wright, L., & McRae, P. (2008). *Leading and sustaining school improvement initiatives: a review of site-based research from AISI cycles 1, 2, and 3*. Edmonton: Alberta Education.

Fullan, M. (1990). Staff development, innovation and institutional development. In B. Joyce (dir.), *Changing school culture through staff development.* Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 3–25.

Fullan, M. (2007). *Leading in a culture of change*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
Fullan, M. (2011). *Change leader. Learning to do what matters most.* San Francisco, Jossey Bass.
Ginsburg, M. (1988). Educators as workers and political actors in Britain and North America. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 9*(3), 359–367.
Gove, M. (2013). *Speech to teachers and headteachers at the National College for Teaching and Leadership*, 25 April. Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/michael-gove-speech-to-teachers-and-headteachers-at-the-national-college-for-teaching-and-leadership, July 12, 2013.
Hargreaves, A. (2000). Four ages of professionalism and professional learning, *teachers and teaching, VI*(2):151–182.
Hargreaves, A. (2003). Teaching in the knowledge society. *Review of Education, 3,* 13–19.
Hargreaves, A., & Dawe, R. (1989). *Coaching as unreflexive practice*. San Francisco: Communication présentée au congrès annuel de l'American Educational Research Association.
Hargreaves, A., & Fullan, M. (2012). *Professional capital. Transforming teaching in every school*. New York: Teachers College.
Hargreaves, D., & Hopkins, D. (1991). *The empowered school: The management and practice of school development planning*. London: Cassell.
Harris, A., & Jones, M. (2010). *Professional learning communities in action*. London: Leannta.
Hattie, J. (2003). *Teachers make a difference. What is the research evidence?* University of Auckland, Australian Council for Educational Research.
Holmes Group. (1986). *Tomorrow's teachers*. East Lansing, MI: Author.
Ingersoll, R. M., & Merrill, E. (2011a). The status of teaching as a profession. In J. Ballantine & J. Spade (Eds.), *Schools and society: A sociological approach to education* (4th ed., pp. 185–198). Los Angeles: Pine Forge Press/Sage Publications.
Ingersoll, R. M., & Merrill, E. (2011b). The status of teaching as a profession. In J. Ballantine & J. Spade (Eds.), *Schools and society: A sociological approach to education* (4ème ed., pp. 185–198). Los Angeles: Pine Forge Press/Sage Publications.
Jenkins, S., & Conley, H. (2007). Living with the contradictions of modernization? Emotional management in the teaching profession. *Public Administration, 85–4,* 979–1001.
Judge, H. (1995). The image of teachers. *Oxford Review of Éducation, 21*(3), 253–265.
King Rice, J. (2003). *Teacher quality: Understanding the effectiveness of teacher attributes*. Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute.
Labaree, D. F. (1992). Power, knowledge and the rationalization of teaching: A genealogy of the movement to professionalize teaching. *Harvard Educational Review, 62*(2), 123–154.
Larson, M. (1977). *The rise of professionalism: A sociological analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Levin, B. (2010). How to change 5,000 Schools. In A. Hargreaves, A. Lieberman, M. Fullan, M., & D. Hopkins (Eds.), *Second international handbook of educational change* (pp. 309–322). Dordrecht: Springer.
Little, J. W. (1989). The mentor phenomena and the social organization of teaching. *Review of Research in Education, 5*(16), 297–351.
Lortie, D. C. (1969). The balance of control and autonomy in elementary school teaching. In A. Etzioni (Ed.), *The semi-professions and their organization* (pp. 1–53). New York: Free Press.
Lortie, D. C. (1975). *Schoolteacher*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Malet, R. (2008). *La formation des enseignants comparée*. Berne: Peter Lang.
Malet, R. (2009). Former, réformer, transformer la main d'oeuvre enseignante? Politiques comparées et expériences croisées anglo-américaines. *Éducation et sociétés, 21,* 91–122.
Malet, R. (2011). *Former sous influence internationale. Circulation, emprunts, transferts dans l'espace francophone,* Coordination du n° 65, revue *Recherche & Formation*. Paris: INRP.

Malet, R. (2015). La diffusion du modèle de la professionnalisation et ses variations. In B. Wentzel, V. Lussi Borer, R. Malet (Eds.), *Professionnalisation de l'enseignement. Fondements et retraductions.* Presses Universitaires de Nancy.

Malet, R., & Brisard, E. (2005). *Modernisation de l'école et contextes culturels. Des politiques aux pratiques en France et en Grande-Bretagne*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Mathis, W. (2012). *Research-based options for education policymaking. Section 1: Teacher Evaluation*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center, 1. Retrieved February 27, 2013, from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/options.

McNamara, O., & Murray, J. (2013). Research informed teacher education for a new era? *Research Intelligence, 121,* 22–23.

Mellouki, M. (1990). La qualification des enseignants, un enjeu et ses acteurs. In C. Lessard, M. Perron, P. W. Bélanger (dir.), *La profession enseignante au Québec. Enjeux et défis des années 1990* (pp. 43–67). Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture.

Milner, H. R. (2013). *Policy reforms and de-professionalization of teaching*. National Education Policy Center.

Mincu, M. (2013). Teacher quality and school improvement: what is the role of research? In J. Furlong (Coord.), *Research and teacher education: The BERA-RSA inquiry*. London: BERA.

Mincu, M. (2015). Teacher quality and school improvement: What is the role of research? *Oxford Review of Education*, *41*(2), Special Issue *The Role of Research in Teacher Education.*

Moreau, M. P. (2013). L'évaluation du travail enseignant dans les établissements anglais du second degré : vers une redéfinition des identités professionnelles? In V. Dupriez, & R. Malet (dir.), *L'évaluation dans les systèmes scolaires*. De Boeck: Bruxelles.

NCATE (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education). (2010). *Transforming teacher education through clinical practice: A national strategy to prepare effective teachers*. Washington: National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education.

Novoa, A. (2007). *The return of teachers.* Paper presented at the Conference Teacher professional development for the quality and equity of lifelong learning, Lisboa.

OCDE. (2012). *Preparing teachers and developing school leaders for the 21st century: Lessons from around the World*. Paris: OCDE.

OECD. (2005). *Teachers matter, attracting, developing and retaining effective teachers*. Paris: OECD.

Osborn, M., & McNess, E. (2005). Les transformations du travail des enseignants en Angleterre, en France, et au Danemark. Contextes culturels et formes d'appropriation des réformes de l'école. In R. Malet & E. Brisard, (dir.), *Modernisation de l'école et contextes culturels. Des politiques aux pratiques en France et en Grande-Bretagne* (pp. 173–194). Paris: L'Harmattan.

Ostinelli, G. (2007). Il ruolo della consulenza educativa nello sviluppo dell'autonomia scolastica. *Autonomia e Dirigenza*, *1-2-3*, 41–45.

Ostinelli, G. (2009). Teacher education in Italy, Germany, England, Sweden and Finland. *European Journal of Education, 44*(2), 2009.

Ozga, J. (2005). L'étude comparée des politiques de l'école et du travail des enseignants: vers une perspective critique. In R. Malet, E. Brisard, (dir.), *Modernisation de l'école et contextes culturels. Des politiques aux pratiques en France et en Grande-Bretagne* (pp. 21–50). Paris: L'Harmattan.

Perron, M., Lessard, C., & Bélanger, P. W. (1993). La professionnalisation de l'enseignement et de la formation des enseignants: tout a-t-il été dit? *Revue des sciences de l'éducation, 19*(1), 5–32.

Peters, G. (2001). *The politics of bureaucracy*. NY: Longman.

Popkewitz, T. S., & Fendler, L. (Eds.). (1999). *Critical theories in education. Changing terrains of knowledge and politics*. London: Routledge.

Prairat, E. (2009). *De la déontologie enseignante*. Paris: PUF.

Rivkin, S. G., Hanushek, E., & Kain, J. F. (2005). Teachers, schools and academic achievement. *Econometrica, 73*(2), 417–458.

Robinson, V. (2011). *Student-centered leadership*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Stoll, L., Bolam, R., McMahon, A., Wallace, M., & Thomas, S. (2006). Professional learning communities: a review of the literature. *Journal of educational change*, *7*(4), 221–258.

Régis Malet is a full professor of Comparative education in the University of Bordeaux, Graduate School of Education—Ecole Supérieure du Professorat et de l'Education (ESPE). He is the director of the Laboratoire Cultures, Education, Sociétés (LACES EA4140) of the University of Bordeaux and deputy-director of the Graduate School of Education, in charge of international development and research. Previously, he was the director of the Faculty of Education in the University Charles de Gaulle of Lille and director of the Master's degree in Education of the Faculty. He has also served as the President of the French-speaking Society of Comparative Education (AFEC) and the Editor of the international research journal Éducation Comparée for almost a decade. His fields of research include comparative education, education policy analysis, teachers' education and youth identity and citizenship, domains in which he has an extensive publication record. As an expert, Régis Malet has been part of the board of a dozen of international journals in education, including Education comparée, Spirale, Journal of Education Administration and History, European Education, Journal of Education for Teaching, Recherches en didactiques, Le sujet dans la cité. He is currently the Co-Chair of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) Publications Standing Committee. He is also a member of the Canada Research Chairs College of Reviewers and produces expertise for ANR, COFECUB, FRQSC projects, European programs and French High Council for the Evaluation of Research and Higher education (HCERES).

Chapter 4
School Inspectors in Europe: Towards a New Public Professionalism?

Xavier Pons

For the last decades, education research has paid a growing attention to school inspectorates. Historians were often the first ones to provide national case studies of these surprisingly durable institutional actors (e.g. Caplat 1986; Gordon 1989). A growing body of research now questions the role played by school inspection within the current changes of governance in education (e.g. Thrupp 1998; Ladd 2011; Grek et al. 2013), especially in the implementation of a new governance based on accountability measures, evaluation of outcomes and quality assurance, that is to say one of the key measures of the New public management (NPM) (e.g. Hood 1991; Pollitt and Boukaert 2004; Bezes 2009), a doctrine which yet challenged inspectors' legitimacy and efficiency all around the world (De Grauwe 2006).

Four analytical perspectives, sometimes interconnected, can be distinguished. The first one is neofoucaldian. It takes into account the recent changes of governance introduced by the globalisation and the Europeanization of education and regards inspection as a renewed governing tool or device which is expected to give birth to, and to control by the same time, self-evaluation, accountability and reflexive analyses by school professionals and organisations within a whole quality assurance process (e.g. Grek et al. 2013). The second one mobilises the neo-institutionalist theoretical tools (path dependency, gradual or evolutionary changes etc.) to analyse the trajectory of specific national inspectorates in the context of deep changes in the regulation of domestic school systems (e.g. Dumay and Maroy 2014; Rönnberg 2014; Pons 2015). The third one consists in evaluating the impact of inspections on the orientations of the education policy and on professionals' practices through different analytical models (e.g. de Wolff and Jansenns

X. Pons (✉)
University Paris-Est Créteil (UPEC), Créteil, France
e-mail: ponsx@wanadoo.fr

X. Pons
LIPHA Paris-Est, Créteil, France

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_4

2007; Ehren et al. 2013). The last one studies the role played in the construction of a new European education policy space by some international professional associations of inspectors like the SICI[1] who provides political leaders with specific expertise, policy programs and analytical tools which are expected to travel and to lend in different policy contexts (Costa and Pires 2011; Grek and Lawn 2012).

Little research combines an analysis of governance changes introduced by the NPM with a sociology of professional groups to study school inspectorates' current transformations. Yet it is particularly interesting for instance to study the strategies that are implemented by inspectors to maintain their key position and the centrality of their expertise within a policy process that can sometimes challenge their mandate. That is why this article discusses the evolution of school inspectors' professionalism in Europe in the context of a growing implementation of NPM principles and of the promotion of various evaluation and quality insurance policies. We focus more precisely on school external evaluation processes.

For Dent et al. (2004), there are three models of professional reactions to NPM: the professionals can either actively and intensively appropriate NPM principles and tools (*colonisation*), or formally comply with them but without changing their effective everyday work (*decoupling*) or again mix the two former logics according to the circumstances (*reconfiguration*). As we will see in this chapter, the two first models refer to extreme situations that do not really allow the researcher to study the complexity of European school inspectorates, even in the emblematic cases of a strong adhesion to NPM (like in England) or a weak one (like in France). The third one seems to be more appropriate but the question of the logics of the reconfigurations at work remains open.

That is why we use in this article two different analytical grids to study this reconfiguration process. The first one is proposed by Brint (1994) who concludes that social trustee professionalism tends to disappear for the benefit of a new expert professionalism. According to the former, professionals as a body who claims a specific monopoly, are motivated by public service and disinterest values whereas in the second case, professionalism rests on the individual quality of people who are able to develop rare and prized skills and competencies. The second grid is that of Evetts (2003, 2011) who distinguishes organisational professionalism and occupational professionalism. The former, which is sometimes described as a professionalism "from above", leads to the substitution of professional values by organisational ones and to the replacing of collegial relations by bureaucratic and managerial controls. The latter, sometimes depicted as a professionalism "from inside", is based on a trust relationship between the professionals and their clients or their employers and on a regulation of professionals' activity through a professional ethics which is itself monitored by institutions and associations, and by the professional body itself.

In this chapter, we argue that, for various reasons, the evolution of European school inspectorates since the 1990s does not only correspond to the affirmation of

[1]Standing International Conference of Inspectorates.

an organisational professionalism even if this argument is finally widespread in the international literature on inspection yet not formulated in this way. These evolutions are more contrasted and they strongly depend on the capacity of inspectors, as professional groups, to legitimate their mandate in the eyes of their interlocutors in specific policy contexts. This legitimacy work consists mainly in ensuring the adequacy between their action repertoire[2] and the policy configuration in which this repertoire is implemented.

This chapter is organised in the following manner. The first section presents our methodology. In the second one, we show that NPM principles (especially school evaluation) have been conceived in many European countries as policy solutions to the crisis of expectations that inspectorates have gone through since the end of the 1960s and that this movement led to different outcomes: if inspectorates were suppressed in some European countries, in most other cases, inspectors were ordered to become new professional evaluators of quality in education, often within specific agencies. In the third section, we explain the reasons why such an evolution does not only correspond to the affirmation of an organisational professionalism and in the fourth one, we show that the recompositions of the school inspectors' professionalism depend on a specific legitimation work that we illustrate through two comparisons: a comparison of the implementation of the same action repertoire in two very different systems (England and France) and the comparison of the effects of the NPM on different bodies of school inspectors in the same country (France).

4.1 Methodology

This chapter is based on three types of materials. The first ones were drawn from a two year research study on school external evaluation processes in England, France, Scotland and Switzerland that we conducted with Hélène Buisson-Fenet. We did an analysis of national and European professional and institutional documents and a survey of national and European scientific literature. We also conducted 101 semi-structured interviews (24 with inspectors) and, where possible, observations (mainly inspectors' meetings at international and regional levels). Lastly, we exploited personal archives of inspectors who were French members of the SICI between 2001 and 2009.

The second type of materials are about French inspectors only[3]: interviews (with inspectors or with their interlocutors), observations and various sets of documents

[2]As Laborier (2003, p. 443) argues when using Charles Tilly's notion of repertoire and adapting it to policy analysis, repertoires are inventories "of common ways of acting in policy configurations". They designate limited and heteroclite catalogues of intervention modalities which make collective action possible while framing and constraining it.

[3]There are several school inspection bodies in France: two national inspectorates ("general inspectors") and a constellation of bodies called "territorial inspectors" who intervene at the local level and the intermediary ones (that of the "*académies*").

(public reports, official texts, biographies of general inspectors etc.). They were collected during two different research studies: a Ph.D. study on the French evaluation policy in education (2010) and a comparison of policies of accountability in the French and Quebec education (Maroy et al. 2017). We add for this chapter a dataset of 178 dispatches that were published by a press agency specialised in education (AEF) between December 2001 and January 2016 on the reactions and policy stances of three main territorial inspectors' unions (SIEN-UNSA,[4] SNPI-FSU[5] and SNIA-IPR[6]).

The different forms of scientific dissemination and valorisation of these three research studies (individual articles, coordination of journal issues on inspectorates, participation in international specialised workshops) were as many opportunities to improve our understanding of the international literature on this topic, to update our knowledge on institutional bodies that we studied before (recent evolutions of the Ofsted,[7] new official texts on inspection in France etc.) and to collect institutional documents published by the European commission, through the Eurydice network in particular, and by the SICI.

These materials do not allow us to provide a balanced comparison of a high number of school inspectorates nor a detailed analysis of the long-run transformations of the professionality of different groups of inspectors. Heteroclite, they were drawn from research studies which had their specific research design. Nevertheless, they enable the analysis of a series of synchronic tables which have their own coherence: the crisis of expectations about school inspection in a series of European countries between the 1960s and the 1980s, the changes of professionalism of inspectors introduced in many European countries by the development of school external evaluation processes from the 1980s etc. Linked with broader contexts, be they institutional (NPM dissemination, EU initiatives, SICI activities) or scientific (international literature on inspection), these synchronic tables can support a theoretical discussion on the transformations of inspectors' professionalism in the context of a discursive and cognitive harmonisation of school inspection that has taken place in Europe since the end of the 1990s.

4.2 Towards New Quality Evaluators?

In Europe, especially in Western and Northern Europe, the creation of bodies specifically devoted to school inspection was concomitant with that of educating states, i.e. states that have started from the eighteenth century to build an education

[4] *Syndicat de l'inspection de l'Education nationale – Union nationale des syndicats autonomes.*

[5] *Syndicat national des personnels d'inspection – Fédération syndicale unitaire.*

[6] *Syndicat national des inspecteurs d'académie-Inspecteurs pédagogiques régionaux*, from the *UNSA-éducation.*

[7] Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills.

system across an entire nation, to shape a "monopoly of legitimate education" and to act directly on the politically legitimate school curriculum by institutionalising bureaucracies in charge of the administration, the management and the control of education (Buisson-Fenet and Pons 2014). The key political issue for these states was to check if bureaucracies complied with these standards and in many cases, inspection was regarded as the relevant institutional solution. Thus the Dutch inspection was created in 1801 and it was studied several times by European political leaders who looked for an institutional solution in their own country. It was the case in England for instance at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Dunford 1998). The first French high central inspectors were appointed in 1802 to carry out the inspection of the new Napoleonic *lycées* (Caplat 1986). The school inspection of the Irish state was constituted in 1832, that is to say the year after a widening participation in primary education (Coolahan and O'Donavan 2009). In England, the first her Majesty's inspectors (HMI) were appointed in 1839 following the first interventions of the central government into education. The first national inspectors were designated in the years 1860 in the Scandinavian countries etc.

In a broader context of state crisis, of major structural reforms of education systems and of the search for new governing modes, the professional skills and competencies of inspectors in terms of control and advice, but also the legitimacy, the efficiency and the opacity of their activity were strongly challenged in most European countries from the years 1960s. These criticisms came up with a whole institutional and political crisis of expectation towards inspectors which took various forms according to the contexts. In England the search by the Conservative leaders of a policy alternative to a public system of education administered locally, regulated by the professionalism of actors and whose performance was decreasing in their mind gave birth to the realisation of no less than ten audits of her Majesty inspectorate between 1966 and 1983 to improve their organisation and the definition of their missions (Dunford 1998). In France, where the individual inspection of teachers became central, contestations of inspectors' activity was both professional (teachers' unions claimed that these inspection infantilised their colleagues), institutional (end of some pedagogical monopolies of inspectors) and political, especially from the Left (Pons 2010). In Sweden, the progressive decentralisation of the school system implied several repositioning movements of the inspectorate according to policy contexts and political orientations: if at the beginning of the seventies priority was given to professional advisory and support of school actors, there was a clear inflexion at the end of the decade in favour of an increasing control of conformity with national regulations. This inflexion was confirmed by an Act in 1989 (Rönnberg 2014). This challenge of inspection sometimes took place during important changes of political regimes as it was the case in Greece, Portugal and Spain in the seventies when the inspectors were regarded as the key actors of the disciplinarisation of minds that took place under former authoritarian regimes (De Grauwe 2006).

In most cases, political leaders found solutions to this crisis of expectations in the NPM (De Grauwe 2006) even if they rarely implemented all the typical

measures of this doctrine and if they gave it various inflexions according to the contexts. In that sense, NPM, which is sometimes depicted as a "doctrinal puzzle" (Bezes 2009), can be regarded as a cognitive matrix which was mobilised on the basis of different ideological stances. In some cases, the implementation of NPM principles simply brought about the suppression of inspectorates (as in Finland and in Sweden in 1991) for the benefice of other organisational forms which combined self evaluation and local support of professionals on the one hand, and performance review on the other. Still, in many European countries, this compliance with NPM principles justified in the nineties the transformation of inspection bodies in agencies that specialised in the evaluation of the quality of the education system as a whole. It was the case in the United Kingdom, in Southern Europe, in several German Lander, in many countries from the Eastern Europe after 1989 and in Sweden (a particular case in which the inspection was reintroduced in 2003 through a new agency). Some countries like France or Norway constitute intermediary cases in which the NPM had more or less important effects on knowledge production by inspectors without coming up with a deep institutional modification of the inspectorates (Pons 2010; Hall and Sivesind 2015).

Whatever the institutional solution might be, the adoption of NPM principles implied for the inspectors to progressively become education quality evaluators particularly aware of statistical trends. In the majority of European countries, they have to carry out the external evaluation of schools (Eurydice 2015, p. 19). The model of the full inspection of a school conducted by a small team of inspectors who publish their report is implemented in many European countries, as that of thematic inspections related to specific aspects of the education policy (van Brueggen 2010).

The Bratislava Memorandum conceived and signed by the SICI members after several years of international workshops clearly confirms this trend. This document puts forward ten key propositions to increase the professionalization of inspectors and the capacity of inspection to improve education systems. The second proposition explicitly defines the inspector "as a quality evaluator, as a quality assurer and as an agent of accountability" (SICI 2013, p. 3).

In all European countries, inspectors were highly disrupted by this new injunction of quality evaluation (Hopes 1992) and they multiplied the spaces of professional reflexion on this topic, nationally (through seminars, articles or essays) and internationally.[8] For this reason, it is difficult to conclude to a colonisation of NPM principles by inspectors or on the contrary to a decoupling process (Dent et al.

[8]The first international meetings of inspectors were organised in the middle of the eighties in the continuation of the OECD International school improvement project (ISIP) in Amsterdam (1985), Oxford (1987), Strasbourg (1990) and so on. They were opportunities to think about differences and similarities of inspectors' job in Europe, to put forward some practices (like the English full inspection model) and to stress the tension that occurred in many countries between the observation of teachers' pedagogical choices on the one hand, and the broader evaluation of organisations or policies on the other. This movement paved the way for the creation of the SICI in 1995 by the Dutch, the English and the French inspectorates.

2004). According to the contexts, the dissonance between this new injunction and the previous professionalism of inspectors was more or less strong and it took various forms. In England, this injunction required for inspectors, be they HMI or not, to integrate their professional judgement into a bureaucratic, formalised and transparent inspection process and to accept that it became a credible tool of education quality insurance. In France, this injunction implies for inspectors, be they general or territorial, to dare going beyond their located area of expertise (like teaching a discipline in secondary education or inspecting a teacher) to adopt a more systemic, evidence based and publicised view of a school or the education system as a whole. According to their professional career, they were more or less prepared to this evolution. In some Swiss cantons like the Valais, moving to an evaluative approach may be risky for inspectors since they can loose their role of professional interface between the school and the education local authority and be progressively regarded as controllers of new and little popular managerial cantonal state (Buisson-Fenet and Pons 2014).

4.3 Towards an Organisational Professionalism?

These evolutions remind us with the organisational professionalism conceptualised by the sociologist of professions Julia Evetts. In her mind, "organizational professionalism is characterized by a discourse of control, used increasingly by managers in work organizations, and it incorporates rational-legal forms of authority and hierarchical structures of responsibility and decision-making. It involves increasingly standardized work procedures and practices, consistent with managerialist controls. It also relies on external forms of regulation and accountability measures, such as target-setting and performance review. Professional discourse at work is used by managers, practitioners and customers as a form of occupational control, motivation and expectation" (Evetts 2011, p. 334).

England is probably the country in which this logics was the most developed. The creation in 1992 of a non-ministerial government agency (Ofsted) responsible for the inspection service on the whole territory went with the definition of a strict framework of inspection which is periodically revised, with a tightening of its object (raising schools' standards) and with a better formalisation of the analytical categories used by inspectors (such as the grade descriptors for instance), of the expected behaviours from inspectors and of the institutional consequences of inspection. These elements contributed to strongly codify the inspectoral judgement for the sake of the standardisation of the procedure and they led some ancient HMI to criticise this new device that reduces inspection to a recording activity. Yet this English model was disseminated and exported in the whole world, especially in Asia, and in return, this search for an influential position abroad allowed the inspectorate to increase its power within the English education policy process (Ozga and Lawn 2014).

Despite of all, the transformations of the education inspectors' job in Europe since the nineties cannot be captured only by the idea that an organisational professionalism is affirming for at least three reasons. First, conceptually, organisational and occupational professionalisms are ideal-types for Julia Evetts so that each group of inspectors actually has defining features coming from these two professionalisms. In the English case for instance, regular school inspections by Ofsted can be regarded as an extremely codified version of the former model of the full inspection that the HMIs have promoted for the last decades. In interviews, and sometimes in public documents, the latter recognize that this new procedure does not dispossess them from all their former competencies. The power of judgement of the professional facing a particular situation is still necessary to solve unexpected problems in schools or to monitor failing schools for instance.

Second, it is not the English but the Scottish model of inspection that has been widely disseminated in Europe since the end of the nineties, through the SICI in particular, and that has inspired several inspection reforms (Grek and Lawn 2012; Ozga and Lawn 2014). Yet in this model, inspectors still have a relatively high professional autonomy which is visible in all the competencies that these professionals must develop: they must be able to communicate with pedagogy to be understood by all their interlocutors, to solve burning issues, to choose their own efficient organisation, to manage lay members of the inspection team, to master new statistical and logistical resources, to promote and support professionals in their self evaluation and empowerment processes, to ensure various training sessions or to provide political leaders and policy makers with punctual expertises. Several elements of that kind can be found in the Bratislava Memorandum when this document defines what an inspection must be. Inspectors must be clear about the governance of the inspection process and the nature of their independence (elements that the agency model helps clarifying for the SICI). They must demonstrate that they are well equipped (statistically, pedagogically, relationally) to make a difference for learners and so be highly credible. They must be able to identify risky activities that prevent schools from making learners improve. They must be "agile" and adapt their communication and their organisation according to their environment, which requires to well know the customers of the inspection service. Lastly they must promote self evaluation and widely involve themselves in the inspection process (SICI 2013, pp. 9–10). This last point is close to the idea that the professional has a vocation.

Third, beyond models and their dissemination, we witness in Europe an effective convergence of inspectors' practices around a small number of principles. The recent synthesis by Kesler (2016) points out five of them concerning local inspectors. They must remain observers and not become actors that are directly involved in the improvement process of the school since the latter must find itself, with the support of the inspector, how to improve its situation. They must be able to "say the truth" and in that perspective to conceive a clear, detailed and public referential for inspection. They must be able to think the global education stakes of a school and in that purpose to triangulate their data drawn from observations, interviews and questionnaires and from administrative statistical data. They must

know how to constraint themselves, with a detailed inspection framework or a code of conduct for instance, to better constraint then other professionals to involve themselves in an improvement process. Lastly, they must sufficiently master their own professionality to disseminate it and make it share by the potential non-professional members of the inspection team (lay members).

These three reasons do not allow us to conclude that an occupational professionalism would be back or would be simply surviving since several defining features of this professionalism identified by Julia Evetts are missing or reducing: the collegial authority of inspectors as an autonomous body is more or less intense according to the situations and inspectors globally tend to lose the control of their composition and of the discretionary definition of their practices for instance. Yet these reasons illustrate that a new form of expert professionalism (Brint 1994) is developing in parallel with the affirmation of an organisational professionalism. In the case of education inspectors, the former rests on the promotion of an ethic of self improvement by inspectors, be this improvement individual or collective, on the controlled implementation of a professional practice which is more and more publicised (evaluation framework, inspectoral judgement building, expected effects of inspection etc.) and, in parallel, on the capacity to provide political leaders with expert knowledge according to the needs created by a new governance of education. This expert professionalism leads the inspectors, as individuals, to potentially play a great diversity of policy roles. The list of the potential contributions of inspection to education policy established by the SICI is meaningful: an inspector can be an "enforcer" and promote compliance with policy expectations, an "assurer" when he/she certify quality, a "mitigator of risk" thanks to his/her enlightened appreciation of underperformance of learners, a "catalyst" since inspection "injects energy into a situation", a "knowledge broker", a "capacity builder" (through formative evaluation processes for instance), a "partnership builder" with various stakeholders, an "agenda setter" by helping identifying areas where improvement is needed and a promoter of innovation (SICI 2013, p. 98).

4.4 Legitimation: Repertoire and Configuration

The effective implementation of this new organisational, publicised and expert professionalism remains uneven from a case to another and it strongly depends on the capacity of the inspectors to legitimate their mandate in the eyes of their interlocutors. This legitimation work consists in matching their action repertoire with the policy configuration in which this repertoire is implemented.

We illustrate this process in two ways. Firstly, an action repertoire can be very similar in two different systems and produce contrasted effects on inspectors' position in the policy process according to the domestic policy configuration at work. The comparison of the historical, institutional and professional trajectory of central inspectors in England (HMIs) and in France (general inspectors) since their creation that we did elsewhere (Pons 2014) highlights that these two professional groups, in

spite of their differences, implemented the same action repertoire when they had to cope with serious criticisms and to redefine their professionality. The box 1 provides a synthetic vision of this repertoire. It is based on the famous distinction established by Suchman (1995) who argues that the legitimation process of a professional competence can be both pragmatic, normative and cognitive (Fig. 4.1).

This repertoire had contrasted effects according to the policy configuration in which it was implemented. In the HMIs' case, it allowed them to support, in a strategic and relatively cumulative way given the history of these inspectors, the creation of a government agency whose inspection processes implied to intensively codify their professionalism without renouncing to the historical model of the full inspection. In the French general inspectors' case on the contrary, this repertoire

The Action Repertoire of English and French Central Inspectors

Pragmatic Dimension

1) Playing an influential role in the key reforms of the school system

2) Attracting political supports from the inside of the system (teachers) and from outside (political leaders, parents)

3) Becoming the strong advocates of changes that seriously challenged their own professionality before

Normative Dimension

4) Taking advantage of their status, their mandate and institutional position

Cognitive Dimension

5) Adapting and rationalising school inspection methods

6) Publicly contesting the foundations of some critical reports

7) Producing overall knowledge on the school system

8) Discrediting alternative evaluative approaches

Fig. 4.1 The action repertoire of English and French central inspectors

sustained an ambivalent situation in which these inspectors were actually maintained in a traditional vertical role of compliancy control and political advisory for the minister on the one hand, and regularly invited to make their professionality move toward a more global evaluative approach on the other. Consequently, since the nineties, the general inspectors have alternatively experienced periods of identitarian closure on traditional missions, periods of intensive targeted methodological improvements and periods of brutal politicisation of their activity (Pons 2014).

Secondly, within the same school system, some inspectorates can manage to match their repertoire with the policy configuration and others cannot. Therefore the transformations introduced by the NPM can be very different from a policy level and from a professional segment to another. In France for instance, at the national level, general inspectors globally managed, despite the ambivalences mentioned above and the uncertainties of the French evaluation policy, to recycle their initial skills—the model of the field visit based on the triangulation of administrative data, interviews and observations—in coherence with their historical core job. Moving to an evaluative approach led them to rationalise their "art of empirical extrapolation", i.e. their ability to provide, on the basis of their personal, professional and institutional experience, political leaders with useful and meaningful diagnoses on the basis of the analysis of a limited number of phenomena in a short period of time (Pons 2010). At the local and intermediary levels, the situation of the territorial inspectors is very different. The instability of institutional commands has paved the way for an important sedimentation of their missions since 1990: these inspectors must both control, inspect, advise, animate, evaluate, provide expertise and support professionals. This sedimentation led to an important fragmentation of their tasks, to a series of everyday professional dilemmas and to very different inspection policies from a local education authority to another. Moreover some classical features of an occupational professionalism are missing—such as the control of the recruitment, a code of deontology or the capitalisation of specialised knowledge at the level of the body as a whole—and inspectors' unions tend to focus in their claims on staff management by the ministry.[9] When all these characteristics are placed side by side, we understand how difficult it is for French territorial inspectors, whose administrative status are very diverse, first to stabilise a common action repertoire which would promote their professional practice, and then to implement it in local policy configurations which are very diverse and fast changing.[10]

[9]According to the 178 press dispatches that we consulted, the action from the three main unions of territorial inspectors consist either in asserting policy stances about the current reforms, or in calling on the ministry through unions' releases. The three main topics addressed are the staff volume (n = 45), the contestations of power abuses from the hierarchy, be they real or potential (n = 22) and the organisation of the training sessions and the concourses of teachers and inspectors (n = 18).

[10]Despite of all, some movements of professionalization of territorial inspectors may be observed in favourable political circumstances or within the implementation of specific policy devices but they remain punctual.

4.5 Conclusion

Finally the transformations of the education inspector's job in Europe provoked by the implementation of NPM's principles and measures, according to different managerial logics from a school system to another, does not only correspond to the affirmation of an organisational professionalism which would involve itself a process of deprofessionalisation. This organisational professionalism is very important, it leads many European countries to redefine the inspector's job as an education quality evaluator on the basis of more or less standardised processes, but it also goes with diverse movements of professionalization which shape a new expert and more publicised professionalism of inspectors.

These recompositions depend on many factors. Among them, the capacity of inspectors as professional groups to legitimate their mandate in the eyes of their partners by matching a specific action repertoire with the on-going policy configuration is central. Hence these recompositions can be very contrasted from a country to another, but also, within the same country, from a policy level or a professional segment to another. Nevertheless, they all try to go over three common professional tensions or dilemmas: the tension between the formalisation of the inspectoral judgement and the liberty of appreciation of the professional copying with a difficult situation, the tension between the independent exercise of a profession and the standardisation of tasks and a tension between the specialisation of these tasks and the improvement of the transversal approach of inspectors.

References

Bezes, P. (2009). *Réinventer l'etat*. Paris: PUF.

Brint, S. (1994). *In an age of experts. The changing role of professionals in politics and public life*. Princeton University Press: Princeton.

Buisson-Fenet, H., & Pons, X. (2014). *School evaluation policies and educating states*. Bruxelles: Peter Lang.

Caplat, G. (dir.) (1986). *Les inspecteurs généraux de l'Instruction publique. Dictionnaire biographique, 1802–1914*. Paris: INRP-CNRS.

Coolahan, J., & O'Donovan, P. F. (2009). *A history of Ireland's school inspectorate 1831–2008*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Costa, E., & Pires, A. M. (2011). The role of the European inspections in the European educational space–echoes from Portugal regarding the assessment of schools. *Research in Higher Education Journal, 13,* 1–10.

De Grauwe, A. (2006). *L'état et l'inspection scolaire: analyse des relations et modèles d'action. Thèse de doctorat de sociologie*. Paris: Sciences Po.

Dent, M., Chandler, J., & Barry, J. (2004). *Questioning the new public management*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

De Wolf, I. F., & Janssens, F. J. G. (2007). Effects and side effects of inspections and accountability in education: An overview of empirical studies. *Oxford Review of Education, 33*(3), 379.

Dumay, X., & Maroy, C. (2014). Trajectoire de la réforme de l'inspection en Belgique francophone. *Revue Française de Pédagogie, 186,* 47–58.
Dunford, E. D. (1998). *Her Majesty's Inspectorate of schools since 1944. Standards bearers or turbulent priests*? London: Woburn Press.
Ehren, M. C. M., Altrichter, H., Mcnamara, G., & O'Hara, J. (2013). Impact of school inspections on improvement of schools—Describing assumptions on causal mechanisms in six European countries. *Educational Assessment, Evaluation and Accountability, 25*(1), 3–43.
Eurydice. (2015). *Assuring quality in education: Policies and approaches to school evaluation in Europe*. Eurydice Report. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
Evetts, J. (2003). The sociological analysis of professionalism: Occupational change in the modern world. *International Sociology, 18*(2), 395–415.
Evetts, J. (2011). New professionnalism and new public management: Changes and continuities. *Sociologie du travail, 53,* 334–348.
Gordon, P. (1989). Watchdogs and missionaries. The first hundred years, in DES-HMI 1839–1989. *Public Education in England. 150th Anniversary*. Londres: DES-HMI.
Grek, S., & Lawn, M. (2012). *Europeanizing education: Governing a new policy space*. Oxford: Symposium Books.
Grek, S., Lawn, M., Ozga, J., & Segerholm, C. (2013). Governing by inspection? European inspectorates and the creation of a European education policy space. *Comparative Education, 49*(4), 486–502.
Hall, J., & Sivesind, K. (2015). State school inspection policy in Norway and Sweden (2002-2012): A reconfiguration of governing modes? *Journal of Education Policy, 30*(3), 429–458.
Hood, C. (1991). A public management for all seasons? *Public Administration, 69,* 3–19.
Hopes, C. (1992). *The role of inspectorate and inspectors in the development and monitoring of school management and effectiveness*. Paris: OCDE.
Kesler, S. (2016). Ne pas agir, dire le vrai, penser global: vers un modèle commun des inspections locales en Europe. *Administration et éducation, 149,* 31–35.
Laborier, P. (2003). Historicité et sociologie de l'action publique. In P. Laborier & D. Trom (Eds.), *Historicités de l'action publique* (pp. 419–462). Paris: PUF.
Ladd, H. F. (2011). Education inspectorate systems in New Zealand and the Netherlands. *Education Finance and Policy, 5*(3), 378–392.
Maroy, C., Pons, X., & Dupuy, C. (2017). Vernacular globalisations: Neo-statist accountability policies in France and Quebec Education. *Journal of Education Policy, 32*(1), 100–122.
Ozga, J., & Lawn, M. (2014). Inspectorates and politics: The trajectories of school inspection in England and Scotland. *Revue française de pédagogie, 186,* 11–21.
Pollitt, C., & Boukaert, G. (2004). *Public management reform. A comparative analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Pons, X. (2010). *Evaluer l'action éducative. Des professionnels en concurrence*. Paris: PUF.
Pons, X. (2014). Les inspections centrales anglaise et française: des trajectoires croisées? *Revue française de pédagogie, 186,* 23–33.
Pons, X. (2015). Changer d'échelle? Les inspections générales de l'éducation face a la déconcentration du système scolaire. *Revue Française D'Administration Publique, 155,* 647–658.
Rasmussen, P., & Zou, Y. (2014). The development of educational accountability in China and Denmark. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 22*(121). http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v22.1693.
Rönnberg, L. (2014). School inspection in Sweden: Historical evolution, resurrection and gradual change. *Revue française de pédagogie, 186,* 35–45.
Suchman, M. (1995). Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches. *Academy of Management Review, 20*(3), 571–610.

SICI. (2013). *The bratislava memorandum on inspection and innovation*. Edinburgh: SICI.
Thrupp, M. (1998). Exploring the politics of blame: School inspection and its contestation in New Zealand and England. *Comparative Education, 34*(2), 195–209.
Van Brueggen, J. C. (2010). *Inspectorates of education in Europe; Some comparative remarks about their tasks and work*. Bruxelles: SICI.

Xavier Pons is senior lecturer at the university Paris-Est Créteil (UPEC) and researcher at the LIPHA Paris-Est. Member of several comparative research projects (NewAge, Know&Pol, Evalexe) since 2006, his work on the sociology of education policies focuses mainly on the evaluation of education systems, the reforms of school administrations, the transformation of the educative States in Europe and the modes of restructuring of public debate in education. Laureat of the prize Jean-Claude Eicher for the development of educational research, he is the author of several articles and books on these topics.

Chapter 5
Changes in School Governance and the Reshaping of Head Teachers' Roles and Identities in Portugal

Sofia Viseu and Luís Miguel Carvalho

5.1 Introduction

The last 20 years have seen an ongoing redefinition of public policies regarding school management in Portugal. This reconfiguration has brought implications for the conditions, processes and practices of head teachers' work. The proposed changes are part of a movement of changes in school management which is occurring on a transnational scale and is associated with a common denominator: public administration reforms implemented by the New Public Management (NPM).

This chapter focuses on the ways NPM assumptions, which directly or indirectly influence head teachers' work, are being received and interpreted by these actors in Portugal. Our interest stems from the assumption that NPM orientations coexist with national policies, local contexts and historically constituted frames of reference regarding the role of head teachers, thus creating some degree of ambiguity and uncertainty in school management. Hence, the various ways these orientations are received by head teachers are taken as analysers of the continuities, changes and tensions in the regulation processes[1] regarding school leadership and management.

The chapter is based on an empirical study developed on the basis of interviews conducted with head teachers,[2] with a view to better understanding the changes they perceive in their work. The findings of the study point to an increasing

[1]By regulation we mean the social process of the production of rules and guidelines for conduct and behavior by social actors in a particular social context (Maroy and Dupriez 2000).
[2]Those responsible for the school unit or cluster.

S. Viseu (✉) · L. M. Carvalho
Institute of Education, University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal
e-mail: sviseu@ie.ulisboa.pt

L. M. Carvalho
e-mail: lmcarvalho@ie.ulisboa.pt

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_5

complexity of the regulation processes, which we believe derives from the coexistence of traditional regulation methods with the emergence of NPM regulation methods. We have also drawn some conclusions as to the effect they have on the perceptions, meanings and orientations for head teachers' action.

The chapter has four sections. The first section begins by referring to studies that discuss NPM doctrines that are circulating on a worldwide scale, associated with a 'managerial canon', which have reshaped the role of head teachers. In the second section, we show how the Portuguese case can be used as a prime example to observe and study the changes in school governance and the reshaping of head teachers' roles. In the third section, there is a focus on the interpretative lines emerging from our empirical study, showing some of the possible effects of NMP on head teachers' descriptions of their work, and their struggle for greater professional autonomy. Finally, in the final considerations section, the implications of NPM on head teachers' perceptions of their daily work are discussed.

5.1.1 NPM and the Role of the Head Teachers: Regularities and Variations

At a transnational level, and since the late twentieth century, the "managerial school" (Gewirtz 2002) or a managerial canon (Ball 1999; Lima 2011) have become well known terms that reinforce a set of scripts for action imported from business and corporate management, and employed in the school context in the name of effectiveness. As a consequence, the expectations and requirements regarding the work of head teachers have also become part of a semantic universe dominated by a call for education quality, modernization, performance evaluation, accountability, competitiveness among schools and school systems (see Power et al. 1997; Dupriez 2005; Cattonar 2006; Lessard and Brassard 2007).

Part of the discourse laden with new expectations for school leadership has been promoted by international organizations that produce, promote and disseminate studies, recommendations and analyses that seek to reshape the work of head teachers. For example, in 2009, the OECD published a toolkit on its website for school leadership, designed to help policy makers, practitioners and relevant stakeholders analyse school leadership policies and practices, and to develop a common understanding of where and how to take action based on the "OECD Improving School Leadership" policy recommendations (OECD 2009, p. 3). More recently, through TALIS 2013 data, the OECD (2016) published the "School Leadership for Learning", reinforcing the idea that "school leaders are the most likely actors to initiate the further development of professional learning communities" (OECD 2016, p. 35). Similarly, the European Policy Network on School Leadership (EPNoSL), a European consortium created in 2011, geared towards school leaders' professional development, published a School Leadership Toolkit "designed to provide policy makers, school authorities, schools, researchers and

teacher training institutes with the tools to reflect upon, identify challenges and prioritize areas for policy action" and "to help school leaders identify areas where they need to improve on their competencies and daily practice" (EPNoSL 2014). It is also worth mentioning that the Wallace Foundation, one of the largest private foundations in the United States, elected school leadership as a priority in its action, reinforcing and spreading the message that there is a direct link between school leadership and pupils' outcomes (Seashore et al. 2010).

As already mentioned, the dissemination of these discourses and their call for a reconfiguration of the work of the head teacher are part of a broader and transnational State reform movement and its traditional role in educational policy-making. In fact, this has been on the educational research agenda since the late twentieth century.

Some of these authors refer to a shift in the education regulation methods to a "post-bureaucratic" regulation regime, in order to describe the progressive introduction of new types of coordination and control of public action that go beyond the "bureaucratic-professional model": the "evaluative State" and "quasi-market" are now better descriptors of the ways by which head teachers' functions are redefined from a managerial perspective, emphasizing evaluation, accountability, contracts, awards and good practices (Maroy 2012).

Other authors refer to managerialism as a cultural production in search of a "new political" agreement to import private management principles and practices into public services (Newman and Clarke 2009). In its search for new organizational forms, technologies and practices, managerialism produces new narratives that affirm the (supposed) success of business management in public services and administration.

Finally, some authors refer to NPM, whose doctrines and instruments circulate on a worldwide scale, in the name of modernization and improvement of the public services (Verger and Normand 2015), and are materialized in State reforms, public service reforms and the professions that operate within them.

The global presence of NPM in State policy reforms in several national and even civilizational contexts has become evident in common spheres of change. According to Hood (1995, pp. 95–97), these dimensions include greater fragmentation of public services into more independent management units; greater competition within the public sector and between the latter and the private sector; the use of management practices of the business world; greater emphasis on "discipline and frugality in resource use"; strengthening of the discretionary power of top managers and the use of more explicit and measurable performance standards. More recently, within the scope of NPM principles and prescriptions in organizational settings, Bezes et al. (2011, p. 295) emphasized the division between positions related to strategy, management and control on the one hand, and operational and implementation positions on the other, to further the gap between those who design and those who carry through organizational actions.

In educational policies, the presence of NPM has been noted in an increasing number of interventions, such as, for example, the professionalization of head teachers and the strengthening of their action; through the definition of educational success quality indicators and benchmarks; through school autonomy and

school-centred management; the publication of school results in standardized tests; public subsidies for private schools; external evaluation of results; payment to teachers based, for example, on merit or productivity criteria (Gunter and Fitzgerald 2013).

The presence and effects of these policies on head teachers' work is well documented in the specialized literature. The work of Power et al. (1997) should be noted, as it provides information on the ongoing reforms in Australia, the United States, England, Scotland, Wales and Sweden in the late 90s, when growing pressure mounted for the heads to be more "actively involved in the new modes of management", while simultaneously having to deal with the contradictory demands of the public authorities and the educational market (Power et al. 1997, p. 356). Simkins (2000) illustrates how in England and Wales the head teacher was expected to become more "customer-focused" and to "meet demanding targets in terms of measurable performance indicators, set by central government or its agents" (Simkins 2000, p. 330). In the case of France, Dupriez (2005) points to a redefinition of the head teacher's role, which should be more committed to educational projects, collaborative work with peers and the community, while also developing further management skills. Referring to Canada, Cattonar (2006), Lessard and Brassard (2007) note how the school has gradually become a "unit of accountability", bestowing greater responsibility upon the head teacher in terms of the quality and effectiveness of the educational service.

Thus, it may be said that current public policies regarding school management, which defend more autonomy, more accountability and more responsibility, have led to the increasing scrutiny and formulation of high expectations in terms of the effects of head teachers' action. As referred to by Gunter (2012), the head is the protagonist who will 'transform' and 'deliver' what is required for a successful outcome. Consequently, this has led to growing pressure on the work of head teachers. In fact, several authors refer to the work of head teachers by using vocabulary such as "tension" and "conflicting demands" (Moore et al. 2002), "stress" (Phillips and Sen 2011), "survival strategy", "intensification" and "almost impossible job" (Macbeath et al. 2012).

However, and despite its widespread diffusion, the influence of NPM policies on education public policies is quite variable in each national context. This variability is the result of both the composite and sedimentary nature of NPM, and the political specificities of the contexts in which it is reinterpreted (Carvalho 2016).

On the one hand, NPM is not a homogeneous or "monolithic" entity as interpreted by Hood (1995), but rather a complex of beliefs and instruments associated with the reform of the state and its administration. In fact, NPM has developed as a result of the sedimentation of successive layers (Bezes 2005) and the overlap of several historical variants: the neoliberal agenda, associated with (alleged) slimming down policies carried out by the New Right; the call for more participation, autonomy and transparency; the variant of state bureaucracy control; and the variant stemming from the creation of new remote control mechanisms, namely through digital devices that produce and monitor performance indicators, enabling comparisons, benchmarking and the definition of quality standards.

On the other hand, NPM orientations have diverse interpretations and effects on national policies and specific local contexts. Indeed, educational policies appear to be an excellent channel through which these variations may be observed. An interesting and recent analysis of this variability is given by Verger and Normand (2015) in the confrontation of European and American contexts. Among other differences, and concerning head teachers' professionalization and power in schools, the authors highlight the difference between policies that aim for more shared leadership *vs.* the head teacher's increasing power and authority.

Moreover, this variability is also justified by the fact that in each national context, the rules on "how to get things done" are adopted by a miscellany of local actors, with different knowledge, resources and interests, who operate in specific belief and power relation systems. Hence, beyond national translations, NPM and managerialism policies also encounter local context specificities.

In countries where the state plays an important role in public policies, with more bureaucratic regulation methods (based on legal authority, formal hierarchy and rules), NPM orientations—managerial policies and new regulation methods—frequently coexist with other historically instituted forms of regulation, creating a hybrid effect on public policies. A good example of this hybrid nature in current educational public policies may be found precisely in school management:

> "(…) school management is devolved and 'made private', while school aims, standards and evaluations are centralized and nationalized, that is, 'made public'. Thus, paradoxically, the state strategically steers national school priorities and outcomes, while policy discourses promise 'free choice', 'school autonomy' and 'diversity'". (Falabella 2014, p. 3)

Therefore, our study takes into account historical paths and local translations regarding the role of head teachers. Thus, in the next section, our interest in studying the Portuguese case is presented.

5.2 The Portuguese Case

In Portugal, public authority interventions towards strengthening the role of head teachers are clearly associated with NPM trends: school management is increasingly becoming a specialized occupation; there is a growing tendency to "govern by contract", which is visible in the school autonomy hiring policies, justified by central government as the need for more educational agreements and co-responsibility; public scrutiny of school government and management is equally on the rise, namely through the monitoring and evaluation of school results conducted by the inspection agency (Carvalho 2016). As far as the first trend is concerned, we refer to the "differentiation" of school management as a specialized occupation to reinforce the particular and unique position of the head teacher in current school management in Portugal, which may be observed in three public authority interventions:

First, the creation of a single management structure for school governance. By emphasising the effects of strong leadership on school quality, and seeking to boost the participation of communities in the strategic management of schools, the public

authorities introduced the figure of the school head teacher, moving away from the tradition of a collegial body of school management that had existed since 1974. This option is a good example of NPM orientations, in which more power and responsibility is claimed for top managers in public services and organizations. This single management structure confers more power, along with administrative, executive and evaluation duties on the head teacher in relation to other teachers. Simultaneously, in order to apply for the position of head teacher, specialized training in school administration and educational administration is now required.

Second, the consolidation of school clusters, that brings together schools from different cycles (primary and secondary) under a single management structure and a single head, seeking, primarily, to reinforce collaboration among schools. It should be noted that since the beginning of the century, a reduction of approximately 4700 schools units and respective top manager positions has been observed (CNE 2014).

Finally, in 2007, the Department of Education created the School Board, a consultancy government agency on educational policies, where head teachers play an institutional role (at least in a symbolic manner) in the governing of the educational system.

In short, the afore-mentioned changes in public policies regarding school management and their convergence with NPM orientations make Portugal a good example to observe and study the processes that involve the reshaping of head teachers' roles and identities. Thus, considering the transnational scenario of public policies and educational discourses regarding the role of school heads, our interest lies in describing and analysing the orientations head teachers give to their actions, and what they do in their daily lives and their local social contexts. More precisely, we are interested in understanding the ways head teachers interpret, translate and readjust the coordination and control interventions that target them in their specific contexts of action.

This interest stems from the assumption that policies are a process and product of the intervention of public authorities, through their normative production devices and executive intervention, but also a product of other social actors positioned at different levels of action (local, national, supranational) (see Ball 1993; Rizvi and Lingard 2009). All these actors take part in the definition of public welfare, around which school activities should occur and participate in determining how such activities should be coordinated.

5.2.1 Reshaping of Head Teachers' Roles: Searching for Local Translations

As a starting point in the accomplishment of our empirical study, we refer to the words of Rauch (1999, p. 98): "Today, heads have to fulfil a multitude of different, sometimes even contradictory roles and need to react to different external influences on their school (Rauch 1999)". In fact, we are committed to better understanding

the local translations of these "external influences", with a view to identifying descriptions made by head teachers of their work that result from NMP influences. To this end, we have used the concepts of institutional regulation and autonomous regulation. The former refers to the set of all orientation, coordination, control and balancing of the system mechanisms, established by educational authorities in educational policies; the latter is to observe the way local actors appropriate and (re) adjust control mechanisms according to their interests, as a means to maintain or increase their autonomy margins (Maroy 2012).

The empirical study follows a general approach of a qualitative nature, affiliated to the participants' perspectives and sets out to comprehend the (self)-perceptions and prescriptions of head teachers with regard to their daily work. Following a methodological tradition in educational policy studies (Ozga 1999) and school leadership (Briggs et al. 2012), eighteen interviews were conducted with head teachers of state schools in the metropolitan area of Lisbon (the excerpts of which are referred to in this text as I1, I2, I3…). With the exception of two cases, all the interviewed head teachers had over 10 years experience as top managers of their schools, and 6 of them had held the position of head teacher for over 20 years.

The analysis of the interviews pointed to some possible effects of the intervention methods regarding the work of head teachers, and the reception and interpretation on the part of the latter. These findings are presented and discussed in the next sections: the sense of repositioning resulting from the redefinitions of NMP inspired public authority orientations, and the struggle to maintain their autonomy.

5.3 NPM and Repositioning

A first line of interpretation taken from the interviews is the perception of a repositioning of the head teacher, as a result of public authority orientations, that is, of the institutional regulation which led to a feeling of closer proximity to central government. This repositioning stems from the creation of new diverse control, evaluation and accountability devices, as the work of head teachers became part of teachers' performance assessment, responsibility/accountability for student success rates and the need to fill in and update school-related data on new digital platforms, as mentioned by our interviewees:

> The head teacher is a single management structure, there is no board, only a head teacher who is requested to undertake pedagogical and financial responsibilities (I2).
>
> When results aren't good enough, you have a problem (I8).
>
> You have no idea of the procedures (…), of all that has to be done in the school, all the small things, the salaries, the enrolments, accountability, the digital platforms… and everything must be updated daily (…). Why is there so much control now? Such control is not pedagogical! (…) It is bureaucratic and administrative (I14).
>
> All the responsibility is mine. No one else's (…).And now we have all these digital platforms to provide data for the Department of Education, the municipality, for the exams,

> for the teachers' evaluation… we have to be aware of deadlines at all times (…). It used to be different, we had more time. We were not so tied to this control as we are now, constantly. Now we are profoundly controlled (I15).

Two important consequences may be drawn from these speech excerpts:

First, head teachers perceive more pressure in their work as this repositioning is associated with an increase in bureaucratic work and a change in the physical and human scale of the organization they manage. In fact, with the exception of one, all the interviewees reported not having a typical day and that their daily work was "unpredictable", "uncertain", "with no routines" and "with frequent interruptions". Suggestively, in response to the question 'what's your daily work like?", one of the head interviewees replied: "I have to manage. How do you do that? I cannot explain, but it is totally crazy!" (I18).

Second, some of the interviewed head teachers described themselves as managers of an educational enterprise. These head teachers used leadership as a highly relevant personal characteristic for the job, taking pupils' success rates, projects, awards, marketing and promotion of the school image as preferential management strategies:

> I think I have strong leadership (…) and the inborn characteristics that enable me be listened to (…). The visibility of the school transfers more confidence to the community (…). We need to be present in the social media (…) [because] it promotes the image of the school (E3).

> Being the boss is not being a leader. It is important for people to recognize a leader in the head teacher even when they do not have a close relationship with him/her (…). The majority of teachers are in tune with my speech and orientation (…). We need to have more projects, dynamics and to promote the image of the school in order to attain better results (E4).

> I'm concerned, and we have to improve our position in the school rankings (E10).

> I think it's like running a business. Of course there are other components, but (…) the work is very different to that expected of teachers. And it is also very appealing! (E15).

The perception of repositioning, on the part of the interviewed head teachers, is assumed through a reinforcement of their role as managers of accountable units of the educational system. These data point to a redefinition of the work of head teachers, resulting from the NMP. However, these new prescriptions and demands have also paved the way for uncertainty and a reinterpretation of new forms of action in the management of schools, as is presented in the next section.

5.4 The Struggle for Professional Autonomy

The second line of interpretation we draw from the head teachers' interviews is related to their struggle for professional autonomy in order to maintain, or even increase, their autonomy margins. This speech is constructed around tension triggered by the repositioning they are experiencing. As stated by Thomson (2010),

"head teachers' desires for autonomy are logical" since they are now compelled to defend their school and develop an increasing sense of the fact that they have their schools to run (Thomson 2010, p. 16). Their intention to struggle to maintain or increase their autonomy has been manifested in three dimensions.

First, while head teachers assume a reinforcement of their role (defined in the legal-normative framework), they also criticise a set of constraints, determined by the government, as illustrated in the following interview excerpt:

> I have more responsibility, but it is in conflict with my autonomy: I'm asked to do things that contradict the pre-existent laws and rules. This blocks my action! (I5).

These words do not simply outline the contradictions between rhetoric and practice. In fact, what emerges as being most significant in the speech of some of the interviewees, is what some authors refer to as "paradoxical injunctions" (Barroso 2011) imposed by central government. In other words, compliance with a rule or form of action implies non-compliance with another, both of which are legitimate and recommended. Consequently, head teachers feel compelled to consciously act in a contradictory manner.

Second, head teachers seek to adapt and readjust the coordination and control interventions that target them. Described by one of the head teachers as "corridors of freedom that one needs to understand how to take advantage of" (I3), these local policy regulation methods have been divulged in three areas.

The first is related to the use of devices to interpret the normative orientations according to their particular context of action, and the devaluation of normative orientations, namely those of the normative framework, in relation to their practical effects, as may be observed in the following examples:

> What I have to do is read and interpret the law in the best way. (…) It's not avoiding the law, it is attempting to apply the law in a flexible, more open way, so that pupils and teachers (…) are not jeopardised (I7).

> Despite the changes in the legal framework, people do their best to keep things the same (…). Mentalities do not change with the law (…) no matter how far the law demands change (I4).

This phenomenon was also present in some of the interviews when the head teachers reported the maintenance of shared management practices with their peers, even though the legal framework centralizes the responsibility for school management in the head teacher:

> Decrees have not changed my action. Even if we are not an elected group,… the procedures, interactions and shared decision making processes are the same [as before] (I6).

> Despite the law and the rules, one acts as one sees fit (…). I have a team and they also make their own decisions (I8).

Finally, some of the interviewees gave importance to a personal, pedagogical agenda, as opposed to the new demands they perceived as arising from the role of head teacher:

> I have a plan of action. I dedicate a lot of time to dealing with pupils and incidents (…). But it is on the basis of a resolution of these incidents that I intend to build my school, my project (I3).
>
> Despite the need to meet deadlines and other bureaucratic procedures, I always try (…) to give priority to the important situations which are, in fact, the pedagogical ones, [although] this can sometimes be difficult (I5).

At this point, an overlap of action scripts, stemming from the tension between differing frameworks regarding the role of the head teacher, became clear. In fact, some of the interviewees looked upon themselves fundamentally as teachers, and shared a declared passion for pedagogical issues, namely through their desire for closer proximity with pupils, their defence of the state school, being critical towards the rankings, competition among schools and managerial tasks and demands:

> I am more interested (…) in how the teacher and pupils work, the interactions among pupils, between pupils and teachers… Otherwise, we would have a purely administrative school and that is something anyone can do (E1).
>
> We can't compare a school to an enterprise (…). The pedagogical issues are fantastic (…) and the head teacher should be involved in them (E5).
>
> I attended a course on conflict management, meetings, budgets (…) but what I really like, because I'm a teacher, is teaching and being with the pupils (E11).

However, the most interesting feature to emerge from the interviews of the empirical study is the fact that the work of head teachers falls within a number of frames of reference. The data analysis showed that our interviewees simultaneously used managerial and pedagogical repertoires to describe their work, through an ambiguous discourse, in which they defended both the interests of their pupils and peers, while also adopting a managerial discourse or entrepreneurial scripts. For example, three head teachers were particularly committed to economically disadvantaged pupils, pupils from ethnic minorities and those who had failed school, and went on to develop specific programs for them. At the same time, they showed real concerns for the need to improve the school image by adopting a marketing discourse. Another sign of ambiguity in these head teachers' speeches may be observed in the critical discourse of some towards school rankings and student selection, while also feeling compelled to develop marketing strategies. For example, one of the interviewees stated the following:

> Some schools are selective and choose the blue eyed pupils, mummies and daddies' babies, programmed to be good pupils (…). We cannot choose our pupils because this is a school for all.

Further ahead, he also claimed the following:

> We do marketing (…), present our courses (…) to all the schools in the area, we advertise our school offer. (…) This year we even organised an event, an open school day for the community (E7).

The interviewed head teachers clearly indicated a growing appreciation of management skills in their work to strengthen their role as heads, and an awareness of the tension generated by this process, given the teaching and professional

interests they defend. Hence, in the perceptions of the head teachers, it was possible to identify a common appeal to other historically constituted frames of reference regarding their roles (Barroso and Carvalho 2009), namely: the school head as an enterprise manager who displays technical skills in line with those of a CEO, concerned with results and efficiency; the school head as a professional with corporate interests, committed to defending the interests of his/her peers.

5.4.1 Final Remarks

The data showed that the work of the head teacher can be taken as a powerful analyser of the effects of NPM inspired school administration policies, for two reasons. First, the head teachers share a perception of repositioning: despite reporting more autonomy in school management, due to the extension of their competencies and duties, they appear to feel closer to central government and, consequently, more detached from their peers and pupils. This repositioning is conceived as a result of public authority orientations that call for a greater need for accountability. These data are in keeping with the study of Rinne et al. (2016), which showed that head teachers perceive more autonomy in their position, while simultaneously experiencing an "increase in surveillance, monitoring and evaluation" (Rinne et al. 2016, p. 781).

Second, the head teachers reported a coexistence of divergent conceptions of their work: those that are created and disseminated through the rhetorical intervention of the public authorities—the manager—and those they produce themselves, according to their own professional frames of reference and contexts of action—the teacher. These data point to an intensification of tension among the professional, pedagogical and managerial roles of head teachers (Rice 2006). Nevertheless, it is worth noting the following: while it is clear that the pedagogical issues are still the most important for some of the head teachers, they also coexist with the fact that "the realities of daily life often subvert the most committed professional" (Bredeson and Kose 2007, p. 1), and that evaluation, monitoring, maintaining and updating digital platforms are equally important. The phenomenon can, therefore, be understood as a sign of the combined effect of autonomous regulation and institutional regulation modes through bureaucratic and post-bureaucratic regulation modes.

Thus, this study has shed light upon the complex process of redefining the role of the head teacher, confirming that there is no direct transposition between the influence of NGP and local translations.

References

Ball, S. J. (1993). What is policy? Texts, trajectories and toolboxes. *The Australian Journal of Education Studies*, *13*(2), 10–17.

Ball, S. J. (1999). School management: Myth—Good management makes good schools. In B. O'Hagan (Ed.), *Modern educational myths* (pp. 88–106). London: Kogan Page.

Barroso, J. (2011). Direcção de escolas e regulação das políticas: em busca do unicórnio. In A. Neto-Mendes, J. A. Costa, & A. Ventura (Eds.), *A emergência do diretor da escola: questões políticas e organizacionais* (pp. 11–22). Portugal: Universidade de Aveiro.

Barroso, J., & Carvalho, L. M. (2009). La gestión de centros de enseñanza obligatoria en Portugal. In J. Gairín Sallán (Coord.), *La gestión de centros de enseñanza obligatoria en Iberoamérica* (pp. 125–137). S.l.: Redage.

Bezes, P. (2005). Le renouveau du contrôle des bureaucraties. *Informations sociales*, *6*, 26–37.

Bezes, P., Demazière, D., Le Bianic, T., Paradeise, C., Normand, R., Benamouzig, D., & Evetts, J. (2011). New public management et professions dans l'État: au-delà des oppositions, quelles recompositions? *Sociologie du travail*, *53*(3), 293–348.

Bredeson, P. V., & Kose, B. W. (2007). Responding to the education reform agenda: A study of school superintendents' instructional leadership. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *15*(5). Retrieved from http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v15n5/.

Briggs, A. R., Morrison, M., Coleman, M. (2012). *Research methods in educational leadership and management*. London: Sage.

Carvalho, L. M. (2016). Políticas educativas e governação da escola. In J. Machado & J. Matias Alves (Org.), *Professores e escola: conhecimento, formação e ação* (pp. 8–30). Porto: Universidade Católica Editora.

Cattonar, B. (2006). The evolution of the way of the school regulation and reestruction of the principle's function. *Educação em Revista*, Belo Horizonte, *44,* 185–208.

Conselho Nacional de Educação (2014). *O estado da educação 2013*. Lisboa: Conselho Nacional de Educação.

Dupriez, V. (2005). La transformation du métier de chef d'établissement en Communauté française de Belgique. *Politiques d'Éducation et de Formation. Analyse et Comparaisons Internationales*, *13*(1), 11–25.

EPNoSL (2014). *School leadership toolkit*. http://toolkit.schoolleadership.eu/.

Falabella, A. (2014). The performing school: The effects of market & accountability policies. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *22*(70), 70.

Gewirtz, S. (2002). *The managerial school: Post-welfarism and social justice in education*. London: Routledge.

Gunter, H. M. (2012). *Leadership and the reform of education*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Gunter, H., & Fitzgerald, T. (2013). New public management and the modernisation of education systems. *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, *45*(3), 213–219.

Hood, C. (1995). The "New Public Management" in the 1980s: Variations on a theme. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, *20*(2–3), 93–109.

Lessard, C., & Brassard, A. (2007). La "gouvernance" de l'éducation au Canada: tendances et significations. *Education et Sociétés* (18), 181–201.

Lima, L. (2011). Políticas educacionais, organização escolar e trabalho dos professores. *Educação: Teoria e Prática*, *21* (37), 1–19.

MacBeath, J., O'Brien, J., & Gronn, P. (2012). Drowning or waving? Coping strategies among Scottish head teachers. *School Leadership & Management: Formerly School Organisation*, *32*(5), 421–437. https://doi.org/10.1080/13632434.2012.739870.

Maroy, C. (2012). Towards post-bureaucratic modes of governance: a European perspective. In F. Waldow, & G. Steiner-Khamsi (Eds.), Policy borrowing and lending in education (pp. 62–79). London: Routledge.

Maroy, C., & Dupriez, V. (2000). La régulation dans les systèmes scolaires: proposition théorique et analyse du cadre structurel en Belgique francophone. *Revue Française de Pédagogie, 130,* 73–87.

Moore, A., George, R., & Halpin, D. (2002). The developing role of the headteacher in English schools: Management, leadership and pragmatism. *Educational Management & Administration*, *30*(2), 175–188.

Newman, J., & Clarke, J. (2009). *Publics, politics and power: Remaking the public in public services*. London: Sage.

OECD. (2009). *Improving school leadership—The toolkit*. http://www.oecd.org/edu/school/44339174.pdf.

OECD. (2016). *School leadership for learning: insights from TALIS 2013*. https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264258341-en.

Ozga, J. (1999). *Policy research in educational settings: Contested terrain*. UK: McGraw-Hill Education.

Phillips, S., & Sen, D. (2011). Stress in head teachers. In J. Langan-Fox, & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Handbook of stress in the occupations* (pp. 177–195). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Power, S., Halpin, D., & Whitty, G. (1997). Managing the state and the market: 'New' education management in five countries. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, *45*(4), 342–362.

Rauch, F. (1999). Recent trends in the changing roles of head teachers. *Journal of In-Service Education*, *25*(1), 97–108.

Rice, A. (2006). Technical and further education (TAFE) head teachers: Their changing role. *Research in Post-compulsory Education*, *10*(1), 39–56.

Rinne, R., Järvinen, T., Tikkanen, J., & Aro, M. (2016). Changes in education policies and the status of schools in Europe: The views of school principals from eight European countries. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *46*(5), 764–788.

Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2009).*Globalizing education policy*. London: Routledge.

Seashore, K., Leithwood, K., Wahlstrom, K., & Anderson, S. (2010). *Investigating the links to improved student learning: Final report of research findings*. The Wallace Foundation. Retrieved from the University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy, http://purl.umn.edu/140885.

Simkins, T. (2000). Education reform and managerialism: Comparing the experience of schools and colleges. *Journal of Education Policy*, *15*(3), 317–332.

Thomson, P. (2010). Headteacher autonomy: A sketch of a Bourdieuian field analysis of position and practice. *Critical Studies in Education*, *51*(1), 5–20.

Verger, A., & Normand, R. (2015). Nueva gestión pública y educación: Elementos teóricos y conceptuales para el estudio de un modelo de reforma educativa global. *Educação & Sociedade*, 36(132), 599–622. https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/ES0101-73302015152799.

Sofia Viseu is Assistant Professor at the Institute of Education of University of Lisbon, where she teaches educational policy and administration, research methods in education and social network analysis. She supervises postgraduate students interested in new regulation modes and governance in educational systems. She has been involved in EC funded research focused on social regulation, educational policy and social inequalities. Nowadays, her research interests include educational policy, policy networks and processes of privatization in education. Currently, she is Vice-President of the Portuguese Forum of Educational Administration.

Luís Miguel Carvalho is Professor of Education at the University of Lisbon, Institute of Education, where he works on the Educational Policy and Administration research and teaching area. He is author of several studies and publications on educational policies, schools as organizations, and educational knowledge. His recent research focuses on international comparative assessments, the making and transnational circulation of education models and reforms. He is a member of the editorial board of the European Educational Research Journal.

Chapter 6
Education Policies, the Teaching Profession and Teacher Training in Germany—The Ever-Evolving 16-Piece Mosaic

Pierre Tulowitzki, Michael Krüger and Marvin Roller

6.1 Introduction

Over the last decades, several international phenomena have influenced the German school system and several corresponding practices and standards. Three major of these international or travelling policies were: the results of early TIMMS and PISA studies, the global movement towards inclusive education and the Bologna process.

This chapter presents a brief overview of the evolution of teacher training in Germany as well as three major international phenomena that have influenced it, namely the so-called PISA shock, the movement towards inclusion and the Bologna Process. First, the German education system itself is very briefly introduced, including a short historical perspective on its evolution and an introduction to the autonomy of the German federal states with regard to matters of education. This is followed by a short presentation of teacher training in Germany. Next, the teaching profession in Germany is briefly characterized. In addition, aspects of the professional development of teachers and school leaders are presented and discussed. All of this is done against the backdrop of three major international impulses for change.

P. Tulowitzki (✉) · M. Krüger · M. Roller
Ludwigsburg University of Education (LUE), Ludwigsburg, Germany
e-mail: tulowitzki@ph-ludwigsburg.de

M. Krüger
e-mail: krueger@ph-ludwigsburg.de

M. Roller
e-mail: marvin.roller@ph-ludwigsburg.de

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_6

6.2 The (Evolution of the) German Education System

6.2.1 *The German Education System and the Standing Conference*

The German education system is deeply characterized by the federal autonomy: the 16 German states, called the «Bundesländer» (often abbreviated «Länder»), have the authority to make their own educational policies. This is linked to the so called «Kulturhoheit der Länder» («sovereignty of the states regarding cultural matters») which is part of the German «Grundgesetz», the basic law or constitution of Germany. It is, therefore, of no surprise that there is considerable variation between the individual states, making for a very complex education system overall (Eurydice Network 2013; Neumann et al. 2010). Compared to other European countries, a great deal of decision making power lies with the states, also referred to as «Länder» (see Table 6.1).

There is, however, one unifying government body, the Kultusministerkonferenz (conference of ministers of Culture/Education, usually abbreviated KMK). In this standing conference, the ministers of education of all 16 states regularly convene to discuss matters of education and to pass recommendations (Döbert 2007). These recommendations are non-binding, but if all 16 states agree on something, then there is a chance that this might be translated into a nationwide binding rule, usually taking the form of an overarching state treaty. For example, there are standards for high school graduation exams (the «Abitur») that are valid all over Germany that were passed based on recommendations and declarations of the KMK.

The actual influence of the KMK can be viewed as linked to national and international political discourse. As such, the KMK is often a point of contact for policy influences from outside of Germany. A prominent example for this is the so called "PISA shock". TIMMS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study) (Baumert et al. 2000a, b) and PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) (Baumert et al. 2001; Baumert and Stanat 2002) revealed not only the mediocre performance of German on an international level, but also considerable differences in school quality among the German states themselves. Particularly

Table 6.1 Percentage of decisions relating to public sector lower secondary education taken at each level of government (OECD 2012, p. 512, data for Brasil and China not available)

	Central	State	Provincial/ regional	Subregional	Local	School	Total
France	32		16	20		32	100
Germany		36	13	8	21	23	100
Italy	38		19		4	38	100
Portugal	78		8			22	100
Spain	16	43	16			25	100
Switzerland		63			12	25	100

students from immigrant or socially deprived families were found to have lower chances to "make it" in the German school system (for more details, see Baumert et al. 2001). Following the afore-mentioned PISA shock, national debates took place on the public and political level regarding how to best improve the German school system with the federal structure often being viewed as a hindrance to a large-scale school reform. In the wake of these discussions, the KMK emerged strengthened due to it being able to serve as a conduit to finding and advancing national solutions. In part inspired by successful OECD countries, the KMK pushed towards a shift in German education from an input orientation towards more of an output orientation. This orientation first manifested itself on the level of students with the introduction of standards of education ("Bildungsstandards"), nationwide academic standards for several subjects that shape the curricula and are competence-oriented (Hameyer and Tulowitzki 2013).

6.2.2 Early Childhood Education and School Types

While the schools types and their names vary across the German federal states, the school system overall bears several shared traits (Secretariat of the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education 2013): early education options are available to children younger than six. These were traditionally run more in the vein of daycare centers or kindergartens and a matter of the ministry of social affairs, not the ministry of education. Over the past two decades, there has been a shift towards increasing the number of places available in daycare centers and towards bringing these offers closer to education. The origins of these shifts can be found in the "investive turn" in social politics in Germany which in turn can (again) be linked to international studies and trends. To achieve sustainable economic growth but also a durable societal development, various reports recommended investing in kindergarten infrastructure, making it more compatible with the demands of working parents but also more educative (Klinkhammer 2010; OECD 2001). As a consequence of these recommendations but also of international developments in early childhood care and education, efforts were made to expand the German early childhood care (and education) system. Families gained the right to have access to places in kindergartens for their children and the pedagogical concepts of kindergarten came under revision with the aim to achieve a stronger emphasis on early childhood education.

At the age of six, children enter compulsory primary school. It lasts four years in most states, six in the federal states of Berlin and Brandenburg. Following the primary education, children enter secondary which is also compulsory. There are different school types (number and name vary from state to state) with some leaning more towards a shorter, vocational education and others towards a more comprehensive one. The number of students attending vocational schools has been

decreasing (Statistisches Bundesamt 2016b, p. 12). During the PISA shock, criticisms were made that the German school system had too many different types of secondary school and that it was very difficult to switch between secondary school types (especially going from a more vocational to a more academic school type). This meant that a child's educational trajectory was essentially determined as soon as she/he left primary school. The many types of German secondary schools also were a rather uncommon phenomenon on an international scale. In the aftermath, efforts were made to increase the "fluidity" between school types. To better support students from all walks of life and to increase education opportunities for all, there has also been an expansion of so-called educational landscapes in Germany, collaborative entities made up of schools, daycares, associations and other providers of education, attempting to better link formal and non-formal education (Tulowitzki et al. 2018).

6.3 (The Evolution) of Teacher Training in Germany

As part of educational matters, teacher training falls under federal regulation and thus differs in each state or "Bundesland". There are several phases of teacher training: the first phase occurring at a university or university of education, followed by the second phase, the preparatory service ("Referendariat"), where teachers-in-training teach in schools and go to classes usually organized by institutions of the "Bundesländer" with a stronger emphasis on practical aspects of teaching. After another examination, they become full teachers. Over the course of their career, they are then required to regularly participate in in-service training.

In Germany, access to the teachers' profession is very much linked to the completion of the first and second phases of formal education (the third phase is considered as further education and done alongside the job, see later in this chapter). The extent to which access depends on formal training can be illustrated by the following figures: In 2014, 4614 teachers were hired in the local state Baden-Württemberg of whom only 119 were lateral entrants. So, in this local state, less than 3% of the teachers passed a vocational training that differs from the predetermined career path. In Bavaria, where 3661 were accepted to the teacher's profession in 2014, there were no lateral entrants at all. Similar ratios also apply to the other federal states (Centrum für Hochschulentwicklung gGmbH 2015). A first study degree and a subsequently completed preparatory service constitute thus the regular and almost exclusive path to the teacher profession throughout Germany.

Although the three phases of teacher education are differently regulated from state to state, a common corridor of scope and content can be identified at least for the first two (masters-level studies and preparatory service). In the following these similarities are outlined.

6.3.1 The University Phase of Teacher Training in Germany

The first phase of teacher training takes place in all states at universities. Only in Baden-Württemberg there are specialized universities for teacher training in addition to the regular universities. There, the teachers for the general upper secondary school (type 4 see below) are prepared in universities while all other teachers are trained in universities of education.

In all states and irrespective of the place of training, the first phase of teacher education serves mainly to provide a theoretical education for future teachers. This focus can be regarded as a *first commonality* of all teacher study programs in Germany. Additionally, all teacher trainings in Germany build their first phase curricula by using the same »building blocks«. This identical "kit" contains the following study areas:

1. Educational science
2. Specific science of the school subject
3. Specific teaching methodology of the school subject/pedagogical content knowledge
4. Internship
5. Additional subjects
6. Final paper.

The German education system is characterized by the fact that there are many different ways of achieving comparable degrees. This plurality of educational pathways is already present in each single education system of the federal states. Thus, the differences between the »Bundesländer« only intensify this given diversity. This specialty of the German education system is important to know as all teacher training programs in Germany are usually restricted to only one type of school. Even in states where only one institution (the university) covers the entire spectrum of teacher trainings the single programs are differentiated according to the type of schools they are preparing for. Thus, for example, teachers for secondary school level 1 (Hauptschule) and teachers for secondary school level 2 (Realschule) complete their studies in different study programs (with different degrees at the end), even if both programs take place in the same local state. This restriction to a type of school again leads to significant differences between the teacher programs. To make these differences explainable it is necessary to first get an overview of the different types of schools of the local states. According to the guidelines for the "mutual recognition of teacher examinations and teaching skills" published by the Standing Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs in 1999 all forms of teacher-studies in Germany can be classified into the following six types:

- type 1: teacher studies for schools at primary level (Grundschule, Primarschule)
- type 2: Interdisciplinary teacher studies for primary and (all or individual) lower secondary level schools

- type 3: teacher studies for lower secondary level schools (level 1 and 2). In some states, this type of teacher studies entitles for working as a teacher in more than one type of school.
- type 4: teacher studies for general upper secondary level schools (e.g. Gymnasium)
- type 5: teacher studies for upper secondary level vocational schools
- type 6: teacher studies for special needs schools.

(Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2009, p. 4)

Due to the different school landscapes, there are individual types of teacher studies which are not offered in all federal states. For example, type 2 only exists in the federal state of Hamburg, while the state of Brandenburg currently does not offer type 5. However, it can be said that nearly all types of teacher studies are represented in almost all local states. As already said, creating a reference to (only) one of these types, can be considered as a *fourth communality* of all German teacher trainings. But of course, there are again some exceptions as type 2 programs are preparing for more than one school type.

6.3.2 Shifts in the First Phase of Teacher Training

The afore-mentioned shift towards an output orientation also extended to the teaching profession through the introduction of teaching standards. Interestingly enough, while the public debate following the first PISA results also included changing teaching practices, no retraining of teachers on a national scale was implemented or even attempted. In other professions like commercial aviation for example, retrainings are part of the job and nothing unusual. If practices regarding how to handle a plane have to be adapted or new safety regulations come into effect, pilots are retrained on a mandatory basis in order to continue to be allowed to fly. While the debates often mentioned changing teaching practices, the actual changes focused on changes to the first phase (and in part of the second phase) of teacher education, not on the more than 900,000 teachers already on the job (Terhart 2007). The newly introduced "Standards für Lehrerbildung" (standards for teacher training) constituted a common element across Germany (see also Tulowitzki 2015); they were ratified by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs in 2004 (KMK 2005). They have since been adopted by all universities that offer teacher training and thus shape the profile of teachers.

Another international development that has affected the first phase of teacher training, is the implementation of inclusive education policies and practices in Germany. Ever since the ratification and subsequent implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and Optional Protocol 2006) by Germany, the reform of the education system towards education for all (UNESCO 2009) has become more

of a priority. The standards for teacher training were updated in 2014 to acknowledge the importance of inclusion (Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2014). Teacher training has further shifted to acknowledge (and prepare for) teachers as multi-professional teams.

Finally, an important evolution of teacher training in recent times is also linked to a policy change that occurred on an international scale: the Bologna Process. The Bologna Process is a series of reforms with the Bologna Declaration constituting a central piece. Two central elements of this declaration were the move towards establishing internationally comparable, easy-to-read degrees and to create to major cycles of study (Bachelor and Master level). As the German teacher education until then featured a system of state examination, major reforms had to be undertaken to bring it in line with the vision of the Bologna Declaration. In the spirit of Bologna, many universities tried to be transparent about the contents of their new teacher training related Bachelor and Master programs. This revealed the many different areas of emphasis that universities had in Germany (with one university for example putting more emphases on teaching methods, another on psychology and another on subject matter). Paradoxically, this increase in transparency has made switching between universities more challenging for students as universities struggle to formally recognize study performances from other universities with slightly differently configured study programs (Arnold and Reh 2005). In the context of these reforms of teacher training programs all over Germany, it also often occurred that the new programs turned out more rigid and inflexible than the previous models, sometimes being likened to school rather than university programs (for example in Ricken 2010, p. 118). Going against the spirit of the Bologna Declaration, the new, more structured Bachelor and Master-degree teacher training made it more challenging for students to find the time to travel and spend semester abroad (Finger 2012).

6.3.3 The Preparatory Phase of Teacher Training (Referendariat)

After completing the first academic phase of the teacher training, the applicants enter a second, also obligatory, phase, in which they teach under supervision and with a reduced teaching load. This phase is typically referred to as the preparatory phase ("Referendariat"), although the official name for this phase varies from state to state. It usually covers a period of one to two years. In addition to the practical work, the preparatory service includes accompanying seminars, exercises, classroom observations and coaching (Abs 2011, p. 381). Besides the function of qualification, the "Referendariat" also has a further selection function with regard to the profession of the teacher.

A special feature of this second phase is that it is not coordinated either the universities (Abs 2011, p. 385). In fact, the responsibility for the organization (and for the final examination) of the "Referendariat" lies with specific state institutes. Abs sees this institutional separation of the first and the second training phase as a consequence of the fact that universities have traditionally held a very independent position in German society. Enabling students to act as teachers or at least to reflect the current practice of teaching used to be rather alien to the universities, according to Abs. For this reason, the "Referendariat" was set up historically in an explicit demarcation from the universities. This genesis partly explains why cooperation between the state institutes and the universities is still challenging (Abs 2011, p. 386).

6.3.4 Shifts in the Practical Phase of Teacher Training ("Referendariat")

Of the three major policy changes mentioned in this chapter (PISA shock, shift towards inclusion, Bologna Process), the PISA shock and the shift towards inclusion have arguably had an impact on the second phase of teacher training. One consequence of the PISA shock were the afore-mentioned standards of teacher training. These were also valid for the second phase of teacher training. That meant that training modules were altered to ensure they were in line with standards for teacher training. The same holds true for inclusion; again training modules have been adapted to ensure concepts and practices of inclusion are covered. However, more than in the first phase of teacher training, these changes get counter-acted by what teacher trainees see in school. As the teacher trainees teach themselves and spend a large of amount of time in schools, they get confronted with the local school cultures, which can contain differing views on teaching, inclusion, pedagogy and didactics.

6.4 Professional Development of Teachers (and School Leaders) in Germany

The typical career of a German teacher can be divided into two phases. The first phase of begins with the career choice, moves through the stages of university teacher training and the practical phase of teacher training ("Referendariat") and ends once the teacher reaches the milestone of being appointed to regular teacher position. This appointment can in many instances be for life, be it in the form of an indefinite work contract or in the form of the teacher becoming a civil servant. What is possible depends on the state.

Afterwards, the second phase is marked by further training and the takeover of specialized roles and functions. It ends with either retirement, in few cases principalship or a change of careers. The career as such can be described a as lifelong

professional development process, in which teachers' further training forms the third phase of professional development for teachers, following the initial teacher training and the practical phase of teacher (Messner and Reusser 2000; Pant et al. 2013).

6.4.1 Customers of Professional Development for Teachers, Their Demands and Needs

While the first two phases are mainly shaped by the ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder and their standing conference (KMK), the third phase and its market are more heterogeneous in nature. On the demand side, the market is heavily shaped by the ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder and their standing conference (KMK), but also by individual schools and individual teachers (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2015; Rothland 2016).

6.4.2 Top-Level Authorities

The ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder are able to heavily shape the market through their influence, policies and financial control. The KMK (2005) as highest authority in the German educational system views the assurance of educational quality as one of its essential tasks and demands from teachers continued professional development. The group responsible for the reports on education monitoring ("Bildungsberichterstattung" 2016) which includes many high-ranking members of scientific German institutions considers the participation in formal professional development indispensable for the development of professional competencies and every German teacher is legally required to engage in continued professional development (Rothland 2016).

On the side of formal requirements only three German federal states—Bavaria, Hamburg and Bremen—currently have regulations regarding how much formal professional development teachers actually do have to participate in; 30 h a year in Bremen and Hamburg and 12 days over the course of four years in Bavaria (Pant et al. 2013; Rothland 2016).

How much the German government invests into further teacher's training on a national level is hard to quantify because the German Federal Statistical Office reports those investments only aggregated into the "expenditure on other educational offers", which also includes museums, libraries and other educational institutions. One of the few exceptions was in 2005, where the expenditure for teachers' professional development was reported to be 100 Million Euros (BLK, Geschäftsstelle 2006; Fussangel et al. 2010; Statistisches Bundesamt 2016a).

While all German schools are required to create a competence development plan in which they define the areas and personnel they intend to develop through further

trainings, in 2010 only schools in eleven of the 16 federal states actually had a school budget for implementing such a plan. Instead, there appears to be a tendency to only partially fund external trainings and to make teachers pay the rest out of their own pockets (Fussangel et al. 2010; Stanat et al. 2012; Statistisches Bundesamt 2016a).

6.4.3 Schools

Since the 1990s, the autonomy of individual schools in Germany especially in regards to learning and teaching increased, with the goal to increase the quality and efficiency of education (Altrichter et al. 2007, 2016). After the German PISA results at the beginning of the 21th century this autonomy reforms got increasingly supplemented by accountability aspects through quality standards and external evaluation and go nowadays hand in hand (Altrichter et al. 2007, 2016). Yet quality improvements of an organization, like a school, depend on its employees, the teachers and the school leaders (Easley II and Tulowitzki 2016). Reforms are unlikely to succeed without their support (Terhart 2016). Since the instruments of human resource management available to schools are limited they increasingly rely on internal and external teachers' further training to perform organizational development (Terhart 2010, 2016).

6.4.4 Teachers

Those factors lead to an overall high demand and participation rate of teachers in further training. Roughly 80% of German teachers participate in formal professional development each year, regardless of the formal regulations on teachers' further training (Frey and Asseburg 2009; Pant et al. 2013; Stanat et al. 2012, 2016).

Despite the high influence of top-level authorities and increasing influence of schools, teachers in Germany are still usually free to pick the teacher trainings themselves (Rothland 2016). Teachers are mostly interested in trainings that directly deal with teaching lessons or other classroom issues. The thematic areas of trainings teachers most often visit are subject-related content and subject didactic. There is less interest in trainings focusing on current educational reforms (Rothland 2016; Stanat et al. 2016).

Through an explorative factor analysis, Rzejak et al. (2014) identified four factors or dimensions influencing teacher training motivation: collegial interaction, external expectations, carrier orientation and professional development orientation. These factors explained 61.9% of the total variance. Within those four dimensions, German teachers scored high on collegial interaction (M 3.71, SD 1.22) and professional development (M 4.61, SD 0.97) and low on external expectations (M 1.58 SD 0.77) and carrier orientation (M 1.72, SD 1.03) on a six-point Likert scale. This

could indicate that German teachers' training participation is highly intrinsically motivated.

An often-mentioned reason teachers mention why they do not participate in teachers' further trainings is that they can't find enough time in their work schedule because of other professional demands. This is probably related to the fact that in 2011 teachers in four different federal states had no right to a leave of absence for personal development during lessons and in four additional states only if another teacher was able to fill in for them. Other reasons include the unsatisfying quality of the training offered and that no suitable training is offered (Pant et al. 2013; Rothland 2016; Stanat et al. 2012).

6.4.5 The Providers and Forms of Continuing Professional Development for Teachers

6.4.5.1 Providers of Continuing Professional Development

On the supply side, formal teachers' advanced training has a long tradition in Germany. The first teacher training institutes were already established in 1920 in Baden-Württemberg and in 1927 in Hamburg. After several expansions phases mainly in the 50 and 70s Germany nowadays has 25 state institutes of teacher training, which are funded by ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder (Fussangel et al. 2010; Rothland 2016; Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 2017).

In addition to the state institutes, training providers of teachers' further training include churches, professional associations, private foundations like the Telekom Foundation, state universities and private organizations. Despite this variety of training providers the ministries of Education and Cultural Affairs of the federal states are able to exert high level of control over the market through accrediting and recommending certain providers (Fussangel et al. 2010; Rothland 2016).

6.4.6 Forms of Continuing Professional Development

The trainings those providers offer vary greatly in their didactic design and length. From a didactic and methodical perspective, traditional content-oriented forms of teachers' training like lectures as well as distance learning courses are still very common in Germany. But in recent years newer approaches, based on the use of new media or more constructivist and practice-oriented in design or both, are on the rise (Fussangel et al. 2010; Rothland 2016).

With regard to the training duration, while longer trainings are still offered by some providers, short-term trainings which often last only up to day are becoming

more and more dominant and school-based trainings usually only have a duration of one day or less as well (Fussangel et al. 2010).

In addition to those formal means of professional development which also dominated the first two phases of teacher training non-formal means play an increasingly important role in the third phase. Informal arrangements like professional networks have shown high potential in facilitating innovation and improving the teaching quality (Fussangel et al. 2010). Additionally, 40% of German schools nowadays are offering mentoring for teachers which is an increase over the last years even though the percentage is still rather low compared to OECD average of 72% (Reiss et al. 2016) But compared to other German academics, German teachers hold informal learning in high regard, which for them usually takes the form of collegial exchange, online research, reading of educational academic literature and reflective tryout of new approaches in their everyday work (Heise 2007; Hollick 2013).

6.4.7 Shifts in the Professional Development of Teachers in Germany

Matching its more heterogeneous setup, the influence of three major international developments (PISA shock, move towards inclusion, Bologna Process) is more difficult to assess. This is first of all due to the fact that there is no strong nationally coordinating presence or institution for the professional development of teachers. There also appears to be a lack of laws or standards on a national level governing the further education of teachers (Fischler 2010). While the PISA shock certainly left its mark on the professional development sector of teachers, its impact was and is lessened by the freedom of teachers to choose their trainings and by their restricted availability, coupled with the variance in further training opportunities between the German federal states. The same could be said for the move towards inclusion. Regarding the Bologna Process, one could make the argument of it having had a ripple effect: It impacted the first and second phase of teacher training. This led to newly trained teachers that differed in how they were trained from the "old" generation. In order to be able to provide fitting further trainings for those new teachers, educational offers were adapted.

6.5 Travelling Policies Impacting Teachership and the Professional Development of Teachers in Germany

There are several challenges surrounding the evolution of education policies on teacher training: Even though the market for teachers' further training is heavily influenced by federal authorities, the lack of quantitative data about the actual supply of teachers' further training makes it impossible to judge the fit of supply

and demand. This is becoming a special challenge as the autonomy of schools increases and they are (more) able to define the individual organizational development needs and the professional development needs of their teachers (Fussangel et al. 2010).

Another challenge in the context of teacher professionalization is a lack of fluctuation and mobility of teachers. Once appointed German teachers tend to remain at the same school during their entire career. This and the fact that 41% of German teachers are 50 years or older (Statistisches Bundesamt 2017), combined with a rapidly changing technological and socio-cultural environment increases the reliance of the German education system on teacher's further training as a source of knowledge renewal (Fussangel et al. 2010). While one of the goals of the Bologna Process was to increase mobility for students, on the levels of teachers, mobility on a regional, national or international level remains an unresolved issue.

One criticism echoed predominantly by young teachers is that the first phase of teacher training, the Bachelor- and Master-studies taking place at a university or teacher university, is too theoretical and of limited relevance for the actual practice of being a teacher (Schultz 2007). In addition, an issue raised by teachers is the divide between what is taught during the first and second phase of teacher training and what is practiced later on (Knoke 2013). While the policies after the PISA shock helped make the first and second phase of teacher training more standardized, this theory-practice gap was apparently not overcome. Universities have, however, (slowly) expanded the amount that students spend in school during their university studies, usually through hands-on training in schools, i.e. sending students to observe and work in schools for anywhere between several weeks and an entire semester.

In Germany, it can clearly be seen that international developments impact national educational policy. These developments can be triggered by international comparative assessments like PISA or by political dialogue and agenda setting (inclusion, Bologna Process). Travelling policies therefore certainly have made an impact on the German education system. Yet, in many instances, this impact has been less powerful than one could anticipate. This is due to several factors:

- Teacher training is divided in two phases and carried out by two different institutions.
- The further education or professional development system has hardly been influenced by travelling policies, is heterogeneous in nature and its impact is even harder to assess because teachers pick further trainings on a quasi-voluntary basis.
- There is a large amount of autonomy that teachers enjoy in their practice ("pedagogical freedom") which means that pre-existing cultures of teaching practices can be quite dominant (and thus can act as a counterbalance to new policies).

In at least one instance, the Bologna Process, the implementation of policies intending to increase transparency, exchange and mobility paradoxically ended up

having detriment effects at least on student mobility and the ability to switch between universities. This can be seen as an indicator of the power of possibly the biggest mediator of national or international impulses for change in education in Germany, the federal system.

This biggest mediator of travelling policies can also be seen as a defining characteristic and possibly an advantage of the German education system as well: The 16 states are the central stakeholders in many regards. Several layers of this 16-piece mosaic that shapes the teaching profession have been presented in this chapter. Coordination of matters between the 16 states is often a challenge and yet the alternative, a national, centralistic body of control, does not seem to offer any notable advantages with regard to efficiency or flexibility. Shifting decision-making powers towards the schools—in other words further decentralization—also seems counter-intuitive if a nationwide coherence in matters of teacher education and professionalization is to be achieved or if international developments are to be translated and integrated into national policy in a coherent manner. The most viable course of action may therefore well be to work within the existing frameworks and continue to strive for common standards and increased coordination.

References

Abs, H. J. (2011). Programme zur Berufseinführung von Lehrpersonen. In E. Terhard, H. Bennewitz & M. Rothland (Eds.), *Handbuch der forschung zum lehrerberuf* (pp. 381–397). Münster: Waxmann.

Altrichter, H., Brüsemeister, T., & Wissinger, J. (Eds.). (2007). *Educational governance: handlungskoordination und steuerung im bildungssystem* (1. Aufl). Wiesbaden: VS, Verl. für Sozialwiss.

Altrichter, H., Rürup, M., & Schuchart, C. (2016). Schulautonomie und die Folgen. In H. Altrichter & K. Maag Merki (Eds.), *Handbuch neue steuerung im schulsystem*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden.

Arnold, E., & Reh, S. (2005). Bachelor- und master-studiengänge für die lehrerbildung. Neue studienstrukturen als professionalisierungschance? *Die Hochschule*, *14*(1), 143–156.

Autorengruppe Bildungsberichterstattung. (2016). *Bildung in Deutschland 2016: ein indikatorengestützter Bericht mit einer Analyse zu Bildung und Migration*.

Baumert, J., Bos, W., & Lehmann, R. (2000a). *Dritte Internationale Mathematik- und Naturwissenschaftsstudie—Mathematische und naturwissenschaftliche Bildung am Ende der Schullaufbahn* (Vol. Band 2: Mathematische und naturwissenschaftliche Grundbildung am Ende der gymnasialen Oberstufe). Opladen: Leske and Budrich.

Baumert, J., Bos, W., & Lehmann, R. (2000b). *Dritte Internationale Mathematik- und Naturwissenschaftsstudie—Mathematische und naturwissenschaftliche Bildung am Ende der Schullaufbahn* (Vol. Band 1: Mathematische und naturwissenschaftliche Grundbildung am Ende der Pflichtschulzeit.). Opladen: Leske and Budrich.

Baumert, J., Klieme, E., Neubrand, M., Prenzel, M., Schiefele, U., Schneider, W., … Weiß, M. (Eds.). (2001). *PISA 2000: basiskompetenzen von schülerinnen und schülern im internationalen vergleich*. Opladen: Leske+Budrich.

Baumert, J., & Stanat, P. (2002). PISA 2000. Erste ergebnisse und die identifikation von handlungsfeldern. *Schulmanagement, 33,* 30–32.

BLK, Geschäftsstelle. (2006). *BLK-Bildungsfinanzbericht 2004/2005*. Bonn.

Centrum für Hochschulentwicklung gGmbH. (2015). Land Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Niedersachsen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein, Thüringen im Vergleich. Retrieved April 20, 2017, from http://www.monitor-lehrerbildung.de/web/bundesland//baden-wuerttemberg/bayern/berlin/brandenburg/bremen/hamburg/hessen/mecklenburg-vorpommern/niedersachsen/nordrhein-westfalen/rheinland-pfalz/saarland/sachsen/sachsen-anhalt/schleswig-holstein/thueringen.

Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and Optional Protocol (2006). Retrieved from http://heinonline.org/hol-cgi-bin/get_pdf.cgi?handle=hein.journals/eurjhlb14andsection=31.

Döbert, H. (2007). Germany. In W. Hörner, H. Döbert, B. von Kopp, & W. Mitter (Eds.), *The education systems of Europe* (pp. 299–325). Dordrecht: Springer.

Easley, J., II, & Tulowitzki, P. (Eds.). (2016). *Educational accountability—International perspectives on challenges and possibilities for school leadership*. London: Routledge.

European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice (Ed.). (2015). *The teaching profession in europe: Practices, perceptions, and policies. Eurydice report.* (Text completed in June 2015). Luxembourg: Publications Office of the Europ. Union.

Eurydice Network. (2013, November). Germany. Retrieved May 10, 2014, from https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/fpfis/mwikis/eurydice/index.php?title=Germany:Overviewandoldid=90931.

Finger, C. (2012). *Steht die Welt allen offen? Bologna und die internationale Mobilität der Studierenden*. WZBrief Bildung. Retrieved from https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/60029.

Fischler, H. (2010). Lehrerausbildung und Lehrerfortbildung—nach „Bologna“ und PISA. In E. Kircher, R. Girwidz, and P. Häußler (Eds.), *Physikdidaktik* (2nd ed.). Heidelberg: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-01602-8.

Frey, A., & Asseburg, R. (Eds.). (2009). *PISA-2006-skalenhandbuch: dokumentation der erhebungsinstrumente*. Münster: Waxmann.

Fussangel, K., Rürup, M., & Cornelia, G. (2010). Lehrerfortbildung als Unterstützungssystem. In H. Altrichter & K. M. Merki (Eds.), *Handbuch neue steuerung im schulsystem* (pp. 327–354). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Hameyer, U., & Tulowitzki, P. (2013). Reflecting curriculum trends in Germany—A conceptual framework for analysis. In W. Kuiper & J. Berkvens (Eds.), *Balancing curriculum regulation and freedom across Europe* (pp. 81–98). Enschede, Netherlands: SLO.

Heise, M. (2007). Professionelles lernen jenseits von Fortbildungsmassnahmen. *Zeitschrift Für Erziehungswissenschaft, 10*(4), 513–531.

Hollick, D. (2013). *Informelles lernen von lehrerinnen und lehrern im kontext schule und migration*. Kassel, Germany: Kassel Unversity press GmbH. Retrieved from http://www.uni-kassel.de/upress/online/frei/978-3-86219-600-5.volltext.frei.pdf.

Klinkhammer, N. (2010). Frühkindliche bildung und betreuung im ‚sozialinvestitionsstaat'—mehr chancengleichheit durch investive politikstrategien? In *Kindheit zwischen fürsorglichem Zugriff und gesellschaftlicher Teilhabe* (pp. 205–228). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-92382-6_10.

KMK. (2005). Standards für die lehrerbildung: bildungswissenschaften (verabschiedet 2004). *Zeitschrift Für Pädagogik, 51*(2), 280–290.

Knoke, M. (2013, December). Wenn junge Lehrer auf die brutale Realität treffen. Retrieved from http://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/karriere/article122915783/Wenn-junge-Lehrer-auf-die-brutale-Realitaet-treffen.html.

Messner, H., & Reusser, K. (2000). Die berufliche entwicklung von lehrpersonen als lebenslanger prozess. *Beiträge Zur Lehrerbildung, 18*(2), 157–171.

Neumann, K., Fischer, H. E., & Kauertz, A. (2010). From PISA to educational standards—The impact of large-scale assessments on science education in germany. *International Journal of Science and Mathematics Education, 8*(3), 545–563. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10763-010-9206-7.

OECD. (2001). *OECD employment outlook 2001*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Retrieved from http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/content/book/empl_outlook-2001-en.

OECD (Ed.). (2012). *Education at a glance 2012: OECD indicators*. Paris: OECD Publishing. Retrieved from http://www.oecd.org/edu/EAG%202012_e-book_EN_200912.pdf.

Pant, H. A., Stanat, P., Schroeders, U., Roppelt, A., Siegle, T., Pohlmann, C., & Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (Eds.). (2013). *IQB-Ländervergleich 2012: mathematische und naturwissenschaftliche Kompetenzen am Ende der Sekundarstufe I*. Münster: Waxmann.

Reiss, K., Sälzer, C., Schiepe-Tiska, A., Klieme, E., & Köller, O. (Eds.). (2016). *PISA 2015: eine studie zwischen kontinuität und innovation*. Münster: Waxmann.

Ricken, N. (2010). Von Bremen über Bologna nach Bremen—Zur Neustrukturierung der LehrerInnenbildung an der Universität Bremen. *Erziehungswissenschaft, 21*(40), 109–123.

Rothland, M. (2016). *Beruf lehrer/lehrerin: ein studienbuch*. Stuttgart: UTB.

Rzejak, D., Künsting, J., Lipowsky, F., Fischer, E., Dezhgahi, U., & Reichardt, A. (2014). Facets of teachers' motivation for professional development—Results of a factorial analysis. *Journal for Educational Research Online/Journal Für Bildungsforschung Online, 6*(1), 139–159.

Schultz, T. (2007, June). Lehrerausbildung: testkind fürs lehramt-studium. Retrieved from http://www.sueddeutsche.de/karriere/lehrerausbildung-testkind-fuers-lehramt-studium-1.582906.

Secretariat of the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education (Ed.). (2013). *The education system in the federal republic of Germany 2011/2012—A description of the responsibilities, structures and developments in education policy for the exchange of information in Europe*. Bonn: KMK. Retrieved from http://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/doc/Dokumentation/Bildungswesen_en_pdfs/dossier_en_ebook.pdf.

Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. (2009, February). Gegenseitige anerkennung von lehramtsprüfungen und lehramtsbefähigungen. Retrieved April 13, 2017, from www.kmk.org/fileadmin/…/2009-Informationsschrift-Gegenseitige_Anerkennung.pdf.

Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. (2014). Standards für die lehrerbildung: bildungswissenschaften. Beschluss der Kultusministerkonferenz vom 16.12.2004 i. d. F. vom 12.06.2014. Retrieved from https://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/Dateien/veroeffentlichungen_beschluesse/2004/2004_12_16-Standards-Lehrerbildung-Bildungswissenschaften.pdf.

Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. (2017, February). Landesinstitute. Retrieved March 30, 2017, from https://www.kmk.org/service/servicebereich-schule/landesinstitute.html.

Stanat, P., Böhme, K., Schipolowski, S., & Haag, N. (Eds.). (2016). *IQB-bildungstrend 2015: sprachliche kompetenzen am ende der 9. jahrgangsstufe im zweiten ländervergleich*. Münster: Waxmann.

Stanat, P., Pant, H. A., Böhme, K., & Richter, D. (Eds.). (2012). *Kompetenzen von schülerinnen und schülern am ende der vierten jahrgangsstufe in den fächern deutsch und mathematik: ergebnisse des IQB-ländervergleichs 2011*. Münster: Waxmann.

Statistisches Bundesamt. (2016a). *Bildungsfinanzbericht 2016 im auftrag des bundesministeriums für bildung und forschung und der ständigen konferenz der kultusminister der länder in der bundesrepublik deutschland*.

Statistisches Bundesamt. (2016b). *Schulen auf einen blick—ausgabe 2016*. Wiesbaden. Retrieved from https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/BildungForschungKultur/Schulen/BroschuereSchulenBlick0110018169004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile.

Statistisches Bundesamt. (2017). Staat and gesellschaft—schulen—lehrkräfte nach altersgruppen und bundesländern—statistisches bundesamt (Destatis). Retrieved March 30, 2017, from https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/BildungForschungKultur/Schulen/Tabellen/AllgemeinBildendeLehrkraefteAlterBundeslaender.html.

Terhart, E. (2007). Standards in der lehrerbildung—eine einführung. *Unterrichtswissenschaft, 35*(1), 2–14.

Terhart, E. (2010). Schulentwicklung und lehrerkompetenzen. In T. Bohl, W. Helsper, H. G. Holtappels, & C. Schelle (Eds.), *Handbuch schulentwicklung* (pp. 237–240). Bad Heilbrunn: Julius Klinkhardt.

Terhart, E. (2016). Personalauswahl, personaleinsatz und personalentwicklung an schulen. In H. Altrichter & K. Maag Merki (Eds.), *Handbuch neue steuerung im schulsystem*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-18942-0.

Tulowitzki, P. (2015). The development of educational leadership and teaching professions in Germany. *ECPS—Educational, Cultural and Psychological Studies, 11,* 45–55. https://doi.org/10.7358/ecps-2015-011-tulo.

Tulowitzki, P., Duveneck, A., & Krüger, M. (2018). A professional learning network for the entire local education system—Educational landscapes in Germany. In C. Brown & C. Poortman (Eds.), *Networks for learning: Effective collaboration for teacher, school and system improvement*. London: Routledge.

UNESCO (Ed.). (2009). *Policy guidelines on inclusion in education*. Paris: UNESCO. Retrieved from http://www.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/tocs/109091736.pdf.

Pierre Tulowitzki is an assistant professor at the Ludwigsburg University of Education (LUE) in Germany. He is the Director of the Department of International Educational Leadership and Management as well as the German Director of the International Education Management Program, an international master's program that is offered in collaboration with the Helwan University, Egypt. Pierre Tulowitzki has conducted, published and presented research on various topics from the realm of educational leadership and school improvement. Through workshops and conferences, he works together with schools and school leaders to navigate educational change. He serves as a board member of the International Congress for School Effectiveness and Improvement (ICSEI) and as the Link Convenor of the Educational Leadership Network of the European Educational Research Association (EERA).

Michael Krüger is a senior researcher at the Ludwigsburg University of Education (LUE) in Germany. He is the Vice Director of the Department of International Educational Leadership and Management as well as the coordinator of the International Education Management Program, an international master's program that is offered in collaboration with the Helwan University, Egypt. Additionally, he is an accredited reviewer for quality management systems in educational organizations and draws on a longstanding work experience in non-formal educational settings. Michael Krüger has conducted many projects from the realm of educational management such as initiating quality management systems, moderating participation processes to develop mission statements, building up marketing strategies and controlling systems for educational organizations of any size. He has published on curricula of educational leadership programs.

Marvin Roller is a lecturer and junior researcher at the Ludwigsburg University of Education (LUE) in Germany. Among other things, he coordinates the e-learning activities at the Department of International Educational Leadership and Management and teaches various courses in the International Education Management Program, an international master's program that is offered in collaboration with the Helwan University, Egypt.

Chapter 7
Policies for Teacher Training and Work in Argentina from the Turn of the Century

Myriam Feldfeber

For years, teachers have been under suspicion. They are considered at the same time part of the problem and of the solution to the supposed low quality of education, evaluated according to the results in the standardized tests. Since the turn of the century, the PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) tests of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) have become the main reference for assessing the quality of education systems, galvanizing debates and legitimizing measures independently of the specificities of national contexts (Carvalho 2009). The results that position the Latin American countries that participate in PISA in the lowest places of the ranking have contributed to reinforcing and spreading the idea that the crisis of the systems are directly linked to the work of the teachers, and therefore they should be blamed for the poor results obtained. Although it has been pointed out that PISA lacks the value to help and improve teaching in classrooms and the functioning of schools and therefore it is not useful for teachers and politicians (Carabaña 2015), government officials, international and regional organizations, think tanks, specialists and media construct their discourses based on the evidence of PISA, considering that they should guide education policies in general, and in particular those aimed at regulating the work and the training of teachers. PISA enables a way of talking, thinking and acting in the field of educational reform (Popkewitz 2013) and defining the globally structured agenda for education (Dale 2004).

The policies aimed at teachers, based on this type of discourse on quality, are generally based on a manifest mistrust towards teachers and on the demands for individual responsibility, not in the ethical-political sense, but from a managemerial logic based on the principles of New Public Management (Verger and Normand 2015).

M. Feldfeber (✉)
Institute for Research in Educational Science, Universiity of Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, Argentina
e-mail: mfeldfeber@gmail.com

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_7

One of the central dilemmas that guide the construction of policies aimed at regulating work and teacher training is whether teachers are considered "objects" of policies,[1] as technicians who simply put into practice policies in which they have no place for decision making (Anderson 2013), far from the processes of deliberation and reflection (Giroux 2012), or as professionals, critical intellectuals and political subjects involved in the definition of policies.

These policies acquire distinctive features in federal countries, as is the case of Argentina,[2] where training takes place in the tertiary level in two parallel circuits that constitute a dual or "binary" model: on the one hand, in the provincial Higher Institutes of Teacher Education (ISFD)[3] (be they state or privately managed) and, on the other, in the national, provincial and private universities.[4]

When we refer to the policies aimed at the teaching sector, we must consider that it constitutes an increasingly numerous and heterogeneous group both in terms of its material living conditions and the subjective aspects that contribute to define its identity (Tenti 2005). In Argentina, according to the preliminary results of the National Census of Personnel of Educational Institutions, in 2014, there were 953,275 teachers in the educational system.

This chapter analyzes the main orientations of the policies for the regulation of teachers training and work in Argentina promoted by the national government from the turn of the century. It also includes a Latin American perspective for the analysis of the main policies for the teachers sector that is being propelled in the region by international and regional organizations, consultant firms and Think Tanks that integrate the globally structured agenda for education.

[1]In the 1990s Angus had already analyzed how teachers in the Program Schools of the Future in Victoria (Australia) were considered as "objects of politics" rather than "professionals involved in it" (quoted in Whittye et al. 1999, p. 86).

[2]Argentina adopts the federal republican representative form of government. In this system, the sovereign, national government, whose jurisdiction covers the whole territory of the Nation, and the local governments, autonomous in setting their institutions and their local constitutions, whose jurisdictions exclusively cover their respective territories, coexist. Argentina is divided into 24 jurisdictions: 23 provinces and the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires (CABA). The territorial and administrative division of each province is the municipality.

[3]In 2015 there were 710 ISFDs and 748 Higher Institutes that gave both teacher and technical-professional training.

[4]In 2015 there were 57 national universities, 4 provinicial, 49 private, 1 foreign and 19 Private university institutes.

7.1 Teaching Policies for Latin America in the Regional Agenda

Policies that regulate the training and work of teachers which have been incorporated in the educational agendas of most countries in the Region, have been promoted by international and regional agencies, consulting firms and "Think Tanks". Beyond the differences in approaches, the starting point behind the different proposals is the need to improve the quality of education as measured in standardized tests, and to overcome the bureaucratic regulation model that characterized the institutionalization of education systems and teaching careers. The proposed new forms of post-bureaucratic regulation are heteronomous modes of imposition that interpellates them as free, entrepreneurial individuals, who build their own career and professional destiny (Feldfeber 2007). This interpellation is based on a manifest mistrust towards the teachers sector and its trade unions (Giroux 2012).

The OECD, through its instruments and from a perspective focused on training on competencies for a globalized market, has contributed to reinforce suspicions about the teaching sector. In fact, based on the diffusion of the PISA results and on the comparison with the countries that appear on top of the ranking, along with the results of the teaching and learning environments of TALIS (Teaching and Learning International Survey), "teachers have been placed under the 'quality' spotlight". Sorensen and Robertson (forthcoming) state that, "the argument put forth by international agencies like the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is "that teachers can, and should, play a role in developing the requisite 'human capital' (read students) for the global knowledge economy, but that the current organization of their work mitigates against this. They argue that we need to better understand what counts as a 'quality teacher', what country profiles look like regarding teacher quality, and what strategies might be deployed to move the country in the right direction (Schleicher 2015 cited in Sorensen and Robertson, p. 3)".

The authors conclude that, "these developments reflect a major transformation under way aimed at reframing and rescaling where and how decisions are made around teachers' pedagogy and the nature of the profession more generally. TALIS has been launched as a major data gathering effort aimed at reforming the teaching profession around the world. As a technology of governing teachers globally, it promises participating countries a wealth of data for comparative research aimed at helping countries create more effective teachers and more competitive knowledge-based economies" (Sorensen and Robertson, p.23).

From the perspective of the OECD (2013) the evaluation of teachers is presented as the key to improve the quality of teaching and professional development, and to encourage, recognize and reward teachers.

In the case of PISA, in 2013 the OECD and its partners launched a specific proposal for low- and middle-income countries, named PISA for Development, a pilot project to "provide useful data to policy makers in participating countries in

order to help students learn better, teachers to teach better and education systems to operate in a more efficient way". The instruments of the PISA study are not only used, but adapted to the situation of those countries to analyze the factors associated with the academic results obtained by students (mainly in poor and marginal populations), to develop institutional capacities and to monitor progress of international educational objectives within the Education 2030 framework.

The usefulness of these initiatives, which seems to be no other than to expand and consolidate a competency-based model in the light of the OECD-driven economic model is questionable, since Latin America had already established in 1994 a Latin American Laboratory for the Evaluation of the Quality of Education (LLECE) as a network of units for assessing the quality of education systems in the region and has implemented three regional explanatory and comparative studies (UNESCO 2014)

The World Bank is also focusing more on "teaching quality" and on excellence. According to a study of 2014, a majority of Latin American teachers do not provide their students with the quality education that is necessary to make them competitive in an increasingly globalized world. Based on PISA's evidence, the study states that "no teaching force in the region (with the possible exception of Cuba) can be considered high-quality compared to global standards". Although the Bank's report recognizes that there are few studies to know how much Latin American teachers know about the subjects they teach, it is also pointed out that the existing studies show a disconnection between the teacher's degrees and their cognitive abilities.

In an article titled, "Eyes on the classroom. To close the education gap, Latin America must produce better teachers", The Economist presented the results of the Bank's report in the following terms: "The main reason for Latin America's educational failure is simple. The region churns out large numbers of teachers recruited from less-bright school leavers. It trains them badly and pays them peanuts (between 10 and 50% less than other professionals). So they teach badly(…). Closing the gap in learning demands far-reaching changes in the way teachers are recruited, trained and rewarded. Reforming an entire profession is complex, especially since teachers' unions tend to be powerful in Latin America. But some countries have made a start. A *sine qua non* is national testing of students and the publication of schools' results. The next step is to introduce in-service evaluation of teachers, and to link pay and promotion to performance instead of seniority. Half a dozen places, including Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru and Rio de Janeiro, have passed or proposed laws to do this. But none has yet had the courage to implement a rigorous evaluation system under which teachers who fail are ejected from the profession".

The Commission for Quality Education for All, an initiative of the Inter-American Dialogue, one of the oldest and most influential think tanks on policy issues in Latin America and the Western Hemisphere, published in 2016 the report "Building Quality Education: A pact with the future of Latin America". Based on the results of the standardized measures, the document highlights, that "Latin American children are not learning at acceptable levels and that the continent continues to fall behind the developed and the emerging world".

The report characterizes teaching in Latin America in the following terms: "low levels of knowledge, ineffective pedagogical practices and serious problems of motivation and management. Without tackling these problems it will be impossible to improve the quality of education. To achieve teaching excellence, it must move from a semi-profession to a prestigious profession with recognized performance standards."

The UNESCO initiative "Regional Strategic Project on Teachers for Latin America and the Caribbean", which is part of the global strategy "Teachers for an Education for All" proposes, among other measures, to promote the entry of better candidates for teaching by raising the level of requirements to enter pedagogical studies; to ensure that teachers have the right to continuous, relevant, and appropriate education focused on comprehensive training and student learning; to design and implement careers aimed at strengthening the teaching profession and to influence the attractiveness of good candidates while developing valid and consensual systems for evaluating teachers' professional performance. Unlike other proposals, like those mentioned earlier, the UNESCO document promotes the participation of main actors in the generation of policies, especially of teachers' unions.

The dissemination of "successful" experiences has also boosted the regional agenda on teaching. According to the McKinsey & Company Report on "successful" education systems, three things stand out: getting the most apt people to practice teaching, develop them into efficient instructors and ensure that the system is able to provide the best possible instruction to all children. "These systems demonstrate that best practices for achieving these three objectives are unrelated to the culture of the place where they are applied" (Barber and Mourshed 2008).

All these reform proposals are based on the following assumptions: first, that the results of standardized tests are an indicator of quality and to the extent that quality depends on teachers, we can obtain better quality by recruiting "competent" teachers to achieve good results. Second, if the quality understood as good results depends on the teachers with some independence of the conditions in which the teaching and learning processes are developed, we can achieve good results with the regions living in poverty regardless of their material life conditions, by selecting the "best".

Hence, some of the proposals going round in the region, such as the International Network "Teach For All", which select university professionals to be coached in the Leadership Program and teach children and youth of communities in social and economic vulnerable areas. Sustained in proposals for deregulation of training and teaching work (Friedrich 2014), this program aims to "end social inequity through quality and educational leadership." Although the program has a low impact in quantitative terms, it conveys a clear message: it is not necessary to be trained as teachers, because leadership and vocation are enough to get good results with students living in poverty. Third, associated with the aforementioned, it is assumed that "talent" can be identified and that talented teachers can be selected on the basis of the results they obtain in standardized tests or admission exams. Fourth, actual teachers at schools in the region are not the best ones, they are not talented young

people, which entails both a strong devaluation of those who are teaching today and a lack of knowledge about the diversity that characterizes teachers as a social category.

Finally, it should be noted that these approaches, which look at teachers as "objects" of politics rather than as political subjects, are based on an pure economic view of education according to which the main objective is, in line with the of the World Bank, "to form human capital, the main ingredient of increased productivity and accelerated innovations."

The policies and proposals of the hegemonic agenda aimed at regulating the training and the work of teachers began to be disputed to some extent since a wave of "new governments" took over various countries in Latin America from the turn of the century. While it is difficult to characterize the diversity of political projects that took place in the region within traditional categories, it can be pointed out that the common trait of most of those new governments was the opposition to the political consensus on the structural reforms implemented in the 1990's and the recovery of the central role of the State in the implementation of public policies aimed at social inclusion (Moreira et al. 2008).

Both the so-called "popular democratic" governments (Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay) and those who proposed a breaking off with the neo-liberal capitalism (Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela) have implemented educational policies imply progress in the recognition of rightsand show some differences with the hegemonic technocratic reform of the 1990s, while they have continued or deepened some measures oriented by a neo-liberal rationality.

On the one hand, it is important to emphasize the greater role of the central government and the setting of an agenda in which at least al the level of discourse, equality, justice, and a more imperative sense of inclusion are recovered, in sharp contrast to the neo-liberal/neoconservative model of the 1990s. A large part of the educational laws passed in this century imply progress with regard to the conception of education as a social right and to the obligation of states to guarantee it. On the other hand, we observe the continuity of some of the measures oriented by neo-liberal rationality as in the case of the standardized systems of student evaluation, a central regulation mechanism driven from the NGP as an instrument for quality improvement (Oliveira 2015), with the deepening of some others, as in the case of the evaluation of teachers. It is quite paradoxical to find governments with diverse political views that seek very different social and educational projects, implementing teacher evaluation policies guided by a similar logic, as in the cases of Ecuador, Chile, some states in Brazil and the Government of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires in Argentina.

7.2 Teaching Policies in Argentina from the Turn of the Century: Are Teachers Subjects of Politics?

In the case of Argentina, aside from the various interpretations of "Kirchnerism"[5] (an analysis that goes far beyond the scope of this work), during the administrations of President Néstor Kirchner (2003–2007) and President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2007–2011/2011–2015), despite facing difficulties and limitations, public policies were aimed at addressing the serious problems of exclusion and inequality generated by neo-liberal policies in previous decades, that led to the crisis of 2001 and at widening rights and social inclusion, in a process that also had its mark on the educational field (Feldfeber and Gluz 2011).

The educational policies implemented during President Menem's government (1989–1999), was in line with international and regional trends, which were articulated around the decentralization of educational services and new forms of governance and management of the system and its institutions; the definition of common curricular parameters and the implementation of a national quality assessment system; the definition of mechanisms for accreditation and evaluation of higher education institutions and the development of welfare and compensatory policies through the Social Educational Plan (Plan Social Educativo). As regards teachers, after the transfer of secondary level and teacher training institutions to the provinces, policies were focused on the demands for professionalization and autonomy based on the changes defined in the Federal Education Law of 1993 (LFE), in the accreditation of institutions, and in the discussion of new criteria to define the teaching career (Felfeber 2010). Policies were defined by the "expert knowledge" and promoted from the top down logic without participation, and contributed to the devaluation of the role of teachers, their knowledge and experiences (Feldfeber 2007).

With the focus on their deficiencies and the supposed "lack of professionalization", teachers were considered as "objects" that had to be "reconverted" along the lines elaborated by specialists and from an instrumental conception of knowledge (Feldfeber 2004), rather than subjects, intellectuals who produce pedagogical knowledge (Terigi 2012) and who participate in the definition of public policies. The voice of so-called expert knowledge occupied a central place, leaving little room for the voices of teachers, of their trade union representatives and of institutions. The central mode of political construction in the neo-liberal and neoconservative context of the 1990s was to speak "about" teachers and not "with" teachers.

The educational policies promoted since 2003 show significant changes in the form of state regulations, as well as some continuities of the orientation of reformist policies of the 1990s. The Government of Néstor Kirchner (2003–2007) began with

[5]"Kirchnerism" is a neologism formed from a surname and refers both to the Argentine governmental administration and to the heterogeneous group of political sectors and ideas identified with presidents Néstor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (Sidicaro 2011).

a measure aimed at responding to the high level of conflict generated by wage problems and teacher strikes, establishing from the beginning another form of dialogue with teachers' unions. In 2003, the Law of Guarantee of Teaching Salaries and 180 school days, was enacted. It sets a minimum annual cycle of 180 school days across the country, and contemplates the possibility of financial assistance by the national government to the provincial jurisdictions that could not afford debts with their teachers, in order to ensure the continuity of educational activity.

The law established a minimum wage level along with compensation mechanisms to partially balance inequalities between jurisdictions. In the same sense, the Law on the National Teaching Incentive Fund (Ley del Fondo Nacional de Incentivo Docente, No. 25.919. 2004) established a fixed amount for every teacher in the country to reduce wage inequality among jurisdictions.

A series of laws have also been enacted which include aspects related to policies for the teaching sector that relate to working conditions, continuing education, participation and evaluation, among others: the Professional Technical Education Law (Ley de Educación Técnico Profesional 2005); The Education Financing Law (Ley de Financiamiento Educativo 2005); The National Comprehensive Sexual Education Law (Ley Nacional de Educación Sexual Integral 2006) and the National Education Law (Ley de Educación Nacional 2006 LEN).

Regarding the Education Financing Law, which established a progressive increase in the investment in education, science and technology, until reaching a 6% share of the Gross Domestic Product in 2010, it states among the objectives for the increase of the investment: "improving the working conditions and salaries of teachers at all levels of the education system, the hierarchy of the teaching career and the improvement of quality in initial and continuing teacher training."

Article 10 established that the National Ministry of Education, together with the Federal Council of Culture and Education and trade union organizations with national representation "will agree on a framework agreement that will include general guidelines on working conditions, the educational calendar, the minimum salary for teachers and the teaching career".

The law also created the National Teacher Salary Compensation Program within the Ministry, with the aim of contributing to the compensation of inequalities in the initial teacher salary in those provinces in which, despite the financial effort allocated to the sector and improvements in the efficiency in the use of resources, it is not possible to overcome such inequalities.

Thus, the establishment of a minimum national salary level and the implementation of the National Collective Bargaining for Teachers facilitated, to some extent, the recentralization of the discussion of labor relations fragmented in provincial negotiations; the establishment of a more equalizing mechanism from the Compensatory Fund and the participation of the National State in the financing of teacher salaries and the possibility of building bridges to channel the conflict of the teaching sector (Etchemendy 2017). These improvements were made without

changing the teaching career, structured around the hierarchical and bureaucratic model.

The approval of the LEN was emblematic as it questioned the hegemonic policies of the 1990s, even though it maintains some of the controversial principles of the LFE. The LEN includes the concept of education as a public good and social right with the responsibility of the State as guarantor of this right.[6]

The LEN states that "teacher training has the purpose of preparing professionals capable of teaching, generating and transmitting knowledge and values necessary for the integral formation of people, national development and the construction of a more just society. It will promote the construction of an identity of teachers based on professional autonomy, the link with contemporary culture and society, teamwork, commitment to equality and confidence in students' learning possibilities" (Article 71). It is considered that teacher training is a constituent part of the Higher Education level and has as its primary functions are initial teacher training, continuing teacher training, pedagogical support to schools and educational research (article 72).

Among the objectives of the national policy on teacher education, "hierarchizing and re-evaluating teacher education as a key factor in improving the quality of education" stands out. The initial education was extended to four years and the training and integral updating, free and in-service, throughout the career was established as teachers' right and obligation of the State, trying to reverse the terms of the logic that prevailedin the 1990s, when in-service training was con as a duty of teachers and a right of the State, who had to accredit this training (Lopes de Freitas 1999).

The diagnosis on teacher education highlighted some aspects such as: fragmentation of training; high diversity and institutional differentiation expressed in the different forms of organization, cultures and functioning of the institutes, in their geographical location and in the organization of the teachers work; and the normative vacuum in relation to the integration of the training system (Davini 2005). To try to overcome these problems, the National Institute of Teacher Training (Instituto Nacional de Formacion Docente, INFD) was created within the scope of the ministry. This is the regulatory body responsible for planning and implementing policies to articulate the system of initial and continuing teacher training; and promote policies to strengthen relations between the teacher training system and other levels of the education system.

The INFD has the responsibility to apply the regulations that govern the teacher training system with regard to the national validity of degrees and certifications. These regulations, as well as the definition of policies for initial and continuing teacher training plans, must be agreed upon by the Ministry of Education, Science

[6]There are two central aspects of LFE: the inclusion of the family as the natural and primary agent of education and the conceptualization that all education is public, including private education. In the LEN it is added the social management and the cooperative.

and Technology and the Federal Council of Education (Consejo Federal de Educación, CFE).[7]

The government sought, in a sense, to overcome the hegemonic model of professionalization in the previous decade through a proposal focused on Professional Teacher Development. In 2007, a resolution of the CFE established that the planning of the Teaching Training System would be carried out through specific agreements and with the participation of all the actors involved. In that same year, the National Teacher Training Plan (Plan Nacional de Formación Docente) was approved and there was an agreement on the functions of the teacher training system along with the criteria for its planning and strategies for the articulation with schools and universities. The National Curricular Guidelines for Initial Education (Lineamientos Curriculares Nacionales para la Formación Inicial) and Institutional Guidelines for Continuing Teacher Training and Professional Development (Lineamientos Institucionales para la Formación Docente Continua & el Desarrollo Profesional) were also approved. The National Teacher Training Plan for the period of 2007–2010 set the areas of Institutional Development; Curriculum Development, Continuing Education and Professional Developmentas priority.

Teacher Training and Professional Development were conceived as permanent activities and articulated with the actual practice of teachers and aimed at "responding to the needs of teachers and the contexts of their action, taking into account the heterogeneity of trajectories, needs, teaching situations and problems, and acquired knowledge that emerge from diverse working contexts".

As it was established in the LEN, the new Programs for Professor Training of Initial and Primary Levels were elaborated with a four academic years term. Moreover, several working spaces were consolidated, as the teams working within the INFD and the Federal Bureau[8] and the Advisory Council.[9]

Several actions were taken to strengthen the training system as a whole, in each jurisdiction and ISFDs (through Institutional Improvement Projects and Innovation and Update Centers) and policies were designed to support the trajectory of the students and promote student participation. The National Virtual Network of Teacher Training and the Social Network of the Argentine Teachers "Akana" ("We are here" in the Aymara language) were also launched. A multiplicity of actions were implemented to foster Professional Teacher Development, and

[7]Its president is the National Minister of Education and is in turn integrated by the maximum educational authority of each jurisdiction and three representatives of the University Council. The CFE was created with the LEN. Until 2006, there was a Federal Council of Culture and Education which had the same composition but whose resolutions were not mandatory.

[8]It gathers the directors or officials in charge of Higher Education in each jurisdiction, under the coordination of the INFD.

[9]The INFD Advisory Council members are the Secretary of Education, the Secretary for University Policies, two representatives of the CFE, two representatives of the Council of Universities, representatives of the teachers' unions and the privately managed education sector. Also invited are two personalities from the academic field with outstanding trajectory. The coordination is carried out by the Executive Directorate of INFD.

somePostgraduate Courses were designed, and were regulated by the CFE (INFD 2011). Also titles were rationalized, going from a number that exceeded 1500 to 33 nationally validated titles (Annex CFE Resolution No. 132/11).

Two trends can be recognized in the actions deployed by the Ministry. One of them is a certain continuity in the typical policies of the 1990s defined by specialists with some degree of externality with respect to institutions, for example those focused on the distribution of resources for research projects or for participation in foreign exchange programs through competitive tenders. Another trend that has been consolidating over the years the articulation of the system based on a federal basis. This was done through a political construction that entails a more prominent role of the main actors of the system through the CFE, the Federal Bureaus, the INFD and through other working spaces with teachers, and students from the Institutes.

The National Program of Lifelong Training, which includes the historical claim for the right to lifelong training of teachers within educational institutions, free of charge and at the expense of the State, which recognizes the right to education of girls, boys, young people and adults was approved in 2013. Unlike the reform of the 1990s and the perspective that guides the hegemonic agenda for the teaching sector presented in the previous section, the Program recognizes the teacher as a state agent responsible for educational policies and teaching as an intellectual and professional job that implies the training in practice and the production of pedagogical knowledge both at the individual as at the collective level. Therefore, the objectives were to establish a culture of lifelong learning; strengthen and prioritize the ethical, political and pedagogical authority of schools and teachers, and promote the professional development of the teachers as subjects responsible for a public educational policy towards the improvement of teaching and learning.

As Birgin (2016) points out, INFD policies account for some achievements as the restoration of the place of pedagogy and a renewed perspective on teaching, the expansion of the training agenda (inclusion of a pedagogy of memory, Latin American pedagogies, gender, diversity, among other issues). Among the outstanding debts is the enactment of a new Higher Education Law, to replace the 1995 law, which must include teacher training as a problem and responsibility of the higher level as a whole; and the construction of another type of relationship with the rest of the educational system.

Although Argentina continued to participate in the PISA tests, in terms of training and teacher work, certain measures were implemented that attempted to counter the prescriptions of the hegemonic agenda at the international and regional levels. Even though it continued with the National Assessment Operations (Operativos Nacionales de Evaluación), they did not have the centrality they had in the previous decade, and were implemented on a sample base and not on a censal base. At the same time there was a very close relationship with the teacher unions (as already mentioned in the INFD case).

7.3 Teachers as Leaders and Entrepreneurs in the Current Policies

With the takeover of President Mauricio Macri, Esteban Bullrich, that had been until then the Minister of Education in the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires (CABA), accompanying Macri as Chief of Government, was appointed National Minister of Education and Sports, and from that moment on, the hegemonic agenda has been taken up again, placing the evaluation as one of the central axis of the administration in the educational area, including the evaluation of teachers.[10] This is evident not only in the creation of an Evaluation Secretariat, but also in the reallocation of the Ministry's budgein favor of activities related to evaluation. A Bill to create an autonomous Institute for Quality Evaluation and Educational Equity is also under discussion. The five national teachers´ unions rejected the project because it enables financing from international organizations that can influence the policy orientations and thus reinforce the privatizing and commodification trends (CTERA 2016).

During the Macri administration in the CABA, an attempt was made to create an autonomous Institute for the Evaluation of Educational Quality and Equity, which was rejected by various sectors. Finally, the government created a Unit for Comprehensive Assessment of Educational Quality and Equity (Ministerio de Educación una Unidad de Evaluación Integral de la Calidad & Equidad Educativa) within the Ministry of Education,. At the time, Minister Bullrich said that "Educational evaluation itself is not in question, but the form and intensity with which it is applied. How can we improve any experience but measuring it, but comparing it?"

Attempts were also made to advance in the evaluation of teachers. As a preliminary step to the launch of the proposal, the Ministry organized a seminar with officials from Chile, Ecuador, Brazil and the United States to analyze different models of teacher assessment and formulate a proposal for the city.[11] The Assessment of Teachers for the Improvement of Teaching was presented as part of a Systematic Evaluation Plan whose main objective is to improve learning of children and young people, while seeking to install a culture of teacher evaluation. This proposal, that included performance-based incentives, was questioned by the teaching sector and only a pilot experience was developed in 2011.

In recent years, in Argentina, as in other countries of the region, NGOs, backed in general by private corporations, have been expanding, recovering the central aspects of the globally structured agenda for education turning around the principles

[10]Bullrich (2006) argued that the creation of a Unit for Comprehensive Assessment of Educational Quality is one of the pillars of the "educational revolution", which aims to transform girls and boys into entrepreneurs and can generate their own jobs.

[11]Seminar, "Why and What For; an Educational Evaluation in Latin America?" Organized by the Government of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires, CEPP (Center for Public Policy Studies), Educar 2050 and Formar Foundation in June 2011.

of New Public Management. Since the new government took office in December 2015, these organizations have gained momentum due to the impulse of national government and have come to occupy a prominent role in the design and implementation of policies.

The Ministry of Education and Sports has signed agreements with international NGOs such as the Varkey Foundation or Enseñá por Argentina (Teach For Argentina, local chapter of Teach for All), for the implementation of training programs based on models of "leadership" and teacher training in their role as "facilitators", so that students achieve the highest possible performance. These programs are designed internationally and "adapted" to the reality of each country through partnerships with local NGOs.

Coaching in leadership is complemented with training in neuroscience and in emotional intelligence, aspects that are defined from outside the pedagogical field and that reinforce the processes of individualization of the social.

The policies implemented during the period 2003–2015 were aimed at reordering and articulating the training system and at generating better working conditions, thus contributing to a scenario of greater legitimacy for the teaching sector. Since the change of government in December 2015, with the impulse of CEOs[12] and private sector officials, we have witnessed a dismantling of the policies and programs implemented in the previous period and the definition of proposals for the teaching sector in line with the hegemonic agenda, oriented by the business logic and by the principles of New Public Management.

One of the central disputes in the reshaping of the teaching profession lies in the definition of the relevant knowledge, of the senses of the training processes in the context of a political-pedagogical project, and of the authorization or delegitimation places of teachers as political subjects.

References

Anderson, G. (2013). Cambios macropolíticos e institucionales, nuevos paradigmas e impacto en el trabajo docente. In M. Poggi (Ed.), *(compiladora) Políticas de formación docente, trabajo & desarrollo profesional*. Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires: IIPE, UNESCO.

Banco M. (2014). *Profesores excelentes. Cómo mejorar el aprendizaje en América Latina & el Caribe*. Washington, DC.

Barber, M., & Moushed, M. (2008) . *Cómo hicieron los sistemas educativos con mejor desempeño del mundo para alcanzar sus objetivos?* Informe PREAL n 41, McKinsey & Company, Santiago de Chile: CINDE, Inter-American Dialogue.

BID. (2012). Qué tan desiguales son los aprendizajes en América Latina & el Caribe? Cuatro medidas de desigualdad analizando PISA.

Birgin, A. (2016). El INFD en jaque? Deudas, debates & perspectivas. En: Blog Conversaciones Necesarias. https://conversacionesnecesarias.org/category/formacion-docente/.

Carabaña, J. (2015). *La inutilidad de pisa para las escuelas*. Madrid: La Catarata.

[12]Chief Executive Officers.

Carvalho, L. M. (2009). Governando a educação pelo espelho do perito: umaanálise do PISA como instrumento de regulação. *Revista Educação & Sociedade, 30*(109), 1009–1036.

Casullo, M. E. (2016). El gobierno de Mauricio Macri: entre lo nuevo & lo viejo. En: Revista Nueva Sociedad. En: edición digital. http://nuso.org/articulo/el-gobierno-de-mauricio-macri-entre-lo-nuevo-y-lo-viejo/.

Comisión para la Educación de Calidad para Todos. (2016). *Construyendo una educación de calidad: un pacto con el futuro de América Latina*. Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires: Santillana/Edición para Diálogo Interamericano.

CTERA. (2016). *Tendencias privatizadoras de & en la educación argentina*. Instituto de Investigaciones Pedagógicas "Marina Vilte" Secretaría de Educación, Buenos Aires: Ediciones CTERA.

Dale, R. (2004). Globalização e educação: demonstrando a existência de uma "Cultura Educacional Mundial Comum "ou localizando uma "Agenda Globalmente Estruturada para a Educação"? *Educação e Sociedade, 25*(87), 423–460.

Davini, M. C. (2005). Estudio acerca de la calidad & cantidad de oferta de la formación docente, investigación & capacitación en la Argentina. Ministerio de Educación. Dirección Nacional de Gestión Curricular & Formación Docente, Buenos Aires.

Etchemendy, S. (2017). El "diálogo" PRO & la paritaria nacional docente. En: Diario Página 12, Buenos Aires, 9 de marzo.

Feldfeber, M. (2004). Los imperativos de autonomía & profesionalización docente. El caso de la reforma educativa en Argentina de los ´90. *Trabalho e Educação, 13*(2), 101–112.

Feldfeber, M. (2007). La regulación de la formación & el trabajo docente: un análisis crítico de la 'agenda educativa' en América Latina. *Educação & Sociedade, 28*(99), 444–465.

Feldfeber, M. (2010). De la profesionalización al desarrollo profesional: algunas notas para pensar las políticas de formación docente. En: Oliveira, D. A. & Feldfeber, M. *(compiladoras) Nuevas regulaciones en América Latina. Políticas & procesos del trabajo docente*. Lima: UCH Fondo Editorial.

Feldfeber, M., & Gluz, N. (2011). Las políticas educativas en Argentina: herencias de los `90, contradicaciones & tendencias de 'nuevo signo'. *Revista Educação & Sociedade*, *32*(115), 339–356.

Friedrich, D. (2014). Global microlending in education reform: enseñá por Argentina and the neoliberalization of the grassroots. *Comparative Educaion Review, 58*(2), 296–321.

Giroux, H. (2012). *La educación & la crisis del valor de lo público. Desafiando la agresión a los docentes, los estudiantes & la educación pública*. Montevideo: Criatura editora.

INFD. (2011). *Relato de una construcción política federal (2007–2011).* Instituto Nacional de Formación Docente, Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Educación.

Lopes de Freitas, H. (1999). A reforma do Ensino Superior no campo da formação dos profissionais da educação basica: As políticas educacionais e o movimiento dos educadores. *Educacao & Sociedade, 68,* 17–43.

Moreira, C., et al. (coordinadores). (2008) . *La nueva política en América Latina. Rupturas & continuidades.* Montevideo: FLACSO Uruguay, UNLa, UARCIS, Ediciones TRILCE.

OCDE. (2009). *Mejorar el liderazgo escolar: herramientas de trabajo.*

OECD. (2013). *Teachers for the 21st century: Using evaluation to improve teaching*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

Oliveira, D. A. (2015). Nova Gestão Pública e governos democrático-populares: contradições entre a busca da eficiência e a ampliação do direito à educação. *Revista Educação & Sociedade, 36* (132), 625–646.

Popkewitz, T. (2013). PISA: números, estandarización de la conducta & la alquimia de las materias escolares Profesorado. *Revista de Currículum & Formación de Profesorado, 17*(2), 47–64.

Sidicaro, R. (2011). El partido peronista & los gobiernos kirchneristas. *Revista Nueva Sociedad, 234,* 74–94.

Sorensen, T. B., & Robertson, S. L. (forthcoming). The OECD program TALIS and framing, measuring and selling quality teacher™. In M. Akiba & G. K. LeTendre (Eds.), *Routledge international handbook of teacher quality and policy*. Routledge.

TentiFanfani, E. (2005). *La condición docente. Análisis comparado en la Argentina, Brasil, Perú & Uruguay*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

Terigi, F. (2012). *Los saberes de los docentes: formación, elaboración en la experiencia e investigación: documento básico*. Buenos Aires: Santillana.

UNESCO. (2013). *Antecedentes & criterios para la elaboración de políticas docentes en América Latina & el Caribe*, Proyecto Estratégico Regional sobre Docentes. Santiago de Chile: OREALC, CEPPE.

UNESCO. (2014). *Primera entrega de resultados: tercer estudio regional comparativo & explicativo*. Santiago: UNESCO.

Verger, A., & Normand, R. (2015). Nueva gestión pública & educación: elementos teóricos & conceptuales para el estudio de un modelo de reforma educativo global. *Revista Educação & Sociedade, 36*(132), 599–622.

Whitty, G., Power, S., & Halpin, D. (1999). *La escuela, el estado & el mercado*. Madrid: Ediciones Morata & Fundación Paideia.

Myriam Feldfeber is Full Professor of Political and Educational Institutions, and Regular Associate Professor of Educational Policy at the UBA. Researcher at the Institute for Research in Educational Science (IICE), UBA. Licenciada in Educational Science. University of Buenos Aires, Argentina (UBA). Master in Social Sciences with a major in Education. Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO). She completed her doctoral studies in Education (UBA). Coordinator of the CLASCO Working Group "Educational policies and the right to education in Latin America and the Caribbean". Coordinator of the Latin American Network of Studies on Teacher Work with Prof. Dalila Andrade Oliveira (Brazil). She has published articles in national and international journals on educational policy and teacher training policies. She is the author and editor of books in Argentina and other Latin American countries.

Chapter 8
Between Evidence-Based Education and Professional Judgment, What Future for Teachers and Their Knowledge?

Vincent Dupriez and Branka Cattonar

8.1 Introduction

The sociology of professions clearly demonstrates that the mastery of basic knowledge is a crucial issue for professional groups. Regardless of the question of effectiveness, the presence and recognition of basic knowledge and know-how are part of what constitutes a professional group. Such knowledge is generally transmitted during the initial training of the future members of the profession and their gradual mastery permits group members to be distinguished from other individuals. The mastery of this knowledge, often attested by a diploma, also contributes to the power accorded to the group. The question of a professional group's basic knowledge is thus a major issue for determining what this group identifies with and the processes (and actors) associated with the production of such knowledge. They also serve as points of reference for identifying, more of less explicitly, what can be expected of professional practices.

Knowledge is a central issue in the case of teachers because it lies at the heart of their work. In its plurality, such knowledge arises from various sources: discipline-based knowledge, curricular, so-called professional knowledge (originating in the humanities and transmitted through training) and experience-based knowledge (Tardif et al. 1991). Hofstetter and Schneuwly (2009) groups these different categories into two types of knowledge characterising teachers' practice: on the one hand, 'knowledge to be taught', which is the subject of their work, drawn from discipline-based frames of reference and subject to various formalisations and prescriptions (curricula, textbooks, etc.) and, on the other, 'knowledge

V. Dupriez (✉) · B. Cattonar
Interdisciplinary Research Group in Socialisation, Education and Training (GIRSEF), Université Catholique de Louvain (UCL), Louvain-La-Neuve, Belgium
e-mail: vincent.dupriez@uclouvain.be

B. Cattonar
e-mail: branka.cattonar@uclouvain.be

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_8

for teaching', which constitutes tools for their work in various respects (students' learning processes, teaching methods, etc.). This article addresses only the second group: the knowledge teachers mobilise, or are summoned to mobilise, in order to exercise their profession.

These forms of knowledge have already been explored in numerous studies. In the 1980s and 1990s, such research focused essentially on the origin and nature of the 'knowledge for teaching' mobilised by teachers in their classroom practice. It brought out the idiosyncratic and often very personal nature of this knowledge, basically developed in the course of concrete professional experiences and sometimes through interactions with peers. The past two decades have seen the emergence of a new research approach, which is more concerned with identifying the knowledge deemed relevant (or effective) for teaching and providing it to teachers. In our view, this development is tied to new education policies. The main hypothesis we advance in this article is that the spread of new modes of regulation for education systems has encouraged a definition of legitimate knowledge for teaching that is more external to the professional group. These modes of regulation, observable in several European and North American countries, combine references to New Public Management (Demazière et al. 2013) and evidence-based education (Saussez and Lessard 2009). In this chapter, we therefore deal with a specific issue concerning the spread of New Public Management: the definition of the legitimate knowledge to be mobilised in the professional activity of teaching.

In the first section of this chapter, we recall the role of knowledge within professional groups and notably the teaching profession. The second section brings out how the emphasis placed on teachers' experience-based knowledge in the educational research of the 1980s and 1990s subsequently shifted towards studies on 'a knowledge base for teachers and teaching'. The final section demonstrates the combined influence of New Public Management and evidence-based education on the ways of defining legitimate knowledge for teaching. It concludes with several criticisms of evidence-based education and stresses the necessity of recognising the importance of the teacher's professional judgment.

8.2 Professional Groups and Knowledge: An Ambiguous Relationship

The role of knowledge in the definition and recognition of professional groups has been the subject of important debates in the sociology of the professions (Champy 2009). Various sociological approaches have defended divergent conceptions of the nature and status of professional knowledge.

For the functionalist approach, which dominated the sociology of professions until the 1960s in the English-speaking countries, the specificity of the knowledge used by professionals is held to determine the particular nature of the professional activity and is as such considered a central feature of the profession. From this point

of view, a 'profession' is distinguished from a simple professional 'occupation', in particular because it carries out a 'learned' activity (rather than one that is routine, mechanical or repetitive) that depends of the mastery of high-level specialised knowledge (Chapoulie 1973).

More critical analyses were to arise in reaction to this functionalist approach. The interactionist approach, which developed in the 1950s in the United States and then spread to France in particular, calls into question this vision of the professions as characterised by the specific nature of the work carried out and the knowledge mobilised. Rather, it emphasises their ability to obtain recognition of their claims by the government and the society (Bourdoncle 1993). The central feature of the professions is no longer considered to be the accomplishment of specific work based on the mastery of specific knowledge but rather, the social recognition these professions enjoy.

Other critical approaches developing since the 1970s in the context of various theoretical perspectives (the neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian currents in particular) were to focus on the question of the power of the professions. These did not necessarily address the knowledge mobilised by the professionals but rather, emphasised the autonomy and collective power exercised by the professional group in relation to public authorities, users and other professional groups. In this approach, a profession is mainly characterised by the fact that it has succeeded in establishing collective power over the definition of the conditions of its activity: its work process, purpose and working conditions, but also the production of its knowledge and the ways the latter is transmitted.

More recently, other approaches have once again placed knowledge at the centre of the analysis via a particular type of professional practice that Champy (2009) describes as 'prudential'. Here, the specific nature of professional work is reaffirmed insofar as it is based on the implementation of specific knowledge. According to this approach, the professions are characterised by the high degree of singular cases and complex situations they confront, which implies that their activity cannot simply consist of the mechanical application of formalised knowledge elaborated by others (like scientific knowledge) but rather, that it calls for careful deliberation. Insofar as professionals works on topics escaping total, systematic mastery and thus including an irreducible share of unpredictability, their activity is perceived as one that cannot simply be guided by formalised theoretical knowledge. On the contrary, it requires a certain form of 'prudence' based on a capacity for discernment and a thorough analysis of the situations, but also a careful deliberation of the means and ends of the activity.

8.2.1 *The Teaching Profession, a 'learned' Activity Marked by Its Exteriority in Relation to Knowledge*

As we have indicated above, knowledge is a fundamental component of teaching practice and gives the latter its 'learned' status (Tardif et al. 1991). As these authors indicate, however, notwithstanding the essential role of knowledge, the social position of teachers is paradoxically devalued relative to the knowledge they mobilise and transmit. Indeed, teachers do not participate in the production, definition, selection or legitimisation of this knowledge which is nevertheless central to their practice. Even if individual teachers participate from time to time in the production of curricular knowledge (development of school curricula) or professional knowledge (through participation in research), teachers as a group do not have any institutionally recognised collective power over this knowledge. Both the subject- and curriculum-based knowledge they transmit and the teaching knowledge transmitted to them during their training are most often produced, defined and selected by other professional groups, namely academic researchers, teacher educators, administrators and public authorities. This knowledge is thus placed in a 'relationship of exteriority' to teaching practice. Tardif, Lessard and Lahaye speak of a 'relationship of alienation' between teachers and knowledge (1991, p. 62) insofar as their practice is subject to knowledge that is produced, controlled and legitimised by other actors. It is true that teachers produce so-called experience-based knowledge, which, in their view, is the most legitimate and which they consider fundamental to their competence, but this knowledge has received little formalisation and social recognition.

As Tardif et al. (1991) clearly show, this relationship of exteriority to knowledge is historically rooted and part of a more general social division of intellectual labour that is proper to learned culture in modern societies, namely that between the functions of research and training, which separates the production, transmission and application of knowledge. More precisely, it is part of a social division of labour between the researchers who produce and legitimise knowledge, the administrators who translate it into standards and rules and the practitioners who are supposed to apply it in a form adapted to the contingencies of their profession.

Numerous studies have amply demonstrated, however, that the structure of educational systems, sometimes qualified as 'cellular' (Lortie 1975), is especially conducive to different forms of decoupling (Meyer and Rowan 1977) between the instructions given to teachers and their actual classroom practices. Such research therefore stresses not only a relative autonomy among teachers in the definition of classroom work processes but a relative indeterminacy concerning the bases of teachers' choices.

8.2.2 The Shift from Teachers' Practical Knowledge to a Knowledge Base for Teachers and Teaching

There is thus a zone of uncertainty between the instructions given to teachers and their professional practice, in particular in the classroom. A line of research has developed with the aim of identifying and understanding how teachers cope with such uncertainty and what kinds of knowledge are mobilised in professional situations. This research has led to the identification, in a descriptive and analytical perspective, of what has been qualified as 'teacher practical knowledge', a kind of experience-based knowledge that is constituted at the heart of professional practice without necessarily being formalised.

In this section, we first summarise the findings of such a line of research and then draw attention to what we see as a significant shift occurring at the turn of the 21st century: the dominant orientation of research on teaching knowledge no longer consists of analysing teaching practices or questioning teachers but rather, drawing on correlational or experimental research to build the external knowledge base that is supposed to establish guidelines for teachers' professional practices.

A number of studies carried out during the 1980s and1990s in particular attempted to grasp both the nature and origin of teachers' knowledge. Several of these investigations stress that teachers are often extremely critical about their initial education (Tardif and Lessard 1999; Verloop et al. 2001; Paquay 2012). The theoretical knowledge they have received is of little use for acting in professional situations; rather, in many cases they recognise the value of student teaching which allows them to observe their peers and thus acquire a series of professional knowledge and skills through practical experience.

Many subsequent investigations have therefore sought a better understanding of this experience-based knowledge and attempted to identify it. One of the first observations made by many authors is that teachers' knowledge is largely based on particular experiences and circumstances. When many teachers are asked to discuss their professional gestures explicitly and justify them, they refer to earlier personal experiences and specific learning environments where they have learnt their profession. Some authors (e.g., Connelly and Clandinin 1988) therefore stress the singular aspect of this knowledge that is seemingly built by trial and error, through a series of personal learning experiences. However, this knowledge is not only personal; it is also closely linked to situations and singular professional gestures, or what is qualified as 'professional craft knowledge' (Brown and McIntyre 1993) or 'working knowledge' (Kennedy 1983). Connelly and Clandinin (1988), meanwhile, propose the term 'personal practical knowledge' in order to describe this deep-seated knowledge: 'Personal practical knowledge is in the teachers' past experience, in the teachers' present mind and body, and in the future plans and actions. Personal practical knowledge is found in the teacher's practice. It is, for any one teacher, a particular way of reconstructing the past and the intentions of the future to deal with the exigencies of a present situation' (idem, p. 25).

This research current served to bring out the specificity of teachers' knowledge and their ambivalent relationship with academic knowledge and a part of what is transmitted by initial education. Following Hiebert et al. (2002), we might thus characterise this 'craft' knowledge in terms of three dimensions. First, it involves practical knowledge, which serves for acting in concrete situations and is most often developed in response to classroom needs (teaching a particular skill, organising the course, identifying learning difficulties, etc.). Second, it is knowledge that is concrete and specific; it often relies on teaching tools and materials and thus permits action in the professional situation. Last of all, it is generally an integrated form of knowledge. While academic knowledge often tends to decompose reality into multiple facets, teachers' knowledge consists of overall, interconnected responses that permit the global nature of the situations under consideration to be taken into account (and acted upon).

Beyond a clarification of the nature and source of teacher knowledge, many studies simultaneously discuss, if not criticise, the highly situated character of this knowledge and its limited validity. For example, speaks of 'restricted professionality' with regards to a teacher 'who is essentially reliant upon experience and intuition and is guided by a narrow, classroom-based perspective which values that which is related to the day-to-day practicalities of teaching'. At the other extreme of what is presented as a continuum, 'extended professionality', in Hoyle's view, would reflect 'a much wider vision of what education involves, valuing of the theory underpinning pedagogy, and the adoption of a generally intellectual and rationally-based approach to the job' (cited by Evans 2008, p. 26). For their part, Hiebert et al. (2002) stress the advantages of teacher knowledge and go on to regret the absence of mechanisms, on the one hand, for accumulating and spreading this knowledge and, on the other, for validating it.

Research on teacher knowledge, and more broadly, on the learning processes involved, obviously did not die out after the 1980s.[1] But the question of the resources, both cognitive and instrumental, guiding teachers' professional practices was to take a different turn. To a large extent, there has been a shift in the focus of research from teacher knowledge to a knowledge base for teaching. The school effectiveness research of the 1990s illustrates an initial step in this direction (Scheerens and Bosker 1997). The correlational studies developed in this context are basically aimed at identifying teacher practices that are sources of effectiveness, in other words, those most likely to improve student learning. In addition, the accumulation of results from such an approach was to permit the production of overviews and recommendations for initial teacher training (Reynolds 1989) and, more generally, for all the professionals concerned.

[1]In the French-speaking countries in particular (France, Quebec, Switzerland), a major current of contemporary research seeks to analyse teachers' practices and their professional activity in order to investigate their knowledge and learning methods (Ria 2015).

8.3 New Public Management and Evidence-Based Education

In our view, however, it is necessary to analyse these major developments in relation with the new modes of regulation in the educational field. The argument we develop is that a significant shift occurred in research on teachers' knowledge towards the end of the 1990s and that this phenomenon was closely linked with the spread of New Public Management in education and the promotion of evidence-based education. While this evolution has been observed and discussed in many countries, it is probably most evident in the United States; for this reason, we will focus the following development on that particular environment.

What was the educational landscape in the United States at the beginning of the 2000s? The concept of 'standards' was widespread throughout the education system. External exams accompanying these standards periodically measured student progress and the schools' ability to improve student learning. After the signing of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, one of the main educational measures of the George W. Bush administration (2001–2008), all states and education authorities were required to develop school report cards indicating the extent to which each school attains the goals defined by public authorities, with coercive measures and sanctions to be applied to under-performing schools. But this regulation scheme also provided for practical support and assistance schemes for the schools, as well as training for teachers. Indeed, the federal government's involvement in the development of support schemes for schools and teachers went far beyond that found in most European countries. These programmes were meant to be based on research results and subject in turn to extremely rigorous evaluations.

Among the different intervention schemes (Portes 2005), the best known are the Comprehensive School Reform programmes. Most often targeting different aspects of the school's operations (its administration, the report to parents, and above all, the teaching methods), they offer educational stakeholders more or less standardised working tools as well as training and individual coaching in the mastery and use of these tools.

The accountability measures addressed to the schools in fact considered that they knew what they should do and how they should intervene in order to attain the education system's objectives. Because such responses were assumed to exist, moreover, the authorities could penalise under-performing schools and on occasion reward education staff obtaining outstanding results. The search for convincing solutions to the difficulties faced by some schools was therefore placed within an overall context, where school accountability, based on comparative analysis of their performances, could only be applied if public authorities were capable of offering schools proven solutions to the problems they faced.

With this in mind, the US Congress initially (1998) approved an annual budget of $150 million to support schools in setting up action programmes whose effectiveness had already been demonstrated. Subsequently, this budget was more than doubled. At the same time, the idea of research-based reforms and educational

practices flourished. Slavin (2002) thus reports that the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 repeats the expression 'scientifically based research' 110 times. According to Slavin's reading of No Child Left Behind, scientifically based research was to rely on rigorous, systematic and objective procedures using experimental or quasi-experimental designs in particular. Such research would then serve to identify the most effective solutions for supporting teachers and students in their learning experiences.

New Public Management in education is not only a North American prerogative; on the contrary, it has become conventional wisdom for educational reforms elsewhere in the world, and especially in Europe. Notwithstanding variations from one national context to another, New Public Management focuses everywhere on the rationalisation of professional activities (through standardisation processes), a principle of accountability and performance monitoring (Demazière et al. 2013; Malet 2016).

8.3.1 The Double Target of Evidence-Based Education

Although the specific forms vary according to the education systems, we observe in a great number of countries that the rationalisation of professional practices is part of a process of promoting best practices and references to evidence-based education policies and practices. In order to bring out the underlying logic of this movement, we draw at length on the views expressed by Davies (1999). His argument is useful here because it clearly demonstrates that this line of thought concerns at once the regulation of research in education (which is supposed to provide decision-makers with incontrovertible evidence) and the regulation of education systems and, in particular, teachers' work (which is supposed to draw on such undisputed empirical demonstrations).

On the first point, Davies's criticism, which extends that of Hargreaves (1996), is directed at the scientific community. The core of this criticism bears on the non-cumulative nature of research in the field. In their view, educational research is much too scattered; it does not sufficiently rely on the findings of earlier studies and is not equipped for building significant bodies of knowledge around priority topics. In addition, research initiatives are in most cases disconnected from education professionals and their problems. The combination of these two factors leads to a situation where, according to Hargreaves and Davies, the results of educational research are not used by practitioners and do not sufficiently inform professional practices in the schools.

The second part of their criticism concerns educational practitioners and the authors of educational reforms. Both groups, they maintain, should base their practices more closely on research findings, which presumes, on the one hand, closer co-ordination between researchers and professionals and, on the other, more rigorous training in the reading of research literature and the reading of convincing results from scientific research. Ultimately, combined advances in these two areas

would permit regulating the education field on more rational bases, as well as providing teachers with intervention scripts that have already demonstrated their effectiveness. In other words, teachers could improve the quality of their practices if they were trained to use tools designed by experts and previously validated on a large scale. With such an approach, the bulk of knowledge for teaching should thus be elaborated by experienced researchers rather than the professional group itself.

8.3.2 *A Critical Look at Evidence-Based Education: In Defence of Teachers' Professional Judgment*

The spread of evidence-based education at the expense of other conceptions of educational research has obviously been the subject of many criticisms, some of which go back several decades (Bourdoncle 1994; Saussez and Lessard 2009). For the purposes of this chapter, we draw on the arguments of Biesta (2007, 2010), who bases his analysis on the nature of educational work and the forms of teacher learning (cf. Dupriez 2015).

The central criticism Biesta directs at defenders of evidence-based education is that they assimilate educational situations to technical ones that are likely to be perceived within a cause-and-effect model. Framed in these terms, the issue becomes one of a better match between the problems encountered by the teachers and the solutions proposed by the experts. If the matching process is properly carried out, the good solution should lead to the appropriate response, which would in most cases mean a gain in student learning. For Biesta, educational situations cannot be reduced to technical questions where the appropriate treatment would almost mechanically lead to the desired response. Such a system can function in certain fields where it is possible to establish a clear cause-and-effect relationship. But this is not the case in the field of education.

On the one hand, Biesta maintains, the educational interactions are symbolic interactions based on processes of interpretation and attribution of meaning. Even if technical models can contribute to action in educational contexts, the key process remains the interaction and the way teachers and students make sense of the situations they encounter (classroom interactions, learning difficulties, dropping out of school, etc.). In this respect, teachers' interventions should be perceived as opportunities rather than causes with known effects. Through the systems or devices they set up, teachers attempt to offer students learning opportunities but the way the students appropriate them will depend on multiple factors.

On the other hand, educational work is constantly affected by values and mediations between competing values that must be taken into account in the classroom situation (e.g., empowering the weakest students and providing equal treatment for all). The necessarily local mediation between these values (and between the means and ends of educational action) is another parameter calling into question the relevance of a technical model of support for educational interventions.

To some extent, there is always a need for professional judgment, which provides teachers with the pragmatic, theoretical and moral bases that allow them to decide what is most appropriate for certain students in certain circumstances.

Teachers' professional judgment therefore cannot be assimilated to an equivalence between a problem and a response; rather, it involves a form of questioning about the search for what is most appropriate in situations that are always particular. Clearly, as Biesta recognises, teachers' professional judgment can and should rely on scientific research, but an adequate understanding of the contribution of research-based knowledge to that requires an investigation of the way teachers learn.

The many studies addressing this question (Tardif and Lessard 1999; Verloop et al. 2001; Paquay 2012) have often brought out the distance teachers take from their initial education and theoretical models. These studies also draw attention to the role that peers with the same type of professional experience can play in teacher learning and, as we have demonstrated above, the specific nature of the teacher learning sometimes qualified as 'working knowledge' (Kennedy 1983; Vause 2010), in other words, knowledge that is built through and for action.

For his part, Biesta turns to the work of John Dewey to develop his analysis of teacher learning. For Dewey, learning is essentially conceived as experience, a notion that simultaneously refers to two inseparable components: an active component corresponding to the subject's intervention on the world (experimentation) and a passive one corresponding to what the subject undergoes (experience) with respect to the consequences of his or her action on the world. In this way, experience is conceived as a process that gives meaning to action, and this process can only exist if the subject's action on the world is one of transformation, giving rise to concrete consequences undergone by the subject and above all, 'if subjects establish a connection, through thought, between their action and its consequences undergone as such' (Bourgeois 2013, pp. 17–18). Learning is therefore first and foremost an action that, through reflective thinking, establishes the relation between what one does and the consequences of that action. Dewey's theory of 'learning by doing' departs radically from dualistic conceptions of learning suggesting that knowledge exists outside the subjects and is then transmitted to them.

In short, Biesta argues for a rethinking of the contribution of research-based knowledge in the light of the specificity of the professional situations teachers encounter (characterised by symbolic interactions and questions of values) and the conception of knowledge proposed by Dewey. Breaking with the technical model defended by the evidence-based education movement, Biesta proposes that results from prior research and the tools accompanying them should be considered as organised, well-argued illustrations of possible relations between actions and their consequences: 'In the case of everyday problem solving, we learn about possible relations between our actions and their consequences. In the case of randomized controlled trials, we learn about possible relations between experimental treatments and measured results' (Biesta 2007, pp. 15–16).

Research results can thus contribute to teachers' learning but the transactional conception of learning developed by Dewey requires that teachers must mobilise

this research-based knowledge in action so as to make it a potential source of learning. It is thus inappropriate to rely on scientific studies to dictate or prescribe teachers' practices. Such knowledge and proposals, as illustrations of what has worked under certain conditions, can be of help, on the one hand, for identifying problems and, on the other, for making a choice among different paths of action. They can thus permit more intelligent interventions and provide additional resources for dealing with professional situations. But teachers will only add them to their repertory of actions if they actually experience the ability of this knowledge to provide solutions for the problems they face.

8.4 Conclusion

Insofar as a professional group is characterised in particular by the use of practices and knowledge it perceives as legitimate, the definition and building of such knowledge and practices are themselves a key issue. In the case of teachers, we have argued that this group has historically occupied a position of relative exteriority concerning the knowledge valued for their profession. The knowledge to be taught is clearly built apart from them, while various categories of experts are generally called upon to define the 'knowledge for teaching'.

This exteriority, as well as the division of labour accompanying it, have been subject to several criticisms because they deprive teachers of an important source of power over the content of their work. Since the end of the 70s, several authors analysed the phenomenon as a sign of a 'proletarianisation' (Apple 1980, 1983; Bowles and Gintis 1976) or a 'de-professionalisation' (Perrenoud 1996) of teachers, dispossessed of the definition of their work in favour of a 'techno-educational elite' (Maroy and Cattonar 2002), namely a group of actors who think about teaching practice without practising it.

The limited power collectively available to teachers as a group for defining and legitimising their knowledge is thus not new. In our view, however, this situation has been aggravated today by the simultaneous spread of New Public Management in education and the promotion of evidence-based education. We have shown how, in the North American context in particular, new forms of governance and accountability policies converged with the need to identify effective practices and proven solutions to the problems facing teachers. The rewards and sanctions envisioned for the schools are only justified because it is assumed that applicable solutions exist. The search for convincing solutions, through evidence-based education, is thus closely tied to pressure on performances and accountability policies. This association is probably somewhat different, and often less strict, in other national contexts but such a combination of pressure on performances and recourse to best practices or repertories of validated skills proposed to teachers can be found in a great number of education systems today (cf. Dupriez and Malet 2013).

This development clearly has an impact on educational research, which is increasingly mobilised in an instrumental perspective, namely in order to provide

solutions for problems rather than analysing the problem itself. But such an evolution also has an unequivocal impact on the status reserved for teachers. The 'applicationist' approach would have them implement pre-tested solutions under threat of evaluations of their performances. It is precisely in opposition to such a position that, like Biesta, we defend the place of teachers' professional judgment. In the words of Champy (2009) and the sociology of professions, what is at stake is the 'prudential' nature of teachers' work, because ordering teachers to apply pre-established intervention models means denying the importance of analysing the singularity of classroom situations and the deliberations that accompany it. On the contrary, recognising that singularity and the inseparability of the means and ends of teachers' work constitutes a call for granting autonomy to a professional capable of making choices as well as classroom decisions informed, among others, by scientific research.

A final, increasingly prominent line of research worth mentioning here includes the diversity of investigations which have, over more than a decade, brought out the value of collaboration in building teacher knowledge. (Little 2006; Vescio et al. 2008; Vangrieken et al. 2015; Ria 2015). Between the trend towards outsourcing the production of knowledge for teaching and the recognition of the individual teacher's knowledge, these studies suggest that working with peers on professional situations and practices is a promising path for encouraging the building of shared knowledge within a professional community.

Translated from French by Miriam Rosen.

References

Apple, M. (1980). Curricular form and the logic of technical control: Building the possessive individual. In L. Barton, R. Meighan, & S. Walker (Eds.), *Schooling, ideology and curriculum* (pp. 11–28). Lewes: Falmer Press.

Apple, M. (1983). Work, class and teaching. In L. Barton & S. Walker (Eds.), *Gender, class and education* (pp. 53–68). Lewes: Falmer Press.

Biesta, G. (2007). Why "what works" won't work: Evidence-based practice and the democratic deficit in educational research. *Educational Theory, 57*(1), 1–22.

Biesta, G. (2010). Why 'what works' still won't work. From evidence-based education to value-based education. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 29*(5), 491–503.

Bourdoncle, R. (1993). La professionnalisation des enseignants: les limites d'un mythe. *Revue Française de Pédagogie, 105,* 83–119.

Bourdoncle, R. (1994). Savoir professionnel et formation des enseignants. Une typologie sociologique. *Spirale. Revue de Recherche en Education, 13,* 77–96.

Bourgeois, E. (2013). Expérience et apprentissage. La contribution de John Dewey. In L. Albarello, J. M. Barbier, E. Bourgeois, & M. Durand (Eds.), *Expérience, activité, apprentissage* (pp. 13–38). Paris: PUF.

Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in capitalist America*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Brown, S., & McIntyre, D. (1993). *Making sense of teaching*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Champy, F. (2009). *La sociologie des professions*. Paris: PUF.

Chapoulie, J.-M. (1973). Sur l'analyse sociologique des groupes professionnels. *Revue Française de Sociologie, 14*(1), 86–114.

Connelly, F. M., & Clandinin, D. J. (1988). *Teachers as curriculum planners. Narratives of experience*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Davies, P. (1999). What is evidence-based education? *British Journal of Educational Studies, 47* (2), 108–121.

Demazière, D., Lessard, C., & Morissette, J. (2013). Les effets de la Nouvelle Gestion Publique sur le travail des professionnels: transpositions, variations, ambivalences. *Education et Sociétés, 2* (32), 5–20.

Dupriez, V. (2015). *Peut-on réformer l'école ? Approches organisationnelle et institutionnelle du changement pédagogique*. Louvain-la-Neuve: De Boeck Supérieur.

Dupriez, V., & Malet, R. (Eds.). (2013). *L'évaluation dans les systèmes scolaires. Accommodements du travail et reconfiguration des professionnalités*. Bruxelles: De Boeck.

Evans, L. (2008). Professionalism, professionality and the development of education professionals. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 56*(1), 20–38.

Hargreaves, D. H. (1996). *Teaching as a research-based profession: Possibilities and prospects*. Cambridge: Teacher Training Agency Annual Lecture.

Hiebert, J., Gallimore, R., & Stigler, J. W. (2002). A knowledge base for the teaching profession: What would it look like and how can we get one? *Educational Researcher, 31*(5), 3–15.

Hofstetter, R. & Schneuwly, B. (2009*).* Introduction. In R. Hofstetter, & B. Schneuwly (Eds.), *Savoirs en (trans)formation. Au cœur des professions de l'enseignement et de la formation* (pp. 7–40). Bruxelles: De Boeck.

Kennedy, M. M. (1983). Working knowledge. *Science Communication, 5*(2), 193–211.

Little, J. W. (2006). *Professional development and professional community in the learner-centered school*. Washington, DC: National Education Association.

Lortie, D. (1975). *Schoolteacher: A sociological analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Malet, R. (2016). Les politiques de professionnalisation de l'enseignement: conditions de développement, de diffusion et variations dans les usages et les effets. *Education Comparée, 16,* 117–202.

Maroy, C., & Cattonar, B. (2002). Professionnalisation ou déprofessionnalisation des enseignants. Le cas de la Communauté française de Belgique. *Les Cahiers de Recherche du GIRSEF*, *18*.

Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology, 83*(2), 340–363.

Paquay, L. (2012). Avancées et continuités dans la recherche sur la formation des enseignants. *Les Cahiers de recherche du GIRSEF, 90,* 1–35.

Perrenoud, P. (1996). Le métier d'enseignant entre prolétarisation et professionnalisation: deux modèles de changement. *Perspectives, XXVI, 3,* 543–562.

Portes, P. R. (2005). *Dismantling educational inequality: A cultural-historical approach to closing the achievement gap*. New York: Peter Lang.

Ria, L. (Ed.). (2015). *Former les enseignants au XXIe siècle. Etablissement formateur et vidéoformation*. Bruxelles: De Boeck.

Reynolds, M. C. (Ed.). (1989). *The knowledge base for the beginning teacher*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Saussez, F., & Lessard, C. (2009). Entre orthodoxie et pluralisme, les enjeux de l'éducation basée sur la preuve. *Revue Française de Pédagogie, 168,* 111–136.

Scheerens, J., & Bosker, R. J. (1997). *The foundations of educational effectiveness*. Oxford: Pergamon.

Slavin, R. E. (2002). Evidence-based education policies: Transforming educational practice and research. *Educational Researcher, 31*(7), 15–21.

Tardif, M., & Lessard, C. (1999). *Le travail enseignant au quotidien: contribution à l'étude du travail dans les métiers et les professions d'interactions humaines*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.

Tardif, M., Lessard, C., & Lahaye, L. (1991). Les enseignants des ordres d'enseignement primaire et secondaire face aux savoirs. Esquisse d'une problématique du savoir enseignant. *Sociologie et Sociétés, XXIII, 1,* 55–69.

Vangrieken, K., Dochy, F., Raes, E., & Kyndt, E. (2015). Teacher collaboration: A systematic review. *Educational Research Review, 15,* 17–40.

Vause, A. (2010). Le processus de construction de la connaissance ouvragée des enseignants. *Les Cahiers de Recherche en Éducation et Formation*, *82*.

Verloop, N., Van Driel, J., & Meijer, P. (2001). Teacher knowledge and the knowledge base of teaching. *International Journal of Educational Research, 35*(5), 441–461.

Vescio, V., Ross, D., & Adams, A. (2008). A review of research on the impact of professional learning communities on teaching practice and student learning. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 24*(1), 80–91.

Vincent Dupriez is Professor of Education at the Université catholique de Louvain (UCL). His major research interests are comparative education, educational policies and school administration. He leads the Interdisciplinary Research Group in Socialisation, Education and Training (GIRSEF), at the UCL. Currently his main research concerns the teacher profession and teachers labor market.

Branka Cattonar is visiting professor of Sociology at the Université catholique de Louvain (UCL) and member of the Interdisciplinary Research Group in Socialisation, Education and Training (GIRSEF) at the UCL. His main researchs concern the teacher profession and its evolutions linked to the new educational policies (changes in professional identities, models of professionalism and training, conditions for professionalisation).

Chapter 9
New Public Management and Its Effects in the Teaching Profession: Recent Trends in Spain and Catalonia

Antoni Verger and Marcel Pagès

9.1 Introduction

Recent educational reforms and legislative changes in both Catalonia and Spain have been inspired by New Public Management (NPM). Accordingly, policy ideas such as school autonomy and accountability—including test-based accountability and the evaluation of teachers' performance—have strongly framed the education policy debate, as well as tangible educational transformations at the school level. The objective of this chapter is two-fold. First, the chapter analyses how NPM and, with it, new forms of education evaluation and accountability have been adopted and tailored within the Spanish context, with a focus on the Catalan region. Second, the chapter analyses how accountability policies are contributing to reconfigure the teaching profession and teachers' daily work in this region.

To achieve these goals, the chapter is structured in four main sections. The first section presents the conceptual framework of the paper, and focuses on the emergence of global education reforms informed by NPM, and on the changing dynamics these reforms generate in teachers' professionalism. The second section contextualizes our case study and, to this purpose, presents the main contextual features of the Spanish education system and the public administration tradition in which this system is embedded. The third section presents the main elements of recent education reforms in Catalonia, with a focus on their main accountability and education evaluation configurations. In the fourth part, we reflect on the main effects of the described reforms on the transformation of the model of teachers' professionalism. Finally, we discuss our main results and conclude the chapter.

A. Verger (✉) · M. Pagès
Sociology Department, University of Barcelona (UAB), Barcelona, Spain
e-mail: antoni.verger@uab.cat

M. Pagès
e-mail: marcelpages.pm@gmail.com

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_9

Methodologically, this chapter is based, first, on interviews with key informants from the public education administration (at both the local and regional levels), including Education Department officials, the inspection body, and with teachers' unions' representatives and, secondly, on document analysis of the main official and policy documents related to recent educational reforms (including education acts and decrees, and the most relevant strategy plans developed by the Education Department).

9.2 The Global Governance of Teachers and Changes in the Teaching Profession

Educational systems and the teacher profession in particular have been significantly altered in the last decades in the context of economic globalization and the rise of the so-called knowledge economy. The increasing dynamics of international competition in the economic domain and the challenges generated by technological innovation have put education systems under great pressure to provide labour markets and societies with more flexible workers and globally skilled citizens. According to Martin Carnoy, "*the tendency for the state in the new competitive global environment is to focus on education policies that enhance its economy's global competitiveness*" (Carnoy 2016, p. 29). At the same time, economic globalisation is putting limits on states' public spending capacity and predisposes the state to marketise and outsource public assets and services, including education, especially in periods of economic recession. In this context, the state is refining its role and functions in public services, moving from direct provider of public services to the role of regulator, funder and evaluator of these services (Verger et al. 2016).

NPM is gaining centrality in global education agendas since it is a public sector reform programme that attempts to promote education systems delivering better results in a cost-efficient way. Thus, in a way, NPM is expected to address the quality-efficiency tension that the state is facing in relation to education in an increasingly globalised economic scenario. Some of the main education policies that are being internationally adopted as part of the NPM paradigm are the promotion of school autonomy and the enactment of accountability mechanisms and different forms of teachers' evaluation. Nonetheless, despite NPM advocates consider that these policies have the potential to contribute to promote the economic efficiency of education systems without necessarily affecting their quality, others outline their negative or undesired effects in teaching practices and the governance of schools (Gunter et al. 2016).

In the field of education, test-based accountability is the modality that is spreading more widely. This accountability model is based on external and standardized large-scale tests that measure students' academic performance in a few areas of knowledge (Hamilton et al. 2002). Despite test-based accountability policies might be used to address a range of quite different educational challenges

and problems, one of the characteristics that these policies have in common is that they aim at putting additional forms of control and pressure in schools, principals and teachers for the delivery of results.

Accountability reforms introduce new modes of regulating and governing the teaching profession, and place teachers at the centre of educational quality debates that are on-going at multiple scales (Robertson 2016). According to Ball (2003), accountability reforms have meant a *re-regulation* of what means to be a teacher and have introduced a performative culture in teachers' daily life. In fact, accountability reforms and the pressures to perform they generate are not only defining what a teacher should do, but also what a teacher should be—i.e. changes in teachers' subjectivities, identities, values and forms of interaction in school settings (Ball 2003, p. 218).

Similarly, Hargreaves (2000) considers that the increasing pressure of external surveillance and testing regimes, together with the definition of centralized curriculums put limits to teachers' professional autonomy. However, according to Hargreaves, uncertainty is a key feature in the current post-professional era since it is not clear yet whether these transformations could lead to a "*broad social movement that protects and advances* [*teachers*'] *professionalism, or whether it will witness the de-professionalization of teaching*" (p. 175). Other authors use different concepts to define the new post-professional stage that many teachers around the world face, including the *entrepreneurial professionalism* (Sachs 2003), the *managerial professionalism* (Brennan 1996) or the *post-performative teacher* (Wilkins 2011).

From a broader perspective on professions, Evetts (2009) syntheses two ideal types of professionalism, namely the occupational and the organizational models of professionalism. Occupational professionalism is based on a professional discourse of work control and collegial authority. Under this form of professionalism, practitioners enjoy of autonomy and discretionary judgement, among other forms of internal regulation. It comprises relations where both the administration and users trust practitioners. More than on external controls, "authority depends on common and lengthy systems of education and vocational training and the development of strong occupational identities and work cultures". Furthermore, "any controls are operationalized by practitioners themselves, guided by codes of professional ethics monitored by professional institutes and associations" (Evetts 2009, p. 248).

Occupational professionalism would be the predominant form of professionalism regulating public services in the context of advanced welfare regimes. However, according to Evetts (2009), NPM reforms in the public sector would be promoting a shift from occupational toward organizational professionalism. In contrast to occupational professionalism:

> Organizational professionalism is manifested by a discourse of control, used increasingly by managers in work organizations. It incorporates rational-legal forms of authority [*in a Webberian sense*] and hierarchical structures of responsibility and decision-making. It involves increasingly standardized work procedures and practices, consistent with managerialist controls. It also relies on external forms of regulation and accountability measures, such as target-setting and performance review. Professional discourse at work is used

> by managers, practitioners and customers as a form of occupational control, motivation and expectation. (Evetts 2009, p. 248)

To conclude, existing research shows that global education reforms and, in particular, accountability reforms are altering the sense of professionalism of teachers, their autonomy and judgement capacity, and are generating a new teaching approach based on the principles of efficiency, the meeting of externally-defined standards, and a more results-oriented pedagogy. In this chapter, and following Evetts' categories, we will analyse how accountability reforms are challenging and promoting specific forms of continuity and discontinuity in teachers' professionalism in the Spanish and, with more detail, in the Catalan educational setting.

9.3 The Education System and the Teaching Profession in Spain

The education system in Spain was highly decentralised with the Spanish Constitution approved in 1978, after a long dictatorship period. Despite decentralization involved the transfer of important competences in policy fields such as education, health or social services to the regional authorities, the Central State has the capacity to define general regulatory frameworks in relation to most policy domains. In the case of education, the regional administrations are in charge of the provision of education services, while the State regulates aspects of pedagogy, access, and curriculum. The regional administration has also the capacity to define its own laws, as far as they do not clash with the general regulatory framework. Nonetheless, the high level of administrative decentralization that prevails in Spain is far from harmonious and, in fact, is a highly contentious process. The education system in Spain is characterized by relevant territorial and political tensions regarding aspects such as curriculum and administrative competences among different scales of governance (Engel 2008).

Another relevant characteristic of the Spanish education system is that its model of provision is based on a high-scale public-private partnership (PPP). This PPP, which was formalized in the 1980s, allowed the expansion of mass schooling at a relatively low cost, and consolidated a dual system in which private schools (mainly religious) can receive public funds on the condition that they follow public sector regulations. However, there are also important drawbacks in the implementation of this PPP framework, including issues of discrimination in students' enrolment and the collection of uncovered school fees on behalf of the private dependent schools (Benito and González 2007). This dual system has relevant implications for teachers since it is also dual in terms of access to the profession, conditions, career development and status.

The administrative tradition that prevails in Spain has also important implications in the configurations of the education system and the teaching profession in

particular. This tradition is characterized by an emphasis on law, the prominence of the State and the principles of formality and uniformity (Ongaro 2009; Guy Peters 2008). In Spain, teachers' labour status and access to the profession is regulated under such a Napoleonic administrative tradition. The central state regulates the access, the status and the legal frames of teaching. The access to the teaching corps is mostly based on competitive examination, despite this modality coexist with open recruitment in the private sector. The central education authority is the employer of teachers, and most teachers have civil servant status, although part of them are employees with contractual status (Eurydice 2013). Overall, the teachers figure is quite uniform, and promotion is mostly related to years in the profession, not to merit. In public schools, the model of school direction is still predominantly horizontal in the sense that any teacher can become the school leader, and that teachers—and even other members of the school community—enjoy of several formal spaces where to take decisions on school organization and instruction together with principals (OECD 2016).

However, more recently, new policies and measures have been adopted as a way to alter teaching recruitment regulations and school leadership, as it will be addressed in this chapter. These measures have been enacted in parallel to and in the context of a profound financial crisis whose management has meant significant cuts in public services and the undermining of teaching working conditions. Teachers' salaries have been decreasing continuously between the years 2010 and 2014 (OECD 2016, p. 425), while the teaching loads and teacher-students ratios have increased (Decree 14/2012). In a short period of time, the working conditions of Spanish teachers have been severely worsened in a way that related indicators that were above the OECD average before the crisis, are currently below average (OECD 2015).

9.4 Accountability Policies and Teachers: The Case of the Catalan Education Reform

In 2009, an ambitious educational reform started in Catalonia with the approval of the Catalan Education Law (LEC for its acronym in Catalan), which introduced relevant elements inspired in the New Public Management policy paradigm (Verger and Curran 2014). The LEC Education Reform Act was promoted by a progressive governmental coalition under the lead of the social-democratic party that came in power in 2003, after twenty-three years of conservative governments in Catalonia.

During the first mandate of the progressive coalition (2003–2006), the most emblematic education policy consisted on the development of "School Autonomy Plans" which aimed to improve equity conditions in schools with high levels of socio-economic vulnerability. The schools taking part in the program received significant grants and extra funds to develop their own autonomy plans. Through these plans, schools defined an educational strategy more relevant and better

adapted to their particular contexts and types of students. In exchange of enjoying higher doses of autonomy and additional resources, schools would need to be more open to external evaluations and to implement self-evaluation mechanisms. They also received training on strategic planning and school leadership from the regional Education Ministry (Garcia-Alegre and Del Campo-Canals 2012).

Concurrently, in this same political period, a new Catalan Autonomic Statute (2006) was approved, allowing the Catalan government to define its own laws on key public domains such as education. The progressive government, in its second term (2006–2010), would take political advantage of this emerging regulatory framework to lead the development of the first Catalan Education Reform Act (Verger and Curran 2016, p. 116). During the debate and the definition of the act, the Education Minister, the social-democrat Ernest Maragall, put an increasing emphasis on the principles of New Public Management. This emphasis on a managerial approach to the education reform changed the expected supports and disapprovals of the law in the Parliament, with the greens, who were part of the government coalition, voting against the law and the conservatives, who were in the opposition, voting in favour. The LEC ERA was approved in 2009 with a broad parliamentarian support, but with the opposition of the green party and the teachers' unions (Verger and Curran 2014).

Also in 2009, two different evaluation instruments of schools' results—which we describe in more detail further down—were implemented in the whole Catalan education system, namely the Final Period Evaluation (FPE) and the Global Diagnostic Evaluation. One year later, in 2010, the main pillars of the LEC were developed through a series of decrees, namely, the "School Autonomy Decree", the "Principals Decree" and the "Evaluation Decree". These three decrees somehow correspond to the main policy principles of the NPM approach in education, i.e. the promotion of more independent public services' management units (school autonomy), stronger and more results-oriented leadership styles, and public services externally regulated and controlled via evaluation mechanisms.

In November 2010, the conservative party won the elections and a new government was constituted. Regarding the education agenda, despite the conservatives felt largely comfortable with the LEC broader frame (Verger and Curran 2014) they enacted the law in a very selective way (Bonal and Verger 2013). First, the conservative government cancelled the Evaluation Decree and consequently interrupted the process for the creation of an external agency of evaluation, arguing financial feasibility issues in a context of economic restrictions. Under the same argument, the School Autonomy Plans were also eliminated and substituted by narrower agreements between the schools and the Education Department. Budget restrictions also meant significant cuts in teachers' in-service professional training.

Secondly, in terms of external evaluation, the Education Department defined two new instruments of school evaluation, namely the Annual School Evaluation (AVAC) implemented in 2013 and the Pedagogic Audits (2014). As we develop in the next section, these instruments reinforce the role of School Inspection in education evaluation processes and focus on making sure that schools are aligned with the achievement of common learning standards.

Thirdly, the government promoted a common core curriculum via a quite prescriptive 'basic-skills' programme in knowledge areas such as Mathematics and Language. This initiative, in a way, contributed to narrow the curriculum and to reduce the pedagogic autonomy of teachers and schools (Verger and Curran 2016). Concurrently, a School Success Plan that established the main educational and learning goals to be achieved in the following years—in which OECD PISA indicators were a key benchmark—was defined.

Finally, the government approved a new decree, the "Teachers' Selection Decree" (Decree 39/2014), aimed to increase the competences of principals in defining vacancies and hiring teachers, but also as a way to make the teaching profession more flexible and adaptable to schools' specific educational projects—in contraposition of the rigidity of the Civil Servant Status defined by the Spanish organic law. As reported by various key informants of the education administration:

> The Civil Service Status model it's not the best option for a modern model of school autonomy. The civil servant is a correct figure for other services of the administration (Int. 1, Barcelona, 06/02/2017)

To sum up, in Catalonia, a NPM approach to educational governance was strongly promoted with the LEC education reform. Specifically, the NPM approach penetrated the education system under a progressive mandate that aimed at the modernization of the education system, and promoting further schools' autonomy and more independent external evaluations. Nonetheless, this reform trajectory was partially interrupted when the conservatives came back to power and the government pushed for another view of evaluation, which was more centred in the definition of standards and the reinforcement of the figure of the inspection as a key evaluation agent.

9.4.1 School Accountability and Autonomy Assemblages: A Focus on Teachers

The practical application of the core principles of the LEC ERA (i.e. school autonomy, school principals' professionalization, and the flexibilization of the provision of teaching vacancies) is altering the expected role, position and functions of teachers.

The *School Autonomy Decree* aims at promoting schools taking more autonomous decisions in relation to aspects of pedagogy, management and organization. This decree, however, in the way is being implemented, gives more weigh to the managerial and organizational dimensions of school autonomy and, accordingly, to the role of the principal in different areas of decision-making at the school level. The decree also puts an important emphasis on the evaluation procedures that need to be applied at the school and teaching levels, and considers that evaluation is a key tool to determine teachers' potential contribution to school betterment (Decree 102/2010). Even though the development of this decree is one of the main pillars of

the reform, its deployment has been uneven and has implied certain levels of system fragmentation:

> We cannot say that the schools are autonomous but the schools have different levels of development of its autonomy according to the quality of their own structure and the governance system in each school (Int. 1, Barcelona, 06/02/2017)

The *Principals*' *Decree* has the objective to contribute to the professionalization of schools' principals. The decree has promoted principals (or candidates to principal) receiving specialized training on leadership, and has enacted the competitive selection of school principals on the basis of a 'school direction project' that candidates must elaborate. Before this decree, principals were selected by the school council and the teachers' council, and in most cases an "internal" candidate was chosen. But with the decree, the public administration has acquired a bigger say in the selection of principals than school actors (Diari de l'Educació 2014). The principals' decree promotes a school leadership model that is more managerial in nature, and conceives the principal as a sort of "head of personnel". In this respect, the decree gives additional functions to the principals in selecting and evaluating teachers, managing the teaching staff, and acquiring external funding for the school (Decree 155/2010).

The latter idea was developed and enacted with the so-called *Teachers-selection* decree. This decree, which according to sources of the Department is inspired in the OECD recommendations on school leadership (Departament d'Ensenyament 2014), defines how the principals could hire teachers out of the centralized system regulated by the Basic Public Employee Statute (Law 7/2007). The decree allows the principal to define the profile of the teaching vacancies according to the school educational project and the specific needs of the school. By doing so, the decree is seen as a key instrument to promote more effective school autonomy.

> We identified the need to adapt the teachers' profile to the school needs. It opens the possibility that schools through the principals and with the agreement of the school council, could establish, according to the school education project, some additional profiles beyond the usual teachers' vacancies (Int. 5, Barcelona, 13/02/17)

Specifically, according to this decree, the principal can hire up to 50% of the teaching staff of the school according to a profile pre-defined by him/herself. This measure introduces an important change in the regulation of the teaching provision as it gets over the traditional way to hire teachers on the basis of antiquity and/or the mark obtained in the entry exam—which is the common procedure in more hierarchical and bureaucratic administrative traditions. For the proponents of the Decree, the Civil Servant Status is no longer useful as a way to regulate teaching because it is a too rigid and inflexible mechanism.

> It's very difficult to change it, because the Civil Servant Law is a central State law which it's largely consolidated within the system. I would say, more than think about a change of model, we have to think how to identify gaps in the system to make the model we have more flexible (Int. 1, Barcelona, 06/02/2017)

Concurrently to theses decrees, an ensemble of different evaluation instruments with direct implications for teachers' work has been adopted within the Catalan education system. Among all these different instruments, the Final Period Evaluation (FPE) could be considered as the core evaluation instrument in the system. The FPE is as an external standardized test focusing on skills and competences that is applied to students in 6th grade primary education and 4th grade lower secondary education. The approach and design of the FPE has changed with the passage of time to become more aligned to the PISA evaluation (Departament d'Ensenyament 2013). The way PISA has influenced the structure and the methodology of the FPE test and, but also how the test has contributed to promote a teaching approach based on competences is a clear example of new forms of regulating teaching work through external instruments (see Grek and Ozga 2008).

> In Catalonia, we identified the basic competences, modified the curriculum and based the curriculum on competences. We asked to modify the methodology, and now the tests applied in Catalonia are also inspired in PISA and based on competences (Int. 1, Barcelona, 06/02/2017)

On its part, the so-called Global Diagnostic Evaluation is a self-evaluation test applied to 5th grade primary education students and to 3th grade secondary education students[1] conceived as a formative/diagnostic evaluation for school improvement. Despite its internal and self-evaluation nature, the test and the guidelines of the Global Diagnostic Evaluation are designed by the Department of Education, and the inspection services develop a supportive role within the implementation and feedback process.

Another evaluation instrument developed in Catalonia is the so-called Annual Schools Evaluation (AVAC for its acronym in Catalan), which has been designed by the inspection services as a way to address a governmental request of classifying the schools according to their level of efficiency (Departament d'Ensenyament 2015c). The AVAC categorizes schools' efficiency according to different aspects, mainly students' results—in both external (i.e. FPE) and internal evaluations-, the achievement of the school objectives, and the school strategies against students' dropouts, absenteeism, etc. (Departament d'Ensenyament 2016). According to our interviews, some principals are being reluctant to the AVAC instrument as it implies an increasing paperwork and bureaucracy procedures, while it is not perceived as a useful and formative evaluation instrument.

> The principals are feeling AVAC as an extra work which it does not help them, they see it as a control measure… They are not living it as a formative item. (Int. 6)

The AVAC is also being used as a way to promote teachers being paid according to their "productivity". Under this scheme, teachers who are in schools with upper efficiency levels can apply for a voluntary individual evaluation in order to obtain a salary bonus (Order ENS/330/2014). In this evaluation, teachers need to demonstrate their specific contribution to the success of the school, and principals validate

[1]Since 2013 this evaluation is no longer applied to secondary education.

such an assessment. Nonetheless, not many teachers have applied to this evaluation process so far because of the existence of easier alternatives to get promotion. According to some sources, the main limitation of the AVAC is that is conceived as an individual promotion mechanism, instead of as a school improvement tool:

> The teachers' evaluation, when done, is done in a bureaucratic way, related to changes in the professional status and based on a voluntary initiative, but not systematically, not oriented to the improvement and not focusing on teams, it rather does so focusing on individual teachers who want to get promotion (Int. 4, 17/05/2016, Barcelona)

Finally, the Pedagogic Audits are an evaluation mechanism aiming at the improvement of underperforming primary schools (i.e. schools with more than 30% of students underperforming in the FPE test). It is conceived as an "integral and exhaustive analysis of each school" with "specific intervention purposes for the key aspects of betterment" (Departament d'Ensenyament 2015a, p. 6). Since 2014, about one hundred schools have been involved in the audits, and the Education Department is considering expanding them to secondary education. This mechanism challenges the internal forms of regulation of teaching and introduces the latest external way to regulate teaching. Interestingly, this policy is the first attempt to introduce a high-stake type of evaluation in a context where accountability is predominantly soft or low-stakes in nature:

> We always have to control the schools whose results are below what is desirable, and we have to understand that in the majority of cases, it is not about stigmatizing or blaming such schools (Int. 1, Barcelona, 06/02/2017)

To sum up, the LEC ERA was structured around three main policy principles, namely school autonomy, principals' professionalization and external evaluation. However, the development and enactment of these three principles has been quite uneven. With the evaluation decree being suspended, the "Teachers Selection Decree" became the third regulatory pillar of the LEC ERA, and more evaluation competences have been given to the inspection services. On its part, the school autonomy policy principle has been conflated to giving more decision-making powers and competences for school principals, but not for teachers, neither for the broader school community. The changes introduced with this reform have contributed, as discussed in more detail below, to transform teachers' work and the teaching profession in a particular direction.

9.5 A Changing Model of Teachers' Professionalism?

In this section we use Evetts' conceptual model (2009) to discuss recent transformations in the teaching profession in Catalonia as a result of the above-described education reforms. We organize Evetts' ideal types of professionalism and their main features around four main dimensions, namely: (a) forms and sources of authority, i.e. the principles that constitute and conform the ways authority is

expressed and exerted; (b) how power structures are articulated within the profession; (c) how the work procedures are defined; and (d) what are the main mechanisms regulating the professional practice (for instance, defining what and how has to be taught). We use this model and the different dimensions that conform it as an analytical tool to scrutinize and systematise to what extent and how teaching in Catalonia is shifting toward an organizational type of professionalism in the context of on-going NPM reforms.

First, despite the LEC ERA conceives teachers as "*the professionals who exercise the main responsibility over the education process and the authority that emanates from such a process.*" (Law 12/2009, p. 47), the deployment of this law puts more specific emphasis on the professionalization of school principals and on the promotion of the principal as the locus of school autonomy (Verger and Curran 2016). At the same time that principals gain competences, teachers—especially those with an interim status—become more subordinated to the principals' figure in a way that alters a relatively long tradition of horizontal governance at the school level. As mentioned above, the Principals Decree defines the principal as the "*head of personnel in the school*" (Decree 155/2010, p. 82845) being responsive of "*leading and managing the personnel of each school in a way oriented to the accomplishment of its functions*" (p. 82844). Thus, the school principal has become the most direct responsible of the accomplishment of the school teaching and learning goals in what becomes a more managerial expression of work control.

With the reform, the forms and the sources of authority are being changing from collegial and/or charismatic forms of authority to more rational and legal forms of authority, with the latter involving a more systematic approach to school leadership. The emerging regulatory framework coming from the LEC defines the attributions and the powers of the principals in a quite prescriptive way. This framework defines the principal as a "*public authority*" (Law 12/2009, p. 127) and as the "*representative of the education administration in the school*" (Decree 155/2010, p. 82842). Moreover, the principals have to submit to the Department of Education their Project of School Direction where the main school objectives and the indicators of accomplishment of such objectives during the principal's mandate need to be explicitly defined. The Directors Project becomes thus more relevant in the management of the school than the broader school educational project. The increasing authority that principals' gain with these reforms narrows collegial authority in the sense that reduces teachers' formal responsibility and decision-making capacity in different aspects of the school dynamic.

Secondly, and according to what we have just said, *power* structures in the educational system are shifting from a kind of collegial or horizontal scheme of school governance to a more hierarchical structure through the expansion and professionalization of principals' functions, and a more meritocratic and externally-driven selection process of principals. The fact that principals have additional competences in selecting, firing and evaluating teachers undermines, de facto, spaces of collective or collegial decision-making such as the teachers' council, and alters the power relations within these spaces. The LEC text does not only conceive the principal as the "head of all the school staff" and the "pedagogic

director" of the school (Law 12/2009, p. 125), but also gives principals powers to designate the members in the school management and coordination bodies and to define many school norms and regulations (p. 127). Furthermore, the Teachers' Selection Decree and the attributions given to the principals in managing the teachers' workforce have also implied an erosion of the collective power of teachers and teachers' unions.

> We have, as workers, a structure to discuss the decisions about teachers' personnel with those who take the decisions (the administration). We have the sectorial committee to represent teachers but now we don't have any more channels to make any interlocution to those who take the decisions beyond the administration (the principals). This is a situation of defencelessness as there are substantial changes in the working conditions where people have left out of the collective defence. (Int. 2, Barcelona, 30/03/2017)

Finally, external evaluations are becoming more relevant in framing and regulating teachers' practices. The broad range of external evaluation initiatives being implemented in the Catalan education system might erode the professional judgement capacity of teachers and contribute to narrow the curriculum. As an administration official acknowledges:

> Look, from the first moment that you say, we are going to evaluate this, you just have given value to that. And when you say this is not going to be evaluated, you have tacked off that value. (Int. 1, Barcelona, 06/02/2017)

In a similar way to national tests, the OECD PISA evaluation has become an important source of authority in Catalan education policy space and has acted as a key benchmark in the definition of both policy goals, curricular contents and according evaluation mechanisms.

> We follow the international protocols as it's done everywhere, I mean… If PISA says that the knowledge have to be based on skills, the test have to be based on skills. (Int. 1, Barcelona, 06/02/2017)

> It's fundamental. The external evaluations are competence-based. It's been a long time since we are working in this direction. The competence work it's clear and hence it's not a coincidence that the PISA approach has been translating in good results (Int. 3, Barcelona, 03/04/2017)

On their part, both the *Basic Competences Plan* and the *School Success Plan* adopted by the conservative governments are policy instruments with the potential of contributing to narrow the curriculum, and to reduce schools and teachers' autonomy in taking curricular and pedagogic decisions. In contrast to the occupational professionalism model, teachers' professional trust and autonomy become gradually restricted by the external standardisation of educational procedures and contents. For instance, the *Basic Competences Plan* is quite open about its prescriptive goals:

> With the methodological orientations given to work in each competence, it is expected to help the teachers' work presenting general guidelines to orient the work in the classroom: the strategies, selection and ordination criteria of activities, the materials and resources, the

Table 9.1 Changes in teachers' professionalism in Catalonia

	Type 1. Occupational professionalism	Type 2. Organizational professionalism	Policies and instruments contributing to a type 1 to 2 transition
Forms and source of authority	Collegial and charismatic authority	Managerial forms Rational and legal sources of authority	Principals Decree AVAC FPE Pedagogic audits
Structures of power	More horizontal Structures	More hierarchical structures	Teacher Selection Decree Principals Decree
Work procedures	Autonomy and trust	Standardization	School Success Plan Basic Competences Plan
Regulation	Internal forms of regulation (professional ethics)	External forms of regulation through accountability systems	AVAC FPE Pedagogic audits

Source Adapted from Evetts (2009)

> student's grouping and the possible relations to other fields and competences.(Departament d'Ensenyament 2015b, p. 6).

Interestingly, the orientation of such policies goes in the opposite direction of what the LEC ERA was first and foremost supposed to promote, namely further school autonomy at all levels, including the pedagogic and organizational ones (Verger and Curran 2014).

In Table 9.1, we summarize the different characteristics and dimensions of both occupational and organizational professionalism, and which policies and instruments are contributing to push for a shift toward an organizational professionalism model in the Catalan education context.

Overall, despite the test-based accountability trend and the changes in schools' leadership described in this chapter, important forms of internal regulation still prevail within the teacher profession in Catalonia, with teachers' unions, collegial associations and pedagogic movements enjoying high levels of political and educational legitimacy. In this respect, more than a transition from a model of occupational to organized professionalism, a hybridization of the two models still prevails. Whether the balance will settle on one side or the other will depend on future political developments and, as stated by Hargreaves (2000), on the capacity of collective action and reaction of teachers.

9.6 Conclusions

Both the Spanish and the Catalan education systems are subject to education reform pressures that, as happens in many other points of the planet, are altering the professional status of teachers. Three main conclusions on the changing nature of

the teaching profession in the context of NPM reforms derive from the case study presented in this chapter.

First of all, teaching in Catalonia has been slightly but continuously changing in the last decade in the context of educational reforms focusing on accountability and school autonomy measures. School autonomy with accountability policies have been enacted very differently in Catalonia under two different political periods. With the progressive government, accountability policies were seen as subordinated and intrinsically attached to the promotion of school autonomy. The goal of the reform had to be the promotion of more independent and context-relevant school education projects, and accountability was seen as a necessary tool to test whether schools were achieving the objectives included in the school autonomy plans. With the conservative government, accountability becomes a tool to promote educational excellence and to control that all students reach a minimum common core of educational standards. Even when the external evaluations being adopted are predominantly low-stakes in essence, the conservative government has begun to feel the use of evaluation in a more high-stakes way (for instance, to pay teachers according to productivity, or to intervene in underperforming schools).

Secondly, the regulation of teachers' work and the teaching conditions are affected by a broad range of educational policies in which accountability measures play a central role. Despite the Catalan government did not explicitly introduce an accountability system to condition teachers' work, this system has inevitably affected teaching practices and teachers' interactions with other colleagues and students. The most paradigmatic case would be that of the FPE test, which, despite it was initiated as a diagnostic tool, with the passage of time has combined with other education policies in a way that has contributed to promote competences-based education—especially in relation to core subjects such as Mathematics and Language—and has become attached to some incentivistic policies.

Lastly, with teachers' professionalism becoming more organizational in nature, both teachers' autonomy and forms of professional regulation are being apparently eroded. Nonetheless, more research is necessary to find out how and to what extent accountability mechanism are altering the pedagogic autonomy of teachers and/or rather promoting the expected educational excellence and instructional improvements at the school level. Similarly, whether test-based accountability and related NPM policies are affecting teachers' occupational identities, forms of internal regulation and work cultures, and in which way, are still empirical questions that future research needs to address.

References

Ball, S. (2003). The teacher's soul and the terrors of performativity. *Journal of Education Policy, 18*(2), 215–228.

Benito, R., & González, I. (2007). *Processos de segregació escolar a Catalunya*. Barcelona: Fundació Jaume Bofill.

Bonal, X., & Verger, A. (2013). *L'agenda de la política educativa a Catalunya: una anàlisi de les opcions de govern (2011–2013)*. Barcelona: Fundació Jaume Bofill.

Brennan, M. (1996). *Multiple professionalisms for Australian teachers in an important age*. New York: American Educational Research Association.

Carnoy, M. (2016). Educational policies in the face of globalization: Whither the nation state? *Handbook of Global Education Policy*, 27.

Decree 39/2014. Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya, Spain, March 25, 2014. Retrieved May 08, 2017 from http://portaldogc.gencat.cat/utilsEADOP/PDF/6591/1346314.pdf.

Decree 14/2012. Boletín Oficial del Estado, Spain, April 20, 2012. Retrieved May 08, 2017 from https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2012/04/21/pdfs/BOE-A-2012-5337.pdf.

Decree 102/2010. Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya, Spain, August 03, 2010. Retrieved May 08, 2017 from http://portaldogc.gencat.cat/utilsEADOP/PDF/5686/1108859.pdf.

Decree 155/2010. Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya, Spain, November 02, 2010. Retrieved May 08, 2017 from http://portaldogc.gencat.cat/utilsEADOP/PDF/5753/1147537.pdf.

Departament d'Ensenyament, Generalitat de Catalunya. (2013). Ofensiva de país a favor de l'èxit escolar. Pla per a la reducció del fracàs escolar a Catalunya 2012–2018. Retrieved May 08, 2017 from http://ensenyament.gencat.cat/web/.content/home/departament/publicacions/monografies/ofensiva-exit-escolar/ofensiva_exit_escolar.pdf.

Departament d'Ensenyament, Generalitat de Catalunya. (2014). Per una nova escola pública: el projecte educatiu en el centre del sistema Decret pel qual es regulen els procediments per definir el perfil i la provisió dels llocs de treball docents. Retrieved May 08, 2017 from http://premsa.gencat.cat/pres_fsvp/docs/2014/03/25/16/45/c7f56bb5-c16e-4a68-a001-a749c50e030b.pdf.

Departament d'Ensenyament, Generalitat de Catalunya. (2015a). Memoria del Departament d'Ensenyament de Catalunya 2015. Retrieved May 08, 2017 from http://ensenyament.gencat.cat/web/.content/home/departament/publicacions/memoria-activitat-departament/memoria-2015/Text_complet_unic_document.pdf.

Departament d'Ensenyament, Generalitat de Catalunya. (2015b). Competències Bàsiques de l'Àmbit Linguistic (2nd Ed.). Retrieved May 07, 2017 from http://ensenyament.gencat.cat/web/.content/home/departament/publicacions/colleccions/competencies-basiques/primaria/prim-linguistic-ca-es.pdf.

Departament d'Ensenyament, Generalitat de Catalunya. (2015c). Avaluació anual de centres (AVAC). Retrieved May 08, 2017 from http://srvcnpbs.xtec.cat/inslle/docs/20151014_AVAC_Presentacio_Centres_SGIE_2015.pdf.

Departament d'Ensenyament, Generalitat de Catalunya. (2016). Documents per a l'organització i la gestió dels centres Avaluació de centre. Retrieved May 08, 2017 from http://educacio.gencat.cat/documents/IPCNormativa/DOIGC/PEC_Avaluacio_centre.pdf.

Diari de l'Eduació. (2014). La selecció de directors, més dura i controlada per l'administració. Retrieved May 10, 2017 from http://diarieducacio.cat/la-seleccio-de-directors-mes-dura-controlada-per-ladministracio/.

Engel, L. (2008). Globalization's strategic union: Decentralization, efficiency, and the implications for educational governance in Spain. In R. K. Hopson, C. Camp Yeakey, & F. Musa Boakari (Eds.), *Power, voice and the public good: Schooling and education in global societies* (pp. 391–417). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice. (2013). *Key data on teachers and school leaders in Europe*. 2013 Edition. Eurydice Report. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Evetts, J. (2009). New professionalism and new public management: Changes, continuities and consequences. *Comparative Sociology, 8*(2), 247–266.

Garcia-Alegre, E., & Del Campo-Canals, M. (2012). La corresponsabilidad es una estrategia de éxito? *Revista de Educación, 359*(2), 220–248.

Grek, S., & Ozga, J. (2008). *Governing by numbers? Shaping education through data*. Centre for Educational Sociology: University of Edinburgh.

Gunter, H. M., Grimaldi, E., Hall, D., & Serpieri, R. (2016). *New public management and the reform of education: European lessons for policy and practice*. New York: Routledge.

Guy Peters, B. (2008). The napoleonic tradition. *International Journal of Public Sector Management, 21*(2), 118–132.

Hamilton, S., Stecher, B., & Klein, S. (2002). *Making sense of test-based accountability in education*. Rand Corporation.

Hargreaves, A. (2000). Four ages of professionalism and professional learning. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 6*(2), 151–182.

Law 7/2007. Boletín Oficial del Estado, Spain, April 12, 2007. Retrieved May 08, 2017 from https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2007/04/13/pdfs/A16270-16299.pdf.

Law 12/2009. Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya, Spain, July 10, 2009. Retrieved May 08, 2017 from http://portaldogc.gencat.cat/utilsEADOP/PDF/5422/950599.pdf.

OECD. (2015). *Education policy outlook 2015: Making reforms happen*. Paris: OECD Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264225442-en.

OECD. (2016). *Education at a glance 2016: OECD indicators*. Paris: OECD Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2016-en.

Ongaro, E. (2009). *Public management reform and modernization: Trajectories of administrative change in Italy, France, Greece*. Portugal and Spain: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Robertson, S. (2016). The global governance of teachers' work. *The Handbook of Global Education Policy*, 275–290.

Sachs, J. (2003). *The activist professional*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Verger, A., & Curran, M. (2014). New public management as a global education policy: Its adoption and re-contextualization in a Southern European setting. *Critical Studies in Education, 55*(3), 253–271.

Verger, A., & Curran, M. (2016). The dissemination and adoption of NPM ideas in catalan education: A cultural political economy approach. In H. M. Gunter, E. Grimaldi, D. Hall, & R. Serpieri (Eds.), *New public management and the reform of education: European lessons for policy and practice* (1st ed., pp. 111–124). New York: Routledge.

Verger, A., Fontdevila, C., & Zancajo, A. (2016). *The privatization of education: A political economy of global education reform*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Wilkins, C. (2011). Professionalism and the post-performative teacher: New teachers reflect on autonomy and accountability in the English school system. *Professional Development in Education, 37*(3), 389–409.

Antoni Verger is a senior researcher at the Department of Sociology of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, and deputy director of the Erasmus+ master Education Policies for Global Development (GLOBED). A former post-doctoral fellow at the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (University of Amsterdam), Dr. Verger's research has specialized in the study of the relationship between global governance institutions and education policy, with a focus on the dissemination, enactment and effects of public-private partnerships, quasi-market policies and accountability systems in education. Currently, he coordinates the research project REFORMED—Reforming Schools Globally: A Multiscalar Analysis of Autonomy and Accountability Policies in the Education Sector (ERC StG, 2016–2021).

Marcel Pagès is a Ph.D. candidate at the Sociology Department of the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB). He holds a degree in Sociology (2012) and a Masters in Social Policy, Labour and Welfare (2013). He is a member of the Globalization, Education and Social Policies (GEPS) research group, where has collaborated in projects such as "The Education Policy Agenda in Catalonia: An Analysis of the Governmental Options (2011–2013)", funded by the Jaume Bofill Foundation. His doctoral thesis analyses the re-contextualization of New Public Management in Catalan education, and its impact in the micro-politics of schools. His areas of interest are education reform and the re-contextualization of global education policies.

Chapter 10
Comparison and Benchmarking as Key Elements in Governing Processes in Norwegian Schools

Guri Skedsmo

10.1 Introduction

Over the past 15 years, the assessment of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which is sponsored by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), has become a strategically important actor in international education policy debates. In a brochure delineating the PISA results in 2015, the Secretary-General, Angel Gurría, stated the following:

> Over the past decade […], PISA has become the world's premier yardstick for evaluating the quality, equity and efficiency of school systems. By identifying the characteristics of high-performing education systems, PISA allows governments and educators to identify effective policies that they can then adapt to their local contexts. (OECD 2016, p. 2)

The main function of PISA is to describe, monitor and benchmark important aspects of education systems all over the world (cf. Howie and Plump 2005). This is a type of governing which is relatively new, but at the same time, it has a long history in terms of systematic collections of demographic and economic data used by states to monitor their populations (Ball 2015). In education, the numbers are fundamental to the constitution of the modern school in the form of examination and tests where the results are used to categorize, compare, rank and position individuals, organisations and systems. As a consequence of neoliberal policies in many countries, the data have increased importance and represent management tools for constantly improvements and they are linked to mechanisms of reward and sanction to boost performance (Gunter et al. 2016). England, the US and Australia are often characterized as countries where neoliberal policies and managerialism were embedded at an early stage. These governing ideas and modernization efforts have needed more time to adapt to gain influence in other countries. Norway, for

G. Skedsmo (✉)
Department of Teacher Education and School Research, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway
e-mail: guri.skedsmo@phzg.ch

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_10

instance, has been characterized as a late comer (Møller and Skedsmo 2013; Skedsmo 2009).

Through PISA it is argued that the OECD will assume "a new institutional role as arbiter of global governance, simultaneously acting as diagnostician, judge and policy advisor to the world's school system" (Meyer and Benavot 2013, p. 9). The role of judge implies global accountability measures which classify and rank students, educators and school systems from diverse cultures and countries using the same standardised benchmarks. At the centre of this type of governing are data and data systems that construct policy problems and frame policy solutions across national contexts (Nóvoa and Yariv-Marshal 2003; Ozga 2009, 2012). Moreover, the data and the use of data are presented as politically and ideologically neutral and calculable (Petterson et al. 2017).

Shortly after the first PISA results were published in 2001, a national quality assessment system (NQAS) was implemented in the Norwegian school system. The Norwegian PISA performance, which was below the average of OECD-countries, was important in legitimising these new assessment policies (Elstad and Sivesind 2010), and both national tests and international comparative assessment studies represented new creations as the NQAS was introduced. Although the national tests take competency aims in the national curriculum as a point of departure, the use of test results shows that the national tests have a similar function nationally and in local municipalities and schools as PISA has for its member countries. According to current national educational policies in Norway, the key to improvement lies in the use of performance data and output controls. Key actors, such as local authorities, school principals and teachers, are expected to use this information to improve their practice in ways that enhance student outcomes, particularly students' performance on national tests (Skedsmo 2009).

This chapter aims to demonstrate how the OECD, and particularly PISA, has influenced assessment policies and school governing in Norway. First, I examine the key functions of international and national assessment policies. Second, based on analysis of policy documents and interview data, I explore the role of national test results in local quality assessment systems in three municipalities and how superintendents, principals and teachers perceive the use of the results.

10.2 Characteristics Related to School Governing in Norway

In the Norwegian context, the municipalities[1] have the responsibility for primary and lower secondary schools. In the early 2000s, they were defined as *school owners* (White Paper No. 30, 2003–2004). Local responsibility for quality

[1]Per 1. January 2018 there are 422 municipalities in Norway and many of them are quite small (approximately one fourth of the municipalities have more than 10.000 inhabitants).

assurance and development, and as part of this also continuous professional development of teachers, was regulated by law (The Education Act 1998, Regulation to the Education Act 2006). Different typologies have been used to characterise school governing in the Norwegian education context. Lundgren (1990) used a typology originally consisting of three steering systems: *the legal steering system*, *the economic steering system* and *the ideological steering system.* He later added *evaluation* as a fourth system. In the Norwegian context, evaluation emerged during the 1990s, along with the introduction of governing concepts such as *management by objectives* and *results* (Engeland 2000; Engeland and Langfeldt 2009; Karlsen 2006). While the other three systems can be characterised as *effecting tools*, evaluation represents an *information-gathering tool or instrument* (Hood 2007). The information gathered can be used by educational authorities for different purposes. Looking at the relationship among the four different systems, Lundgren (1990) claimed that the more the first three systems loosen up and, thus, allow room for various interpretations, the more evaluation gains dominance as a governing system that provides interpretations in an operational way.

Traditionally, the ideological dimension has been strong in the Norwegian context. Building a comprehensive education system providing equal opportunities for everyone became a highly prioritised goal in Norway towards the end of the eighteenth century. The core of these ideas implies that regardless of gender, residence and socio-economic background, all students have the right to an equitable education that is adapted to their abilities and interests (Karlsen 1993). Important tools in realising these political aims were, first of all, the Education Act, in other words, the *legal steering system*; the national curriculum, which refers to the *ideological steering system* and defined the overall purposes of public schooling, as well as the aims and content for the individual subjects; and finances, in other words, the *economic steering system* (Bachmann et al. 2008; Lundgren 1990; Sivesind and Bachmann 2008). With respect to the political aims for Norwegian schooling, there are questions of whether certain ideologies underpin all these steering systems and how they connect to the realities of knowledge and schooling.

Until the 1990s, curriculum guidelines were considered the most important tool for school governing in the Norwegian context (Bachmann et al. 2004; Sivesind et al. 2003). The curriculum provided the aims and guidelines for content and methods, as well as for student assessment. Until 1998, a national centre (In Norwegian: *Nasjonalt læremiddelsenter*) was responsible for approving the text books which were going to be used in schools. In other words, until the early 2000s, there has been no focus on testing student achievements and assessing outcomes according to performance standards. Instead, there has been a qualification system based on the examination system and overall assessment grades. These tools have served as sorting mechanisms for further education and working life (Hopmann 2003; Lundgren 2003; Sivesind and Bachmann 2008; Werler and Sivesind 2007; Tveit 2014).

This emphasis on input-oriented school governing seemed to be the concern of the OECD reviewers in 1988. In their report, they noted that central authorities were

working determinedly to attain national aims but raised questions concerning how these authorities could form an opinion of and influence the level of quality in a school system as strongly decentralised as the Norwegian school system (OECD 1988). The report stated that monitoring and evaluation functions seemed largely absent from the Norwegian education system. It pointed out that the traditional tools, like the curriculum guidelines, were no longer sufficient to develop the education system within the frameworks agreed upon in Parliament and that there was a need for national educational authorities to adopt an evaluative and monitoring function to fulfil their responsibilities. The reviewers emphasised that their concern was not to reintroduce national control but, rather, to consider ways in which "good norms of educational practice" (OECD 1988, p. 45) could be established and disseminated.

This message from the OECD reviewers that more attention had to be given to the evaluation of educational processes and outcomes is also related to the introduction of management by objectives, or *målstyring* in the Norwegian context, towards the end of the 1980s. The concept of *målstyring* was linked to governing ideas in terms of *virksomhetsplanlegging* which refers to administrative policies aiming to reform public administration, in particular decision-making behaviour by the means of goals and programmes which influence the formal organisation, personnel and working methods (Christensen and Lægreid 1998). Both management by objectives and the administrative reform policies implied a stronger focus on aims and goals as a way of defining direction to guide the work in schools. During the 1990s, such administrative policies were presented as New Public Management reforms. Following the OECD report from 1988, numerous policy documents were worked out by different committees at the behest of the Royal Ministry of Education and Research. They all discussed aspects related to the forms and functions of evaluation, and the discussions have been described as "muddling through". Fifteen years after the OECD report, a national evaluation system was introduced in 2005 which, in many ways, can be described as a shift in the Norwegian educational policy away from the use of input-oriented policy instruments towards a more output-oriented policy.

10.3 Theoretical Perspectives

In this governing regime, a lot of faith is put into the assessment tools that provide data and information to improve practice. It implies, in certain ways, that tools and devices put into play structure policies (Lascoumes and Le Gales 2007). The implementation of new assessment policies depends, however, on how key actors interpret and respond to the meanings they carry. In this chapter, I focus on national testing as a tool and how the use of its data by local key actors, such as superintendents, principals and teachers, is influenced by a benchmarking logic which connects to policies advocated by the OECD.

According to Lascoumes and Le Gales (2007), an analytic approach has certain advantages. First, it implies a stronger emphasis on the concrete procedures established to attain objectives, which makes it possible to study school governing processes in a more material form. Second, it considers that such instruments "organize specific social relations between the state and those it is addressed to" (Lascoumes and Le Gales 2007, p. 4). By this, we acknowledge that every instrument constitutes a "condensed form of knowledge", as it pertains to social control and the means of exercising it (Lascoumes and Le Gales 2007, p. 3). This is particularly useful in a complex education context characterised by governing processes and interaction among multiple actors. Third, such a definition includes the fact that the effects the instruments produce depend on the aims and purposes ascribed to them. This means that instruments are not neutral devices or methods put into a system to accomplish aims. The tools may seem neutral, but they inherently entail underlying assumptions in terms of values, interpretations and meaning which influence their modes of regulation and possible effects (Lascoumes and Le Gales 2007). Depending on how the data are perceived and used by the key actors in the school system, for example, by the superintendents at the municipal level, principals and teachers, and the extent to which they are tied to accountabilities, they represent rather strong means of school governing (cf. Hood 2007; Lascoumes and Le Gales 2007).

10.4 Methodological Approaches

The analysis in this chapter mainly draws on data from interviews conducted with superintendents, principals and teachers in three municipalities. To depict some of the variation among the Norwegian municipalities, they were selected from three different counties in Norway according to the principles of maximum diversity. The municipalities differ according to structure, organisation and quality management systems, as well as the political steering in each municipality. Three schools were selected in each municipality according to criteria such as school type and locality. Key documents regarding municipal quality management systems and annual reports about the school sector were collected and analysed as well as school development plans and evaluation reports. Moreover, interviews with different key actors were conducted from January 2012 until May 2013, as shown in Table 10.1.

Altogether, three superintendents at the municipal level were interviewed. In each school, the principal was interviewed as well as one group of teachers (2–4 persons).[2] The overall aim of the study was to investigate how these key actors perceive and use the results of national tests. All the interviews were recorded and then transcribed verbatim. The transcripts were then coded and analysed.

[2]Riverside has more interviews than the other schools because this school was also used as the pilot for the study.

Table 10.1 Overview of conducted interviews

	Group interviews with teachers (approx. 45 min)	Interview with principals (approx. 60 min)	Interview with superintendents (approx. 60 min)
Riverside municipality (3 schools)	7	3	1
Waterfalls municipality (3 schools)	3	3	1
Lakeview municipality (3 schools)	3	3	1
Total: 46 interviews	13	9	3

10.5 The Role of Transnational Bodies and International Assessment Studies

The large-scale comparative achievement studies, in particular the PISA, Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), are present in educational policy debates as well as in the educational research community. It is, however, important to note that international comparative studies such as PISA are not new creations. Researchers have pointed to the International Examinations Inquiry from the 1930s, which was financed by the Carnegie Foundation in the US, as marking the beginning of international collaboration on quality assessment in education (Jarning 2010). Since the foundation of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in 1959, there has been formalised international collaboration on quality assessment in education. The IEA was founded by a small group of educational and social science researchers with the purpose of conducting international comparative research studies focused on educational achievement and its determinants. According to Gustafsson (2008), the development of the IEA was characterised by two phases. In the first phase, from around 1960 until 1990, the researchers pushed the development forward. The second phase was characterised by strong influence from policymakers and administrators. I argue that the transition of the international studies from phase one to phase two, with respect to the organisation of the IEA and its main focus, is important to understand what characterises these studies as policy tools and the ways in which they influence school governing.

According to Gustafsson's (2008) summary of the first phase of the history of the IEA, the researchers' aim was to understand the great complexity of factors influencing student achievement in different subject fields. They used the popular metaphor of the world as an "educational laboratory" to investigate the effects of

school, home, student and societal factors, and they argued that an international comparative approach was necessary to investigate the effects of many of these factors. In 1990, a new organisation of IEA was set up with a permanent secretariat in the Netherlands and a data-processing centre in Hamburg. This second phase was, according to Gustafsson (2008), characterised by the following changes: First, there was a dramatic increase in the volume and frequency of the studies, as well as in the number of countries participating in the studies. Second, the involvement of national administrative and policy institutions became stronger. At the same time, the researcher presence was less marked. Researchers were still involved in the design, analysis and reporting of the studies, but the level of ambition of the international reporting was limited. The task of analysing the factors behind the outcomes for the different countries was left to each participating country, and the databases were made available to the research community for secondary analysis. Third, the focus of the studies shifted away from explanations to descriptions, which were used as a basis for national policy discussions and decisions.

When the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development launched the PISA study in 2000, the emphasis of the international comparative studies related to educational policy became even stronger. An information sheet about the history and the future of PISA from 2007 states that PISA is a "collaborative effort" which brings together scientific expertise from the participating countries and which is "steered jointly by their governments on the basis of shared, policy-driven interests" (OECD 2007, p. 10). The information sheet emphasises that an important aim is to produce and describe results which can be used to inform national policy makers. The role of the policy makers in further developments of PISA is also emphasised, as illustrated in this quote: "Above all, this evolution is guided by the priorities of educational policy makers, who want to ensure that further changes in education systems are firmly rooted in good evidence" (OECD 2007, p. 17). This implies that the priorities and decisions related to the development of test design are policy driven, and it can be argued that the data produced reflect policy interests. However, the international and comparative aspects in the descriptions imply the comparison of school systems from diverse cultures and countries using the same standardised benchmarks. The main function of PISA is to describe, monitor and benchmark important aspects of education systems all over the world.

10.6 The Norwegian National Quality Assessment System

Although the move towards more output-based forms of school governing started long before PISA, it has been argued that the publication of test results, in which Norwegian students scored below the average of students in the other OECD countries, helped the argument for introducing national testing in the Norwegian context (Elstad 2008; Langfeldt 2008; Skedsmo 2009).

The National Quality Assessment System (NQAS), as it was introduced in 2005, comprised a mix of new and traditional tools. The national tests and the international comparative achievement studies, such as PISA, TIMSS and PIRLS, were new inventions. To some extent, its screening tests and information material could also be defined as new tools, while its formative and summative assessment of students in terms of local tests could be characterised as traditional. The School-leaving Examination and the Craft Certificate were also part of the NQAS. Since these elements had constituted the examination system in secondary school for quite some time, they could be categorised as traditional tools. However, it should be noted that they had not, until recent years, been used to provide educational statistics for governing purposes or to legitimise political decision making in a systematic way.

The overall aim of the comprehensive national evaluation system was "to contribute to quality development on all levels of compulsory education with respect to adapted teaching and improved learning outcomes for the individual student" (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2005. My translation). In addition, the national system was supposed to provide information for the education sector about the national and local state of progress, which could be used to form the basis for general decision making and for local work on evaluation and development. At the same time, the system should contribute to increased openness, transparency and dialogue about the school's practice (White Paper No. 30, 2003–2004).

The guidelines formulated for the different tools, such as the national tests, state that their aim is to investigate the extent to which students' achievements align with the aims of competencies in the national curriculum. However, national tests are also supposed to inform the students and other key actors about the level of achievement as a foundation for improvement (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2012). These two purposes exemplify what has been the focus in all the policy documents discussing frameworks and questions related to establishing a national quality assessment system (Skedsmo 2009).

The international comparative achievement tests have two functions. First, they make it possible to evaluate and compare Norwegian students' levels of achievement with those of students in other countries. Second, they are intended to provide insight for policy formulation and to develop national quality indicators (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training 2012). This last purpose seems to follow up on what the European Report on the Quality of School Education addressed as the "challenge of data and comparability" of PISA, which was identified as "the need to set quantifiable targets, indicators and benchmarks as a means of comparing best practice and as instruments for monitoring and reviewing the progress achieved in order to provide a basis for educational policy making" (European Commission 2000, p. 16).

This benchmarking logic is also emphasised within the national policy context. The stated purpose for the use of national tests pertains to evaluating the students' basic competencies as they relate to national aims. It is also about evaluating the extent to which the schools succeed in developing basic competencies among their

students. The way the results are used indicates that comparisons are rather strong driving motivational forces. For instance, when summing up the results from the national tests of 2007, the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training emphasised the comparison of boys' versus girls' results (2008a, b, 2017a, b). Nothing was mentioned about the extent to which national aims had been reached. The gender differences in level of achievement within the national context were also compared to the gender differences on the PISA results. Due to widespread critique about the publication of the results and ranking of schools in the first round of national testing, it was decided in 2007 that the results should not be publicly accessible, at least not at the school or individual level, and the tests should be taken at the beginning of the school year (5th and 8th grades) to strengthen the tests' formative aspects. The results were, however, still used to compare counties and municipalities and to rank schools if the media got hold of the results. Further, studies have shown that schools use the results for comparison with other schools within the same municipality and between municipalities within regions (e.g. Elstad 2009). In 2015, it was again decided to make the results publicly accessible. The way the data are currently presented on the online platform promotes the comparisons of counties, municipalities and, in particular, schools within a municipality.

10.7 Use of National Test Results by Key Actors in Municipalities and Schools

All three municipalities in this study have implemented *management by objectives* and the use of balanced scorecards as the key elements in their governing systems, but they differ largely regarding how the systems are put into play, particularly in how performance management and accountability are played out. Based on local policy documents and interviews with three superintendents, I will first describe how national testing is integrated in local quality assessment systems (LQAS) and how superintendents at the municipal level make use of these data. Then I move on to how principals and teachers perceive the use of these data on school level.

10.7.1 Characteristics of LQAS and the Superintendents' Use of National Test Results

Over the last decade, Riverside, the first municipality examined in this study, has developed a quality management system which consists of two main areas: evaluation of the school as a learning organisation and evaluation of the students' learning outcomes. The most important assessment tools and data sources are the

annual national student survey[3] and the national standardised tests. "Together", the superintendent stated: "these two information sources provide a good picture of the current status of school quality". Compared to the other two municipalities, Riverside has changed practice profoundly in terms of developing tighter control as a consequence of having national test results.

In Waterfall, test results were already an important part of local school governing and quality management before the national standardised testing was launched. Over the last 15 years, they have developed a quality management system which includes different types of quality indicators: (1) key numbers and facts about the schools, their resources and working conditions, (2) school results in terms of student outcomes on national standardised tests, local and national screening tests, the National Student Survey and the municipal survey on the students' learning environment and (3) self-evaluation of efforts and results on strategic development areas. The national tests have been added to the system they already had in place, and the school administration has developed an extensive plan for conducting all the tests throughout the school year.

In contrast, Lakeview has followed a different course of evaluation and school development. Earlier they had a peer review approach to school evaluation in which they collaborated with six other municipalities that are all part of the Seven Star Network.[4] In this approach, a team of teachers from one municipality had the responsibility of conducting school evaluation according to given requirements in another municipality. However, this proved to be costly, and, due to cuts in state transfers, the network could not continue this approach after the pilot project ended. Since 2010, Lakeview has had a quality management (QM) tool which requires that the schools follow up on documenting and reporting on targeted areas, such as school economy, work on quality development, school start and transition between schools, adapted teaching, student assessment, including national test results and other assessment tools integrated in the NQAS, learning environment and collaboration with parents.

The results on the national tests are mainly used by the superintendents for the following purposes:

- To monitor the schools' results over time
- To compare (1) results of schools within the municipality and (2) the municipal average score with the other municipalities and the national average
- To hold the principals accountable for the level of school achievements
- To decide on improvement efforts

However, the process of assessing quality mainly includes monitoring and comparing current and previous results, where the comparisons with the results of

[3]The national student survey (*Elevundersøkelsen*) is organised by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training and conducted annually to collect data about students' perceptions of their learning environment.

[4]The Seven Star Network is an inter-municipal collaboration on specific areas such as school evaluation and continuous professional development for teachers.

other schools and municipalities, etc., represent the reference points. In two of the municipalities, which have quite different local quality management systems in place, similar patterns can be identified regarding the role of comparison in quality assessment. In the third municipality, the superintendent has another approach which also includes how the school results are used and monitored and the ways in which accountabilities are put into play.

Waterfall has aimed towards establishing clear performance expectations for all actors throughout the system and a highly transparent and evidence-based system characterised by school results that are publicly accessible in order to make "good practice" wanted and required, as illustrated by the following quote:

> My aim was always to establish a system with clear expectations and a practice where we can demonstrate effects on student learning. (Superintendent, Waterfall Municipality)

The superintendent in Riverside had another viewpoint. According to her, making school results publicly accessible leads to frustration and additional pressure for schools with weak results. She pointed out that this could actually hinder school improvement:

> The principals in our municipality know the results of all the schools. If we publish the results, we can easily get the wrong focus in terms of ranking schools. Last year, the Municipal board decided that I should present the school results to them and that, in this part of the meeting, the media would not be allowed to be present. But the local press complained about this decision, and they were allowed to be present and report on the results. On the first page, they presented the best and the worst schools. This kind of publicity has a negative effect no matter how professionally we make use of the results. No schools improve by telling them publicly that they are bad. (Superintendent, Riverside Municipality)

In other words, this superintendent clearly objects to ranking schools publicly. The results of each school are presented in her meetings with the principal group, and the principals as well as the teachers are aware of the informal ranking list within the municipality. The superintendent stated that she does compare the results of Riverside with other municipalities and the country average but expressed that her aspiration is not that Riverside should climb the ranking list with other municipalities. She expressed her worries about the consequences if 70% of the students in a specific age group in a school do not have sufficient reading skills. To integrate data use in school development work, she has established *result meetings* on different levels of the local governing system. On the municipal level she has result meetings with all the principals in the municipality where the informal ranking list is used as a means to emphasise transparency about the results achieved as well as to hold the principals accountable. On school level, the principals have result meetings with the teacher teams to discuss national test results and what they can learn from them. In addition, a former network meeting between the primary schools and lower secondary schools located in the same area has been transformed. The previous aim of this meeting was to ensure smooth transitions of the students. In the result meeting, the principals and teachers from the different school types meet to discuss the students' results on national tests in 5th grade (primary school)

and 8th grade (lower secondary school), since the tests in 8th grade measure students' competencies as they have just entered lower secondary education.

The superintendent in Lakeview said he sees the national test results as one out of many quality indicators and that he pays more attention to how schools follow up on prioritised improvement areas formulated in their school development plans. He was somehow unconvinced about the strong focus on national test scores in other municipalities:

> I don't know… All municipalities in our region aim towards having the best national test results. This is not possible since this always depends on the achievements of the other schools and municipalities. (Superintendent, Lakeview Municipality)

Here, the superintendent pointed out that with the previous test procedures, achievement levels differed from year to year depending on the overall performance of students. If all the schools put great effort into improving their results, he was not certain that this would change the municipalities' positions on the ranking list. Like the superintendent in Riverside, he also has an annual dialogue meeting with the principals and the teachers who are part of the school development group and, in small schools, he involves the whole school staff. In these dialogues, he stresses the school outcomes over time on national tests, the exam results (in lower secondary schools), the results from the Student Survey and results from an annual survey among parents. He stated that, instead of comparing results, he is concerned about how the principals reflect on the achieved results as well as professional arguments related to the schools' actions to improve prioritised areas and the evaluation of the effectiveness of these actions.

10.7.2 Principals' Perceptions of National Test Results

All nine of the principals interviewed regard the results of national testing as an important quality indicator and agree that it is important to do well on the tests. Generally, they use the results for the following purposes:

- To monitor the results of the school compared with the results of neighbouring schools, the average of the municipality and the national average
- To check that "we are on the right track"
- To decide on improvement efforts
- To prioritise areas for professional development
- To legitimate decisions
- To hold teachers accountable and commit them to school priorities

The principals in Riverside regard the outcomes of the national standardised tests as important quality indicators. They use the results to monitor progress over time, which is illustrated by the following quote:

> I think the results of the national testing are more exciting than I expected they would be. It is exciting to see if we are moving in the right direction and – to be honest – whether we are above or below the average results in the municipality as well as the average country results. (Interview with the Principal at Pine school, Riverside)

Since national test results are presented by the superintendent, there is an unofficial ranking list among the principals. They are concerned about the local press since there are examples of negative publicity for schools which perform worse than expected, and they find it unnecessary for school leaders and staff to have such an additional burden.

The principals in Waterfall clearly distinguish between different the assessment tools and their functions. Regarding the national tests for the 8th grade, they pointed out that these results must be judged against the competency aims for primary schools and that they should concentrate on improving the basic competencies of the students from 8th to 9th grade. However, they admitted that they are, to some degree, competition oriented, which is illustrated in the quote below:

> I think we are not that concerned about comparing…and beating other schools… However, I have teachers and leaders in this school who are very competition oriented. I am too, actually… It is always nice to do well…also compared to others. (Interview with the Principal at Elm School, Waterfall)

Similar to the superintendent in Lakeview, the principals in this municipality regard national test scores as one out of many quality indicators. The principals in the two lower secondary schools find the examination results in 10th grade to be better quality indicators than the national test results. The principal in the primary school is more concerned about the national test results compared to the other principals, and the school has invested money in an ICT-based quality system which provides a good overview of the different types of results where she can compare groups of students and monitor the results over time.

In the dialogues about national test results with teachers, all three principals in Lakeview emphasised the importance of providing support for their teachers in terms of professional development courses or collaboration with other teachers. Unlike the other two municipalities, they have not established any additional arenas to discuss the results but use the meeting structure they already have in place.

The principal in Hazel school in Lakeview pointed out that the cohorts of the students can vary largely. Last year, the 5th-grade students in this school had the best results in the whole region in numeracy. She was quite proud of these results, but, at the same time, she emphasised that this would not have been possible for the cohort one year earlier. Compared to the other two municipalities, the schools in this municipality highlight school profiles where practical esthetical subjects and outdoor activities are central.

> In our municipality, we have many parents who do not have higher education, and the academic achievements of the different cohorts differ largely. In our school, we emphasise that all students should experience success with something, and we make this possible by offering a range of activities. This is also part of the responsibility of schools, namely focussing on the whole student and not only the academic achievements. With the increased

> emphasis on comparing schools, it might be a danger that we define school quality narrowly and lose sight of the general part of the national curriculum. (Principal at Hazel School, Lakeview)

In Waterfall, the principals agreed with the local policies and the strong performance orientation, but they also reflected on the implications of such a one-sided focus. The principal in the schools with the most heterogeneous student group has long experience as a school leader. He stated that he thinks the schools in this municipality have improved their practices profoundly through the focus on test results and comparison between schools, which creates pressure, especially on the principals. At the same time, he also reflected on other important aspects of education which, as a consequence, receive less attention:

> You know, it is like this flowery rhetoric…the aspects you focus on, they get better… The general part of the curriculum, for instance, gets less attention, and you only hear about these aspects in speeches. In our school, we struggle with social issues among the students and we need to focus on these issues at the same time. If not…then the consequences could be bad for the students involved. (Principal in Willow School, Waterfall)

10.7.3 Teachers' Perceptions of National Test Results

All the teachers interviewed reported expectations from the principal to perform well on the national tests and that there is a greater focus on students' academic achievements as a consequence of national testing. Generally, the teachers in the study reported that they use the national test results for the following purposes:

- To check that the students are "on track"
- To check which kinds of tasks the students managed and which types of test exercises proved to be difficult

In all three municipalities, the teachers emphasised that national test results confirm what they already know about the students' achievement levels, rather than provide new information.

> We discuss the results within the team and the extent to which the score fits with our assessment of the students' achievement level… To be honest, I don't care much about these results… The national tests are not really popular… Maybe they could inspire us to work more systematically and efficiently… No one likes to be at the bottom of a ranking list… The principal in our school was very happy this year since we improved our results from last year, and she brought chocolate for the staff meeting to celebrate. (Group interview with teachers, 8th grade, Pine School, Riverside)

In Pine school, the teachers were not worried about saying that they did not really care about the national test results. Instead, the teachers laughed and made jokes about the results, such as how they noticed their principles were pleased with the results when she brought chocolate to the school. In contrast, the teachers in Waterfall municipality were much more concerned about the results of the national

tests. Here, the teachers explained that the principal is held accountable for the results by the superintendent, and improvement efforts in the school are tighter coupled with the results achieved:

> Based on the national testing, you get a report for each student in which the achievement level is stated, as well as how many points the student accomplished. In addition, there is a description of the student's competence. However, these results do not really provide me with any new information about the student. Rather, the tests have a control and accountability function which I see quite clearly in the annual performance appraisals with the principal. (Interview with teacher, 8th grade, Spruce School, Waterfall)

In the lower secondary school with the most heterogenous student group and where the students perform poorly, the national test results seemed to matter more for the teachers in terms of accountability pressure from the superintendent. The teachers expressed that they are happy that the principals have so much experience in handling this pressure and in setting local priorities which are important for the various student groups in the school.

The teachers in all three municipalities stated that they find using the results from the national testing problematic; in their experience, it does not add any new information they did not already have about the students. They compare the data from the different tests that they have to use, and they emphasise the results from the screening tests (e.g. *Kartlegger'n*), which include a pre-test at the start of the school year and a post-test during the spring, as much more appropriate for use in adapting their teaching.

Compared to the teachers in Lakeview and Riverside, several teachers in Waterfall mentioned that some schools go easy on the rules for exempting students from the tests to get better results.

> We are doing quite well, even on a national basis. But I think this is actually against all odds, especially when I know that some schools are rather sloppy with respect to the rules for exempting students from the tests. Only four students who just came from the "introduction class"[5] (*mottaksklasse*) were exempted for the reading test in this school. Apart from them, they all took the test. I think the rules should be stricter. It is not fair when the school can make this decision, especially because the results are published. It would not have had such implications if the results were not published. (Teacher at Willow School, Waterfall)

Teachers in both Waterfall and Riverside, which both have more emphasis on consequences if the level of student achievement is considered low, expressed concern about the test results only measuring certain aspects of the students' competencies. They accentuated the need to look at the overall performance of the students throughout the school year in a more holistic way. The teachers in lower secondary schools considered the test results in 9th grade as more useful for them because they can compare the results for the same group of students over time.

[5]The concept of "introduction class" (In Norwegian: *mottaksklasse*) refers to a class for students from immigrant families who have just come to Norway.

10.8 Discussion and Conclusion

The main functions of the PISA are to describe, monitor and benchmark important aspects of education systems all over the world and use the information provided, the evidence, as a basis for policy making and improving education on national levels. According to the current national educational policies in Norway, the key to improvement lies in the use of national test results and output controls. Key actors, such as local authorities, school principals and teachers, are expected to use the information to improve their practice in ways that enhance student outcomes, particularly the students' results on national tests. The information is presented in tables where it is possible to compare the results of schools and municipalities over time. As such, the data appear to summarise rather complex phenomena and dimensions across different sites and time (cf. Hacking 1983) and they also indicate a certain neutrality and objectivity. As mentioned earlier, tools such as national tests may seem neutral, but they inherently entail underlying assumptions in terms of values, interpretations and meaning which influence their modes of regulation and possible effects (Lascoumes and Le Gales 2007). For instance, findings from this study show that test data have become a central feature of development work in schools. The way these tests are constructed and the data they provide embody particular representations of teaching, learning and students' success which enable users to see certain aspects related to teaching and learning processes (Spillane 2012). At the same time, we must be aware that attention to other aspects is constrained. The findings in Riverside municipality with respect to establishing *results meetings* as an arena to link student achievement data to development work show that the national tests have the potential to establish new patterns of interactions between actors in the local governing system which may have concrete implications for teaching and learning in schools.

In many municipalities, new approaches to school governing have been developed which are responsible for the quality of schools, and in policy documents defined as school owners, along with new national expectations about using performance data to enhance educational quality. The introduction of comparative studies and national and municipal testing of student performance has, in many ways, led to new concepts of educational quality in terms of comparison and benchmarking and increased focus on competition among schools within and between municipalities (see also Skedsmo 2009). By means of comparison, two of the superintendents stated that they aim to increase transparency and openness about school results. Before it was decided by national authorities to make the results publicly accessible again, there was still an official ranking of schools in Waterfall, while the superintendent in Riverside operated with an informal ranking list which was only presented to the principals. The benchmarking seems to represent a means of holding the principals accountable, but the intention is also to drive improvement. In Lakeview, the superintendent has a more holistic, long-term approach in which professional reflection on the results, development aims of the school and improvement efforts are expected. Nevertheless, the use of national test

results seems to organise new types of social relations on local levels, first between the superintendents and the principals, and particularly in the two municipalities where the use of results is accompanied by performative accountability. New relations also emerge among principals and schools due to the focus on comparisons and benchmarks, which lead to increased competition among school in the two larger municipalities.

The principals in all three municipalities expressed concern with comparisons where the school's position on the ranking list—if the results are good—represents an important incentive for further work at the same time as it indicates "luck" with the student cohort. If the results are not so good, they like to compare their own school with the performance of similar schools in the municipality or the average results of the municipality. In contrast, the teachers seemed to pay less attention to national test results but, at the same time, understand that the principals are put under pressure to perform well.

Benchmarking was defined by Åkerstrøm-Andersen and Thygesen (2004) in their article *Governing T*ools (In Danish: *Styring av styringsværktøjer*) as making a judgement about the parameters in which different schools, regions or countries differ to be able to close the gap. In certain ways, the results of the international comparative achievement studies seem to form a benchmarking system for assessing the quality and effectiveness of the Norwegian education system in relation to other countries. This can be seen as a consequence of the knowledge economy and seems to be based on the assumption that there is a close link between a nation's educational achievement and its economic competitiveness (Linn and Baker 1995). In an article from 1995, Linn and Baker demonstrated how international comparative achievement studies are used to set benchmarks for US performance. This was even suggested by the National Academy of Education panel on the Evaluation of the NAEP Trial State Assessment in 1993. In this article, Linn and Baker also described a movement towards using international assessment results to create world-class standards.

It can be argued that this benchmarking aspect is linked to what Benveniste (2002) referred to as the instrumental function of assessments related to school governing. The instrumental function implies that student tests are devices used to collect "objective" data and are designed to support rational decision making at the classroom as well as policy levels to implement change. However, Benveniste also pointed out that the measurement of student achievement is not necessarily linked to attempts to implement change. Assessment systems can also have symbolic functions. This perspective implies that the primary purpose of assessment is not to uncover deficiencies in education but to appear as if they do, which is motivated by a drive for legitimisation.

In the Norwegian context, comparison with others and benchmarking has emerged as a new concept of assessing educational quality and progress. Even if the results used as a basis are standardised, it implies a normative, fluent concept of quality driven by the monitoring of the positioning of schools and municipalities. The results are used to legitimise national educational policy and local improvement efforts. Interestingly, when national test results are used for accountability purposes,

accountability seems, in many ways, to subsume visibility. If student performance on national tests does not meet expectations, it is attributed to the work of teacher teams and schools. As such, the pressure seems to go downwards in the governing chain, and discussions about results seldom involve national and local authorities for their decision making. Compared to other countries, such as England and the US, the schools in Norway are not in danger of getting closed, etc. However, the visibility can represent a serious consequence in terms of school reputation and the public's trust in the local schools. To date, elements linked to a market ideology are only evident in larger cities and, foremost in upper secondary education. However, even for a lower secondary school, it can imply changes in the student population if the parents of high-performing students choose to send their children to another school in the city. In a smaller municipality, negative visibility can have consequences for individual teachers because it does not necessarily foster professional dialogues on how to improve teaching and learning in a classroom context with specific challenges.

On the national level, it is a question of whether testing and benchmarking creates its own dynamic by introducing new reforms which, in turn, require more testing and assessment to determine their effects (cf. Baker and LeTendre 2005). On the local level, educators will constantly have to look for ways to help improve education. The question is what kinds of improvement can take place, depending on the types of professional reflection and discussion that take place among teacher and principals when they interact with national test results. So far, studies have shown that there is a tendency towards finding short-term solutions and efforts which aim to improve the next year's test results (Mausethagen et al. 2016). There is a tendency towards the increased standardisation of teachers' work in terms of using reading programmes and establishing routines for how to start and end a lesson, etc. This may help reduce the complexity in the work of professionals but could also reduce professional autonomy.

Although professional autonomy was still emphasised in the latest reform, the Knowledge Promotion (K06), there was a shift in how trust in education was communicated. Trust in the profession itself was replaced by trust in the results (Uljens et al. 2013). While it was argued that the managerial approach to education aimed at ensuring a basic standard for all, presumably equalising disadvantages, it was also a push for de-bureaucratisation and de-centralisation aimed at allowing for more differentiation and specialisation (Møller and Skedsmo 2013; Paulsen and Høyer 2016).

At the same time, the welfarist legacy, which emphasises education for the public good, is still strong, and it mediates the reading, interpretation and shaping of international trends. However, conflicting rationales identified as neo-liberalism or technical-economic rationality are gaining terrain. One of the main tensions is between discourses rooted in socially democratic ideologies linked to notions of equity, participation and comprehensive education and discourses of accountability and competition which underpin managerial forms of governing schools. In many ways, national testing and other types of evaluation represent technologies which are used by both superintendents and principals to monitor student outcomes, and

this can be read as a shift toward what has been termed *organisational professionalism*, which incorporates standardised work procedures and relies on external regulation and accountability measures. It echoes the management discourse promoted by the OECD, where performance orientation represents a main pillar closely connected to output control.

References

Åkerstrøm Andersen, N., & Thygesen, N. T. (2004). Styring af styringsværktøjer. *Nordisk Administrativ Tidsskrift, 1,* 28–37.

Bachmann, K., Sivesind, K., Afsar, A., & Hopmann, S. (2004). *Hvordan formidles læreplanen? En komparativ evaluering av læreplanbaserte virkemidler - deres utforming, konsistens og betydning for læreres praksis*. Kristiansand: Høyskoleforlaget.

Bachmann, K., Sivesind, K., & Bergem, R. (2008). Evaluering og ansvarliggjøring i skolen (evaluation and school accountability). In G. Langfeldt, E. Elstad, & S. Hopmann (Eds.), *Ansvarlighet i skolen. Politiske spørsmål og pedagogiske svar* (pp. 94–122). Fagernes: Cappelen Akademisk Forlag.

Baker, D. P., & LeTendre, G. (2005). *Global similarities and national differences*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ball, S. (2015). Education, governance and the tyranny of numbers. *Journal of Education Policy, 30*(3), 299–301.

Benveniste, L. (2002). The political structuration of assessment: Negotiating state power and legitimacy. *Comparative Education Review, 46*(1), 89–118.

Christensen, T., & Lægreid, P. (1998). Administrative reform policy: The case of Norway. *International Review of Administrative Sciences, 64*(3), 457–475.

Elstad, E. (2008). Ansvarliggjøringsmekanismer: Når skoleeier eller pressen stiller skoler til ansvar. In G. Langfeldt, E. Elstad, & S. Hopmann (Eds.), *Ansvarlighet i skolen. Politiske spørsmål og pedagogiske svar* (pp. 204–234). Fagernes: Cappelen Akademisk Forlag.

Elstad, E. (2009). Schools which are named, shamed and blamed by the media: School accountability in Norway. *Educational Assessment, Evaluation and Accountability, 21*(2), 173–189.

Elstad, E., & Sivesind, K. (Eds.). (2010). *PISA sannheten om skolen?* Universitetsforlaget.

Engeland, Ø. (2000). *Skolen i kommunalt eie - politisk styrt eller profesjonell ledet skoleutvikling?* PhD thesis. Faculty of Education, University of Oslo.

Engeland, Ø., & Langfeldt, G. (2009). Forholdet mellom stat og kommune i styring av norsk utdanningspolitikk 1970-2008. *Acta Didactica, 3*(1), 1–16.

European Commission. (2000). *The European Report on Quality of School Education*.

Gunter, H., Hall, D., Serpieri, R., & Grimaldi, E. (Ed.). (2016). *New public management and the reform of education: European lessons for policy and practice.* London: Routledge.

Gustafsson, J. E. (2008). Effects of international comparative studies on educational quality on the quality of educational research. *European Educational Research Journal, 7*(1), 1–17.

Hacking, I. (1983). *Representing and intervening: Introductory topics in the philosophy of natural science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hood, C. (2007). Intellectual obsolescence and intellectual makeovers: Reflections on the tools of government after two decades. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions, 20*(1), 127–144.

Hopmann, S. (2003). On the evaluation of curriculum reforms. In P. Haug & T. A. Schwandt (Eds.), *Evaluating educational reforms. Scandinavian perspectives* (pp. 111–132). Greenwich, Connecticut: Information Age Publishing.

Howie, S., & Plump, T. (2005). International comparative studies of education and large-scale change. In N. Bascia, A. Cumming, A. Datnow, K. Leithwood, & D. Livingstone (Eds.), *International handbook of educational policy* (Vol. 1, pp. 75–99). Dordrecht: Springer.

Jarning, H. (2010). Resultater som teller - Kunnskapskontroll og resultater i skolens århundre. In E. Eyvind & K. Sivesind (Eds.), *PISA sannheten om skolen?* (pp. 199–221). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. ISBN 978-82-15-01487-6.

Karlsen, G. E. (1993). Desentralisert skoleutvikling. En utdanningspolitisk studie av norsk grunnskole med vekt på 70- og 80-tallet. Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal.

Karlsen, G. E. (2006). *Utdanning, styring og marked: norsk utdanningspolitikk i et internasjonalt perspektiv*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Langfeldt, G. (2008). Resultatstyring som verktøy og ideologi. Statlige styringsstrategier i utdanningssektoren. In G. Langfeldt, E. Elstad, & S. T. Hopmann (Eds.), *Ansvarlighet i skolen*. Oslo: Cappelen.

Lascoumes, P., & Le Gales, P. (2007). Introduction: Understanding public policy through its instruments—From the nature of instruments to the sociology of public policy instrumentation. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions, 20*(1), 1–21.

Linn, R., & Baker, E. L. (1995). What do international assessments imply for world-class standards? *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 17*(4), 405–418.

Lundgren, U. P. (1990). Educational policy-making, decentralisation and evaluation. In M. Granheim, M. Kogan, & U. P. Lundgren (Eds.), Evaluation as policymaking. Introducing evaluation into a national decentralised educational system (pp. 23–41). London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Lundgren, U. P. (2003). The political governing (governance) of education and evaluation. In P. Haug & T. A. Schwandt (Eds.), *Evaluating educational reforms: Scandinavian reforms* (pp. 99–110). Information Age Publishing Inc.

Mausethagen, S., Skedsmo, G., & Prøitz, T. (2016). Ansvarliggjøring og nye organisasjonsrutiner i skolen – rom for læring? *Nordiske organisasjonsstudier, 18*(2), 79–97.

Meyer, H.-D., & Benvot, A. (2013). PISA and the globalization of education governance: Some puzzles and problems. In H.-D. Meyer & A. Benvot (Eds.), *Pisa, power and policy—The emergence of global educational governance* (pp. 9–26). Southhampton: Symposium Books.

Møller, J., & Skedsmo, G. (2013). Centralization and decentralization as twin reform strategies. In: L. Moos (Ed.), *Transnational influences on values and practices in Nordic educational leadership—Is there a Nordic model* (pp. 61–72). Dordrecht: Springer.

Nóvoa, A., & Yariv-Mashal, T. (2003). Comparative research in education: A mode of governance or a historical journey? *Comparative Education, 39*(4), 423–438.

OECD. (1988). *Reviews of national policies for education Norway*. Paris: Department of the Examiners.

OECD. (2007). *PISA—The OECD programme for international student assessment*. Retrieved March 21, 2009 from http://www.pisa.oecd.org/dataoecd/51/27/37474503.pdf.

OECD. (2016). *PISA 2015. Results in focus*. Retrieved February 2, 2017 from https://www.oecd.org/pisa/pisa-2015-results-in-focus.pdf.

Ozga, J. (2009). Governing education through data in England: From regulation to self-evaluation. *Journal of Educational Policy, 24*(2), 149–163.

Ozga, J. (2012). Assessing PISA. *European Educational Research Journal, 11*(2), 166–171.

Paulsen, J. M., & Høyer, H. C. (2016). External control and professional trust in norwegian school governing. Synthesis from a Nordic research project. *Nordic Studies in Education, 36*(2), 86–102.

Petterson, D., Popkewitz, T., & Lindblad, S. (2017). In the grey zone: Large scale assessment-based activities betwixt and between policy, research and practice. *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy, 3*(1), 29–41.

Sivesind, K., & Bachmann, K. (2008). Hva forandres med nye standarder? Krav og utfordringer med Kunnskapsløftets læreplaner. In G. Langfeldt, E. Elstad, & S. Hopmann (Eds.), *Ansvarlighet i skolen. Politiske spørsmål og pedagogiske svar* (pp. 62–93). Fagernes: Cappelen Akademisk Forlag.

Sivesind, K., Bachmann, K., & Afsar, A. (2003). *Nordiske læreplaner (Nordic Curricula)*. Oslo: Læringssenteret.

Skedsmo, G. (2009). *School governing in transition. Perspectives, purposes and perceptions of evaluation policy* (Doctoral thesis. Department of Teacher Education and School Development, Faculty of Education, University of Oslo).

Spillane, J. P. (2012). Data in practice: Conceptualizing the data-based decision-making phenomena. *American Journal of Education, 118*(2), 113–141.

The Education Act. Regulation (2006).

The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training. (2005). *Nasjonalt kvalitets vurderings system for grunnopplæringen (A national system for quality assessment in comprehensive education)*. February 14, 2008 from http://udir.no/Artikler/_Vurdering/Nasjonal-kvalitetsvurderingssystem-for-grunnopplaringen-/.

The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training. (2008a). *Analysis of results from the national tests*. Retrieved February 21, 2009 from http://www.udir.no/upload/Nasjonale_prover/Analyse_av_resultater_fra_nasjonale_prover_2007.pdf.

The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training. (2008b). *Hva måler nasjonale prøver? (What do the national tests measure?)*. Retrieved February 2, 2009 from http://www.utdanningsdirektoratet.no/templates/udir/TM_Artikkel.aspx?id=3546.

The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training. (2012). *Rettleiing og retningslinjer: Om nasjonale prøver (Framework for national tests)*. Retrieved November 1, 2016 from http://www.udir.no/Vurdering/Nasjonale-prover/Rettleiing-og-retningslinjer-nasjonale-prover/1-Om-nasjonale-prover/.

The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training. (2017a). *Analyse av nasjonale prøver på 5. trinn*. Retrieved December 1, 2017 from https://www.udir.no/tall-og-forskning/finn-forskning/tema/nasjonale-prover/resultater-fra-nasjonale-prover-pa-5.-trinn/.

The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training. (2017b). *Analyse av nasjonale prøver på 8. og 9. trinn*. Retrieved December 1, 2017 from https://www.udir.no/tall-og-forskning/finn-forskning/tema/nasjonale-prover/resultater-fra-nasjonale-prover-pa-8.-og-9.-trinn/.

Tveit, S. (2014). Educational assessment in Norway. *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice, 21*(2), 221–237.

Uljens, M., Møller, J., Ârlestig, H., & Frederiksen, L. F. (2013). The professionalisation of Nordic school leadership. In L. Moos (Ed.), *Transnational influences on values and practices in Nordic educational leadership. Is there a Nordic model?* (pp. 133–158). Dordrecht: Springer.

Werler, T., & Sivesind, K. (2007). Norway. In H. Döbert, W. Hörner, B. von Kopp, & W. Mitter (Eds.), *The education system of Europe*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer.

White Paper No. 30. (2003–2004). *Kultur for læring (Culture for learning)*. The Ministry of Education and Research.

Guri Skedsmo is Associate Professor at the Department of Teacher Education and School Research, University of Oslo in Norway, and Senior Researcher at the Institute for the Management and Economics of Education, University of Teacher Education Zug in Switzerland. Her main research interests are in the areas of educational governance and leadership, school development and change as well as professional development of school leaders. In recent years she has participated in an EU-project on the functions of school inspection in different European countries and she has been co-leading another EU-project on the role of feedback and coaching as part of professional learning for school leaders. As a member of the LE@DS-network (which is led by Prof. Helen Gunter at the Manchester University), she has for several years been involved in comparative work on New Public Management and education reform. Currently, she is involved in a research project on data practices as part of local school governing, which is financed by the Norwegian Research Council (FINNUT). She also takes part in two research projects on leading change and development in schools in difficult circumstances in the German speaking context.

Since 2002 she has been involved in developing professional development programmes for school leaders and she teaches at the Master Programme in Educational Leadership and the National Principal Programme at the University of Oslo. She is Editor-in-Chief for the Journal of Educational Assessment, Evaluation and Accountability (JEAEA).

Chapter 11
Restructuring the Educational Profession in Denmark

Annette Rasmussen and Palle Rasmussen

11.1 Introduction

The development of nation states, and the concurrent development of national school systems, which occurred in many Western countries during the first half of the 19th century (Thomas et al. 1987), instituted the teacher as important official person. Teachers had a main responsibility for molding new generations into competent and well socialized citizens, who could contribute both economically and politically to national progress. The social status of teachers rose and the state started to take an interest in the work of teachers, their skills and the recruitment and training for the job. Thus started a process through which a teaching profession was gradually established, in interaction between the teachers as a group and the state.

Over time, teachers organized, and their organizations served the dual role of arguing and negotiating for higher wages and better working conditions as well as developing a common understanding of the meaning of teacher work, a professional identity. In parallel to this the state developed frameworks and regulations for school teaching as well as criteria for teacher form and for teachers as public persons (Robertson 2000). The more specific character of these developments depended of course on the character of the individual nation states. In some countries teacher organizations managed to secure a high degree of control with access to the teacher work in schools, while in others the level of professional organization was lower and competing tried to secure agreements with the state. In some countries teachers achieved a considerable degree of autonomy in the daily

A. Rasmussen (✉) · P. Rasmussen
Department of Learning and Philosophy, Aalborg University, Aalborg, Denmark
e-mail: anra@learning.aau.dk

P. Rasmussen
e-mail: palleras@learning.aau.dk

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_11

management of work, while in others there was stricter control, pedagogically and sometimes politically.

The evolution of a teaching profession led to other developments. Education of teachers was institutionalized, controlled and inspected or directly organized by the state. Teaching pedagogical practice required a systematic knowledge basis. Educational philosophy and methodology already existed, but in diverse and sporadic forms. As teacher education institutions were established and spread, the development of educational theory and research was spurred. By the early 20th century educational professionalism had been established in many countries.

In this article we will discuss recent changes in the educational profession in a specific country, Denmark. This is a small country without many natural resources. During the 20th century Denmark developed from an agricultural society to an industrial society, and then to a service and knowledge society. It is an example of the social democratic version of welfare capitalism (Esping-Andersen 1990) and it has a political culture with strong emphasis on collaboration and pluralism, both in national and local matters. The historical background for this is that Denmark managed to complete the transformation from absolutism to representative democracy without major conflicts between social the classes (Kaspersen 2013).

11.2 Schooling and Teacher Education in Denmark

The main educational profession in Denmark consists of teachers in the 'Folkeskole', the unified or comprehensive system of primary and lower secondary schooling. There is 10 years of mandatory schooling, starting at the age of 6 and ending at the age of 16 with school-leaving examinations. The curriculum covers the basic subjects known from other school systems such as national language and culture, mathematics and science, foreign languages, history and geography. The legislative framework is decided by the state, but schools are run and funded by the municipalities. After finishing mandatory schooling students can move on to upper secondary education or leave the education system. They also have the option of staying in the Folkeskole for an extra year, and many do that while they try to decide what to choose.

The teachers working in the Folkeskole have been educated in teacher training programmes combining subject knowledge, pedagogical knowledge and practical training. Teacher training programmes have historically been based in independent teacher training colleges that have been closely linked to the school itself but have had only tenuous links to universities. Teacher students could qualify for college through special preparatory courses and teacher at the colleges were generally recruited among Folkeskole teachers. As to the teacher role in school, the ideal for much of the history of the Folkeskole has been that each teacher should be able to teach most subjects and that at least one teacher should follow each school class from when they started to when they left the Folkeskole (Anderson 2000).

In upper secondary education Denmark has retained a system of distinct sectors with an academic system (the 'Gymnasium') giving general and academic schooling as preparation for higher education while another sector provides vocational schooling including technical programmes, commercial programmes and programmes social and health work. Training of teachers for these two types of schooling is organised differently from the integrated teacher education for the Folkeskole. Teachers for the academic programmes study in universities, graduating in normally two subjects before starting as teachers undergoing in-service pedagogical education and training. Teacher training for vocational schooling follows the same principle, but here teachers—at least those teaching the specialised vocational courses—are expected to have both education and work experience in the relevant subjects.

We focus here on the professional work, organisation and education of Folkeskole teachers. The combination of a unified school system and a common teacher training has given the Folkeskole teachers a high degree of coherence and common identity. Part of this identity has also been an educational culture emphasizing community and dialogue rather than the academic elements (Osborn et al. 2003; Arnesen and Lundahl 2006). However, legislative and structural changes have in various ways altered the above premises for the teachers' work during the last 30 years, so this will be the period we focus on.

11.3 The Teacher Profession and Its Development

The concept of profession has only been adopted by Danish teachers recently. Teaching has been understood as a vocation, a valuable and valued service closely linked to the school and its local community. Teacher education in Denmark emerged in the late 18th century, when the absolutist king and his advisors, influenced by enlightenment thinking, started developing schooling for the general population. The first teacher training colleges were established as part of this process (Laursen 1976). However, realising schooling for all took a long time and the same can be said for systematic teacher education. Colleges were established during the 19th century, and general guidelines were gradually laid down by the state. As the number of teachers grew they also organised, both in order to negotiate with their public employers and to be a stakeholder influencing school policy. But well into the 20th century most teachers, especially outside the cities, mainly related to their local communities. A popular culture drawing much inspiration from the ideas of Grundtvig and the folk high school movement is also seen as an essential precondition for understanding many of the particularities that characterise the Danish school history (Korsgaard and Wiborg 2006).

As the level and institutionalisation of education grew teacher education was gradually linked to other types of post-secondary education. But only in 1966 was the upper secondary school certificate made a precondition for studying at a teacher training college. This was the same access criterion that applied to universities, so it signalled that teacher education was part of the higher education system, and that

recruitment of teachers for the Folkeskole should be based on academic rather than practical knowledge. The 1966 reform was a decisive step towards a modern teaching profession in Denmark (Illeris et al. 1976).

Merton (1982) conceptualises professions as rooted in a triad of human values which he calls knowing, doing and helping. The 'knowing' is listed first and described as a "…distinctive body of theoretically and empirically derived knowledge that is not widely distributed among the population at large" (Merton 1982, p. 114). The knowing is however intimately connected to the other two values, the 'doing' and the 'helping'. Professionals are not just expected to have a body of theoretically and empirically valid knowledge, they are expected to have and use the practical capacity to apply this knowledge to help by central problems in the lives of citizens.

The 'knowing' is mainly a question of education and training. To Merton, university education programmes were a key element in the constitution of professions. Later and more critical theories of professions have generally confirmed this, although they have emphasized higher education's contribution to social status and occupational closure rather than the cognitive benefits (Larson 1977). Education provides the individual professional access to specialized knowledge and intellectual tools relevant to the profession, but it also provides the credentials and authority to interpret and use this knowledge. In the case of law, for instance, documented court decisions are publicly available, but only persons with law degrees are recognized as able and authorized to interpret and summarize these decisions as guidelines for new decisions.

The 1966 teacher education reform emphasized the 'knowing' element in Danish teacher education, not only through the new access criteria mentioned above, but also through introducing a rational-scientific approach to teaching in the curriculum. In the following three decades teacher education underwent little change, although more emphasis was gradually put on knowledge in the core subjects. When the next important changes were made around year 2000 it was a result of general reforms in the higher education system, moving from many smaller institutions educating for single professions to larger institutions and transversal educational structures. Teacher education colleges were first merged into centres of higher education and then further into university colleges with many different professional study programmes. As part of the reform a new degree type was established in 2001, the 'profession bachelor' degree. Teacher education became such a programme, along with for instance nursing and social work. Since university study programmes are structured along the Bologna principles, with a bachelor and a master level, the title profession bachelor signals the quasi-academic status of the degree.

But in fact the positioning of profession bachelors has met with difficulties. On one hand the degree has not significantly improved the social recognition of these professional groups. On the other hand the increased emphasis on general and theoretical knowledge has sparked criticism from 'users' of professional skills, most often from managers in the public organizations employing the graduates. They claim that the practical professional skills profession bachelors are too weak and

demand that these are given higher priority by the colleges. One striking claim, originally voiced by a few senior doctors but often repeated in Danish media, has been that profession bachelors in nursing are better at quoting Foucault, Bourdieu and Habermas than at setting bandages and caring for patients.

Danish teacher education has also been criticized, but here the situation is more complex, because teacher education provides two distinct kinds of knowledge and competence; on one hand knowledge in key scientific fields like Danish language and literature, foreign languages, mathematics and science, necessary for teaching these subjects in schools; on the other hand knowledge of teaching methodology and its preconditions (like educational psychology) as well as practical teacher training, that teachers need to fill their role in schools (EVA 2003). The focus of debates and policies on teacher education of teacher education has frequently shifted between these two types of knowledge and competence. At times unsatisfactory results of Danish students in the PISA surveys have led to increasing the role of disciplinary knowledge (especially in language and mathematics) in teacher education, at other times the same concerns have led to calls for more practical training and expertise in teaching methods. These conflicting demands have already led to several reforms of teacher education since the turn of the century.

11.4 New Governance in the Public Sector

In Denmark elements of new public management, including quality control initiatives in higher education programs, were introduced between 1982 and 1993, under liberal-conservative coalition governments (Rasmussen and Moos 2014). The first initiative was a modernization program for the public sector in 1983, which was followed by others. Some of the keywords in this modernization were decentralization of management responsibility, abolition of detailed formal regulation, governance through a combination of objectives and allocation of resources. Public choice and the establishment of quasi-markets in public services were also emphasized. Education was one of the areas where the modernization initiatives had a strong impact (Telhaug et al. 2006, 2002).

The worldwide economic and social changes that are often called globalisation have challenged the model of welfare state established during the second half of the 20th century and Danish governments have been trying to tune welfare policy to face this challenge. An important initiative was the so-called Globalisation Council, convened by the liberal-conservative Fogh Rasmussen government in 2005–2006 and including key decision-makers from government, business and the social partners. The approach developed in this task force was stated like this:

> We must use the possibilities that globalisation gives us. We must assert ourselves in competition on international markets (…). We run the risk that in the tougher competition we may not be able to uphold our position among the richest countries in the world, because other countries will overtake us. And we run the risk that globalisation may split up Danish society, because not everyone has the education and the flexibility to do well in the

> labour market (…). For these reasons we should strengthen our competitive power and our cohesion. (Danish Globalisation Council 2005, p. 5)

This represents the approach that political scientists have called 'the competition state' (Cerny 2010). It calls for the state to focus on the development of the political, economic, and cultural institutions that gives a country the capacity to achieve socioeconomic success. Such institutional competitiveness is seen as increasingly important compared to traditional macroeconomic policies. In pursuing institutional competitiveness, a state will strive to coordinate policies and actors in different areas in the framework of national strategies, increase the ability and motivation of individuals to work and undertake continuous change and improvement through benchmarking and diffusion of best practise from international organisations. The competition state approach is strongly present in the mainstream of Danish politics (Pedersen 2011).

An important element in new public management as well as the competition state approach is governmental concern for using public institutions and resources efficiently to pursue government policy. For education this has meant an increased focus on outcomes and accountability (Rasmussen and Moos 2014). One element is controlling the spending of decentralised public sector units. Municipal autonomy had allowed expenditure for the Folkeskole to rise until the 1980s, but this was followed by a series of savings circulars from the Ministry of Education. Increased state control of the entire public sector's economy was introduced. The introduction of tax ceilings, expenditure frameworks and cuts in block grants would force the municipalities to lower the service level.

Traditionally accountability has been a question of detailed regulation from the Ministry of Education, covering both the curriculum and the activities in schools. Fifty years ago handbooks for headmasters consisted of several volumes of ministerial orders on all aspects of life in schools. This detailed regulation was given up in the 1980s as part of the modernization of the public sector and many aspects of daily life in schools is now regulated more locally. However, there has often been a trend to reintroduce central regulation because of public and political awareness of the school from parents, media and other stakeholders. Problems in this field are frequently raised in public debate, and political actors compete to remedy them through new rules and initiatives. But detailed regulation of general school education has in fact been reduced, more outcomes-oriented measures have been introduced and local school management has been given more responsibility for meeting the educational objectives defined by government and doing it in an efficient way.

This has meant a move towards stronger local school management and control of the work of individual teachers (Telhaug et al. 2002). This was originally introduced with the objective of having schools and teachers document all parts of their work, not only the teaching but also the preparation, the collaboration with parents and local actors etc. More recently, however, the emphasis on local school management has been combined with an attack on the principle of regulating teacher work through national collective bargaining. Instead the heads of individual schools

are supposed to regulate the work of each teacher. This is linked to a strong agenda of focusing teacher work on presence in class and minimizing attention to other tasks.

A major change in the Danish public sector was a 2007 reform of the local government. Reducing the number of municipalities by about two thirds, the reform increased the size of municipalities, gave them new responsibilities and strengthened their administrative capacity. It was accompanied by the so-called quality reform which required public service providers to conduct systematic satisfaction surveys.

The quality reform's definition of quality consists of three elements: (1) professional quality, (2) quality as perceived by the citizen and (3) organizational quality. Professional quality means that the service has to live up to certain professional standards, essentially the professions' (e.g. teachers') quality standards. Organizational quality is about planning and managing the service, the key criteria being based on management and organization theory. The main elements in the quality perceived by citizens is whether the citizens receive the service they have been promised; whether citizens are satisfied with the service; and whether the citizens feel well informed and included in connection with the service. Unlike the other two quality elements, there is no specific source of criteria for user-perceived quality. Users' perceptions are influenced by different factors, such as direct experience with the service, evaluations given by public agencies and assessments communicated in the media. Navigating the complex interface between the different quality criteria has proven to be challenge for education professionals at different levels.

11.5 New Contexts and Priorities for Schooling and Teacher Work

Parallel to the introduction of new principles for public sector governance the priorities for schooling in Denmark have changed significantly over the last 25 years. The 1993 Primary Education Act was an early example of this. In the years prior to the implementation, the political consensus on social equalization and economic growth as each other's prerequisites had evaporated. The comprehensive school with the school class as the basic unit was one point of contention, and the unifying compromise was found in the principle of differentiated teaching. According to this principle, it was decreed that teaching should be planned in relation to the individual student's abilities and needs. This led to an increased focus on cooperation between the school and parents, which meant that the spheres of school and family were seen as merging, and the self-discipline of the child was seen as very important (Rasmussen 2007; Kryger 2004; Hultquist 2004).

As voiced by a teacher in 2003, his ideal of teaching is,

> To set up as few rules as possible, but leave it very much to the responsibility of the individual that you should be decent to others, not trouble others, but give other people scope and opportunities for existence. You have to be listening to what others are saying, seeing what others are doing, and considering if this is something you would accept being done to you. This is what I consider important to make clear to the children; you have to be to others what you would like them to be to you. And many children have not learned that from home. (quote from interview with teacher, in Rasmussen 2007, p. 108)

As indicated by the quote, the school teacher emphasizes his role as educationalist. He views his role as pointing to responsibility of the individual pupil in relation to the other pupils and the classroom as a community.

In the following years, focus moved from the community orientation to the individual skills. A strong focus on standards and achievement emerged, not least because comparative surveys initiated by international organisations, especially the PISA, focused the attention of decision-makers on the relative standards of Danish students compared to other nations. The PISA results have generally ranked Denmark among the mid-level OECD countries, and this is too low for Danish politicians and public opinion. PISA results also highlight the issue of low achievers who may lack the literacy and numeracy skills necessary for modern citizens. Expert opinion on the magnitude of this problem has been divided, but it tends to be exaggerated because of focus on the rankings in the media and public debate. The result has been a continuous concern and debate about how to raise standards. With reference to human capital and the PISA reports, a comprehensive evaluation wave was launched to control that the schools complied with the academic goals and that the children acquired sufficient knowledge. With the increased focus on academic competences, milestones for primary school subjects were formulated, and it became important to achieve a high score compared to other countries in International Large-Scale Evaluations. These factors contributed to the implementation and contents of the 2006 primary education act.

The idea of evidence-based policy and practice has also gained a strong position in Danish education, mediated by international networks of experts and decision-makers. This has an impact on the legitimacy of the educational profession. The judgement of teachers is no longer considered a sufficient basis for authority in relations to decision-makers and other stakeholders.

A major event was the 2006 school reform. It introduced a new preamble for the primary school, toning down the democratic and personal bildung and defining the school's foremost task as disseminating knowledge and skills (Hermann 2007; Rasmussen 2007). The recommended learning objectives were changed into obligatory intermediate and end goals in the form of binding learning goals for the students' proficiency at specific points in time. Teachers' and students' collaboration on the content of the teaching would thus have to focus on reaching the centrally defined goals, which implied a reduction of the teachers' free choice of method and an individualization of the students.

The role of exams in schooling was strengthened, with exams in more school subjects and starting at an earlier age. A system of national tests was introduced, which formed part of the new 'evaluation culture' (Ministry of Education 2007).

The main function of the tests was to allow the state to monitor the national levels of achievement, but they could, to some extent, also be used by teachers to give feedback to students and parents. But teachers, who had been used to deciding themselves when and how they would use a test, did not just welcome the compulsory testing as a gift. A retiring school teacher in 2007 experienced the introduction of national testing like this,

> It is annoying to have something imposed from above which we can work out ourselves. And it is annoying to have it formalized in this way so that somehow we have to go back and start all over. Because once you have done this already you know how do to it your way, and what it should be like to work. So now we have to start all over, like with the schoolmaster, which I don't feel like. (quote from interview with teacher, in Friche and Rasmussen 2011, p. 152)

The quote illustrates the implications of the evaluation culture in a teacher perspective. The teacher views the new legislation and procedures for practice as undermining her professional autonomy and judgement as a teacher.

A specialized unit for school assessment and evaluation was established in the Ministry of Education. Associated with the unit was a national council of important actors from the school system. The tasks of the unit and the committee were to produce regular reports on the quality of schooling and student achievement. At the municipal level an annual school quality report was introduced. The quality report should describe the municipality's school system, the levels of achievement and steps taken by the municipality to uphold and improve quality (Ministry of Education 2006).

Together these developments tend to challenge the type of teacher professionalism that characterised Danish education for most of the 20th century and also to create new divisions among educational professionals. For instance the stronger role given to exams and testing challenges the educational culture of community and dialogue, which was earlier emphasised. And the new forms of accountability introduced combine with the governance prescriptions from New Public Management to reshape the relationship between management and educational practice in schooling. School managers are increasingly required to have administrative and economic qualifications rather than professional-pedagogical qualifications, and they have to focus on fulfilling the demands that are imposed on the institution from above, from the central administration. The professional-pedagogical management tasks are delegated to area and department deputies. An obvious consequence is a growing distance between professionalized management and teachers as professionals. The teachers' professional-pedagogical understandings are superposed by administrative-pedagogical discourses that create uncertainty about the rationales in the teaching.

The norms of governance and evaluation of results in the school come to be defined mainly from above by a central administrative that apparently collects data objectively to record whether the schools fulfill the objectives. Focus is on efficiency, as the slogan 'knowledge that works' indicates. Impact measurement and summative assessment challenge what is often called 'discretionary power' in

research on professionalism, in this case the teachers' possibility to teach based on an assessment of what is educationally, professionally and pedagogically appropriate in the specific situation. Researchers on professionalism consider precisely the discretionary power a central characteristic in professional performance (Freidson 2001; Lipsky 1980).

11.6 A Decisive Moment: The 2013 School Reform and Conflict

The tensions in the field of schooling and the teaching profession that accumulated after the turn of the century became very visible on the occasion of the comprehensive reform of the Folkeskole that was introduced in 2013. The reform was proposed and pushed through by a socialist and social-liberal coalition government, but the liberal and conservative opposition also had a hand in shaping it. One main idea of the reform were that achievement of each student should be improved to the maximum of his or her ability, which had already found expression in an earlier released report on talent development in the education system (Ministry of Education 2011). Setting up special talent activities on an experimental basis had been practiced during the years preceding the reform and had been received with mixed feelings in the municipal schools as coined in this quote,

> Well, it is ambiguous. I can't deny that. I have always been in support of the undivided school and somehow I still am. You can put it like this; there are some very weak pupils who are in need of some extra support. But this support should be given in the mixed classroom where they pupils that need extra challenges should be given such challenges within class rather than be divided and streamed. That happens early enough (…). I actually think that as a school we should be able to provide them with academic challenges in all directions. But I also realise when you are in the classroom it is often the weak ones that draw on your attention so you can't attend so much to the good ones. (quote from interview with teacher, in Rasmussen 2011, p. 125)

The interviewed teacher is in principle against ability-streaming and therefore do not approve of talent classes set up for the so-called talented pupils. But providing academic challenges for all he acknowledges is difficult.

Other 2013-reform elements included that student well-being should be improved of all students and the impact of social background on achievement should be reduced. To obtain such goals, for children and young people in school a longer and more coordinated school day should be established, including teaching but also play, physical activity and assistance for homework. Teachers and day-care educators should collaborate on this. More teaching should be provided, especially in reading, writing and mathematics, but also in practical and creative subjects. Professional development schemes should be provided for of teachers, pedagogical staff and school principals.

It is an established tradition in Denmark that legislation on the 'Folkeskole' should be based on broad political settlements, and government invited all parties to

negotiations on the reform. It quickly became clear that the opposition—with the Liberals as the major party—cared little about the integration of different activities in a longer school day but gave strong priority to raising standards. This was argued from concerns for Danish students' level of achievement that over the years have been fed by the PISA surveys and other international comparisons. The reform was passed in the summer of 2013 and the compromise achieved in parliament gave priority to more teaching in core subjects (literacy, math, science).

As part of the reform government wanted to change the distribution of teacher work, so that teachers spent would more time in classrooms and less on preparation and other associated tasks. This was in continuation of the line pursued by the previous government, arguing that teachers (not only in the Folkeskole, but also in upper secondary education) use too many of their working hours on secondary tasks and demanding that they must spend more time teaching in the class. Governments have insisted that research supported this, but in fact research evidence has been ambiguous. This led to a curious episode when the Ministry of Education claimed that a recently finished international study confirmed that more teaching hours in a given subject improved achievement, and the Danish researchers actually involved in the study then stated that this was not the case (Andreasen et al. 2013). There is no doubt, however, that the government's rhetoric drew on and in turn strengthened widespread popular assumptions about teachers and their work.

At the same time that the school reform was being finalised collective negotiations for public sector employees were taking place. Here the municipalities—employers for the teachers—insisted that previous general agreements about preparation time for teaching should be abolished and that the local managers should have the authority to decide the allocation of work time for different teacher tasks. Negotiations were unsuccessful and conflict ensured as the municipalities took the step of lock-outing teachers. After some weeks the state intervened and imposed a framework mainly based on the suggestions of the municipalities. In many ways this marked a turning away from the Danish tradition where The Ministry of Education lays down general curricular aims and guidelines and the municipalities and local school managers are responsible for the implementation, but with considerable influence for the teachers and the teachers' union on the practice level. The framework severely restricts the individual teachers' right to plan and organize teaching.

For many teachers this led to disillusion and estrangement. In a survey done about a year after the reform was decided 75 pct. of teachers said that the reform and the new system of work organization had made them seriously consider leaving the job. One of the respondents wrote in a comment: '*I have 14 years of teaching experience. I have always liked the teacher job; but I am very worried about the prospect of minimal time for preparation*' (DR News Service 2014). In another study a teacher said: '*... I tell myself, in order not to become sad or stressed, that in fact it is not my choice. Not my choice to perform worse in teaching. This is something determined by structural conditions*' (Madsen et al. 2014, p. 51).

No doubt a partial reorganization of school management was relevant in order to improve flexibility and collaboration, but implementing this through a conflict with the teacher union and through state intervention biased many teachers against the reform.

11.7 Conclusion

During the last two decades limits have been imposed on the professional teacher's discretionary power. The teaching profession now exists and works within a public sector permeated by 'performance management', where institutions must fulfill the goals and produce the results that are described not only in legislation, but also in development plans at different levels; where local managers' pay depends on these results and where the quality of professional work is calculated as results (output) and productivity or effect (outcome). Various responsibilities and decisions are moved from the professional to the local management of the school, and smaller schools are often merged into or replaced by bigger ones. Though such processes management functions are removed from the daily work of teachers and placed in the hands of professionalized school management, which is directly accountable to the ministerial and municipal governance in terms of fulfilling performance demands. The old hierarchical and visible ministerial rule has been replaced by new forms of governance that is no less hierarchical, but significantly less visible and more anonymous.

This begs the question of how much room for maneuver is left for independent dispositions based on the assessment of education professionals. At any rate, the top-down and externally imposed management means new conditions for professional performance among teachers and other educationalists in the public sector.

References

Anderson, S. (2000). *I en klasse for sig*. Gyldendal Uddannelse.

Andreasen, K. E., Rasmussen, A., & Rasmussen, P. (2013). Hvad er "bedre"? Kommentar til regeringens udspil til folkeskolereform. *Dansk Pædagogisk Tidsskrift, 2013*(1), 25–32.

Arnesen, A. L., & Lundahl, L. (2006). Still social and democratic? Inclusive education policies in the Nordic welfare states. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 50*(3), 285–300.

Cerny, P. G. (2010). The competition state today: From raison d'État to raison du Monde. *Policy Studies, 31*(1), 5–21.

Danish Globalisation Council. (2005). *Denmark and globalisation*. Copenhagen: Danish Globalisation Council.

DR News. (2014). *Skolereform dræber lærernes motivation [School reform kills teacher motivation]*. http://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/skolereform-draeber-laerernes-motivation.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three words of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge: Policy Press.

EVA. (2003). *Læreruddannelsen [The teacher training]*. Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut.

Freidson, E. (2001). *Professionalism: The third logic. On the practice of knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Friche, N., & Rasmussen, A. (2011). Uddannelsesevalueringer i et samfundsperspektiv [Educational evaluations in a social perspective]. In K. Andreasen, N. Friche, & A. Rasmussen (Eds.), *Målt og vejet. Uddannelsesforskning om evaluering* (pp. 135–160). Aalborg Universitetsforlag.

Hermann, S. (2007). *Magt og oplysning. Folkeskolen 1950-2006*. København: Unge Pædagoger.

Hultquist, K. (2004). Fremtiden som styringsteknologi og det pædagogiske subjekt som konstruktion. In J. Krejsler (Ed.), *Pædagogikken og kampen og individet. Kritisk pædagogik, ny inderlighed og selvets teknikker* (pp. 159–189). Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel.

Illeris, K., Olesen, H. S., & Rasmussen, P. (1976). *Læreruddannelse, skoler og samfund [Teacher education, schools and society]*. København: Munksgaard.

Kaspersen, L. B. (2013). *Denmark in the world*. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel.

Korsgaard, O., & Wiborg, S. (2006). Grundtvig—The key to Danish Education? *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 50*(3), 361–382.

Kryger, N. (2004). Childhood and new learning in a Nordic context. In H. Brembeck, B. Johansson, & J. Kampmann (Eds.), *Beyond the competent child. Exploring contemporary childhoods in the Nordic Welfare societies*. Roskilde University Press.

Larson, M. S. (1977). *The rise of professionalism.* University of California Press.

Laursen, P. F. (1976). *Læreren fra degn til lønarbejder. Læreruddannelse og didaktik*. Roskilde: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.

Lipsky, M. (1980). *Street level bureaucracy. The diemmas of the individual in public services*. New York: Russel Sage.

Madsen, L. K., Carlsen, A. R., Rasmussen, N. S., & Klinte, K. (2014). *Skolereformen set fra et lærerperspektiv*. Roskilde Universitet, Pædagogik og Uddannelsesstudier.

Merton, R. K. (1982). *Social research and the practicing professions*. Lanham: University Press of America.

Ministry of Education. (2006). *Bred aftale om styrkelse af folkeskolen (Broad agreement on strengthening the Folkeskole)*. Press release, January 24, 2006.

Ministry of Education. (2007). Et uddannelsessystem i verdensklasse [A world class education system] In *Danmarks strategi for livslang læring*. Copenhagen: Ministry of Education in Denmark.

Ministry of Education. (2011). *Talentudvikling. Evaluering og strategi. Talentrapport af arbejdsgruppen til talentudvikling i uddannelsessystemet.* Copenhagen: Ministry of Education.

Osborn, M., Broadfoot, P., McNess, E., Planet, C., Ravn, B., & Triggs, P. (2003). *A world of difference. Comparing learners across Europe*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Pedersen, K. O. (2011). *Konkurrencestaten*. København: Hans Reitzel.

Rasmussen, A. (2007). *Socialisering i skoleklassen. En undersøgelse af sociale kompetencer og forskellighed i folkeskolen [Socialization in the school class]*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Learning and Philosophy, Aalborg University.

Rasmussen, A. (2011). *Talent og skole i sociologisk perspektiv*. Aarhus: Via Systime.

Rasmussen, A., & Moos, L. (2014). A school for less than all in Denmark. In U. Blossing, G. Imsen, & L. Moos (Eds.), *The Nordic education model. 'A school for all' encounters neo-liberal policy* (Vol. 1, pp. 57–75). Policy implications of research in education. Dordrecht, Heidelberg, New York, London: Springer.

Robertson, S. L. (2000). *A class act. Changing teachers' work, the state and globalisation*. New York: Falmer.

Telhaug, A. O., Mediås, O. A., & Aasen, P. (2002). Fra fellesskap til individualisme? [From community to individualism]. Utdanning som nasjonsbygging i skandinavisk perspektiv. *Uddannelseshistorie*, 84–89.

Telhaug, A. O., Mediås, O. A., & Aasen, P. (2006). The Nordic model in education: Education as part of the political system in the last 50 years. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 50*(3), 245–283.

Thomas, G., Meyer, J. W., Ramirez, F. O., & Boli, J. (Eds.). (1987). *Institutional structure: Constituting state, society, and the individual*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Annette Rasmussen is associate professor at the Department of Learning and Philosophy, Aalborg University. Her research interests include ethnographic approaches to education policies and practices, including issues of socialisation, evaluation, differentiation, and inequality in education. Recent publications have focused especially on policies and practices of performativity and talent in school.

Palle Rasmussen is professor of education and learning research in the Department of Learning and Philosophy, Aalborg University, where he directs the Centre for Education Policy and Evaluation Research. His research areas include education policy, lifelong learning and evaluation methodology and he has published extensively in these fields. He is a member of the Danish National Research Council for Communication and Culture and of the scientific board of the COST association.

Chapter 12
A Postsocialist Perspective on Audit Culture: Changing Practices and Subjectivities of School Teachers in a Russian Region

Galina Gurova and Nelli Piattoeva

12.1 Introduction

When the writing up of this chapter was in progress, one of the authors received the following announcement from her child's school in Russia: "*Dear parents*! *The school staff is making an unusual request of you. A city meeting for teachers has been scheduled for today from 3 to 4 pm, at which all teachers should be present. Most of us teach until 5 pm. We therefore kindly ask those of you who have the opportunity to do so to come to the school and participate in the event, impersonating teachers. You can use your laptops, but we recommend that you refrain from sleeping since the meeting will be recorded. Please let us know if you can come*!"

In this paper we discuss the reactions of Russian schools and teachers to the new quality assurance system. Our research belongs to the body of literature on emerging audit cultures in different contexts and their effects on schools and the work of teachers. Embarking on a sociology of the actual and localized audit culture we ask how the introduction of novel quality assurance principles and measurement tools influences subjectivities and observable practices. Echoing Dunn (2004) and Kipnis (2008) we are interested in the audit culture as it is implemented in and exerts influence over particular contexts—"incompletely, in modified ways, and in the face of resistance, transformation, subversion by those who are its objects" (Dunn 2004, p. 23).

Our study was conducted in a region of Russia that was among the first to implement new quality assurance policies in education in the early 2000s. The data

G. Gurova (✉) · N. Piattoeva
School of Education, University of Tampere, Tampere, Finland
e-mail: galina.gurova@gmail.com

N. Piattoeva
e-mail: Nelli.Piattoeva@uta.fi

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_12

analysed in this chapter was collected primarily through ten-week participant observation and twenty-five interviews with teachers and administrators in two schools located in the capital of the region. Three interviews were conducted with principals of other schools, and three municipal-level meetings for teachers and administrators were observed. We use numerical codification of the interviewees, and identify their positions as teachers or members of administrative staff. Our interview questions were grouped into three main blocks and elicit: (1) how the interviewees define the quality of education and how, in their view, it should be evaluated; (2) the main criteria and procedures of quality assurance, and what may or may not be problematic about them; (3) what has changed with the introduction of new policies. These questions also guided the observations of classwork, administrative meetings and other aspects of school life.

12.2 Audit Cultures in Post-socialist Contexts and Beyond

The term "audit culture" (Strathern 2000), as discussed by Shore and Wright (2015, p. 24), refers to "the process by which the principles and techniques of accountancy and financial management are applied to the governance of people and organisations—and, more importantly, *the social and cultural consequences of that translation*." Studies on audit cultures across different sectoral and geographic contexts have emphasized their deeply political and personal consequences. This is because evaluation processes that rely on the quantification and ranking of complex qualitative phenomena make remote control possible through surveillance and access to the inner world of an organization (p. 23). What is particularly interesting and surprising for our case is how the ostensibly benign, liberal policy of promoting public accountability through greater transparency functions as "illiberal governance" and fosters authoritarian forms of control, echoing non-democratic regimes (Shore and Wright 2015), thus interrupting the dichotomy between East and West or liberal and authoritarian.

Shore and Wright (2015) have summarized the main characteristics and effects of audit cultures, and this work served as a fruitful starting point for our analysis (see also Power 2004 and Nelson Espeland and Sauder 2016 for complementary summaries):

1. Organizations are reshaped into ever-expanding systems of measuring, costing, monitoring and ranking, making the audit culture both a cause and effect of itself, that is, transforming the environments into which it has been injected.
2. Emergence of a new class of strategic managers and administrators responsible for meeting performance targets.
3. The questions of trust and reputation are brought to the fore by the explosion of rankings as a frequent consequence and a central means of audit.
4. Replacement of professional judgement with performance criteria is accompanied with expectations to transform workers into self-managed, proactive and

innovative employees, calibrating their work and worth against performance indicators.
5. Audit culture comes at a cost of bureaucratisation, occupational stress, disengagement and cynicism among the employees, as well as gaming strategies, loss of trust and diminished professionalism.
6. There is an alarming easiness with which organizations and individuals have adapted to the calculative, performative rationality despite exhibiting critical views of crude measurements.

The influence of performance management on the subjectivities of school teachers was closely analysed by Ball (2003). He uses the term 'performativity' to signify "a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation", focused on productivity and outputs, and using continuous evaluation, comparisons and displays of 'quality' (p. 216). Ball's analysis highlights the internal contradictions of the new regime of school governance. It claims to reduce managerial control of teachers, however, teachers are constantly subjected to external surveillance and self-monitoring (p. 219). A tension arises between the 'first-order' tasks of teaching and the 'second-order' tasks of managing quality and demonstrating high performance, which compete for teachers' time and energy. Teachers have to compromise on their core activities, and their own assessment of student needs is often in conflict with the rigors of performance (p. 221). Teachers' stress and insecurity are related not only to external inspections and increased responsibility, but perhaps primarily to the constant self-doubts, with teachers feeling unsure whether they are 'doing the right thing'. Traditionally, caring and building relationships with students was at the core of the teaching profession, but performativity redirects teachers' efforts to producing outcomes and demonstrating effectiveness, and consequently teachers experience "a schizophrenia of values and purposes" (pp. 221–223). In a similar vein, Hardy and Lewis (2016) use the term "doublethink" to describe the reaction of Australian teachers to the introduction of audit culture, meaning that teachers simultaneously conform to the principles of performativity and continue to care for actual learning.

Existing scholarly accounts of post-socialist transformations also show how professions, practices and personalities have been affected by the introduction of audit cultures to different spheres of life. Even though analysis of the school context is still lacking, and our chapter seeks to fill the gap, existing research sheds light on how post-socialist and even pre-socialist practices and mentalities help to construct forms of resistance to and isolation from performance metrics. In this manner, these studies not only expand the geographical spectrum of available research, but also, and importantly for us, form a welcome addition to research that often presents the effects of audit cultures as totalizing and inescapable. For instance, Dunn's (2004) study on the introduction of quality control and a personal audit system to a Polish baby food factory shows how it did not actually succeed in transforming the workers' personalities into those imagined by performance audits. The employees diverted objective measures of performance into those conducted on the basis of personal relations, continuing to perceive themselves as e.g. mothers and members

of meaningful social groups rather than as self-disciplining individuals eager to maximize performance (Dunn 2004, pp. 130–161). Equally, Kipnis's (2008) study of Chinese audit cultures confirmed that "regardless of whether the measures were designed to individuate workers, they also always produced particular forms of sociality and related, nonindividuated forms of personhood" (p. 281). However, Kipnis claims that the effects of audit culture do not necessarily emanate from the socialist or post-socialist characteristic of the context studied, but from the very fact that governing subjects are often simultaneously the vulnerable governed subjects in the sense that all actors sit in the middle of various hierarchies with people above and below them. They need to defend their decisions against accusations of subjectivity and self-interest, and thus choose to utilize performance metrics as means of control and incentivization, but also as a buffer that capitalizes on the impartiality of the "scientific objectivity" of performance numbers.

In this chapter we start from recognizing the difficulty of categorizing a practice or its interpretation as more or less (post)socialist, and thus do not invoke socialist legacies to explain the effects of or resistance to performance management policies in the schools. While pre-socialism, socialism and postsocialism are all the possible defining features of contemporary postsocialist societies (see Silova et al. 2017), postsocialism remains an ambiguous concept and its employment in a form of e.g. past-dependent causalities can easily lead to reductionist thinking (Golubchikov et al. 2013). Moreover, at times post-socialist legacies or elements may no longer be described as "socialist" in the sense that they become distorted and subordinated to serve a different logic and task than in the past (Golubchikov et al. 2013).

We invoke studies of socialism and postsocialism to help explain our observations in a different way. Inspired by a question posed by Boyer (2013, p. 212) "What does late socialism teach us about late liberalism?" as a way to understand the trends and paradoxes in contemporary societies all differently marked by (neo) liberal policies, we claim that some concepts and theories first developed in the context of socialist societies can be of use to explore the effects of audit cultures. This is because surprising parallels can be drawn between contemporary audit culture and socialist practices. Namely, the model of bureaucratic control currently spreading across Western educational institutions resembles the five-year plans of socialist states, which included centrally determined performance targets that were used as punitive measures against those who failed to meet them (Amann 2003). The responses that the new models of performance management evoke, such as fabrications or formalism—are reminiscent of responses to socialist plans and communist bureaucratic controls (Aydarova et al. 2016). Gaming as an inherent feature of the audit culture across diverse contexts paradoxically echoes Stenning's (2010) observation that "we are all postsocialist now" (p. 239, as cited in Aydarova et al. 2016, p. 161).

Alexei Yurchak's (1997, 2013) widely cited research on late socialism and the "last Soviet generation" describes "simulated support" of the official ideology, which was a major strategy of Soviet citizens who "experienced official ideological representation of social reality as largely false and at the same time immutable and omnipresent" (p. 162). The official representation of that reality in e.g.

state-produced statistics, political rhetoric and artistic objects had little to do with reality itself, and lost its credibility. And it is this quality of late socialism that we see as crucial and connected to the effect of contemporary audit cultures across contexts. The compliance of Soviet citizens with the socialist symbolic system, such as the use of specific formulae in public narratives, did not reflect their sincere belief in socialism. Instead, it was a strategy of avoiding any active engagement with the system, either supportive or critical. Socialist subjects did not take the official symbols at face value, but pretended to do so, which gave them the opportunity to live a "normal life" (Yurchak 1997, pp. 162–163). Simulation and pretense as mechanisms of noninvolvement, in Yurchak's terms, should not be seen as resistance, but rather as a "lack of interest in power". In this manner Yurchak highlights the limitations of the binary of submission vs. resistance and offers an additional interpretative framework and concept to apply. Following this, our research seeks to capture diverse and entangled forms of teachers' reactions to the new regime of audit culture.

12.3 Russian Quality Assurance Policy

The performativity regime focused on productivity and outcomes was introduced into Russian schools in the 2000s. Before 2001, there was no standardized achievement testing in Russia that would provide more or less commensurable statistics at the national level and serve as a measure of the effectiveness of school education. School graduation tests were organized by schools and supervised by local educational authorities. The main measures of quality since the 1940s have been students' school grades, the percentages of students successfully transitioning to the next school year and next educational tier, and the numbers of graduates who received special achievement prizes (see, e.g., Bakker 1999, p. 296). The evaluation of teacher quality on the basis of their students' progress in learning was prohibited (Kukulin et al. 2015, p. 643).

In the 1990s, when schools were allowed to implement diverse curricula and teaching methods, and simultaneously the funding of schools was decentralized and reduced due to a severe economic crisis, the government became concerned about the quality of school education and equality of students' opportunities to enter universities. At the same time, the idea of a national standardized test was promoted by international organizations as a modern standard for school examinations and educational governance (World Bank 1995; OECD 1998). Russia also started participating in international large-scale assessments of educational achievement, TIMSS, PIRLS and PISA, that served as a source of inspiration and a methodological model for national education experts (Piattoeva and Gurova 2017). The combination of these influences resulted in the introduction of a national examination in 2001, which serves simultaneously as a school leaving test, a unified university entrance examination, and a measure to ensure the compliance of school education with state education standards (Bochenkov 2013; Piattoeva 2015). The

examination soon started to serve system monitoring and accountability purposes, though it was not initially designed for that (Tyumeneva 2013, p. xi). Students' examination results became a key measure of performance of schools and teachers, and a basis for publicized school rankings. Current national documents include multiple numerical performance indicators that utilize examination scores after grades 9 and 11, as well as the results of international learning achievement studies. Russia's approach to quality reforms, on the macro level, is characterized by an acceptance of the international quality narrative (accountability, performance assessment, objective performance measurement) along with the monopoly of the state over the definition of quality and quality assurance practices (see Minina et al. forthcoming).

In the case region of our study the System of Evaluation of Education Quality features eighty numerical indicators for desired outcomes in education. The "quality of educational results" of schools is measured through students' grade point averages, average scores of students and number of failures in national examinations (henceforth GIA); number of prizes won in subject Olympiads and educational contests. The same indicators serve as the criteria for teachers' and principals' performance-based payment and for the promotion of teachers to higher professional categories. In other words, numerical indicators of students' educational achievement are highly significant for all those involved in education: students, teachers, administrators and schools as a whole.

12.4 Transforming School Practices

To structure the description of the multiple observed effects of the newly introduced performance management system on school workers' practices and subjectivities, we start from the contradictions produced by the new policies, and then proceed to the reactions of teachers and administrators.

12.4.1 Compromising on Student Interests in Order to Demonstrate Performance

As research in many countries has documented, performativity induces tensions between different educational tasks and, more broadly, between teachers' ideas of quality education and the need to focus solely on student achievement. Our findings add to this evidence. The teachers pointed out that to prepare students for the national tests they have to limit other teaching activities, which in their view jeopardizes their students' understanding and appreciation of the studied subjects. Moreover, school workers in general disagreed with the idea that educational quality manifests in learning results measured by tests. For the majority of our

interviewees educational quality means "preparedness for life" in a very broad sense of the term, meaning the ability to find a rewarding job, be a good family member and a responsible citizen, thus quality can only be evaluated after years of adult life, with little to do with school grades.

> [Administrator 3]: Quality means something else. Quality of education materializes in one's adjustment to life, how a person finds a place in life. Not in academic achievements. Sometimes you see straight A students who can't find a place (…) and there are mediocre ones (…) but their lives turn out perfect. So the new education standards are correct in their practice orientation (…), but no one knows how to put them to practice.

This quote illustrates that school workers perceive the demands of the state curriculum and of national examinations (the *GIA*) as different from each other, despite federal level assurances that tests reinforce the standards. The teachers complained that the contents of GIA often exceed their subject curriculum or suggest different learning goals. The teacher has to decide whether to teach to the curriculum or to the test, and at the same time needs to be prepared to simultaneously demonstrate both compliance with the state standards and satisfactory GIA results among students.

Teacher performance is also assessed by the results of students' participation in educational contests. This is another source of controversy for teachers: to prepare successful contestants, they have to compromise on the interests of other students who do not take part in contests. In some cases participation involves downright cheating:

> [Teacher 23]: It is more probable to win in commercial contests. You can correct the student's answers. It is easier to rank well than in open (municipal contests). In the online contests you can be sure that the child will rank well, as you can sit next to him/her. (A student) complained that her teacher was only interested in such contests because they are reflected in the bonus pay. She pays less attention to exam preparation, and the student needs to rely on private tutoring.

In other words, the regime of performativity forces teachers to adopt economically rational behaviour and pursue self-interest instead of students' interests. This contradicts the official rationale for quality assurance measures: to ensure that the teachers meet the learning needs of all students.

Apart from these difficult choices, teachers are torn between teaching per se and the time- and energy-consuming necessity to document their efforts and achievements. A teacher explained how performance management paradoxically impairs the competency of schoolteachers:

> [Teacher 27]: One parent complains that children only do calculations without solving textual problems. But textual problems would have to be explained, and while the students do calculations, I could already prepare a report. When would I do it otherwise? There is no time for creative work, for teachers' work, didactical work. The work of private tutors is easier. Of course, they are better teachers - they don't have to prepare these reports, teaching programmes, they can devote all their time to didactical development. In the evening they have two or three students, but still receive a salary equal to what we get in a month. This is great! Sometimes I just want to leave it all for good and become a private tutor.

Local education authorities demand 'analytical reports' (i.e. reports containing numerical information) not only in connection with teaching, but also with many other activities, such as the organization of sports and patriotic events, or school measures for drug and crime prevention. The quantities of documentation requested are such that it is not feasible to organize all the anticipated activities. Neither it is necessary: the only controlled request is to provide a timely report. As long as the data provided by schools looks convincing, the authorities would not be interested in how truthful it is; only crude fabrications would be noted and frowned upon.

12.4.2 Misrepresentative Calculations

A large part of the work, including lessons preparation, motivating students, liaison with parents, or working as the classroom teacher ('*klassnyy rukovoditel*'), is not included in the performance metrics. An administrator described the actual school work as something only fleetingly reflected in what is controlled and measured by the authorities, or even payed for:

> [Administrator 1]: Our work does not end with official hours. There are even more working hours that are not compensated at all. We never worked for the sake of salary. (…) What is requested from us: grades, results in the GIA, percentages of students entering higher education, crime rates. Our projects interest no one. We can work around the clock, or not at all, no-one will care.

Performance-based payment is calculated individually for each teacher and does not take into account the collaborative nature of school work, let alone the contribution of students and their families. Teachers are assigned to different classes in different years, they are assisted by other teachers and staff, but their performance is determined solely by the results of their students of that academic year. This system produces feelings of injustice and jealousy among teachers, particularly in a school implementing an internal performance-based ranking of teachers.

> [Teacher 23]: The teachers are ranked on the basis of the average grade, the quality percentage. (…) Of course, this is unpleasant. There are different children in the classes, in primary school - we sort them out - someone works in a "difficult" class, and will end with the lowest ranking, even though he/she may be a very good teacher, highly qualified. Or I substitute in another class, and then the teacher of that class gets a better ranking.

> [Teacher 26]: There is an internal ranking of teachers - whose students rank highest in GIA. (…) It is one thing if I have been with this class since grade seven, or five - then I can be held responsible. But what if I have only taught them in grades ten and eleven?

The performativity system created new inequalities among teachers of different subjects, making the profession especially difficult for teachers of mathematics—the subject in which every graduate is tested and in which the greatest number of students fails. The pressure and work overload created by the necessity to prepare each student for a successful performance in GIA are immense: the teacher of a low-performing class regularly expressed a fear of being dismissed after

examinations. The situation is different for teachers who only have a few students preparing for GIA in their subject (only examinations in mathematics and Russian language are compulsory, but tests in other subjects are needed for university entrance). As an administrator noted, "it is more 'profitable' to be a teacher of geography than of mathematics". However, the job security of a geography teacher (or any other teacher of a non-compulsory subject) is undermined in a different way. With only few students choosing this subject, such teacher is assigned fewer teaching hours, which significantly lowers the time-based part of the salary, and also lowers the number of teachers the school needs. Hence such teachers have to work in more than one school at a time, or assume other responsibilities apart from teaching. This situation leads to a diminishing status and undermines ties with their home institution.

12.4.3 Contradictory Demands

The quality assurance system is based on the assumption that there is a demand for 'high quality education' in society, and that students and parents have expectations regarding the teacher's work that the schools need to fulfill. Our results show that this is true for only a fraction of students and parents who can be called 'education-oriented'. Their attitude has lately become more critical and demanding, reinforced by the discourse of accountability and publicized performance information. However, not all students are education-oriented, many of them are reluctant to attend school and are indifferent to passing or failing examinations. At one of the observed lessons, when a teacher announced a 'mock examination' for the following day, a student commented loudly that in that case he would be absent due to illness (and miss those lessons). Many parents also only assume that the child will attend school and graduate. Some are unwilling to send children to school due to religious concerns or a nomadic way of life. Nevertheless schools need to make sure that all school-aged children in their district receive compulsory education. In one of the schools, the principal would stand in the school entrance hall every morning to check attendance. During the examination period teachers struggled to ensure attendance among the lowest-performing students and tried various means to stimulate it, from phoning the parents to offering attendees gingerbread. By shifting all the responsibility for completing their school education and for their learning results onto the teacher, the quality assurance system made it clear to many students that their active participation was no longer obligatory. They are aware that it is in the interests of their teacher for them to pass.

The purpose of 'objective' evaluation is to reveal problems in learning which without external control would remain hidden or unnoticed, and to discipline teachers to assign grades more accurately (reflecting the learning results). However, the intention to reveal problems contradicts with the official requirement to produce high results and compliance with state regulations. The indicator named "quality percentage" calculated from end-of-quarter and end-of-year grades assigned by

teachers is particularly problematic. It creates incentives for teachers to give higher marks to push up the performance scores, but at the same time serves as a control measure to ensure that teachers do not fabricate high grades. It also treats grades as an absolute measure of achievement, and disregards the fact that teachers use grades to stimulate students, so grades are relative to student abilities.

> [Teacher 23]: On the one hand, we are reprimanded for having given a student the lowest grades. On the other hand, if we give satisfactory, but the child does not pass GIA or receives the lowest grades the following year - we are reprimanded again: "Either you falsified the grade or the new teacher cannot teach well"- they say. In any case the teacher always gets the blame, the entire responsibility is on him/her. But what if the student is not studying, does not behave, we cannot punish him/her - it will get worse, and the other children get a negative example.

Another controversy arises from the requirement to prevent cheating in examinations, coupled with the requirement to ensure that there are no fails. *During the examination week the school principal marches into a classroom where students are having one of their last pre-examination lessons and warns them against cheating—not only on moral grounds, but because of the strict surveillance measures* (for a description of the overarching surveillance during GIA, see Piattoeva 2016). *A few days later, a teacher asks her examinee to come into a room with other teachers and a deputy principal, and to describe how the examination has been for some of her low-performing classmates. "They are fine, they copied everything from cellphones!"—replies the girl. "Thank God!"—comes a sigh of relief from all present in the room.* In the interviews, most teachers expressed dissatisfaction with cheating in examinations, viewing it as undermining their authority and creating unfair conditions for well-prepared students. At the same time, no interviewee suggested that students who did not master the subject should not pass. It was not simply a matter of teachers' performance scores, but a desire to give everyone an opportunity to continue education.

> [Teacher 22]: Earlier [during the piloting of national examinations - authors] there were no problems if someone received low grades in the examination. They still got their school leaving certificates, while others got the examination document for university entrance. But now we no longer have the right to award certificates if students fail. Not all of them pass GIA, particularly in math. Earlier we would still let these children through, help them to find a place to study in vocational schools, to learn a profession. Not everyone has the ability, and not everyone needs all this knowledge.

In other words, while teachers support the idea of meritocracy, they are also unwilling to take responsibility for decisions that might damage students' life prospects. Teachers perceive it as both their professional and moral obligation to help all students find a professional path, and the quality assurance system reinforces this accountability, but limits the possibilities to fulfill this requirement. Torn between contradictory demands, teachers are rendered constantly vulnerable.

12.4.4 Reaction of Teachers: Between Compliance, Resistance and Noninvolvement

The frustrating effects of performativity regime produce skepticism and disillusionment among the school staff with the designers of policies and with the local authorities implementing these without amendments. A common phrase to describe authorities, national and local alike, is "they have not worked at school for a single day". In the view of both teachers and administrators, policy makers are distant and uninformed, driven primarily by the desire to create an image of their own efficiency. Several interviewees described the incompetency of authorities as a major problem of Russian education. These examples manifest low trust in the local level policy-makers, leading to what has been called by some researchers the social production of mistrust between grassroots actors and authorities (Giardano and Kopstova 2002).

Despite the prevalence of a critical attitude, we have not observed any attempts at open resistance. This is because schools operate under threat of losing their accreditation or licenses. The status of schools and the respective opportunities to influence the decision-making of local authorities depend on both their high performance and on demonstrated loyalty. High performance alone is not sufficient: one interviewee described how a principal of a neighbouring top-performing school had not been awarded any honorary titles and privileges despite significant professional achievements because the school sought for ways to bypass some regulations. Most school administrators would accept all requirements without question, and consult with colleagues from other schools on how to implement what they see as self-contradictory policies. An administrator, when composing yet another report and adding a formulaic audit culture phrase to it, would half-jokingly comment: "[*let it seem*] *as if we are efficient*". The teachers who were most critical towards new policies suggested that one can de facto ignore them while formally implementing them.

> [Teacher 27]: A textbook by Vilenkin for grade five was withdrawn - but it was the best one. No one asked the teachers. A textbook by Dorofeev was retained - but who likes it?! A good teacher would prepare a programme according to their demands, but would still use Vilenkin.

In other words, where school workers disagreed with policies, a common strategy would be to create a simulacrum of procedures required by the state, while still sticking to their own way. However, the system of financial incentives tied to performance has caused a rapid and deep penetration of performativity thinking, even though it runs contrary to the values of most teachers. One teacher explained how she checks the performance scorecard when deciding in which extracurricular activity to participate. Another teacher said that she personally does not count the scores to calibrate her work, but that one of her colleagues "*probably has the scorecard pinned by her bedside to check it daily*".

Speaking of 'someone else' being driven by performance scores (that is, ultimately, by money) in their work was regular, and so was the claim that the interviewee personally did not care about the scores. Paradoxically, distancing themselves from the new regulatory mechanisms, many teachers emphasized that they have always been committed to the activities currently rewarded through performance-based payment, such as participation in contests, preparing students for the learning Olympiads, or working extra hours to help students pass examinations. They explained that their motivation was not monetary, but was a matter of honor and passion, and a will to maintain a "good reputation". Indeed, school contests and Olympiads already began in the Soviet time, and since then until now the 'tables of honor' (*doski pocheta*) featuring the distinguished teachers are displayed in schools. At the same time, an administrator said that lately it had not been uncommon for teachers to declare at a work meeting: "*I'm not going to do it*, *it is not included in the performance criteria*"; and that assigning performance scores to certain activities is a powerful mechanism to make even unwilling teachers participate.

12.5 Discussion

Our study reaffirms and enriches the understanding of multiple controversies and vulnerabilities produced by the audit culture in schools. There are several assumptions regarding the policy that conflict with the practices established and valued by the professionals. Moreover, the policies often contradict their tools, that is, the one-sided numerical measures introduced to foster their implementation in practice. First, policy aims to stimulate teachers to pursue students' interests, and for this reason connects teachers' payment to student achievement. However, the interests of students are diverse and not adequately reflected in grades or average test scores. In many ways these interests are jeopardized by the system that seeks to invoke the self-interest of teachers. Another assumption is that teachers should be rewarded for improving their competence. However, significant time and effort are invested to document performance, and detract from teaching and preparing the lessons, so that actual competence may deteriorate. Yet another assumption is that all students are equally eager 'customers' of education. The policy disregards the many students who are not education-oriented, and the required efforts of teachers to ensure their attendance. In many ways the quality assurance system thus miscalculates and misrepresents the work of school staff.

Teachers' reactions to these transformations produce another layer of controversies. Most teachers in our study demonstrated a skeptical attitude towards performativity, but at the same time school administrators said that they can successfully employ its powerful tools to manage school staff and that the behaviour of teachers is reportedly often driven by performance metrics. Scholars use the term 'schizophrenia' (Ball 2003) and 'doublethink' (Hardy and Lewis 2016) to describe teachers' simultaneous pursuit of conflicting aims. While our case

demonstrates similar dynamics, the concepts of noninvolvement and simulated support (Yurchak 1997) facilitate a more nuanced understanding of this behaviour. The idea of 'schizophrenia' implies that teachers internalize the aims set by performativity, and that performativity values become equally important for them as the traditional values of teaching profession. Our findings show that compliance with policies does not necessarily signify the internalization of performativity aims. School staff seek to draw a line between their professional identity and performativity thinking. They refer to the latter as alien even when they formally comply with it, and use the strategy of 'simulating', or behaving 'as if' they sincerely believed in the ideas proposed by the performativity regime.

Researchers of the effects of the numerical representation of school work argue that the introduction of performance measurement systems that feed data into the governing centre creates new kinds of proximities of the periphery to the centre (e.g. Lingard et al. 2014; Sellar 2015). Our study, on the other hand, shows how misrepresentations of school work inevitable in the process of translating complex school reality into numbers, and the focus of government solely on measured performance, result in schools perceiving authorities as distant and incompetent, disconnected from the school reality. Ball (2003) views the obsession with displays of performance as a characteristic feature of performativity, which, he argues, holds truthfulness as less important than demonstrated effectiveness. At the same time, this emphasis on symbolic compliance with the image of reality that does not resonate with the common sense of the people echoes the Soviet regime, and, as we demonstrate, produces similar reactions among the subjects. Explaining the phenomenon of noninvolvement, Yurchak (1997) underscores that it did not aim to create any opposition to the dominant state power. However, he argues, the passivity of citizens eventually brought about a crisis of the Soviet system. Based on his work and Boyer's question about the lessons of late socialism for contemporary times, we need to contemplate on how noninvolvement and simulated support of local actors contribute to the perpetuation of audit culture and the potential of undermining it with the lapse of time.

Postsocialist perspectives help to understand how the conflict between policy, its tools, and profession becomes normalized in two ways. First, normalization means that teachers accept the incompatibility between the interests and needs of the students and the authorities. One interviewee recalled her professor at the teacher training university declaring that in their future careers prospective teachers would inevitably "*have to choose whether to sin against the children or against the Ministry*". Second, normalization, in Yurchak's terms, means not taking the official policies at face value, but pretending to do so, to live a "normal life" (Yurchak 1997). Normalization thus implies how teachers strive to reconcile practical decisions and moral choices in a manner that would allow them to benefit from the system and live a life that is satisfactory, that is, normal, morally and materially. Our opening vignette succinctly captures the two sides of normalization—teachers' acceptance of the mismatch between authoritative demands and profession, and their practical ways to construct a normal life amidst the conflict.

Acknowledgements We would like to thank Radhika Gorur (Deakin University) and our research group colleagues Jaakko Kauko, Helena Candido and Tuomas Takala (University of Tampere) for their helpful comments on the earlier versions of this chapter.

Funding

The research for this chapter was supported by the Academy of Finland grant 273874 for the research project "Transnational Dynamics of Quality Assurance Policies and Evaluation in Brazil, China and Russia" 2014–17.

References

Amann, R. (2003). A sovietological view of modern Britain. *The Political Quarterly, 74*(4), 468–480. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923x.00558.

Aydarova, E., Millei, Z., Piattoeva, N., & Silova, I. (2016). Revisiting pasts, reimagining futures: Memories of (post)socialist childhood and schooling. *European Education, 48*(3), 159–169. https://doi.org/10.1080/10564934.2016.1223977.

Bakker, S. A. (1999). Educational assessment in the Russian federation. *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy and Practice, 6*(2), 291–303.

Ball, S. J. (2003). The teacher's soul and the terrors of performativity. *Journal of Education Policy, 18*(2), 215–228. https://doi.org/10.1080/0268093022000043065.

Bochenkov, S. (2013). Uchitel', shkola, sistema obrazovaniia v zerkale EGE [Teacher, school, system of education in the mirror of USE]. *Problemy sovremennogo obrazovaniia, 3,* 27–47.

Boyer, D. (2013). Afterword. A postcard from Berlin: Rethinking the juncture of late socialism and late liberalism in Europe. In N. Klumbyte & G. Sharafutdinova (Eds.), *Soviet society in the era of late socialism 1964–1985* (pp. 203–214). Plymouth: Lexington Books.

Dunn, E. C. (2004). *Privatizing Poland: Baby food, big business, and the remaking of labor*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Giardano, G., & Kopstova, D. (2002). The social production of mistrust. In C. M. Hann (Ed.), *Postsocialism. Ideals, ideologies and practices in Eurasia* (pp. 74–91). London: Routledge.

Golubchikov, O., Badyina, A., & Makharova, A. (2013). The hybrid spatialities of transition: Capitalism, legacy and uneven urban economic restructuring. *Urban Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098013493022. (preprint).

Hardy, I., & Lewis, S. (2016). The 'doublethink' of data: Educational performativity and the field of schooling practices. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2016.1150155.

Kipnis, A. B. (2008). Audit cultures: Neoliberal governmentality, socialist legacy, or technologies of governing? *American Ethnologist, 35*(2), 275–289. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2008.00034.x.

Kukulin, I., Mayofis, M., & Safronov, P. (2015). *Ostrova utopii: pedagogicheskoe i sotsial'noe proektirovanie poslevoennoi shkoly (1940–1980-e) [The islands of Utopia: pedagogical and social designing of the postwar school (1940–1980s)]*. Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie.

Lingard, B., Sellar, S., & Savage, G. (2014). Re-articulating social justice as equity in schooling policy. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 35*(5), 710–730.

Minina, E., Piattoeva, N., Centeno, V. G., Zhou, X., & Candido, H. (forthcoming). Transnational policy borrowing and national interpretations of educational quality in Russia, China, and Brazil. In I. Silova & M. Chankseliani (Eds.), *Comparing post-socialist transformations: Education in Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union.* Oxford: Symposium Books.

Nelson Espeland, W., & Sauder, M. (2016). *Engines of anxiety. Academic rankings, reputation, and accountability.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
OECD. (1998). *Review of national policies for education. Russian Federation*. Paris: OECD.
Piattoeva, N. (2016). The imperative to protect the data and the rise of surveillance cameras in administering national testing in Russia. *European Educational Research Journal, 15*(1), 82–98.
Piattoeva, N. (2015). Elastic numbers: National examinations data as a technology of government. *Journal of Education Policy, 30*(3), 316–334.
Piattoeva, N., & Gurova, G. (2017). Domesticating international assessments in Russia: Historical grievances, national values, scientific rationality and education modernization. In C. Alarcon & M. Lawn (Eds.), *Student assessment cultures in historical perspective* (forthcoming).
Power, M. (2004). Counting, control and calculation: Reflections on measuring and management. *Human Relations, 57*(6), 765–783.
Sellar, S. (2015). A feel for numbers: Affect, data and education policy. *Critical Studies in Education, 56*(1), 131–146.
Shore, C., & Wright, S. (2015). Governing by numbers: Audit culture, rankings and the new world order. *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale, 23*(1), 22–28.
Silova, I., Millei, Z., & Piattoeva, N. (2017). Interrupting the coloniality of knowledge production in comparative education: Post-socialist and post-colonial dialogues after the Cold War. *Comparative Education Review*.
Stenning, A. (2010). The UK economy and the transformation of the East Central Europe. In N. Coe & A. Jones (Eds.), *Rethinking the economy. The UK in the 21st century* (pp. 239–252). London: Sage.
Strathern, M. (2000). Introduction. In M. Strathern (Ed.), *Audit cultures: Anthropological studies in accountability, ethics and the academy* (pp. 2–18). London: Routledge.
Tyumeneva, Y. (2013). *Disseminating and using student assessment information in Russia*. Washington: World Bank.
Yurchak, A. (1997). The cynical reason of late socialism: Power, pretense, and the anekdot. *Public culture, 9*(2), 161–188.
Yurchak, A. (2013). *Everything was forever, until it was no more: The last Soviet generation*. Princeton University Press.
World Bank. (1995). *Russia. Education in the transition*. Washington: World Bank.

Galina Gurova holds MA degrees in sociology from the Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia, and education sciences from the University of Oulu, Finland. She is a doctoral candidate and a member of the research group "International Perspectives on Educational Discourses, Policies and Practices" at the School of Education, University of Tampere, Finland. Her research interests and publications are in the area of education governance and comparative education, currently focusing on the role and effects of evaluation policies in general education in Russia.

Nelli Piattoeva is a lecturer at the School of Education, University of Tampere, Finland. Her current research is concerned with performance measurement and the politics of educational evaluation in various national and supranational contexts. She is interested in the socio-material practices of numerical data production, and the political work done to, with and in the name of numbers. She has published in Comparative Education, Journal of Curriculum Studies, International Journal of Educational Development, European Educational Research Journal and Journal of Education Policy.

Chapter 13
Neo-Liberal Managerialism and Professionalization in U.S. Schools

Rick Mintrop

When faced with the challenge of organizing mass education systems at the advent of the modern era, national or state governments the world over chose public bureaucracies. In the field of public education, historically, bureaucracy grew up together with professionalism, mutually supportive of, yet in tension with each other. Both, according to Weber (Gerth and Mills 1946), advance the rationalization of work and create defined statuses, based on expertise, authority, and seniority, but they manage to do so with different principles. Bureaucracy is at the core rule-bound and static, exerting hierarchical control. Professionals, on the other hand, carry out their work in a logic of public trust and collegiality by flexibly applying theoretical precepts and abstract knowledge, acquired through formal training, to concrete circumstances in the presumably best interest of their clients. Across countries and systems, forms of accommodation between public bureaucracies and the professions have differed widely as have degrees of professionalization for the employees working in these systems. When beginning in the 1990s broad shifts in governance and management occurred as governments in many countries moved public bureaucracies towards more managerialism, marketization, or privatization (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011), public service professionals had to find ways of accommodating the new givens.

In this chapter, I investigate patterns of accommodation for educational professionals in the United States. The era of neo-liberal public management is commonly associated with the introduction of management practices, such as standards, measurement, accountability, incentives, privatization, market competition, and the like that make traditional public service provision more akin to a private business. In this chapter I will use the terms managerialism (Gewirtz 2002) or neo-liberal public management when I refer to this basket of measures which actually go beyond management in a narrow sense.

R. Mintrop (✉)
Graduate School of Education, University of Berkeley, Berkeley, USA
e-mail: mintrop@berkeley.edu

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_13

Professionals occupy contested occupational terrain in the political and economic order of society. Their terrain may shift along three dimensions: technical expertise, status, and service to clients (Abbott 1988; Freidson 2001). To the degree that professionals undergo extensive training and act with competence and autonomy, to the degree that they succeed in closing their occupational niche to non-credentialed outsiders and maintain an adequate compensation for those on the inside, and to the degree that they garner their clients' or the public's trust for services rendered, they improve their standing or professionalize. Hargreaves (2000) argues for the Anglo-Saxon countries that teachers' work professionalized rather continuously up until the recent era of managerialism. Over time, he analyzes, educators garnered more resources, attained more training and competence, expanded on their autonomy in the face of bureaucratic regulation, forged new collective responsibilities and commitments to professional learning, and reaped higher rewards in the process. Yet, advances notwithstanding, it is widely recognized that teacher professionalism in the United States remains rather precarious, especially with respect to technical expertise and status (Labaree 1992). Thus, some call teaching a mere semi-profession (Etzioni 1969).

There are those who assume that managerialist forms of public management (Barber 1995, 2004; Skrla et al. 2001) may actually enhance teacher professionalism under these circumstances of constrained semi-professionalism, given the new systems' incentives to focus on student performance and parental preferences and to assume greater responsibility for outcomes. New practices such as measuring performance, examining evidence, setting sharper goals, creating more technical certainty by tightening means to clearer ends, conducting rigorous evaluations, giving precise feedback, and so on (see a discussion in Mintrop and Sunderman 2013) might shore up the professional nature of teachers' work.

Others argue that with the advent of a neo-liberal mode of regulating teachers' work in the 1990s, professionalism is on the vain (Anderson and Herr 2015; Day 2002; Evetts 2011). Managerialism, in this view, has increased central control of curriculum and deregulated the teaching work force through de-unionization, loosening of tenure, alternative and emergency certification, and making teaching a periodic line of work that can be entered and exited with relative facility (Johnson 2007). Accountability systems have hemmed in teachers' autonomy with performance measurement, potent extrinsic rewards and sanctions, and program prescriptions (Diamond and Spillane 2004). Marketization has granted some schools bounded autonomy with which they must manage in a competitive market to capture the highest-available talent pool. In the United States, this autonomy applies most notably to so called charter schools, i.e. schools that are publicly financed, but semi-privately governed and managed (Anderson and Herr 2015).

In the United States, the effect of de-professionalization, it is argued (Darling-Hammond 2008), may be especially pronounced in schools serving poor non-white communities. Their disadvantaged status is exacerbated by school faculties that are largely staffed with young and novice teachers whose commitment to stay is tenuous (Ingersoll 2003a), whose training is minimal, whose occupational sentiments are oriented towards improvisation, good intentions, and survival

(Scott et al. 2016), and whose notions of technical expertise may take us back to pre-professional patterns (Hargreaves 2000).

Yet, as many authors stress, tendencies to professionalize or de-professionalize will depend to some degree on the ways educators leverage, accommodate or resist new managerialist features and bring their professional interests to bear on broader social movements in the interest of the populations they serve (Anderson and Cohen 2015; Hargreaves 2000). Some managerialist features may constrain professionalism, but some others may conceivably also function as affordances or opportunities to enhance the professional character of work. In this article, I discuss this question with a focus on one aspect of professionalism, the way managerialism shapes key dimensions of teachers' work in schools, leaving issues of training, credentialing, or status aside. Key dimensions of work shaped by managerialist mechanisms may be setting goals, assuming responsibilities for performance, committing to service and inclusion, participating in continuous professional learning and improvement, striving for autonomy in the midst of regulation and market pressures, and finally calculating rewards and self-interest.

Professionalization and de-professionalization are relative terms that have only meaning in the context of real historical patterns that differ across countries. For the United States, professionalism developed within a constellation of educational governance in which local democracy inserts itself as a powerful factor between state bureaucracy and the profession. I describe this baseline in a first step. I argue in a second step that under circumstances of limited professionalism, managerialist features, being imposed on the profession from the 1990s onwards, have on the whole led to patterns of de-professionalization in jurisdictions that came under heightened accountability pressure, namely local systems identified as "low performing" that tend to also serve poor and ethnic minority students. In a third step, I report on a study of teachers in public charter schools that voluntarily participated in an intricate managerialist performance management system. These schools are at once at the cutting edge of neo-liberal public management, committed to mitigate the adverse effects of social deprivation and injustice, and beholden to the idea of self-determined professional learning. Managerialism, I argue, should enhance the professional character of work under these conducive conditions, but I find that it does so on very partially. I finally reflect on what the varied patterns of engagement with managerialism might tell us about its professionalizing potential.

13.1 Bureaucracy, Local Democracy, and Professionalism in the Pre-managerialist Era

The United States is a federal country with fifty states that have constitutional authority over public education. The educational system accommodates about one million teachers and 56 million students, managed and supervised by 13,500

public school districts. A great variation exits within this system, though, relative to other countries, some structural similarities obtain across jurisdictions.

If teachers in the United States were to move across state lines, they would recognize features of a national system of education. In most instances, they would find a Kindergarten to 12th grade system. They would administer standardized tests and grade on an A through F scale. They would see the national flag in almost every classroom and recite the "pledge of allegiance" to this flag repeatedly with their students. They would cheer for athletic teams that in all likelihood adopted some fierce animal as totems. Their employers would be local public school districts, not state governments.

But beyond the outward signs and symbols of national sameness, the substance of the educational experience could be markedly different. Differences between states in terms of student performance are stark, for example in Minnesota on average about half of all students score proficient on national tests in English and Math while in Mississippi that number is in the 25% range (see: http://public-schools.startclass.com/). In some states, teachers would be organized in unions that negotiate employment contracts, in others they would be denied these rights. In some states, they would be under enormous performance pressure, their performance being graded on the same A through F scale that they apply to their students. In some states, accountability, evaluations, pay incentives, and market competition would loom large, especially in local school districts or schools serving lower socio-economic classes. In other states or local jurisdictions, performance accountability would be a mere light touch. In some states, central state authority would be tangible, in others local school districts would make most of the policy decisions. Thus, a common U.S. pattern of teachers' engagement with managerialism, in all likelihood, does not exist. Patterns would differ due to factors, such as degree of central state control, rights of association for teachers, strength of teacher preparation and licensure, and accountability policies in a given state as well as local district preferences, the socio-economic environment of the schools, and the governance model schools operate under (e.g., regular public school versus charter school).

Yet, common to teachers across U.S. jurisdictions would be the assertion that theirs is a line of professional work while in reality the power, status, and self-governance of the teaching profession has been rather precarious due to the unique constellation of governance in U.S. public education. While states regulate teacher education and certification and have overall governance responsibility, the core administrative unit in U.S. public education is the local school district which allocates educational funds, negotiates salaries, hires and fires teachers according to expanding or contracting financial means, makes local rules, and supervises all personnel.

When the modern mass education system was formed at the beginning of the 19th century, it followed the lead of two already existing ways of organizing: modern business and self-governed local community (Tyack 1974). Thus, school districts, especially those organizing the education of the urban (and later suburban) masses have been oriented on one hand towards effectiveness, measurement, and

scientific management, including the management of instruction, and on the other hand towards the common sense of local lay politicians and interest groups. The public school district is not merely a subordinate regional administrative unit within the broader state system, but a semi-autonomous jurisdiction that is governed by a locally elected school board and managed by public school administrators that are a class of professionalized managers separate from teachers. Whereas the relationships between school managers and local school boards were traditionally consensual, they became contested especially in the cities with the social movements of the 1960s and 70s (Wirt and Kirst 1997), bringing to the fore ethnic and labor agendas that can counteract concerns for work quality and professionalism.

Relatively powerful district and school managers in combination with the interference of lay politicians in all matters of local school life leave little room for professional self-governance. Fragmentation of the profession across localities, lack of extensive training in technical-theoretical knowledge, and ease of entry and exit (Abbott 1988) exacerbate the weak position of the profession. American teachers are used to implementing instructional programs, developed and adopted for them by others, rather than shaping their own curriculum (Ingersoll 2003a). Teachers are supported in their work by an army of non-classroom specialists such as test coordinators, data analysts, counselors, deans of discipline, teacher aides, etc. In typical urban school districts, administrative overhead and non-instructional staff can be quite high (Darling-Hammond 1997).

Empirical accounts speak to attributes of limited professionalism among American teachers. From Lortie (1975) onwards, U.S. teachers are described as conservative, oriented towards present or day-to-day demands, thriving on intrinsic or episodic psychic rewards, and negotiating a variety of ambiguous and contradictory goals. They are said to draw from uncertain expertise that relies more on experiential apprenticeship than formal knowledge. Given local fragmentation, the quality of professional work can differ widely based on local conditions (Rosenholtz 1989; Talbert and McLaughlin 1994).

Bureaucracy, in its traditional Weberian version, and profession have in common that they aim at attenuating self-interest. Tenure, seniority, hierarchy, relatively fixed and equalized salary and career statuses, and disinterested rule-boundedness are ways for bureaucracies to neutralize employees' self-interest and instill loyalty to the goals of the organization. Traditional ideas of professionalism as well stress the predominance of an ethic of service, intrinsic rewards, commitment to clients, and collegiality over concern for self-advancement and extrinsic reward. Indeed scholarship on teacher work motivation prior to the advent of neo-liberal management techniques have shown that intrinsic motives and service ethics are primary motivators (Firestone and Pennell 1993), though they are unevenly distributed (Elmore 1996).

In the pre-managerialist era, with respect to both bureaucracy and professions, output and performance are secondary to concerns for the proper use of inputs and the application of professionally appropriate practices. Much has been written about loose coupling in the American educational system (Coburn 2004) between the political and administrative levels, on one side, and the technical or instructional

core of schools, on the other. Loose coupling was one way for bureaucracy, local democracy, and profession to accommodate each other. Traditionally, managers and local politicians expected teachers to adopt and comply with local policies, including instructional policies (e.g., choice of textbooks, materials, tests, etc.), but left classrooms largely unscrutinized. Performance evaluations were largely symbolic in such a system (Murphy et al. 2013). Within the constraints of state and local policies, teachers enjoyed a degree of autonomous decision making on how to teach the curriculum and compel students to learn. Traditional professionalism in the U.S. case, then, is a matter of teachers accepting loosely applied instructional management on the part of district and school administrators and tolerating lay politicians' interferences in return for classroom autonomy and a middling, but secure social status. Here again, looseness and tightness are relative terms. What I have termed here "loosely applied instructional management" and "lay interference" in the case of the U.S. would be perceived as tight control and illegitimate meddling in countries where teachers are used to ample professional self-governance.

Pre-managerialist professionalism has been criticized on the grounds that self-interest and employee welfare come through the back door to shape the system in powerful ways to the detriment of service to clients. Lipsky's (2010) analysis charged that service providers, acting as street level bureaucrats, take advantage of autonomy, loose oversight, and freedom from precise performance expectations and come to insulate themselves from the needs of their clients. They distance themselves by questioning the clients' moral deservingness and they ration services and process clients in batches, rather than as individuals. Another critique aims at the power of teacher unions and associations in local school board politics which often times become a dominant political force and establish a so called "employment regime" (Stone 2001). Such a regime is said to privilege employee welfare and satisfaction over performance and service to clients. Finally, intra-organizational norms of privacy that shore up teacher classroom autonomy tend to enfeeble shared standards of work quality and high collective commitments (Little 1990; Louis et al. 1996). Street level bureaucracy, local employment regimes, and norms of privacy speak to a profession that defensively accommodates bureaucratic structures and local lay politics.

13.2 Imposed Managerialism and Professionalization

Just as professionalism, to the degree that it developed in the U.S., co-existed with traditional Weberian bureaucracy and local democracy, there is no reason to exclude the possibility that it could co-exist with managerialism. Like the former, it would not be a marriage of love, but perhaps one of selective mutual benefit. Standards, goal clarity, measurement, and transparency might elicit decision-making based on evidence. Critical self-evaluation in light of performance data might instill norms of visibility and collective problem-solving, benefiting the

quality of professional work while enhancing the efficiency of the organization. All these claims stood at the onset of what was then called the "New" Public Management (Hood 1991).

The claims rest on one central assumption, namely that employee self-interest could be re-channeled more productively, away from client control, self-serving justification of students' undeservingness, norms of tolerance for low performance, and undue weight of labor welfare concerns towards a focus on the genuine needs of students and a relentless pursuit of ambitious academic achievement as unambiguous outcome goal. In the dynamic of managerialism, it is the pivot on extrinsic incentives linked with measured performance, i.e. the attainment of rewards in the form of bonus pay or performance status upon achieving precise goals, that is to kindle or shore up service commitments. Presumably solid self-interest as opposed to presumably unstable altruism would have to do the heavy managerial lifting.

It is important to note that, contrary to developments in other countries, managerialism in U.S. schools was not a total break from pre-managerialist principles of organizing. Effectiveness and efficiency as gold standard, standardized testing, instructional management of teachers, prescriptive programs and the like were in existence prior to the managerialist turn. High-stakes accountability reforms in a number of federal states and culminating in the federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) law seamlessly tapped into these American traditions. Target setting, rewards, sanctions, school closures, and conversions into charter schools, however, were new features that were imposed from above onto often times hapless local bureaucrats and educators who were faced with a pervasive stigma of failure (Finnigan and Gross 2007; Mintrop 2004).

The new managerialist accountability systems redistributed power among bureaucracy, local democracy, and the teaching profession. Loose coupling got tighter for the majority of schools under pressure as the reach of state governments and district bureaucracies extended into classrooms. The new testing and sanctions regime restricted local administrators' goal setting and strongly incentivized them to manage for results, that is, to reach quantitative performance targets based on standardized tests. State assessment data, data from quarterly benchmark tests aligned to the state standards and often supplied by textbook publishers, prescriptive curricular programs, external evaluations, and an army of external consultants and reform entrepreneurs, fueled by federal and state improvement funds, assisted school managers in their task, especially in schools and districts with precarious performance records (see Mintrop and Sunderman 2009, for an extensive discussion of research literature documenting this pattern). Local political agendas and the power of lay politicians faded in the face of central state performance pressures (Trujillo 2013). It is conceivable that the stress on student achievement could have potentially amplified the power of teachers since they are the ones most closely controlling student working, but this was largely not the case.

Test scores rose in many states, with astounding growth rates in some instances (Mintrop and Sunderman 2009). Schools were apparently managed with more efficiency towards reaching system targets. But draw-backs of managerialism became also apparent. Growth on high-stakes tests could not be validated with

growth on low-stakes tests, and instructional quality suffered. In schools under high pressure, school administrators came to micro-manage teachers' work with fine-grained data monitoring and programmatic prescriptions (see Mintrop and Sunderman 2009, for an overview of this literature). Teachers responded with narrowing the curriculum, fragmenting knowledge to fit test requirements, and becoming more controlling (Au 2007), resulting in a low-rigor curriculum in many schools serving disadvantaged populations. Appeal to teachers' self-interest seemed to have resulted in expedient and distortive practices (Booher-Jennings 2005; Mintrop 2012) that served teachers rather than students. It is safe to say that where managerialism in the sanctions-driven NCLB version brought a heavy dose of pressure, it tended to de-professionalize teachers' work and amplify the control of local district bureaucracies over classrooms.

13.3 Voluntary Managerialism and Professionalization

While fine-grained bureaucratic control tightened for a majority of schools under performance pressure, coupling loosened up for a small minority of charter schools that freed themselves from the control of local district bureaucrats and lay politicians and at the same time avoided the managerial control of charter management organizations that could be equally as controlling as district bureaucracies (Bulkley and Wohlstetter 2004). Leaders in these schools, which are mostly independently governed but publicly funded charter schools, used marketization to maximize their organizational and professional autonomy while at the same time running their schools along decidedly managerialist lines.

In the following, I report on an in-depth study of three such schools in the state of California. The study examined in great detail how the relationship between managerialist and professional concerns unfolded over time in the lives of these schools. I wondered: would environments in which the voluntary adoption of managerialism goes hand in hand with the teachers' quest for professional self-determination be especially conducive for the potential of managerialism to professionalize teachers' work.

The three public charter schools in question were independently managed by school-based administrative teams and governing boards. Being non-unionized, teachers were used to being paid differentially and being evaluated for contract continuation. The schools had a philosophical mission of progressivism, social justice, and a commitment to reflective professional practice. All three schools served low-income student populations of color. The schools had a staffing pattern typical for charter schools. About a quarter of the teachers were in the first three years of teaching, and turnover from year to year was high. According to surveyed teachers in the schools, only about 54% of the teachers expected to be in their current school for at least three years. For the majority of teachers, teaching was not considered a life-long professional career As independent non-networked schools,

the schools were exposed to the full weight of accountability, managerial independence, and market competition with district and other charter schools.

Beginning in 2008, with a well-funded Teacher Incentive Fund initiative (TIF),[1] the U.S. federal government spurred experimentation with a managerialist performance management system. The TIF program stipulated that recipients of bonus pay grants, such as public school districts, charter management or support organizations, use a mix of indicators to identify educators at various levels of performance and reward or sanction them accordingly. Performance was supposed to be calculated based on standardized tests, where possible on the 'value added' of individual teachers, externally scored teaching evaluations, principal ratings of teachers' progress, and participation in school development activities. The three schools applied for a TIF grant and upon acceptance voluntarily began to implement the required performance management system.

In the study, we[2] traced what happened as a result of this performance management system with respect to setting goals, assuming responsibilities, committing to service and inclusion, calculating rewards and self-interest, striving for autonomy in the midst of regulation, and finally participating in continuous professional learning and improvement. Arguably, the system would professionalize teachers' work if it was indeed goals and incentives that are the drivers of performance, if the precision of organizational goal setting and teachers' service commitments to students would reinforce each other, if evaluative judgment would give impetus to motivation to learn and improve practices, and if rewards came to cue acquired competence. Alternatively, a de-professionalizing dynamic would be at play if the system encouraged expedient and educationally distortive practices in service of reaching organizational goals and capturing rewards or preventing sanctions, if the quest for rewards crowded out service ethics, and if motivation to learn was squelched in favor of implementing managerial directives.

The results of the study have been written up in a number of papers and articles (Mintrop and Ordenes 2017; Mintrop et al. 2016, 2017). Here I report patterns as they pertain to the main points of discussion. I first describe the basic energetic forces that generate work motivation; I then trace how the organizational response patterns to managerialist performance management changed over a period of several years, looking primarily at one feature, summative teaching evaluations for which bonus pay could be garnered; I finally examine groups of teachers for whom this type of teaching evaluations represented meaningful or meaningless practice.

The three organizations we investigated are an interesting hybrid. On one hand, they are open to managerialism. For example, close to 70% of the surveyed teachers approved of bonus pay for differential performance. For most of the teachers in the three schools, managerialism is the only approach to public management that they are familiar with. There is nothing "new" about neo-liberal public management for

[1]Source: http://www2.ed.gov/programs/teacherincentive/index.html.

[2]I want to acknowledge the contribution of my doctoral student collaborators Erin Coghlan, Cristobal Madero, Miguel Ordenes, and Laura Pryor.

these teachers. On the other hand, their work is carried out in a social environment characterized by social deprivation, adversity, and inequity that pushes to the forefront issues of fairness, justice, and service.

Would work motivation shift towards goal attainment and self-interested reward calculation and how would this shift affect the traditional service oriented ethic? After years of experiencing high stakes accountability, charter school market competition, and finally the intricate TIF performance management system with substantial bonus pay for measured performance on standardized tests and external teaching evaluations, teachers in the three schools overwhelmingly subscribed to a traditional pre-managerialist motivational pattern. A constellation of public service motives pre-dominated. This constellation mostly consisted of diffuse pro-social commitments, ideologies of fairness and equity, a belief in the moral deservingness of deprived student populations in opposition to societal neglect, the need for personal engagement in social-political change, identification with one's work as a personal calling, and the pleasure of constantly learning, growing, and improving as instructors and persons in relationship with students and colleagues.

By comparison, monetary rewards were embraced as already deserved. But neither rewards, nor accountability, seemed to regulate behavior in a deep way. They were in the picture, and they were taken into consideration, but they did not incentivize specific behaviors or performances, save the opportunistic acceptance of available benefits for whatever easily implementable behavior the system was willing to pay out. Prestige was not bestowed by official performance statuses or performance scores, but through personal connections with people (e.g., parents, colleagues) who were direct observers of one's work.

Goal setting is the fulcrum for any kind of managerialist performance management system banking on extrinsic incentives. If rewards are to regulate work, they need to go through goals. If no clear goals guide teachers' work, then the rewards, or sanctions, become arbitrary in their regulative function. But the teachers in the three schools understood "goals" as an enormously fluid and multi-faceted concept. No discrete performance goals stuck out that were clearly marked as guiding intent or actions. The most important quantitative performance goals that were watched carefully were the percentage of students who graduated from high school and went to post-secondary institutions. This goal was seen as reflective of the schools' mission to equalize educational opportunity and to open up *tangible* life chances for students.

When we look at patterns of organizational interaction with the managerialist performance management system, we move beyond motivation and take a closer look at the artifacts the system expected teachers to interact with. Here we only look at teaching evaluations. Artifacts coming into play for teaching evaluations are summative lesson observation instruments, procedures for quarterly formative conferences between teachers and their instructional supervisors, videos of lessons submitted for external scoring and used for formative learning in teacher work teams, and data dashboards on which performance scores could be linked with discrete bonus amounts.

Three distinct interaction patterns unfolded over a period of several years that we characterized as consonance, dissonance, and resonance. During the *consonance* phase, the belief prevailed that the TIF-inspired performance management system could be implemented with relative ease and that costs of implementation outweighed the benefits. Teachers had articulated a strong need for clinical supervision and learning, and they clamored for more precision in feedback. Performance evaluation per se was not considered detrimental to established learning cultures. In the culture of these charter schools, visibility of instruction was prized over privacy. Evaluation was associated with precise feedback and learning, not primarily with judgment or reward.

In the dissonance phase, the elements of the performance management system became discordant to each other and to the established values of the schools. When the performance scores seemed too low for many teachers and too divisionary, the prevailing sentiment was to question clarity, validity, fairness, and usefulness of the evaluations. With it the need to learn from the information which the tool or the evaluations could potentially provide vanished. Principals, as well, sensing their teachers' negative attitudes, did not press the point, backed off summative evaluations, and kept the quarterly formative conferences with teachers more informal. In the dissonance phase, bonus money became a submerged topic of communication. Administrators encouraged teachers to use discretion. Teachers, for their part, were careful avoiding comparisons, being sensitive to people getting different amounts, and being careful about making people feel bad. The desire to learn in formative ways from evaluations faded.

In the resonance phase, the pattern shifted to the opposite. The power of incentives (summative evaluation scores, bonus pay) was largely rebuffed and relegated to the periphery of the schools' attention. The established values and norms of the organizations prevailed. Once the power of incentives became latent, the evaluation tools became resonant with internal concerns for higher quality teaching. The artifacts reconnected to the initial concern for precise feedback.

One group, about a third of the teachers in the study, embraced evaluations while about a quarter of teachers remained deeply skeptical. These two groups differed in a number of characteristics. The ones in support considered the evaluation criteria good guidance, they wanted feedback and welcomed the precision of the procedure. Some underscored the need for criteria of basic instructional effectiveness. They felt challenged by these criteria and saw them as a good fit with their own teaching style. Many of the supporters were in the early years of teaching. They were more willing to be externally guided in their learning by instructional supervisors *and* they strongly embraced bonus pay. Their positive attitude instilled a willingness to put effort into the evaluations. This resulted in increasing bonus pay. By contrast, the skeptics considered evaluation criteria a bad fit with their teaching style. Being more experienced, they aimed at more complex ways of constructivist teaching which the simple evaluation tool presumably could not capture. They were not willing to engage with what they considered a meaningless process and put on a show to capture bonus monies. Instead they emphasized learning from colleagues and ongoing trial and error in their own classrooms as their preferred way of

learning and improving. Their skeptical attitude towards the evaluation system and unwillingness to exert effort resulted in stagnant bonus pay, which reinforced negative attitudes further.

What do the response patterns in the charter schools teach us about the relationship between managerialism and professionalizing teachers' work. The schools were at once voluntary participants in managerialism, exposed to the need to deal with social deprivation and injustice, and strongly in favor of a lively self-determined professional learning culture. If under these conducive circumstances, the schools could have created strong synergy among all three elements, they may have demonstrated how managerialism could give impetus to professionalization. We saw that this synergy was elusive.

Goals and incentives, while in the picture, paled in importance for work motivation compared to diffuse pro-social commitments and service ethics as sources of identification with work. Pro-social commitments are apt to establish connections to broader movements for social justice. Once incentives were experienced as divisionary and damaging to the learning culture of the schools, they had to be rebuffed before the desire to learn could resonate once more with elements of the performance management system. The schools underwent a process of selectively resisting and accommodating elements of the system. To speak with Frey and Osterloh (2002), acceptance of extrinsic incentives, freedom to manage, deregulated labor, etc. were far from crowding out the power of public service motivation. For a minority of teachers, summative evaluation, as one key element of managerialist performance management, reached into deeper motivation to learn and improve. While bonus money did play a reinforcing role, the distinguishing criterion between those who rebuffed the system and those who embraced it was the meaningfulness of system elements for one's own performance expectations and desires to learn.

13.4 Managerialism and Professionalizing Teachers' Work in U.S. Schools

While one must be careful not to generalize across the wide variation of educational jurisdictions in the United States with their regional, state, local, ethnic, and socio-economic differences, it seems apparent that the managerialist era in U.S. education began from a pre-managerialist baseline of limited, and splintered teacher professionalism, hemmed in by local district bureaucracy and school board politics. Work was characterized by uncertain technical expertise and widely varying standards of work quality. Light-touch instructional management came with the expectation that teachers implement curricular programs adopted by their districts, but left them largely unsupervised in day-to-day interactions with students. Whether to engage in professional learning and improving performance was a matter of teachers' autonomy, intrinsic motivation, and ethic of service. Where motivation and service orientation were high, great feats could be accomplished. But the

coping mechanisms of "street level" or front line service workers coupled with defensive employment regimes could also curtail the willingness and effort to improve professional practice and remain sensitive to clients' needs.

Managerialism describes a basket of mechanisms or measures that could result in a variety of state or local system designs. In the United States, managerialism came in the form of NCLB-like high stakes accountability with a heavy reliance on measurement, targets, pressure, sanctions, punitive corrective actions, and finally school closures or charter conversations. From all indication, where this system imposed high pressure, namely in states that emphasized high stakes and in districts and schools at the lower end of the performance spectrum, managerialism resulted in de-professionalization. It incentivized district bureaucracies to extend their reach into classrooms with frequent benchmark testing and more fine-grained or prescriptive instructional programs. It reinforced the expectation of teachers to implement in their classrooms what others had developed and decided for them. It encouraged curricular simplification instead of knowledge integration, and expediency towards reaching targets instead of serving students' recognized needs. There was the potential for better information, diagnostics, and transparency on performance and student learning needs, more precise goal setting, and more targeted learning and improvement. But the system's faulty motivational dynamics curtailed this potential and seems to have led many educators to accept distortive practices as a defense mechanism.

Even when schools are volunteers in managerialist performance management, as the results of the in-depth study of the charter schools illustrate, they may feel compelled to rebuff the distortive motivational dynamic of an incentive system that puts too much emphasis on material reward and prestige based on performance, and that seems to undermine the traditional lifeblood of schools serving students at the lower end of the measured performance spectrum, namely an appreciation for the ambiguity of teachers' goals and a commitment to service and justice. The schools had enough cultural resilience and the required organizational autonomy to selectively adopt, accommodate, and resist various elements of the performance management system as their effects on work became apparent.

Under these circumstances we can see what made a sizable group of teachers accept and embrace teaching evaluations that were externally scored and generated bonus pay. The most important aspect of these evaluations was not the money, but the meaningfulness of the evaluation procedure, despite all its implementation problems, for one's own professional learning. Managerialist features may professionalize as long as they tap into this quest for meaningfulness. They may answer to this quest when they can be directly connected to practice, when they create goals and targets that are within reach, when they fit with valued teaching and learning styles, when they generate useful feedback, and when they do not subtract from the undercurrent of diffuse commitments to service and justice. Money functions as reinforcement of powerful work motives that are not, however, generated in a logic of satisfying extrinsically induced self-interest.

What sort of managerialist design would avoid the dysfunctions of the NCLB-style high stakes accountability and capitalize on the dynamics I have

uncovered for the group of supportive teachers who saw meaning in summative evaluations for their own learning? To begin with, we need to part with the idea that extrinsic incentives and self-interest are prime motivational forces that would spur teachers to professionalize their work. With that, we need to give up on a major plank in the managerialist architecture. But goal setting towards the "next level of work" (City et al. 2009), data that teachers can connect to the day-to-day delivery of lessons, and the low pressure of being aware of the tension between what is current practice and where the school needs to go are useful. Collective commitments to performance need to build out from commitments to students and the desire for a fairer society. Building these sorts of commitments requires a collective process among faculties than cannot be side-stepped. Managerialist features may augment this process, if they become much more fine-grained and connected to daily practice, but they cannot replace it. Rewards and recognition have their place—at the margins.

References

Abbott, A. A. (1988). *Professional choices: Values at work*. USA: National Association of Social Workers.

Anderson, G., & Cohen, M. (2015). Redesigning the identities of teachers and leaders: A framework for studying new professionalism and educator resistance. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *23*(0): 85. https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v23.2086.

Anderson, G., & Herr, K. (2015). New public management and the new professionalism in education: Framing the issue. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *23*(0): 84. https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v23.2222.

Au, W. (2007). High-stakes testing and curricular control: A qualitative metasynthesis. *Educational Researcher, 36*(5), 258–267. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X07306523.

Barber, M. (1995). Reconstructing the teaching profession. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 21* (1), 75–86.

Barber, M. (2004). The virtue of accountability: System redesign, inspection, and incentives in the era of informed professionalism. *The Journal of Education, 185*(1), 7–38.

Booher-Jennings, J. (2005). Below the bubble: "Educational triage" and the Texas accountability system. *American Educational Research Journal, 42*(2), 231–268.

Bulkley, K., & Wohlstetter, P. (Eds.). (2004). Balancing act: Educational management organizations and charter school autonomy. In *Taking account of charter schools: What's happened and what's next?* (pp. 121–141). New York: Teachers College Press.

City, E., Elmore, R., & Fiarman, S. (2009). *Instructional rounds in education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Coburn, C. E. (2004). Beyond decoupling: Rethinking the relationship between the institutional environment and the classroom. *Sociology of Education, 77*(3), 211–244.

Darling-Hammond, L. (1997). *The right to learn*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2008). Teacher learning that supports student learning. In B. Z. Presseisen (Ed.), *Teaching for intelligence* (pp. 91–100). Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Day, C. (2002). School reform and transitions in teacher professionalism and identity. *International Journal of Educational Research, 37*(8), 677–692.

Diamond, J., & Spillane, J. (2004). High-stakes accountability in urban elementary schools: Challenging or reproducing inequality? *The Teachers College Record, 106*(6), 1145–1176.

Elmore, R. F. (1996). Getting to scale with good educational practice. *Harvard Educational Review, 66*(1), 1–27.
Etzioni, A. (1969). *The semi-professions and their organization: Teachers, nurses, social workers*. New York: Free Press.
Evetts, J. (2011). A new professionalism? *Challenges and opportunities. Current Sociology, 59*(4), 406–422.
Finnigan, K. S., & Gross, B. (2007). Do accountability policy sanctions influence teacher motivation? Lessons from Chicago's low-performing schools. *American Educational Research Journal, 44*(3), 594–630.
Firestone, W., & Pennell, J. (1993). Teacher commitment, working conditions, and differential incentive policies. *Review of Educational Research, 63*(4), 489–525.
Freidson, E. (2001). *Professionalism: The third logic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Frey, B. S., & Osterloh, M. (Eds.). (2002). *Successful management by motivation: Balancing intrinsic and extrinsic incentives*. Berlin, Heidelberg, New York: Springer.
Gerth, H. H., & Mills, C. W. (Eds.). (1946). *From Max Weber: essays in sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Gewirtz, S. (2002). *Managerial school: Post-welfarism and social justice in education*. New York: Routledge.
Hargreaves, A. (2000). Four ages of professionalism and professional learning. *Teachers and Teaching, 6*(2), 151–182.
Hood, C. (1991). A public management for all seasons? *Public Administration, 69*(1), 3–19.
Ingersoll, R. M. (2003a). *Who controls teachers' work?: Power and accountability in America's schools*. Harvard University Press.
Johnson, S. M. (2007). *Finders and keepers: Helping new teachers survive and thrive in our schools*. Indianapolis, IN: Jossey-Bass.
Labaree, D. (1992). Power, knowledge, and the rationalization of teaching: A genealogy of the movement to professionalize teaching. *Harvard Educational Review, 62*(2), 123–155.
Lipsky, M. (2010). *Street-level bureaucracy, 30th ann. Ed.: Dilemmas of the individual in public service*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
Little, J. (1990). The persistence of privacy: Autonomy and initiative in teachers' professional relations. *The Teachers College Record, 91*(4), 509–536.
Lortie, D. C. (1975). *Schoolteacher: A sociological study*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Louis, K., Marks, H., & Kruse, S. (1996). Teachers' professional community in restructuring schools. *American Educational Research Journal, 33*(4), 757–798.
Mintrop, H. (2004). *Schools on probation: How accountability works (and doesn't work)*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
Mintrop, H. (2012). Bridging accountability obligations, professional values and (perceived) student needs with integrity. *Journal of Educational Administration, 50*(5), 695–726. https://doi.org/10.1108/09578231211249871.
Mintrop, H., Coghlan, E. & Pryor, L. (2016). *For whom do teacher evaluations work, and under what conditions? Data from charter schools in the United States*. Paper presented at the American Education Research Association, Washington, D.C.
Mintrop, H., & Ordenes, M. (2017). Teacher work motivation in the era of extrinsic incentives: Performance goals and pro-social commitments in the service of equity. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 25*(44).
Mintrop, R., Ordenes, M., Coghlan, E., Pryor, L., & Madero, C. (2017). Teacher evaluation, pay for performance, and learning around instruction: between dissonant incentives and resonant procedures. *Educational Administration Quarterly* (in press).
Mintrop, H., & Sunderman, G. (2009). Predictable failure of federal sanctions-driven accountability for school improvement—And why we may retain it anyway. *Educational Researcher, 38*(5), 353–364.

Mintrop, H., & Sunderman, G. L. (2013). The paradoxes of data-driven school reform: Learning from two generations of centralized accountability systems in the United States. In D. Anagnostopoulos, S. Rutledge, & R. Jacobsen (Eds.), *The infrastructure of accountability: Data use and the transformation of American education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Murphy, J., Hallinger, P., & Heck, R. (2013). Leading via teacher evaluation: The case of the missing clothes? *Educational Researcher, 46*(6), 349–353.

Pollitt, C., & Bouckaert, G. (2011). *Public management reform: A comparative analysis-new public management, governance, and the Neo-Weberian state*. Oxford University Press.

Rosenholtz, S. J. (1989). *Teachers' workplace: The social organization of schools*. New York, NY: Addison-Wesley Longman.

Scott, J., Trujillo, T., & Rivera, M. D. (2016). Reframing teach for America: A conceptual framework for the next generation of scholarship. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *24*(0), 12. https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.24.2419.

Skrla, L., Scheurich, J. J., Johnson, J. F., Jr., & Koschoreck, J. W. (2001). Accountability for equity: Can state policy leverage social justice? *International Journal of Leadership in Education, 4*(3), 237–260.

Stone, C. N. (2001). Civic capacity and urban education. *Urban Affairs Review, 36*(5), 595–619.

Talbert, J. E., & McLaughlin, M. W. (1994). Teacher professionalism in local school contexts. *American Journal of Education*, 123–153.

Trujillo, T. (2013). The disproportionate erosion of local control: Urban school boards, high-stakes accountability, and democracy. *Educational Policy, 27*(2), 334–359. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904812465118.

Tyack, D. B. (1974). *The one best system: A history of American urban education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wirt, F. M., & Kirst, M. W. (1997). *The political dynamics of American education*. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Rick Mintrop is associate professor at the Graduate School of Education, University of Berkeley, USA. He explores how educational policies form institutional structures that in turn shape teaching and learning in schools. He is particularly interested in the tension between student achievement and citizenship, accountability and democratization. He examined these relationships, first, in East German schools that underwent fundamental changes after the collapse of socialism. A number of articles and a book, Educational Change and Social Transformation (Falmer 1996), published with Hans Weiler and Elisabeth Fuhrmann, resulted from this work. He co-authored (with Bruno Losito, CEDE, Italy) The Teaching of Civic Education, a chapter in the IEA Report on Civic Education that looks at the conditions of Civic Education teaching in 28 countries. In recent years, Dr. Mintrop has turned to the issue of school accountability, particularly in low performing schools. This work has recently resulted in the book Schools on Probation: How Accountability Works (and Doesn't Work), at Teachers College Press. He has been awarded a Carnegie Corporation scholarship to study school accountability systems comparatively in the United States and Germany. At UC Berkeley, he is, among other things, involved in the Doctoral Program for Policy and Organization and the Principal Leadership Institute that aims to prepare strong leaders for high-need urban schools.

Chapter 14
The Teaching Profession in the Context of New Public Management

Dalila Andrade Oliveira

The reforms carried out in Brazil, since the 1990s, guided by the New Public Management (NPM), based on the argument of technical rationality and of giving a greater efficiency to the public sector, introduced management mechanisms and school organization in the educational system which corroborated to the deterioration of work conditions and teachers' remuneration and career, according to a research which was conducted in different states.[1] Some of these mechanisms were imposed by the flexible measures of the labor legislation, bringing a greater freedom to the temporary contracting of teachers and allowing a greater diversification of wages. However, this process occurred quite differently among Brazilian states and municipalities. While schools began to have a greater autonomy, they also began to live with strategies and tools of control and regulation of school life through an external evaluation seeking a greater efficiency, which could be proven by measurable results.

Due to the size of Brazil, being the largest and most populous country in Latin America, with about 207 million inhabitants and occupying almost half of the area that makes up South America, its educational system presents complexities and diversities that prevent generalizations. Added to this complexity it is the fact that Brazil is organized under a federative regime in which its entities, the 26 states, the Federal District and 5,570 municipalities have competence and autonomy. The country is divided into five geographic regions that present significant economic, social, cultural and political differences. This results in a great inequality of wage and working conditions among teachers from different regions. Although Federal Legislation, it is observed that salaries and working and career conditions are extremely unequal among professionals from different municipal and state public

[1]Teaching in Basic Education in Brazil Research (Gestrado 2010; Oliveira and Vieira 2014)

D. A. Oliveira (✉)
Faculty of Education, Federal University of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, Brazil
e-mail: dalilaufmg@yahoo.com.br

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_14

networks, including those with the same education and qualification and who act under the same working conditions. It is also worthy mentioning the fact that the infrastructure of the schools varies greatly according to the capacity of each municipality and state.

Thus, the salary policy of the public teaching profession shows great diversification, once teachers' salaries differ according to the career, the employment contract—permanent or temporary—of the position, the work regime, the working hours, the degree, the duration of employment, the incorporate bonuses, among others. Another element that contributes to this diversification is the persistent regional inequality in the country, which is reflected in the financial capacity of each state and municipality and it is responsible for an economic and social fragmentation, which is the source of many injustices.

It is also important to highlight that among the 2,196,397 teachers who work in education networks throughout the country, 80.1% are female. This is one of the reasons presented in recent researches on remuneration, which points to a gap between the salaries received by education professionals when compared to other professionals with the same education (Alves and Pinto 2011). The worst salaries are among the professionals who work in primary education and elementary education where most workers are women (Gestrado 2010).

Another important factor to be observed, and that it is presented unevenly among the Brazilian regions, is related to teacher training. Although the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (Brasil 1996) has established a higher education as a requirement to act in basic education, it is observed, according to the School Census of 2016, that 77.50% have a university degree, 22.22% have a teaching degree (high school level) and still 0.28% have only an elementary school degree. Among the total that has a university degree, 94.40% took a licentiate's degree, and 5.60% work without having a licentiate's degree.[2]

Concerning remuneration, Brazil ranks among the countries in the world that underpay teachers. In a table published by the OECD in 2014,[3] the salary of elementary school teachers in Brazil, in comparison to a large number of countries, and using the reference currency as the US dollar, is 30th position, behind some Latin American countries like Chile, Mexico and Colombia.

Brazil has been making great strides in the expansion of the right to education since the first decade of this century. Through Constitutional Amendment n.59/2009 (Brasil 2017), the compulsory school attendance, from 4 to 17 years old, was extended, which required a rapid adaptation of the educational systems in order to expand in the two ends: early childhood education and high school. Other important measures were taken since 2003 when the popular democratic government of President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva (2003–2011) began. The measures may be

[2]The licentiate course refers to training courses for teachers of basic education at university level in Brazil.

[3]Source: Education at a Glance 2016, OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). Link: https://www.nexojornal.com.br/grafico/2016/09/23/Sal%C3%A1rio-de-professores-e-condi%C3%A7%C3%B5es-de-trabalho-pelo-mundo.

highlighted because they allow the inclusion of a significant population contingent that has historically been on the margins of the educational system.

However, the application of these policies in the country does not occur homogeneously, once the relationship between the federated entities is a strong determinant of variation. The weight that municipalities and states have in the conduct of public policies is very large, especially those directed to basic education, since they are the main ones responsible for the early childhood education, fundamental school and high school.

14.1 External Evaluation as a NPM Tool

After the introduction of NPM with the administrative, pedagogical and financial decentralization processes at schools, the external evaluation has become a central element of management, providing the indexes, which were used to set goals, influencing the financing of the school unit, and defining, in some cases, the teachers' remuneration. The evaluation has been used in many countries as a tool for regulating the teaching work, as it can be seen in the international literature in different national contexts with some variations (Lessard 2004; Cattonar 2006; Maroy 2006; Barroso 2009; Ruz 2014; Fardella and Sisto 2015). These authors agree that the external evaluations are commonly used as tools for regulation through knowledge. They are justified as instruments that allow the improvement of their practices through the knowledge of the results of their actions and the incitement to a reflective practice (Perrenoud 2002) and a greater accountability. Even when these assessments are not directly linked to teacher remuneration, they may still pose a risk to teaching professionalism because they have an influence on the organization of school work, pedagogical management and career development.

The changes that are introduced in these domains interfere in the relations of power and authority in the educational systems and in the professions. Anderson and Herr (2015) based on the American reality, state that: "thanks largely to the influence of these bipartisan policy networks, a long list of reforms has been implemented globally in the last three decades. They include high-stakes testing, school choice, vouchers, charter schools (or their equivalent), principal "autonomy", alternative and fast track pathways to teaching and leading, privatization and contracting out of public services, mayoral control, data-driven management, public-private partnerships, increased school policing and surveillance, schools and districts as profit-centers for "vendors", and digitalization of learning through virtual schools."

The past 20 years witnessed major changes at schools and their management that has profoundly transformed the school culture. In addition to some of the factors mentioned so far, it is worth highlighting how deeply the accountability policies reach the school context. In a literature review conducted in the British context, Levitt et al. (2008) noted that these changes have come in the direction of radically transforming school policies and practices and introducing more external

monitoring systems. For the authors, accountability can be a somewhat slippery concept, defined in different ways in theory and practice, and applied in various ways in a number of circumstances. As for responsibility, it is an ethical concept—it is about a proper behavior and the responsibilities of individuals and organizations for their actions towards other people and agencies (Levitt et al. 2008). Regardless of the type, accountability arrangements can range from those where sanctions or awards are expected to those that what is at stake is the ethical and moral recognition.

Cattonar et al. (2013, p. 2) analyze the policies of external evaluation and the recomposition of professionalism in primary education in Belgium, they discuss the case of soft accountability, since they did not find (in that country at that time) policies that linked teachers' remuneration directly to students' performance. For the Belgian case, the authors consider that the type of mediation, by which the political authority expects its results, is more by moral and professional accountability than by formal accountability mechanisms. However, these evaluations also have effects on the feelings of professionalism of teachers, principals and other education professionals who work at schools.

In the literature review carried out by Levitt et al. (2008), accountability appears as a relevant category. The authors start from the discussion held by to explain that accountability can be defined by the methods, in which the actor can render account (that is, justify his/her actions and decisions) to interested parties, and through which stakeholders can hold the actor responsible. For them, accountability agreements are of great interest and significance to employees, their superiors and the general public, because they deal with professional autonomy and external control: two powerful characteristics of work relationships. Autonomy and control are especially relevant to mass public services where levels of autonomy or control in specific circumstances will reflect the level of trust between the actor and his/her stakeholders. When trust is relatively low, managerial controls tend to be stronger, and when trust is relatively high, professional autonomy is likely to be stronger. (Levitt et al. 2008).

Thus, it is observed that accountability is anchored in a very close notion to that of a modern reflexive subject who must, from the knowledge of his/her action, improve his/her practice and make his/her choices (Giddens 2002). Moral and professional accountability has been widely used in educational systems around the world, making use of external evaluations. In the specific case of Brazil, a variety of policies can be observed in public municipal and state education networks that have developed formal mechanisms, including their own evaluation systems or using existing ones at national level, such as the Development Index Of Basic Education, and it may or may not be associated with the policy of material incentives, such as awards and bonuses.

These policies are developed on the grounds of seeking to provide an index of educational quality that may be appropriate to society in order to allow the mobilization of different school agents so that practices are adjusted to improve results. However, they are policies oriented by a consumerist logic, which presupposes that students or their parents must permanently orient themselves by

quality indexes to make their choices in the educational market, even if when it is not about private education. For Meirieu (2004) teachers become preys to these policies, finding themselves between the consumerist pressures on the one hand and the social irresponsibility on the other hand. The consumerist pressure, identified by the author as a tyranny for results, makes teachers feel pressured to produce results, get their students to make progress in their mother tongue, in Mathematics, as well as in other subjects, besides having to prepare them for citizenship. For Meirieu (2004), these consumerist pressures develop a dynamic that, in short-term, can devalue and completely denature the teaching profession and compromise the understanding of school as a public institution in favor of school as a service.

14.2 Two Management Experiences for Results: Minas Gerais and Pernambuco

The purpose of this text is to discuss two experiences of result policies implemented in different Brazilian states, Minas Gerais and Pernambuco. The first is located in the richest region of the country—the Southeast—and the second in the Northeast region, where it had its poverty rates reduced sharply from 20 to 9% of the population and from 7 to 4% in the case of extreme poverty from 2004 to 2013, it still maintains the main aspects or profiles of poverty, that is, it continues to be, together with the North region, the poorest area of Brazil.[4]

The choice of these two experiences was due to the fact that these states, although located in different regions, have very different social and economical characteristics and are governed by different political parties, they simultaneously implemented public management policies, which are characterized as NPM. Based on the rationalization and the search for a greater efficiency, these policies adopted awards or bonuses as a way of encouraging teachers to achieve their goals in the public education networks of these states. The intention is to discuss some of the effects of these policies on career and teacher professionalism.

For the purpose of this analysis, it was chosen a temporal cut from 2010 to 2013, although, in both cases, these policies started a little earlier. The temporal cut is also related to the dates in which the research was conducted. The documentary research that supports these analyzes was carried out in the context of a study entitled Teaching Work in Basic Education in Brazil, developed by the Study Group on Educational Policy and Teaching Work (Gestrado) of the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) from 2010 to 2013. The study comprised two surveys with teachers, who work in public schools, and the first survey was carried out in seven states (Minas Gerais, Paraná, Santa Catarina, Goiás, Espírito Santo, Rio Grande do Norte and Pará) in 2009 and 2010; and the second survey was carried out in 2013 in

[4]Study released in April by the International Policy Center for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG), linked to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). May 2016.

the state of Pernambuco. The documentary research was conducted with the purpose of knowing the ongoing policies in the states where the surveys were conducted. The choice of the states of Minas Gerais and Pernambuco, for this specific analysis, is related to the similarities between the policies adopted by them.

14.3 The Experience in Minas Gerais

Minas Gerais is the third largest economy in the country, being the second most populous state, with an estimated population of 20,997,560 inhabitants (IBGE 2010). The state is divided into 12 mesoregions, it has 853 municipalities, and it is the fourth largest unit of the Federation in territorial extension with an urbanization rate of 84.5%.

The state has the second largest educational network in the country, presenting a total of 228,433 teachers in basic education, distributed in public and private sectors. The State Education Network of Minas Gerais concentrates 48.89% of the enrollment of all basic education in the State. Out of this contingent, 99,587 are teachers, attending all stages of teaching.

During the analyzed period, Minas Gerais had 17,309 educational establishments in activity, distributed in public (federal, state and municipal) and private networks. Most of these establishments were in the public school system (75.6%), of which 54.1% were municipal. The state had a total of 4.9 million enrollments.

In order to understand the current educational policy in 2010 and 2013, a quick go back in time is necessary. In 2003, the Party of Brazilian Social Democracy (PSDB), which was the same political group that was leading the reforms of the 1990s, returned to government and a new educational reform was undertaken in Minas Gerais with the government program called "Management Shock". This program aimed at improving quality and reduction of the costs of public services by reorganizing and modernizing the institutional arrangement and the state management model. It was based on goals of redefinition of the performance of state management that sought to achieve fiscal balance, through effective financial discipline: intensify the revenue-generating effort; improve management quality, reduce expenses and plan priorities. In this program, the state government established a partnership with the World Bank, combining financial support and technical assistance, receiving resources for social investments and infrastructure.

The agreements and goals designed in "Management Shock" were agreed with the government departments and other management bodies through the "Agreement of Results", established by law with the following objectives: enable the government strategy through mechanisms of incentive and management of results; align the planning and actions of agreements with the strategic planning of the government, the instituted public policies and the governmental programs; improve the quality and efficiency of services provided to society; improve the use of public resources; make transparent the actions of the public institutions involved and

facilitate social control over the state administrative activity; stimulate, value and have in evidence employees, managers and bodies or entities that fulfill their goals and achieve the expected results (MINAS GERAIS 2008).

The Agreement also predicted the payment of the "productivity award", a bonus to be paid to employees who worked in a public entity or entity that: is a signatory of an Agreement of Results with express provision for payment of Award for Productivity; obtain a satisfactory result in the Institutional Performance Evaluation; take the permanent Individual Performance Assessment of public servants.

The second generation of the "Management Shock" (2007–2010), named "State for Results", aimed at consolidating the culture of management, and for education, established as priority strategies: develop teachers from their training to their performance in classroom, emphasizing higher education, evaluation and awarding of results, continuing education, methodological support and professional appreciation. Besides developing the managerial capacity of public school principals through a selection based on criteria of merit and leadership, evaluation and awarding of results, network interconnection of professionals and the occupational certification of educational managers. And, in addition to priority strategies, other strategies were highlighted aiming to: bring schools closer to families and incorporate community into school; encourage the interaction of principals and teachers with parents and students on school issues and student's development; intensify the implementation of programs to accelerate learning, prioritizing schools with inadequate assessments and students with learning difficulties; improve and consolidate the system of teaching evaluation, aiming to make it an effective instrument of planning, monitoring and school management; invest on social communication measures to reveal the achieved results and the successful cases, having in mind to stimulate the establishment of new partnerships and to increase the desire of society for a high quality education. (MINAS GERAIS 2011, p. 70).

Therefore, the evaluation systems became essential management mechanisms. In this specific case, the Evaluation System of Public Education of Minas Gerais (SIMAVE), created in 2000, fulfilled this task by promoting annual evaluations in the municipal and state public schools of Minas Gerais, and investigating the students' proficiency in Mathematics and Portuguese.

The career of basic education professionals in Minas Gerais is regulated by the law and it is based on: I—the appreciation of the education professional by observing: (a) the uniqueness of the legal framework; (b) the maintenance of a permanent system of continuous training, which is accessible to every servant for professional improvement and career advancement; (c) the establishment of norms and criteria that privilege, for purposes of promotion and career progression, professional performance and continuous training of the servant, predominantly on his/her service time; (d) the remuneration which is compatible with the complexity of the tasks assigned to the servant and the level of responsibility required to perform efficiently the duties of the position he/she holds; (e) the evolution of basic salary, the degree of responsibility and the complexity of assignments, according to the degree and level at which the servant is positioned in career; II—the humanization

of public education, observing the guarantee of: (a) democratic management of public school; (b) offer of adequate working conditions; III—meeting the Ten Year Plan of State Public Education and, in each school unit, the respective pedagogical and institutional development plans; IV—the periodic evaluation of individual performance as a necessary requirement for career development through promotion and progression, with an appreciation of the efficient performance of the functions attributed to respective career (MINAS GERAIS 2004, article 4).

Augusto (2010), by analyzing the changes in the teaching profession in Minas Gerais, affirms that the foundations of this law replace the criterion of service time for the granting of benefits (biennia, quinquennial, premium vacation) through assessment of professional performance, centered on an award mechanism and sanction based on a human resources management model of meritocratic order. However, it is possible to see that career fundamentals express certain hybridity between bureaucratic-professional models and flexible management.

According to Duarte (2013), the pacts signed between the Ministry of Education and the state government, through the Agreement of Results, make clear the objectives of linking progression and functional promotion to the quality of the education system based on the performance of schools in external evaluations, and promoting a career in which individual and institutional performance become central to their development.

14.4 The Experience in Pernambuco

Pernambuco is located in the Northeast of Brazil, being one of the most populous of the region with an estimated population of 9,410,336 inhabitants (IBGE 2010). The state consists of 185 municipalities, distributed in five mesoregions in a territorial extension of 98,311 km^2, presenting an urbanization rate of 80.15%.

Education in Pernambuco, during the period of this study, had a rate of attendance in elementary school of children and adolescents aged 6–14 of 88.7%. Pernambuco had a total of 10,609 active educational establishments, distributed in public (federal, state and municipal) and private sectors, 73% of these establishments are in the public school system, especially in the municipal network (62.3%). Regarding attendance, it had a total of 2.6 million enrollments in the state, and about 50% of this total is allocated to the state education network, having approximately 23,800 teachers (INEP 2016).

The reforms of the education system in Pernambuco, during the period of this study, came together with the government from the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB), and they aimed to improve the state's educational indexes. Guided by the low results in national evaluations, the state government started to develop several actions having in mind the improving the quality of basic education, by adopting a system of goals and guidelines based on performance evaluation systems and incentives to the servants. The educational policy developed, during the first cycle of Eduardo Campos' management (2007–2010), was structured with the objective

of expanding access to education, improving its quality and enrich culture (Duarte 2013).

The programs and actions of the state government were based on ten guidelines: reduction of absenteeism of teachers; implementation of the evaluation model; reorganization of school network; learning support; adequacy of staff; implantation of computer lab; curriculum compliance; flow correction; implementation of reference schools; and qualification of the servant.

According to Duarte (2013), one of the structuring pillars of the state's educational policy, during this period, was the Program of Modernization of Management and Planning of Pernambuco, which was created in 2008, in which educational policies assumed a management model for results. This program sought to improve educational indexes, aiming at: Strengthen, in educational units, the culture of democracy and popular participation, based on a diagnosis, planning and management. This program was supported by the Educational Accountability Policy for the fulfillment of its objectives, which establishes the obligation of the executive power to reveal, through an annual report, the educational indexes that indicate the performance of each teaching institution of the state network, as well as the goals, which were set for the subsequent four years.

Having as an example the "Agreement of Results", which was established under the "Management Shock" program in Minas Gerais, the government of Pernambuco uses contractual tools to establish a commitment between education professionals and the state in order to guarantee the fulfillment of previously established goals. In this sense, the "Term of Commitment" is the contractual instrument signed by the management team of the school of the state education network where institutional performance goals are set to be reached during the year. According to the Term of Commitment, the Education Department should support schools in the elaboration and implementation of their Pedagogical Proposal, by offering the necessary infrastructure and developing actions that guarantee the participation of the school team (Duarte 2013, p. 114).

The goals set in the Term of Commitment had as a reference the data from the Educational Evaluation System of Pernambuco (SAEPE), and they had as their main objective to improve the educational indexes of the state. The goals of each school were determined according to the Education Development Index of Pernambuco (Idepe). In 2008, the state government instituted by Law (13,486) a servant award policy, the Educational Performance Bonus (BDE). According to the Law, the BDE corresponds to a prize for results, destined to the servants who work at school, and it has as objectives: I—promote improvement in the teaching and learning process; II—subsidize decisions on the implementation of educational policies aimed at raising the quality, equity and efficiency of teaching and learning; III—strengthen the policy of appreciation and remuneration of education professionals, aiming primarily at improving the quality of teaching provided at School Units of the State Network. The servants who work at school units that fulfill, at least 50% of the projected goal for the period, are rewarded. From there, the values, which are received, are proportional to the achievement percentage of the goal, until reaching the maximum of 100%. In order to have the right to the award, it is still

necessary that the server is registered at the school for at least six months, and he/she must have not been away from work for a longer period than this (Duarte 2013).

SAEPE, created in the same year as SIMAVE in Minas Gerais in 2000, it is the instrument for evaluating the students' performance in the state and municipal public schools of Pernambuco. Idepe is the index of the quality of the teaching system in Pernambuco. It is calculated from school flow data, through the average of students' approval, and students' performance as measured by SAEPE.

In 2010, the government launched the Pact for Education, a policy focused on the quality of education for all and with equity, focusing on improving teaching, learning and pedagogical environments. The program used a routine of monthly monitoring of established goals and plans for all the years of High School of a set of schools in all regions of the State. The proposal was to monitor all educational units in the state educational network until 2014. The follow-up of the school units would be done in a systematic way, through the Evaluation Panel of Results, in which the Pact for Education Index is used as an index of results, which is obtained by taking into consideration: the average school grade in an internal bimonthly evaluation, in Portuguese Language and Mathematics subjects, the percentage of students with a grade higher than 6.0 in these assessments, and the percentage of the fulfilled curriculum of these subjects (Duarte 2013).

The career of the public teaching profession in the state of Pernambuco, instituted by law, which is named Teaching Statute, considers the functions of the public teaching profession to be: class regency and technical and pedagogical activities which directly support the teaching activities and require specific training.

As it was demonstrated by Duarte (2013), the actions engendered by the governments of Minas Gerais and Pernambuco, during the period (2010–2013), highlight the culture of managerialism and accountability instituted in the educational field. In the author's perception, the management of results, which was implemented in these states, has significantly altered the teaching career and instituted new mechanisms of professional development, which do not fit the reality at schools. The remuneration and the development of the professional career have been linked to the established goals by the public power, through contracts or "agreements" to the detriment of traditional ways of encouraging the professional development of these workers. Job and career plans have been built based on meritocracy, valuing assessments, which bring professional success to the performance indexes achieved by students in standardized tests. It is observed that the same tendencies, highlighted by Levitt et al. (2008) in British reality, of the occurrence of a greater accountability through the development of external monitoring systems which promote changes in the sense of radically transforming school policies and practices. The experiences in Minas Gerais and Pernambuco show that, although they were applied in quite different contexts, they are based on accountability agreements ranging from sanctions and awards, such as the payment of bonuses, to the call for ethical and moral recognition of professionals.

14.5 Accountability Policies and Changes in Career Systems

According to Terige (2010), the teaching career can be understood as a legal regime, which establishes the practice of the profession within a given scope, and it regulates the entry system, practice, mobility, development, ascension and retirement among other matters. The state is the largest employer in the educational sector in many countries of the world, including those in Latin America, which means that large numbers of teachers are civil servants and have stability. In Brazil, entering legally a teaching career in the public sector must be through a public contest of tests and titles, however, many states and municipalities disregard the law by precariously admitting their teachers on temporary contracts without guaranteeing them the same rights and benefits that are offered to employees. This results in a great turnover of teachers in these networks. (Pereira and Oliveira 2016).

Teaching careers, in many Latin American countries, are governed by statutes, which had their origin in the 1940s and 1960s. These statutes followed the state regulation model of the bureaucratic type with hierarchically structured careers, where seniority and experience were highly valued. In the state reforms of the 1990s, this career model was highly criticized as an obstacle to the improvement of education, mainly due to the stability and guarantees of promotion for length of service, which was contrary to the NPM objectives of a greater flexibility and reformulation in school organization. The ways of entry, the working conditions, and the remuneration are determining factors for careers.

The Law of Minimum Wage can be acting as a facilitator in this direction. The law establishes the value of Minimum wage which should be paid monthly to teachers who have a medium level education, despite the fact that more than 75% of the teachers who work in public networks have a higher education degree. The obligation to pay this (minimum) amount has resulted in a career flattening, since the law does not foresee a salary differentiation for those who have a higher education. Coincidence or not, in the same year that this law was approved, 2008, is that the bonus and the award policies of Minas Gerais and Pernambuco begin to be implemented.

There is a growing trend in Brazilian municipalities and states to adopt management policies that take into account personal merit, productivity and teachers' responsibility of for their own professional development and differentiated payments. This trend, which has already been implemented in some public networks in the country, as it was demonstrated in Minas Gerais and Pernambuco, is based on the NPM model, and it defends the modernization of the professions, through accountability policies, which institute a permanent negotiation of local rules, the achievement of performance goals, opposing to the traditional criteria of the professional statutes, which are based on stability, hierarchical progression and the appreciation of titles and experience.

In recent researches we have found that these policies have led to new social relations at schools, and they have also promoted new hierarchies among peers.

Teachers of Portuguese and Mathematics become more valued by their co-workers, since they are responsible for the school bonus because the tests are on these subjects. We have also seen that these policies have contributed to generate a feeling of widespread insecurity and tension among the groups of teachers who do not have guaranteed their additional remuneration at the end of the year, as the bonus functions as a 14th salary per year. In addition, schools begin to work based on tests, pedagogical projects are reduced to the requirements of the examinations which the students must take, and the teachers' group must prepare them for the best performance.

The Professional Development of Teachers arises, in this context, as a rhetoric which appeals to the need of teachers to permanently seek improvements in their performance and acting. Continuing education is presented as a synonym for a professional development throughout life, being capable of justifying and putting into motion the other components which lead to professionalization. This is a generally normative approach, which establishes professional and institutional development as faces of the same coin, and that attributes the possibility of ethical change in education to the professional's awareness. Teachers are ultimately responsible for their professional development, which should be taken as a duty and obligation for the improvement of education in general (Oliveira 2007, 2008, 2012).

Taking as a reference one of the most important researches carried out on teachers nowadays, Teaching and Learning International Survey, we realize how much these new professional cultures and modes of career management are being incorporated by individual teachers, demonstrating a certain naturalization of values and practices of the NPM. The survey of, which was applied in Brazil, included questions about the teacher's view regarding his/her profession, whose frequencies point in this direction in the answers. In order to analyze the teachers' view of their profession, two indexes were created with the objective of capturing: (i) the level of Satisfaction in relation to the current work environment; and (ii) the level of satisfaction with the profession. By comparing the two indexes of the participating countries in the research, it was found that Brazilian teachers present an average of satisfaction with their work environment above the average of other countries. On the other hand, satisfaction with the profession is lower than average. (Talis/Inep 2013).

The application of Talis in Brazil also sought to investigate the teachers and school principals' view in relation to external evaluation. One of the analyzed aspects was the teachers' opinion about the positive or negative impact that certain actions could affect the Brazilian education. Among the respondents, 81% believe that the "dissemination of Ideb by school" has a positive impact on education in the country. Even when asked whether they agreed with the statement that "The results of external evaluations, such as Prova Brasil, SAEB and state assessments, have helped to improve the teaching and learning process in this school", 64% of teachers agree (54% "agree" and 10% "fully agree"). In our survey, 92% of the interviewees also agreed that their work should be evaluated, which indicates a high acceptance of the evaluation processes.

However, what seems to be even more worrying is the acceptance of salary differentiation among teachers in the same educational network. According to Talis (2013), in Brazil, 69% of teachers admit to agree that "More dedicated teachers should receive higher salaries". This may be demonstrating a clear acceptance of the rules of the market for the work management in the public sector, of competition as a criterion of efficiency and promotion of skills. Besides that, there is a clear disruption of traditional careers in public education. In our survey we found that 46.2% of the respondents stated that they did not have a career plan. Among these, 40.8% are teachers from municipal networks and 49.3% from state networks.

According to the study of the career plans of 26 states, the Federal District and the 26 Brazilian capitals, conducted by Ministry of Education,[5] the organization of career plans for basic education professionals is quite dispersed and varied in the country nowadays. It ranges from plans that include all professionals in education to those which only refer to teachers.

Despite the resistance faced by these policies, by trade unions and teachers' groups, awards or bonuses have been increasingly adopted as an incentive to improve results in Brazilian public networks, contributing to a greater performativity of systems as defined by Ball (2002). Contradictorily, these policies are found among teachers, and they reinforce the liberal values of competition and individual success, threatening the notions of collectivity and solidarity which are characteristics of professional categories. On the other hand, these policies have been uncritically assumed in recent experiences of democratic-popular governments, which have brought great advances and achievements of rights to education, especially to the most vulnerable sectors, which succumbed to the ideological pragmatism disseminated by NPM with emphasis on results and economic efficiency.

References

Alves, T., & Pinto, J. M. R. (2011). Remuneração e características do trabalho docente no Brasil: um aporte. *Cadernos de Pesquisa, 41*(143), mai/ago.

Anderson, G., & Herr, K. (2015). New public management and the new professionalism in education: Framing the issue. *EPAA, 23*(84).

Augusto, M. H. (2010). *A regulação das políticas educacionais em Minas Gerais e a obrigação de resultados*: o desa o da inspeção escolar. FAE/UFMG, Belo Horizonte, 2010.

Ball, S. J. (2002). Reformar escolas/reformar professores e os territórios da performatividade. *Revista Portuguesa de Educação* (Vol. 15, No. 2). Braga (Portugal): Universidade do Minho.

Barroso, J. (2009). A utilização do conhecimento em política: o caso da gestão escolar em Portugal. *Educação & Sociedade. Campinas, 30*(109), 987–1007.

Brasil. (1996). Lei nº 9.394, de 20 de dezembro de 1996. Estabelece as diretrizes e bases da educação nacional.

[5] http://planodecarreira.mec.gov.br/index.php (Divap/Sase).

Brasil. (2016). *Censo Escolar da Educação Básica de 2016; 2013; 2012*. Brasília: Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas Educacionais Anísio Teixeira (INEP 2016).

Cattonar, B. (2006). Evolução do modo de regulação escolar e reestruturação da função de diretor de escola. *Educação em Revista, Belo Horizonte, 44*, 185–208.

Cattonar, B., Dumay, X., & Maroy, C. (2013/2). Politique d'évaluation externe et recomposition des professionnalités dans l'enseignement primaire: un cas de responsabilisation (accountability) douce. *Éducation et Sociétés, Paris, Bruxelas, 32*, 35–51.

Duarte, A. W. B. (2013). *Porque ser professor? Uma análise da carreira docente na educação básica no Brasil*. Belo Horizonte: FAE/UFMG.

Fardella, C., & Sisto, V. (2015). Nuevas regulaciones del trabajo docente en Chile: discurso, subjetividad y resistencia. *Psicol. Soc. Belo Horizonte, 27*(1), 68–79.

Gestrado. (2010). Trabalho docente na educação básica no Brasil. FAE/UFMG-SEB/MEC: Belo Horizonte. 2010.

Giddens, A. (2002). *Modernidade e identidade*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Ed.

IBGE. (2010). Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. *Censo Demográfico 2010*. Retrieved October 15, 2015 from http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/censo2010/.

Inep. (2013). Pesquisa Talis | Relatório Nacional. Brasília.

Lessard, C. (2004). L'obligation de resultats en éducation: de quoi s'agit-il? Le contexte québécois d'une demande sociale, une rhétorique du changement et une extension de la recherche. In C. Lessard & P. Meirieu (Eds.), *L'obligation de resultats en éducation* (pp. 23–48). Montréal: La Presses de L'Université Laval.

Levitt, R., Janta, B., & Wegrich, K. (2008). *Accountability of teachers literature*: *Review prepared for the General Teaching Council England*. Rand Europe.

Maroy, C. (2006). Convergências e divergências dos modos de regulação numa perspectiva européia. In J. Barroso (Org.). *A regulação das políticas públicas de educação: espaços, dinâmicas e actores* (pp. 227–244). Lisboa: Educa Autores.

Meirieu, P. (2004). L'école entre la pression consumériste et l'irresponsabilité sociale. In C. Lessard & P. Merieu (Eds.), *L'obligation de résultats en éducation* (pp. 5–21). Québec (Canada): Les Presses de l'Université Laval.

MINAS GERAIS. Lei n. 15.293, de 5 de agosto de 2004. Institui as carreiras dos Profissionais de Educação Básica do Estado. Disponível em. http://www.almg.gov.br/consulte/legislacao/completa/completa.

MINAS GERAIS. Lei n. 17.600, de 1o de julho de 2008. Disciplina o Acordo de Resultados e o Prêmio por produtividade no âmbito do poder Executivo, e dá outras providências. Diário Oficial do Estado de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, July 6, 2008.

MINAS GERAIS. Lei n. 19.837, de 2 de dezembro de 2011. Promove alterações na política remuneratória das carreiras do Grupo de Atividades da Educação Básica e das carreiras do pessoal civil da Polícia Militar e dá outras providências. Diário Oficial do Estado de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2 dez. 2012.

OECD. (2016). *A teachers' guide to TALIS 2013: Teaching and learning international survey*. Paris: OECD, 2014. Disponível em: http://www.oecd.org/edu/school/TALIS-Teachers-Guide.pdf. Acesso: 09 mai.

Oliveira, D. (2007). Entre nouveaux gouvernements et nouveaux projets éducatifs L' école latino-américaine. *Revue Internationale d'Éducation Sèvres. Paris, 46,* 67–76.

Oliveira, D. (2008). Teacher conflicts and resistance in Latin America. In D. Hill (Org.), *Contesting neoliberal education: public resistance and collective advance* (Vol. 2, pp. 202–217, 1a. Ed.). London/New York: Routledge.

Oliveira, D. (2012). Les politiques éducatives au Brésil et leurs effets sur le travail enseignant. *Education et Sociétés*. *Paris, Bruxelas 29*, 143–155.

Oliveira, D., & Vieira, L. (Org.). (2014). *Trabalho na educação básica em Pernambuco*. CCS Gráfica e Editora: Camaragibe.

Pereira Junior, E., & Oliveira, D. A. (2016). Indicadores de retenção e rotatividade dos docentes da educação básica. *Cadernos de Pesquisa (Fundacao Carlos Chagas), 46,* 312–332.

Perrenoud, P. (2002). *A prática reflexiva no ofício de professor: profissionalização e razão pedagógica*. Porto Alegre: Artes Médicas.

Ruz, F. (2014). Fortalecer a profissão docente: el camino de la política de evaluación e incentivos económicos hace sentido al profesorado? In R. Cornejo, et al. (Eds.), *Trabajo y subjetividad docente en el Chile neoliberal* (pp. 83–102). Santiago: Facso/EPE/Red Estrado.

Terige, F. (2010). Desarrollo profesional continuo y carrera docente en América Latina. *Documentos de Trabajo* (50). Santiago de Chile, PREAL.

Dalila Andrade Oliveira is Professor of the Faculty of Education and the Graduate Program in Education of the Federal University of Minas Gerais in the area of Public Policy and Education. She develops studies and research with an emphasis on Education Policy, school management and teaching in Latin America. She was coordinator of the Working Group "Educación, political y movimientos sociales" in the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO) between 2006 and 2009; International Cooperation Director of the National Association of Educational Policy and Administration (ANPAE) between 2007 and 2009. She was vice president of the National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Education (ANPEd) between 2005 and 2009 and President (2009–2013). Currently she holds the overall coordination of the Latin American Network about Teaching Work Studies (RedEstrado). Author and co-author of several books and articles in national and international journals. Noteworthy are the books: Democratic management of education: contemporary challenges (Voices, 2009 11th Ed.). Basic Education: management of labor and poverty (Voices, 2010, 2nd Ed); Policy and work at school (Authentic, 2003 3rd Ed.); Management and education policy (Authentic, 3rd Ed, 2008); Educational reforms and teaching workers in Latin America (Authentic, 2003), educational policies and teaching work in Latin America. (Fondo Editorial UCH, Peru, 2008); Work and teacher education policies: new subjects of regulation (Buenos Aires: Noveduc, 2006). Work in basic education: the teaching condition in seven Brazilian states (Thin Dash, 2012). She was the member of the Steering Committee of the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO) between November 2012 and January 2014. Currently she held senior stage (Visiting Fellow) at the Institute of Education, University of London (IOE).

Chapter 15
Leadership and New Public Management: The Forgotten Professional Dimension of School Organizations

Romuald Normand

The notion of school leadership is far from being stabilized and, beyond its global dissemination, its realization varies according to policies and local contexts. There is a large agreement for assuming that this English-speaking paradigm, carried by International Organizations, faces different cultural and institutional traditions in Europe as well as in Latin America, and that leading school organizations cannot be reduced to neo-managerial perspectives. However, leadership remains a heuristic concept to reflect on the emergence of new roles and responsibilities between principals and teachers at school level.

It corresponds to progressive proposals by researchers, practitioners, or even policy-makers who are not satisfied by the current bureaucratic school organization seeking possible ways of school improvement and pedagogical innovations. For them, leadership is an antidote against technocratic accountability blind to professional experience. It is a mean for transforming schools into more democratic spaces open to discussion and deliberation among community members (MacBeath and Moos 2004; Moos 2008; Woods 2005).

Some researchers, more critical, denounce the underlying managerial ideology which regulates leadership practices and makes accountability interiorized in teachers' mind while its simultaneously transforms work conditions into widespread feelings of culpability and responsibility towards performance and student outcomes (Hall et al. 2013). For them, this quest of change remains strongly linked with theories of school improvement which have been also criticized (Thrupp 2005). The English Third Way was particularly normative and intrusive in this area whereas it redefined deeply professionalism and teachers' work (Gunter 2008).

So, do we have to condemn theories of leadership because they would serve neoliberal ideology and the de-professionalization of teachers? In this chapter, we

R. Normand (✉)
Faculty of Social Sciences, Research Unit SAGE: Societies, Actors and Government of Europe, University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg, France
e-mail: rnormand@unistra.fr

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_15

show that perspectives on leadership can be considered according to different transformations of the school organization across European countries which are not always enclosed in a managerial and normative approach. In fact, some researchers on leadership formulate a critical vision of accountability and they give more legitimacy to teachers' professionalism. For them, leadership embodies a sense of justice and ethics which emphasize principles of regulation different from the market and privatization. If they note the irreversible disappearance of the bureaucratic order, these researchers show also the inherent limitations of New Public Management. Therefore, they invite us to better recognize teachers' knowledge and expertise to serve professional cooperation adjusted to local contexts and experiences in schools and classrooms.

15.1 Leadership and the International Diffusion of the School Effectiveness Movement

Understanding leadership theories requires to circumvent this research area and its links with a certain international and scientific policy. Indeed, leadership is part of School Effectiveness Research which, at the turn of the 1980s, tried to identify some variables explaining school organization impact on student achievement while some accountability policies were parallelly institutionalized (Normand 2008). Schools could "make a difference" through empowering teaching teams and better committing principals. However, with the development of accountability, school effectiveness theory led to legitimize performance assessment systems which broke with the comprehensive school policy. This reform was then resumed and promoted by International Organizations before being progressively transferred to European countries.

Of course, different paths have been taken in restructuring European education systems but assessments have become progressively a major instrument on behalf of performance and benchmarking as it is exemplified by the PISA success story (Meyer and Benavot 2013). A part or education research was active in and supported these transformations. School effectiveness and improvement theories have perfectly legitimized changes in school administration besides policy-makers. If some researchers have criticized negative impacts of accountability policies, for example in terms of burn-out and demoralization of the teaching profession (Hargreaves 2003), a lot of them have proposed solutions to improve schools and student achievements whereas the funding of research and calls were guided by this kind of new policies.

Leadership theories have also find their way with these new directions characterizing the shift from educational research to research for education, e.g. a less disciplinary-based research taking in account policy-makers' requirements and practitioners' professional needs (Whitty 2006). This research is definitively utilitarian and instrumental, but its development has been supported for long by

reformers. One of its deviation today is reducing the validation of research findings to "what works" and what is measurable instead of considering possibilities provided by renewed modes of inquiry-based research (Biesta 2007).

Beyond this criticism essentially active in the English-speaking world, understanding leadership issues requires looking at the transformation of school organizations and education policies observed in European countries, and paying attention to different trends followed by these countries in terms of accountability, professionalization of practitioners, autonomy and decentralization, marketization. It requires to consider the history of educative institutions, with their embedded values and habits, as well as the scope of reforms leading to put aside the comprehensive school policy. According to the hybridization of policies and the irreducible local diversity it is interesting to seize, through similarities and differences, convergent paths and particularities of each education system. In this way, leadership, despite being an international trend, has been adjusted to each national context, for example by extending local autonomy and sharing new responsibilities in schools, developing a new policy of human resources management in terms of emergent skills and professionality, changing deeply information systems and data management, sustaining innovations or multi-stakeholder projects.

15.2 The Criticism Addressed to School Leadership by Sociologists

Leadership has been largely criticized by sociologists. Gerald Grace (1995) showed that perspectives on leadership were quite old in the English education system. During the 1960–70s, principals were mainly valued for supporting teachers and initiating collegiality while remaining good administrators. From the 1980s, they were required to take a distance from pedagogical issues and to focus on competition imposed to schools, to manage decreasing human resources, to look after outcomes, to get partnerships or to create networks with private sponsors, and to demonstrate ingenuity in school provision. Consequently, principals, becoming manager in a quasi-market system, were considered through their abilities to share an entrepreneurial vision with their collaborators and subordinates, particularly teachers.

Thrupp and his colleague (2003) have given an overview on school management research in analysing finely narratives used by its different "apologists". While they do not include 'sociocultural characteristics in their analysis, these theories contradict or silence the impact of education reforms. According to Thrupp and Willmott, ineffectiveness of education policies is not explained by missing targets but by the lack of proximity with classrooms and of systematic support for learning and teaching in school organizations. Short-term solutions adopted by policy-makers are not sufficiently focused on local teaching. In their research, these apologists of "managerialism" avoid to take into account negative impacts of

policy-making as well as perverse effects from strengthened inspections, teaching to the test, as well as the loss of creativity induced by high pressure put on teachers.

Among arguments claimed by the defenders of school improvement, one is strengthening capacity building with schools being more creative, adopting a clearer and transparent communication, creating opportunity to share decision-making, coordinating better internal activities, developing collegial relationships, and defining a common strategy. But factually these new solutions face managerial reductionism and prescriptions which impoverish teaching instead of improving pedagogical conditions. Another solution is often prescribed: the development of learning communities inciting teachers to become inquirers of their own practice. However, New Public Management does not allow this development because it intensifies teachers' work according to a neo-Taylorian rationale while performance-related pay divides deeply teachers and undermines their collegiality.

Helen Gunter has also formulated a critical and subtle analysis of school leadership in establishing its genealogy and corpus of doctrines (Gunter 2016). This type of management assumes acting as a mediation between pressure from central authorities, relayed by principals, to conform teaching teams to accountability standards while teachers are considered insufficiently empowered in school improvement. School leadership argues that schools are learning communities or organizations from which "leaders" and "followers" emerge to convert the rest of the organization to required changes. While researchers estimate that they take into account local situations, the political context of schools, particularly their competitive and market environment, are often relativized in their analyses. Descriptions of individual empowerment, teaching work, shared responsibilities and learning among teams, fail to address the negative impacts of performance management. According to Helen Gunter, the dominant model of leadership is conformed to the ideology of school effectiveness without being concerned by issues of justice and equity while it tries to find some coherence between charismatic behaviours and strategic actions through a systemic and functionalist vision of school organization. In fact, school leadership corresponds, as the theory of school improvement, to a normative approach of pedagogical practices which does not consider the daily experience of teachers, their contextualized practices or even their narratives which are essential to explain the success or failure of education reforms.

In the French-speaking area, criticism against school management comes most often from sociology of work which denounces managerial ideology. Sociologists claim their analysis of true work against utopic and managerial prescriptions by managerial science theorists and their epigones (Barrère 2013). Other researchers are interested by dilemmas, contradictions and challenges faced by principals and intermediary executives who are required to adopt leadership practices (Dutercq et al. 2015). However, this criticism is largely based on contexts largely regulated under the bureaucratic professional order, and researchers do not anticipate much forthcoming changes through a more prospective reflection. So, these theories gain in criticism what they lose in their capacity to explain current changes in reforms. Capturing the daily work of professionals and locating it in larger and global

transformations, that is the challenge to avoid some cultural biases and sometimes ahistorical and ethnocentric criticism.

15.3 Different Paths of Implementing Reforms in European Countries

At global level, school organizations are being transformed according to different configurations: diversification of statuses and provision, new missions and tasks for teachers, the development of innovation and partnerships, networking, the restructuring of curricula into basic skills, etc. The model of professional bureaucracy, dominant during the 1970s, has been dismantled, not without resistance and mistrust, but it has lost its legitimacy. A new model replaces it today, based on New Public Management principles but according to different paths and political choices in each country (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2004).

In Anglo-Saxon countries, it has been implemented through a neo-liberal logic restructuring strongly the centralized Educative State with competitive and market regulations in education systems, more local autonomy for professionals but control by assessments and audits. England is a good example of these evolutions. A social-democrat transformation can be observed in Scandinavian countries where the legacy of the Welfare State has been maintained with a certain attachment to the fight against inequalities while the search for consensus and local compromises predominates through decentralized mechanisms and local school management (Wiborg 2013). However, differences can be noticed between Sweden following the English way, Norway maintaining its centralized tradition while adopting quality assurance mechanisms, and Finland implementing a decentralized policy without the market and top-down accountability. Some Southern European countries (France, Italy, Portugal) are characterized by a Napoleonic tradition which, despite decentralization, have sought to maintain a strict divide between the public and the private while they have resisted to neo-liberalism.

In Denmark, while accountability and assurance-quality mechanisms have been introduced within the education system, education policy has been more focused on student skills in numeracy and literacy and individual paths (Moos 2014). But some schools have adopted approaches of self-governance and self-evaluation as well as networking which have transformed relationships between principals and teachers. Collective modes of communication and discussion have been enhanced in opening a democratic space for deliberation in schools. However, a recentralization from national authorities weakens the links with local authorities while school choice is emerging.

The development of quality in Norway is also a structuring component of its education policy (Møller and Skedsmo 2013). The implementation of a national system of assessments focused on student basic skills has been accompanied by a greater local autonomy. New Public Management principles have been introduced

but it has not strengthened competition between schools and not developed school market. Instead, social and human dimensions are emphasized through interpersonal relationships between principals and teachers and mutual trust avoiding any pressure and managerial power. The motivation and professional development of teaching teams is considered significant for social justice and equity.

In Finland, after decentralization, a light model of New Public Management has been adopted for which evaluation does not lead to strengthen the market and limit teachers' professional autonomy (Uljens et al. 2013). Without inspection and standardization of curricula and evaluation, the school organization is based on consensus, communication and trust between principals and teachers at local level.

In Sweden, principals maintain the tradition of working closely with teachers, communicating with them and respecting their autonomy (Ärlestig et al. 2016). However, procedures of inspection and quality control have been strengthened during the last years with more attention paid to PISA outcomes. But principals are required to be pedagogical leaders more than managers concerned by performance: they support teachers, their suggestions and ideas, they participate in their professional development. Team work and cooperation are core activities based on a democratic and decentralized vision of school governance. However, the development of school choice and vouchers, imitating the English way, as well as the strengthening of inspections, tend to limit teachers' professional autonomy (Alexiadou and Lundahl 2016).

In Southern European countries, the context is different. In Italy as in France, the Napoleonic legacy makes principals more administrators than managers even if they are considered as agents of education reforms (Normand 2016; Grimaldi and Serpieri 2014). If evaluation and local autonomy are more developed in Italy, compared to France, both countries have not shifted towards a regime of strong accountability coupled with school market deregulation. Attached to citizenship and social justice, teachers continue to experience a strong professional autonomy based on their expertise in academic disciplines and trade unionist commitment. Principals have a weak leeway whereas the central State's rules and directives remain predominant (Normand 2015; Serpieri and Grimaldi 2015). However, the introduction of New Public Management is more and more perceptible in changes related to human resources management and evaluation, quality assurance mechanisms and audits, flexibilization of school budgets. In Portugal, the disappearance of collegiality replaced by increased powers for principals has been accompanied by more accountability and school autonomy. These transformations lead to individualization and competition between teachers while their collective work is directed to improve outcomes.

15.4 A New Professionalism: From Professional Bureaucracy to New Public Management

As we have seen above, in Southern European countries, educational administration includes largely components of professional bureaucracy which tend to promote an equal and fair provision to students. It is underpinned by a set of rules and routines through which teachers are subjected to hierarchical control and they apply laws and regulations. Steering lays on a relatively stable system of evaluation whereas each case is treated according to common rules and a certain vision of equality of opportunities or equity.

Within this bureaucratic organization, teachers express a certain professionalism, e.g. a professional expertise based on the mastery of knowledge and know-how recognized by the State. They have a relative autonomy and belong to an institutionalized professional body. Principals occupy also a function related to a precise status defined by laws and regulations. In some countries, like France, this administrative legalism as well as constraining control mechanisms reinforce bureaucratic weight. This professional autonomy has faced criticism about the development and reinforcement of State corporatism.

But a new professional model emerges in Europe drawing a new share of roles and responsibilities whereas school organizations are transformed (Gunter et al. 2016). As it is illustrated by the Scandinavian case, the State become evaluator: it does not only define rules from which decisions are taken but it fixes objectives and outcomes to reach and for which teachers and principals have to be accountable. Other evolutions characterize the introduction of New Public Management (Verger and Normand 2015): decentralization of budgets and decision-making, creation of contracts, development of quality assurance mechanisms and management, audit, etc. Therefore, New Public Management principles progressively modify teachers' modes of attachment to the school institution, its procedures of decision, forms of legitimacy and also social relationships.

While teachers, in the traditional and bureaucratic system, experience stable and predictable professional positions and careers, New Public Management institutionalizes multiple and flexible attachments. Professionals have to fit to a culture of project and performance whereas hierarchical links are softened for horizontal relationships beyond the classroom and school units. Everybody is expected to work in team and to join collective dynamics for quality services and adjusted provision delivered to parents and students. Instead of applying unformal and bureaucratic rules leading to a relative compartmentalization of each school, decision-making is devolved to local authorities who have more autonomy. They are active in delegating responsibilities and competencies to principals and inspectors. Their actions and decisions are based on fixed performance and cost contracts, the setting up of rational procedures and criteria (indicators, quality approaches) to adapt services to parents, to be accountable with a limited budget, and to find the better cost-effectiveness ratio.

As proved by Julia Evetts, these evolutions characterize the emergence of a new professionalism focused on organizations and allowing more autonomy to teachers. Those can take initiatives while they are differently assessed for their actions and missions (Evetts 2009). Judgements according to situations are preferred to mechanistic applications of official guidelines, responsibilities in an uncertain world, risk taking and seizing new opportunities are emphasized at the expense of the routinization of activities, Actions are framed differently. Accountability with indicators replace impersonal and centralized rules, negotiation and discussion with colleagues are preferred to authoritarian and discretionary relationships, the follow-up of processes and evaluation overcomes planning and fragmented activities.

This new stance generates some major challenges in the transformation of professional cultures but also some paradoxes in the implementation of accountability. Indeed, a narrower control of hierarchy limits creativity and strengthens the weight of rules within bureaucratic organizations seeking to alleviate them. Too much control on teachers burdens procedures and undermines effectiveness and efficiency in schools. Furthermore, the focus on outcomes generates sub-optimal and inefficient decision-making (myopia, ossification, excessive focus on indicators, etc.). The harsh communication of outcomes can demoralize the most motivated team. The development of an information system, while generating complexity, entails additional and counter-productive costs.

Even once performance is measured, it is difficult to establish clear responsibilities: from an individual or from a team? From teaching teams or from the entire school community? Moreover, measurement does not say anything about changes. Some aspects are quite difficult to quantify: for example, the quality of a good teacher. The estimation of performance is difficult when it is base only on indicators. At least, too much pressure for performance on schools leads them to manipulate data to present their best possible image. It encourages cynicism and immoral behaviours that can undermine professional ethics among teachers and principals.

15.5 Leadership, Ethics and the Sense of Justice: The Forgotten Dimension of School Organizations

According to these conditions, how considering teachers' professionalism in limiting tensions and paradoxes entailed by New Public Management? One possibility is giving more humanistic and moral dimensions to school organizations in considering them as places for living together and sharing principles of justice (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006). Cooperation and teachers' commitment based on their expertise and professional ethics are emphasized instead of blind pressure for accountability (Hargreaves and Shirley 2009). From this perspective, leadership is not reduced to performance objectives but it offers approaches which maintain common values and collective commitments within schools. It is another conception of effectiveness valuing various working conventions for teachers.

The sense of justice amongst teachers includes a variety of argumentative repertories linked to situations they daily experience and situations in which they work. They display different positions in front of accountability and it generates tensions between them. At least, it is possible to characterize two groups: the "managerial teacher" who has generally the right to lead his/her colleagues and to subject them to the standards of effectiveness and improvement required by the new school organization, and who accepts some managerial principles; the "managed teacher" who seeks to preserve his/her professional autonomy from New Public Management and to challenge the managerial orthodoxy by expressing alternative choices and visions. The managerial teacher takes on a variety of roles and responsibilities within the school organization, ranging from mentor, trainer, facilitator, to leading a department, partnership or innovative project. This teacher is involved in collaborative practices while empowering colleagues and associating them in projects and innovations. By contrast, the managed teacher has less influence on the school organization and s/he emphasises her/his professional identity given her/his specialised teaching roles and discipline expertise. Using Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot's concepts, in terms of justification, we would way that the managerial teacher forges a compromise between domestic, industrial and connectionist worlds, while the managed teacher establishes equivalences between the inspired, domestic and civic worlds. As the research literature on teachers shows, only a few of them accepts to justify their action from the market world which is largely subject to numerous denunciations.

This development highlights some principles of justice which could be carried by school leadership. Some researchers have explored the issue of social justice and shared values by school community members against an instrumental, technical and functionalist vision which has been advanced sometimes by distributed or systemic leadership (Cambron-McCabe and McCarthy 2005). In criticizing accountability and its abuses, as well as intrusive performance regimes, they search for stable compromises which can hold together social justice and effectiveness based on school networks (Møller and Vedøy 2013). Paying attention to the diversity of principles of justice and common goods allows to share responsibilities differently from one school context to another far from a unilateral managerialist perspectives. School members and networks can mix these different principles of justice. In combining the respective dimensions of civics and market, effectiveness and tradition, community and innovation, according to some compromises and a sense of justice, they would find solutions adjusted to local contexts and student characteristics.

The development of accountability and New Public Management has led to an excessive focus on the measurement of outcomes and its instruments. It has reduced the teaching work conventions to a logic of effectiveness and market. The civic sense and its related professional ethics have been too often underestimated at the expense of a technical vision undermining the quality of human relationships and at least school management. Indeed, sharing responsibilities is essential for coordinating people and affirming a project or a vision through which the organization maintains its meaning and aims. School leadership can bring back the sense of

ethics and responsibility to teachers in dealing with the forgotten dimensions of organization (Bogotch 2000).

For instance, the introduction of change in schools can create worries and anxieties among the staff. The management of emotions and affects is an important part of principals' leadership which have to pay attention to these different subjective dimensions for supporting the emergence of a new professional culture (Beatty 2007). The creation of spaces for discussion and deliberation is also an important dimension of principalship. It helps to create a climate of trust and recognition among teachers and to share decisions. Without this possibility of exchanging viewpoints, the elaboration of a compromise is harder, the risk of conflicts increases, and it undermines the search for a common good.

Leadership serves also to enhance creativity and innovation (Moos 2015). Improvements of procedures and devices, thanks to the ingenuity of people, facilitates school management. Indeed, the regular share of information and knowledge, when it well leaded, increases personal and professional effectiveness. Today theories of leadership, if they agree for emphasizing humanistic and moral dimensions, while they were conceptualized at the beginning to characterize personal styles of charismatic leaders, demonstrate the advantages of learning organizations and collective work (Senge 2006). The empowerment of individuals, from their knowledge and experience, is a strategic asset considered as better as operational planning according to objectives and indicators (Biesta 2015). The foundation of the individual attachment to a profession or to an organization, as it has been exemplified by social psychology research, is more related to belonging to a group, being valued for an achieved work, experiencing professional development than related to perspectives of being paid according to performance, experiencing a fast career, improving short-term outcomes (McCelland 1985).

Teachers and principals in schools face a vast diversity of situations to be committed; they mobilise a repertory of cognitive resources and objects as a kind of choreography according to problems and solutions which are not reducible to a merely instrumental, efficient and market-oriented vision (Webb 2006). Agency is composed by socially organized principles of interaction and communication which represent the "educative community" (Frost 2006). It accounts for social arrangements among teachers depending on lived situations; their moral ethics are mobilized for different common goods, they are recognized and identified by the community from a commitment among several principles of justice. This sense of justice is not imposed by a predefined frame but through a discussion and deliberation, a space of justifications and criticisms, which comes to provoke an agreement on the action to carry out.

So, new perspectives on leadership focused on justice and agency can help to consider transformations of schools and their environment. Digital technologies create an information system which emphasizes transversal relationships as well as peer interactions and spontaneous cooperation (Spillane 2006). Collective intelligence is built up at a distance whereas information circulates quickly before being distributed among individuals and teams. These material assemblages impact on human agency. Different skills are enacted according to different representative

supports regulating internal relationships and modes of action within school organizations. Leadership emerges from the concertation between a group of individuals working transversally, some of them take initiatives and responsibilities for improving the daily life of the organization. In the context of a new local governance, these modes of coordination are extended to partnerships between schools to share resources, projects and devices and to improve student achievement. This networking becomes a daily reality and requires other kinds of relationships between teachers and principals and other ways of designing projects and further training. The support and inspection of teaching teams are also transformed. This openness can be rich of experiences and new solidarities on educative territories if teachers' professional culture and ethics are valorised and respected.

15.6 Conclusion

Today, with education reforms and changes in school organizations, the system of professional bureaucracy, which underpinned the development of the comprehensive school in Europe, is challenged. The implementation of accountability and New Public Management, when focused on an instrumental and coercive approach, as illustrated by English-speaking countries, did not improve student outcomes while it strongly dismantled teachers' collegiality and professional solidarities in schools. A part of educational research has supported these transformations in legitimizing the development of evaluation, in stating recommendations for policy-makers, but also sometimes in keeping its distance from a managerial and marketable vision of education and defending the idea of improving teachers' condition of work.

Theories of leadership have sometime yield to some instrumental and normative approaches when they were advocated accountability in attributing the responsibility of school failure to professionals in education. However, some researchers have been quickly aware that the search for effectiveness had to be carried along social justice and a more equitable outlook on profession and teachers' expertise. Against abuses in performance regimes (pressure on outcomes, teaching to the test, evidence-based teaching), they agree for valuing the sense of teachers' professionalism through new modes of professional development and cooperation.

Professional learning, as well as exchanges between schools, or team support, seem to have more consequences than the blind imposition of standards, targets and benchmarks. Leadership participates in a re-humanisation of schools in which good interpersonal and social relationships are considered essential for the coherence of the school organization and the success of students. So, principalship must consider these new modes of participation and responsibilities for teachers who can be better recognized for their innovation and creativity. The recognition of this autonomy, better adjusted to local contexts, and more respectful of professional identities and cultures, is required for change if it gives room to social justice and ethics focused on common goods shared within the educative community. Schools must maintain

their civic meaning without being subjected to private interests and increasing inequalities, particularly because of marketization and privatization. Then, rehabilitating the sense of teachers' professionalism, in providing them with new opportunities in their daily work, is a mean to give new hopes to the profession, to solve the deep crisis of recruitment of young teachers and to improve the fate of disadvantaged schools.

References

Alexiadou, N., & Lundahl, L. (2016). Reforming Swedish education by introduction of quasimarkets and competition. In H. Gunter, E. Grimaldi, D. Hall, & R. Serpieri (Eds.), *New public management and the reform of education: European lessons for policy and practice* (pp. 66–80). London & New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis.

Ärlestig, H., Johansson, O., & Nihlfors, E. (2016). Sweden: Swedish school leadership research—An important but neglected area. In H. Arlestig, D. Christopher, & J. Olof (Eds.), *A decade of research on school principals* (pp. 103–122). Springer: Dordrecht.

Barrère, A. (2013). *Sociologie des chefs d'établissement. Les managers de la République*. 2e éd. Paris: PUF.

Beatty, B. (2007). Feeling the future of school leadership: Learning to lead with the emotions in mind. *Leading and Managing, 13*(2), 44.

Biesta, G. (2007). Why "what works" won't work: Evidence-based practice and the democratic deficit in educational research. *Educational Theory, 57*(1), 1–22.

Biesta, G. (2015). What is education for? On good education, teacher judgement, and educational professionalism. *European Journal of Education, 50*(1), 75–87.

Bogotch, I. E. (2000). Educational leadership and social justice: Practice into theory. *Journal of School Leadership, 12*(2), 138–156.

Boltanski, L., & Thévenot, L. (2006). *On justification: Economies of worth*. Princeton University Press.

Cambron-McCabe, N., & McCarthy, M. M. (2005). Educating school leaders for social justice. *Educational Policy, 19*(1), 201–222.

Dutercq, Y., Gather Thurler, M., & Pelletier, G. (2015). *Le leadership éducatif*. Bruxelles: De Boeck.

Evetts, J. (2009). New professionalism and new public management: Changes, continuities and consequences. *Comparative Sociology, 8*(2), 247–266.

Frost, D. (2006). The concept of 'agency' in leadership for learning. *Leading and Managing, 12*(2), 19–28.

Grace, G. (1995). *School leadership: Beyond education management: An essay in policy scholarship*. Psychology Press.

Grimaldi, E., & Serpieri, R. (2014). Italian education beyond hierarchy: Governance, evaluation and headship. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership, 42*(4_suppl), 119–138.

Gunter, H. M. (2008). Policy and workforce reform in England. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership, 36*(2), 253–270.

Gunter, H. M. (2016). *An intellectual history of school leadership practice and research*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Gunter, H. M., Grimaldi, E., Hall, D., & Serpieri, R. (Eds.). (2016). *New public management and the reform of education: European lessons for policy and practice*. Routledge.

Hall, D., Gunter, H., & Bragg, J. (2013). Leadership, new public management and the re-modelling and regulation of teacher identities. *International Journal of Leadership in Education, 16*(2), 173–190.

Hargreaves, A. (2003). *Teaching in the knowledge society: Education in the age of insecurity*. Teachers College Press.

Hargreaves, A., & Shirley, D. L. (Eds.). (2009). *The fourth way: The inspiring future for educational change*. Corwin Press.

MacBeath, J., & Moos, L. (Eds.). (2004). *Democratic learning: The challenge to school effectiveness*. Psychology Press.

McClelland, D. C. (1985). How motives, skills, and values determine what people do. *American Psychologist, 40*(7), 812.

Meyer, H.-D., & Benavot, A. (Eds.). (2013). *PISA, power, and policy: The emergence of global educational governance*. Symposium Books Ltd.

Møller, J., & Vedøy, G. (2013). Leadership for social justice—Educating students as active citizens in a democratic society. *Leading Schools Successfully: Stories from the Field*, 163.

Møller, J., & Skedsmo, G. (2013). Modernising education: New public management reform in the Norwegian education system. *Journal of Educational Administration and History, 45*(4), 336–353.

Moos, L. (2008). School leadership for 'Democratic Bildung': Fundamentalist beliefs or critical reflection? *School Leadership and Management, 28*(3), 229–246.

Moos, L. (2014). Educational governance in Denmark. *Leadership and Policy in Schools, 13*(4), 424–443.

Moos, L. (2015). Leadership for creativity. *International Journal of Leadership in Education, 18* (2), 178–196.

Normand, R. (2008). School effectiveness or the horizon of the world as a laboratory. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 29*(6), 665–676.

Normand, R. (2015). French principals in secondary education: Towards new roles and responsibilities? *Journal of Educational, Cultural and Psychological Studies, 11,* 135–152.

Normand, R. (2016). France: Between civil service and republican ethics—The statist vision of leadership among French principals. In *A decade of research on school principals* (pp. 357–374). Springer International Publishing.

Pollitt, C., & Bouckaert, G. (2004). *Public management reform: A comparative analysis* (2e éd.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Senge, P. M. (2006). *The fifth discipline: The art and practice of the learning organization*. Broadway Business.

Serpieri, R., & Grimaldi, E. (2015). Leader as policy device: The hybridization of head teachers in Italy. *Journal of Educational, Cultural and Psychological Studies, 11,* 71–87.

Spillane, J. P. (2006). *Distributed leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Thrupp, M. (2005). *School improvement: An unofficial approach*. London: Continuum.

Thrupp, M., & Willmott, R. (2003). *Education management in managerialist times: Beyond the textual apologists*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Uljens, M., Wolff, L.-A., & Frontini, S. (2013). Finland—NPM resistance or towards European neo-welfarism in education? In H. M. Gunter, E. Grimaldi, D. Hall, & R. Serpieri (Eds.), *New public management and the reform of education: European lessons for policy and practice.* London: Routledge (in press).

Verger, A., & Normand, R. (2015). New public management and education: Theoretical and conceptual elements for the study of a global education reform model. *Educação & Sociedade, 36*(132), 599–622.

Whitty, G. (2006). Education(al) research and education policy making: Is conflict inevitable? *British Educational Research Journal, 32*(2), 159–176.

Webb, P. T. (2006). The choreography of accountability. *Journal of Education Policy, 21*(2), 201–214.

Wiborg, S. (2013). Neo-liberalism and universal state education: The cases of Denmark, Norway and Sweden 1980–2011. *Comparative Education, 49*(4), 407–423.

Woods, P. (2005). *Democratic leadership in education*. London: Sage.

Romuald Normand is Professor of Sociology at the University of Strasbourg, Faculty of Social Sciences, France. (Research Unit SAGE: Societies, Actors and Government of Europe). He works on comparative education policies and politics, Europeanization and Lifelong Learning, Higher Education and Research. Romuald Normand is convenor of the network 28 "Sociologies of European Education" at the European Educational Research Association. He is a member of the editorial board of the British Journal of Sociology of Education and co-editor of the Routledge series "Studies in European Education". 2014, with Martin Lawn, *Shaping of European education. Interdisciplinary Approaches*, London: Routledge, 2016, with Jean-Louis Derouet, *A European Politics of Education. Perspectives from Sociology, Policy Studies and Politics. Routledge*, 2016, *The Epistemic Governance of European Education. Towards Homo Academicus Europeanus?,* Dordrecht, Springer.

Chapter 16
Overcoming Fragmented Professionalism? Accountability for Improvement in Teacher Preparation in Italy

Monica E. Mincu

16.1 Introduction

Traditionally, the Italian system of education is of a centralised type, but contrary to the French model, it lacks the typical characteristic of centralisation, a school inspection mechanism. A *de facto* full autonomy of the teaching profession, linked to a culture of individualism, as well as a push towards diversification through short-lived local school experiments from 1977 to the mid '90s, render this system quite unique. It does follow a centralised pattern regarding aspects of staffing policies and school management, but shows significant elements of internal diversification (Semeraro 1998, p. 221). Moreover, concrete steps towards partial deregulation were set in motion at the beginning of the '90s, and were further intensified by the school autonomy reform launched in 1997. The Italian education model has been effectively described as a harlequin-type system. Since 2001, with a change in its Fundamental Law, Italy has entered a new phase of federalisation of education, involving financial and institutional decentralisation at the regional level (Bordignon and Fontana 2010). This trend towards increased deregulation, over a period of persistent economic decline, was and remains an explicit strategy, following years of indecision. Deregulation also went hand in hand with the disarticulation of one of the major welfarist institutions, the lower secondary school (or 'middle school'), once a key component of a partly comprehensive school system (Mincu 2015) but no longer central to the system.

The school autonomy reform has granted greater curricular autonomy for teachers, allowing them the freedom to interpret locally both the content and delivery of the curriculum, with a renewed focus on competences, as opposed to a focus on the content itself. Teachers were traditionally accountable neither to peers through school-based mechanisms, nor to their head teachers, in the absence of any

M. E. Mincu (✉)
Catholic University, Milan, Italy
e-mail: monica.mincu@unito.it

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_16

internal or external controls. The use of textbook based teaching, regulated by a transmissive approach to the curriculum, was a major obstacle to their autonomy. But it should be noted that this is a cultural type of obstacle linked to the pedagogical culture of the time, not a formal impediment as such. The measure itself was formal in nature: the introduction of "indications for the national curriculum": a core Italian style curriculum, with very general achievement targets, lacking external standards, differentiated levels of proficiency or other control mechanisms to regulate how the curriculum would be implemented in schools. Therefore, the main and quite paradoxical concern with a formally centralised system, such as the Italian education one, lies in the absence of regulatory mechanisms that may provide internal professional alignment or coherence and/or external standardised provision in education, which is vital if teachers are to possess *de facto* full autonomy, as in Finland, for instance. Recent successful improvement strategies that respect the full autonomy of teachers and have based their success on a bottom-up approach, such as that developed in Ontario, "rejected the idea that every teacher or every school must find its own way and that there cannot be standard practices in education" (Levin 2012, p. 103). In other words, Italian teachers are free professionals playing a game with very few scripts at their disposal.

One solution that has been envisaged in order to contrast the institutional weakness of the Italian schools and to render them more internally coherent, has been new forms of governance, based on recently introduced school accountability measures. The first such tool was a national evaluation system, created in 2011 to help schools to undertake improvement, to plan actions for schools in difficulty, to foster transparency and social accountability and to evaluate head teachers. Following the Ofsted model since its inception, INVALSI (*Istituto nazionale per la valutazione del sistema educativo di istruzione e di formazione*) introduced in 2013 the first national standardised pupil testing at 3 key points in their school career. At present, it offers support to schools to conduct internal self-evaluation for improvement and has for the first time initiated some random school evaluations, following the Ofsted model of school inspection visits. In addition, professional development has been put back on to the school agenda.

16.2 Externally Driven Professionalism: Fragmentation and Accountability

The nature of professionalism has been variously and extensively investigated by many scholars. The full theoretical complexity of this notion is beyond the scope of this chapter, but is a classical issue of discussion and conceptual development (see for instance Hargreaves 2000; Whitty 2000, 2006; Evans 2008). This chapter will, instead, identify some of its key ingredients and meanings that are useful to understand how the Italian training and teaching *scenario* is currently evolving. One key dimension is to be found in Hoyle's (1982) definition, who considers that

professionalism serves "to describe [the] enhancement of the quality of service" (p. 146). As such, professionalism is intrinsically linked to an idea of improvement or of quality in teaching and education at large. In addition, one useful distinction is that between externally driven professionalism and effectively enacted professionalism (Evans 2008). In this chapter, externally driven professionalism is a concept that can be fruitfully applied to investigate how a renewed policy context shapes the idea of what a professional Italian teacher may be. This requires analysis of some of the major actors, such as the government, or processes of reform that may exert external influence on the profile of the teaching profession.

In addition, examination of other contexts, such as England, can shed light on differing interpretations of professionalism. Thus, on the demand side, there has been increased control from outside the profession and most notably from the government over the '80s and '90s (Evans 2008). During that period, a standard or competence approach to training, based on technical skills of teaching, went alongside managerialism and effectiveness. The outcome of this process has been the subject of controversy: for some, standardisation was useful to improve the quality of service, while for other observers, this trend has led to the disempowerment of the teaching profession, seen as "quasi professional, a technician". Moreover, in a context of increased pluralisation of training providers, both public and private, and recently encouraged by the State, the English model exhibits a pattern of branded professionalism (Whitty 2006). The English model serves as an example of how to interpret externally driven professionalism. In fact, in this case it exhibits at the same time a striving for standardisation and a certain fragmentation produced by its external determinants and causes.

As will be shown later in this chapter and in line with previous works (Mincu and Chiosso 2009), the Italian context has been radically and traditionally characterised by deep professional fragmentation, in terms of how teachers' training and access paths to the profession. At present, a system accountability movement is the core concept of school reform. Such accountability may act as a major contextual force in externally driven professionalism.

16.3 Accountable Teachers: The *Good School Law*

In Italy, teachers are civil servants with private contracts. Their employment relationship is regulated by national collective labour bargaining and integrative contracts. These contracts are defined in full autonomy and under private law; they are only bound to respect the financial limits established by State funds as far as remuneration is concerned. Teachers holding permanent contracts become part of the permanent teaching staff. Temporary contracts can last at most until the end of the school year. The profile of a typical teacher is a woman, in her 40s, with about 10 years of experience in temporary teaching positions (Gianferrari 2010, FGA).

Entering the teaching profession in Italy has always been a political issue, given the pressures of high intellectual unemployment on the school system, which provided a safety net for the job market. For this reason and for many years, recruitment has been a matter of 'closed scrolling lists' for both permanent and contract teachers. Until a few years ago, three types of scrolling lists were in place: (1) for candidates who passed competitive exams; (2) for candidates enrolled in permanent lists (last updated to 2006) in possession of a teaching certificate; (3) for candidates enrolled in lists for short and long term temporary positions, with no teaching certificate. On an ad-hoc basis, short training courses (*corsi abilitanti)* were in place before the introduction of the university level pre-service system. Recruitment of teachers for temporary one-year positions was undertaken by school managers on the basis of annually updated lists of candidates in possession of the prescribed qualifications.

In this context, teacher preparation is characterised by relatively late universitarisation in Italy, compared to other countries. A parliamentary debate was initiated as early as 1962/1963 but was fully institutionalised until thirty years after that, at the end of the '90s. The perception has been that reform was delayed for "more than a hundred years" (Luzzatto 2000, p. 15). Until 1997/1998, preservice training for pre-primary and primary school teachers occurred at the secondary education level, in two different types of institutions, following a professional and thus less prestigious model of schooling: four-year courses at *Istituti Magistrali* (Normal School) and three-year courses at *Scuole Magistrali* (Shorter Normal Schools), both shorter than the academic secondary path of five years of study. Teaching in secondary schools required a university master's degree in a specific subject without any formal preservice training or qualification, in the absence of any specific institutes of teacher training. Preservice universitarisation brought degree courses in sciences for primary education (four years initially, then five years from 2011/2012 following the Bologna structuration of a three + two higher education model) and a two-year specific professional preparation on a consecutive model for secondary teachers, closed down after running for ten years, in 2008.

The creation of a *National Evaluation System* around its major actor, the INVALSI agency, was the driving force for a new direction to improve the education system. In fact, a key policy was the introduction of an accountability system, implemented through INVALSI. Teachers and unions initially expressed criticism and resistance to the introduction of standardised tests at several key stages and more recently to staff differentiation through a performance-based pay mechanism. The need to cope with this reluctance represents one major motivation for introducing, as a first step, school assessment in the form of school self-evaluation for improvement. Very recently, external school assessment conducted by teams of inspectors and largely based on the Ofsted model of inspections undertook random visits in ten percent of Italian schools. Moreover, it can be argued that this growing assessment culture is also visible in the profile of teacher education scholarship. The capacity to conduct relevant studies on the Italian system of education, specifically on teachers and on their effectiveness, lies primarily with INVALSI as a major actor in the growing accountability culture, or is

greatly facilitated by major research institutions. In fact, some of the INVALSI projects (*Evaluation for the development of school quality* and *School evaluation and development*) were instrumental in trialling assessment at the national level (*Sistema Nazionale di Valutazione*), and include self-evaluation and external evaluation of schools and support for improvement of school organisation (Eurydice 2016). All schools are required to develop a self-evaluation report and a school improvement plan, as well as to measure and assess overall performance of the administration itself, of its offices and employees, with reward systems for the best performers (Law 150/2008). In addition, and as a consequence of a developing accountability culture, the *Good School Law* linked internal teacher assessment to the concept of performance-based pay. The head teacher evaluates teachers and rewards them according to criteria set by each school for the first three years of the performance-based pay policy, thereafter on centrally agreed indicators.

Such general principles of school accountability, while not as yet clearly translated into standards for the teaching profession, principally refer to teachers' work in schools. But the area of teacher education and training has also been subject to some incipient forms of accountability, with the aim of introducing more coherence into the training provision. Thus, an accreditation process of training offerings abides by new rules, such as more formal requirements about the organisation of courses through credit numbers, necessary human resources and types of knowledge areas to be covered in training. In primary and pre-primary preparation at the university level, this emerging accountability system of teacher education is rather formal and quantitative in nature. In fact, it does not regulate the content of teacher education but merely provides some orientation towards competences that are locally identified by each *Primary school-teachers* programme. Since the five-year master's level courses are closely affiliated to educational sciences courses from which these borrow their staff, the provision reflect a strong academic tradition in teaching and learning.

A temporary provision for secondary teacher preparation through three cycles of school-based training including one year of school practice and university-led training is in place awaiting new regulations from the *Good School Law*. In fact, the latest development in Italian teacher preparation is the result of this Law (107/2015), which was passed by the coalition government led by Matteo Renzi's Democratic Party. Once more, the proposed changes focus on secondary teachers' preparation. After two years of theoretical preparation in a subject area and with twenty-four credits (170 h) of pedagogical or education sciences courses, the prospective teacher may undertake a national selection, leading to a three-year trial training with a contract paid by schools themselves: universities are to be in charge of the first year of professional preparation, granting a specialisation diploma, followed by two years structured as an 'active apprenticeship' and gradual immersion into the teaching role. The final positive evaluation may lead to a permanent appointment. In this model, teacher certification coincides with entering the profession as a permanent teacher. This final point has been the object of recent criticism, as well as (1) the sequential and fragmented logic—first theory and

subject knowledge, then practice and professional preparation, (2) length, and (3) lack of criteria for accessing a permanent teaching position.

On the professional development side, this key aspect of teacher professionalism has been a rather weak aspect of the learning to teach *continuum* in Italy, though assumed to be a right and a professional duty since the '70s. Under the regulation of *The Good School*, it became compulsory, continuing and structural, with financial support of up to 500 euros per year per person (Eurydice 2016).

16.4 Contrasting Professional Fragmentation to Improve Schools

This section will consider the recent requirement for continuous professional development and the reorganisation of secondary initial preparation of teachers, focusing on *The Plan* and *Decree Law 377*. A major premise to introducing in-service teacher education in Italy is to overcome some of the structural imbalances through new regulatory mechanisms, and particularly through professional development. The solution to correct full teachers' autonomy in Italy is to provide appropriate networks of professional collaboration inside and between schools, as well as at every level of the education system. *The Plan* refers to the *Education and Training 2020* policy document which "identifies the teaching staff as a key resource to improve the quality of education systems across Europe" (p. 13). The Italian recent focus on continuous professional development is said to be aligned to the best international standards and to be posited as a permanent strategic objective. The idea of professional development is not just linked to the needs of individual teachers but to the objectives of school improvement and even to the strategy of developing the whole country (p. 9). Updating teachers' knowledge on a voluntary basis usually follows a direct instruction mode, without any connection to actual practice in schools or specific training needs. *The Plan* offers a comprehensive view of the role of professional development. In fact, in-service training is seen as a "continuous professional environment" (p. 5) that needs to be correlated with a renewed initial teacher preparation. In order to act as a strategic objective with international reach, professional development must be based upon the school's own recognition of its specific training needs followed by appropriate actions, as well as the creation of a locally documented library of best practices. A self-evaluation school report has to lead to a school improvement plan and one of the areas of interest is training. The development of such skills and competences has be documented in a personal digital *portfolio* that will also become a key instrument for career progression. A key element is the need to link such professional development to actual school practices, following a model of professional and context-specific learning (Fullan in Mincu 2012). Some priority areas of training identified at the higher policy making level are soft skills, digital technologies and new learning environments, with a focus on personalisation and English language competences,

and this should be considered in continuity across the whole spectrum of learning to teach in Italy. Linked to these, another competence refers to a necessary link between school and work from a clearer employability dimension, as well as a series of inclusiveness skills, such as global citizenship, inclusion and disability and social cohesion.

In addition, decision makers have initiated a dialogue on the need to formulate, for the first time, some standards for the teaching profession. The first areas of development have been identified as follows: (1) cultural, disciplinary, didactic and methodological competences related to key thresholds and learning objectives; (2) relational and organisational competences linked to improving the teaching process and learning environments; (3) school organisation and network collaboration, through roles of coordination and leadership; (4) a focus on professional development and research, documentation and reflection on teaching practices, and diffusion of best practices (p. 18).

Looking at secondary initial teacher preparation, a key element is the requirement for a 'unitary preparation'. This should be understood in the light of the late professionalisation of secondary teachers (limited to a period of 8 years between 2001–2009), followed by various cycles of ad-hoc provisions of ITT, which followed a specific alternative preparation model. In reality, the requirement for 'unitary preparation' of secondary teacher training is somewhat misleading. In fact, there is currently no specific pedagogical preparation as a structural provision. The requirement is meant to simplify the variety of routes into the teaching profession, rather than the types of initial preparation. In fact, the usual path into a permanent position is through a variety of scrolling lists and different access criteria. As the proposed decree law 377 puts it, it is a matter of "simplification of the initial teacher education and of the access mechanisms to teaching positions […] in secondary schools" (p. 3). In addition, teachers at the primary and secondary levels will continue to be offered fundamentally two different types of initial preparation. In the first case, a five-year university path will follow a concomitant model. In the second, after a five-year master's level degree including preparation in the field and consecutive class-based preparation, a national selection process will lead to enrolment into a three years of pedagogical and practical preparation that may lead to entering employment in a permanent civil servant position. The common elements are, in both cases, the relatively long duration of initial teacher training (five for primary teachers and eight for secondary) and the absence of other certification options. A key contextual dimension that has a clear impact on the secondary teaching profession is the high intellectual unemployment in an economic environment characterised by millions of small enterprises, which cannot absorb a highly educated manpower base. In fact, the decree law 377 maintains that because of the very low number of available positions, selection will occur at the regional level and on a biannual basis.

Considering the training provision for secondary teachers from an improvement point of view of the teaching profession and of the school as institution, a first observation refers to the proposed model of separation between its main components: first the disciplinary theory, then the pedagogical and practical knowledge.

The role of professional knowledge in terms of specific courses and credit numbers is also quite low: before selection candidates must have accumulated twenty-four credits, while during the three years of specific training around sixty credits are required in pedagogical disciplines. Higher education institutions and schools must collaborate in the delivery of the three years of the course. Such a requirement of institutional partnership in a sector characterised by relatively recent universitarisation marked by a provision discontinuity over many years has to be considered carefully as another source of possible fragmentation: on the one side the university, on the other the schools. The same can be said about the level of integration of its various curricular components during the three years of training.

16.5 Concluding Remarks

The profile of the Italian education system is an essential component to understanding the current transformation of the teaching profession, which is linked to an attempt to effect systemic change in education. The most important contextual characteristics are the quite radical autonomy of Italian teachers, with very few professional scripts at their disposals, and the institutional weakness of schools with low internal coherence to date. The analysis conducted so far on the external requirements of teacher professionalism in Italy has illustrated several trends. First, there is a recent emphasis on the need to simplify secondary teacher preparation, following a unitary model of certification and abolishing the previous multiple routes into the profession. Nevertheless, initial teacher education will continue to be relatively diverse for pre-primary, primary and secondary teachers, each following different models. In the secondary preparation area, there are some doubts regarding internal fragmentation of preparation. In fact, the major components of the provision itself, that theory and practice are defined in isolation, brings with it the complex task of building anew a wholesale culture of partnership between schools of practice and training institutes of a university type. Fragmentation is evident in the diversity of provision and internal inconsistency, at least in the proposed secondary training area.

A more significant policy development is the *Good School Law* priority to transform professional development from a voluntary and infrequently practised activity into a key element of both school and teaching quality improvement. The legislator has correctly noticed in this area a traditional discontinuity that must be overcome through better links between initial preparation and on the job training. In this field, fragmentation occurs in the learning to teach continuum, which includes various forms of training, traditionally not in continuity. On paper, the prescribed professionalism in this area is well defined and is a key dimension of school improvement. However, a change in actual school practices, of enacted professionalism, following a model of context-specific learning, is questionable for various reasons. First, on the job training depends on good initial preparation and in reality teaching staff will continue to have differing quality levels of preparation or

may lack any specific pedagogical preparation at all, in line with the traditional model. Second, the level of development of professional learning in schools will largely depend on the level of accountability reform implementation at the school level, and specifically at least in the following areas: (1) the way the current recognition of teachers' merit will be fully institutionalised, (2) the way school leaders will be held accountable for the first time for the performance of their school and (3) the enactment of middle school leadership. The level and quality of professional development will be aligned to the level of enactment of school accountability measures.

A clear attempt to counter fragmentation is a major objective of the current reform, but our analysis has showed that consistent fragmentation will persist, especially in the initial preparation field, while the destiny of continuous forms of professional learning will depend and, in turn will support, the overall educational changes. The level and quality of the latter will still be influenced by unequal levels of initial preparation in the teaching workforce, as well as the success of the systemic accountability driven reforms. It is not pessimistic to assume that the current fragmentation will, at best, be only slightly mitigated. Fragmentation will be a result of market oriented training as in England, but also the input of the State itself, which will remain unable to coordinate and instil institutional coherence. To paraphrase Whitty's catch-phrase, the Italian model may be still be oriented towards State-branded professional fragmentation.

References

Bordignon, M., & Fontana, A. (2010). *Federalismo e istruzione. La scuola italiana nell'ambito del processo di decentramento istituzionale [Federalism and education: the Italian school and institutional decentralisation].* Working Paper. Torino: Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli. http://www.fga.it.

Eurydice. (2016). *Italy: Conditions of service for teachers working in early childhood and school education.* Available at: https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/fpfis/mwikis/eurydice/index.php/Italy:Conditions_of_Service_for_Teachers_Working_in_Early_Childhood_and_School_Education.

Evans, L. (2008). Professionalism, professionality and the development of education professional. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 56*(1), 20–38.

Gianferrari, L. (2010). *I docenti neo-assunti nella scuola che deve affrontare i mutamenti epocali*. Torino: FGA.

Hargreaves, A. (2000). Four ages of professionalism and professional learning. *Teachers and Teaching: History and Practice, 6*(2), 151–182.

Hoyle, E. (1982). The professionalization of teacher: A paradox. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 30*(2), 161–171.

Levin, B. (2012). Building capacity for sustained school improvement. In L. Darling-Hammond & A. Lieberman (Eds.), *Teacher education around the world. Changing policies and practices*. London: Routledge.

Luzzatto, G. (2000). *Insegnare a insegnare. I nuovi corsi universitari per la formazione dei docenti. [Training to teach. The new universitary courses for teacher training].* Roma: Carocci Editore.

Mincu. (2012). *Personalisation of education in contexts. Policy critique and theories of personal improvement.* Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
Mincu, M. (2015). The Italian middle school in a deregulation era: Italian modernity through path dependency and global models. *Comparative Education, 51*(3), 446–462.
Mincu, M., & Chiosso, G. (2009). Imagined globalisation in Italian education: Discourse and action in initial teacher training. In M. T. Tatto & M. Mincu (Eds.), *Reforming teaching and learning: Comparative perspectives in a global era*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers & WCCES (World Council of Comparative Education Societies).
Semeraro, A. (1998). *Il sistema scolastico italiano. Profilo storico [The Italian system of education. A historical perspective].* Roma: Carocci.
Whitty, G. (2000). Teacher professionalism in new times. *Journal of In-Service Education, 26*(2), 281–295.
Whitty, G. (2006). *Teacher professionalism in a new era.* Paper presented at the first General Teaching Council for Northern Ireland Annual Lecture, Belfast.

Monica E. Mincu (Ph.D. Catholic University-Milan) is an Associate Professor and comparatist in education, expert on Education politics and governance, as related to change, improvement and reform, teacher education in Europe, specifically England and Italy, inclusion and equity in education. She has recently published with top journals in her field, such as Comparative Education, Oxford Review of Education and History of Education. Dr. Mincu also serves on the administrative council of Fondazione per la Scuola, a major Italian NGO, which is active in the field of school improvement.

Chapter 17
Work Regulations and Teacher Subjectivity in a Context of Standardization and Accountability Policies in Chile

Jenny Assaél and Rodrigo Cornejo

17.1 Introduction

Comprising a unique case in the world, Chilean standardization and accountability policies in education have developed over three decades of systematic introduction of extremist and fundamentalist market and competition policies, and the privatization of the school system. In 2004, the OECD noted that these policies gave an unwarranted importance to these market mechanisms to improve education, and that the Chilean school system was "consciously structured around social classes" (OECD 2004, p. 277). Within this framework, it is of importance to give a broader view on the network of educational policies and teachers' work regulations that have been developed in Chile, and to try and unveil the main tensions that unfold in teachers' subjectivities.

Funding from PIA-CONICYT Basal Funds for Centers of Excellence Project FB0003, Fondecyt Regular 1160445 and U-Redes 2016 "Políticas educativas, trabajo docente y nuevas ciudadanías de cara a los desafíos de la globalización" are gratefully acknowledged.

J. Assaél (✉)
Department of Psychology, School of Social Sciences, University of Chile, Santiago, Chile
e-mail: jennyassael@gmail.com

R. Cornejo
Department of Psychology, Observatory of Chilean Educational Policy (OPECH), University of Chile, Santiago, Chile
e-mail: rodrigo.cornejo@uchile.cl

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_17

17.2 The Introduction of New Public Management Policies in a Highly-Commercialized School System (The Uniqueness of the Chilean Case)

The educational scenario worldwide is marked by a global educational reform movement that has increasingly given greater importance to corporate, managerial and market policies and practices (Anderson 2013; Sahlberg 2012). Policies guided by new public management take a vital role in this global trend, mainly due to the impact they have over social representations of the teaching trade and the everyday life of educational workers.

However, as noted by Verger and Normand (2015), the context where these new public management policies have been implemented is very heterogeneous. Some countries have adopted these policies as part of a process of "modernization of the state", others have done so within a context of expansion of the educational market. However, the Chilean case is unique, because school policies based around new public management were implemented with the explicit aim of "de-commercializing" education, to answer the citizenry's criticism and secondary students' protests against the public education crisis and educational inequality, which were particularly strong during the year 2006.

Because of this scenario, a more comprehensive understanding of the implementation of a new public management agenda in Chile is only possible if a global view is taken on the school system structure.

17.2.1 The Structure of the Chilean School System

Generally speaking, it is possible to affirm that the current cycle of Chilean market-based educational policies began with a series of structural changes in the early 1980s, in the middle of the civic-military dictatorship lead by Pinochet (Assaél et al. 2011a).

In broad terms, there were three major structural changes: the redefinition of the educational regulatory framework and the state's role in education, the implementation of a new management model of the educational system based around the figure of educational "sustainers" (administrators) that manage public and private education with state funds, and the implementation of a new model of educational funding through what is called subsidy to demand, a form of educational *voucher*. All these transformations are established in the Constitutional Organic Teaching Law (LOCE in Spanish) enacted by Pinochet the day before he stepped down on March 10, 1990.

The redefinition of the educational framework and the new role of the state in education, emerged from the proclamation of the Constitution of 1980, where education stops being one of the state's functions, and is conceptualized as a preferential right and duty of parents which must be protected by the state (art. 19,

n. 10). The former role of the state as a guarantor of education is replaced by a subsidiary role. Following the same principle, "freedom of teaching", defined as the right to "open, organize and maintain educational establishments" (art. 19, n. 11) is guaranteed as a constitutional right; alongside other economical rights for private parties that participate in education, such as "the right to not be discriminated by the state and its institutions regarding economic matters" (art. 19, n. 22) and "the right to own property of diverse types over every and all types of corporeal and incorporeal goods" (art. 19, n. 24) (Gobierno de Chile 2005).

The transformation of the administration model of the educational system began its implementation in 1981, year in which the state schools began to be managed at the municipal level (the smallest administrative division) by a special intermediate entity called "educational sustainer", that receives and manages state resources. The introduction of this entity transcends public education, because based in the constitutional rights previously mentioned, the law favored the entrance to the system of private administrators, opening schools which received state subsidies equal to the ones given to municipal public schools. These establishments are called private subsidized schools. In this administration model, the central state body—the Ministry of Education—does not have a major hold over fully private and private subsidized schools, and loses its influence in the management of municipal schools.

The third major transformation is in the aspect of educational funding in general, through the implementation of portable subsidies to demand. In this model, the amount of state funding given to administrators ("educational sustainers") is dependent on the average attendance and number of enrolled students. This has the explicit objective of introducing competition mechanisms to capture more students to receive more funding, assuming this would drive the improvement of academic results in each school. On the other hand, in 1993 the mechanism of shared funding is created, which means that schools (mainly the private subsidized ones) can require co-payment from students' families on top of the funds given by the state. With this, free state education, that until 1993 reached more than 90% of total student enrollment, has steadily diminished and nowadays barely reaches 60%, with the remaining 40% is distributed according to families' economic capacity. This produces school segregation and segmentation, where each student is educated alongside its peers from a social and economic standpoint.

It is on top of this structural base that policies are implemented around accountability measures and new public management in the Chilean school system, with the enactment of four legal regulations between 2008 and 2011, in what some have called the "new regulatory school framework" (Cornejo et al. 2015). Even though we will briefly refer to this framework in the following section, it is necessary to establish that several investigators maintain that the introduction of these regulations based around accountability, standardization and intensive examination with consequences for schools, constitutes a fourth great structural transformation that strengthens the current market-based chilean educational model (Florez 2013; Carrasco 2013). Within this new framework, an annual standardized census test called National Measuring System of Quality of Education (SIMCE in Spanish) occupies a vital role, aimed at measuring students' academic performance in several

subjects within the national curriculum in five grades across all schools in the country. Test results are widely published and publicized in the media in the form of school rankings, and have multiple uses in educational policy; such as the focusing of resources and the classification of schools in distinct categories, which entail bigger autonomy for schools with better scores, and lower ranked schools are strongly intervened and face the threat of closure, as well as monetary incentives for teachers related to SIMCE scores, all of which carry profound consequences for schools (Assaél et al. 2011b).

17.2.2 Teaching Work Regulations in Chile

Within this current cycle of educational market-based policies, teaching policies have followed a path of their own. The implementation of teaching work regulations during the dictatorship had multiple consequences, all of them organized around a central fact: the loss of the contractual relationship of teachers with the state, and the advent of several contractual relationships with private entities or local authorities, losing the status of public servants.

Until 1973, Chilean teachers, who were mostly public servants dependent on the Ministry of Education, had achieved high degrees of social and professional recognition, reaching their highest wage levels during the early 1970s. During the dictatorship there were profound changes, ranging from repression, persecution and control over teachers; as well as sharp decline in their working conditions, losing stability and suffering a 72% wage cut by 1981.

With the processes of privatization and municipalization, teachers came to be regulated by the Labor Code applying to all Chilean workers, which meant major setbacks of previous conquests (entry conditions, wages, job stability, rights and duties, retirement system due to years of service); and total job flexibility that, among other things, caused that tens of thousands of teachers were left without employment between 1980 and 1986, and total anarchy reigned regarding salary and working matters.

After a complicated discussion with the Teachers' Association of Chile (the chief teachers' association in the country), the first civil government after the dictatorship (1990), recognized the existence of a social debt with teachers, which culminated with the enactment in July 1991 of the Law of the Statute of Education Professionals, or Teachers' Statute, that was being demanded by teachers even during the dictatorship. Although this comprised a step forward regarding the anarchy and defenselessness that teachers experienced, at the same time it firmly established a different relationship for teachers that worked in public schools from teachers who worked in private subsidized schools. The Teachers' Statute regulates salary, working and entry conditions of municipal teachers, and stipulates that working conditions and salary from private subsidized teachers will be mainly regulated by the Labor Code; meaning that these teachers are subject to a regime of greater work flexibility and little opportunity of effective negotiations, going

beyond just the fact that the law allows for them to form Unions. This way, in practice, a dual working regime is established for Chilean teachers.

Although the Teachers' Statute was originally presented as a first step to strengthen the teaching profession, in 1995 it suffered several modifications, increasing the causes for termination, working conditions were made more flexible and wage raises were maintained mainly by means of bonuses and variable allowances (Assaél and Pavez 2010).

A central aspect of the Teachers' Statute that generated controversy, was the establishment of an annual grading system for teachers of the municipal sector, which was resisted by them due to its punitive and arbitrary nature. Consequently, in 1998 a tripartite commission was created, comprised by the Ministry of Education, the Teachers' Association and the Chilean Municipalities' Association, that ended with the replacement of grading with an evaluation system intended for training and professional development, implemented in 2004 by the Law of Teacher Performance Evaluation. Even though teachers supported the adoption of a teaching evaluation, its implementation has been criticized because it has fulfilled a more punitive role, alongside increasing the workload by not ensuring adequate conditions for its realization (Sisto 2012; Assaél and Pavez 2008).

During the period where this law was being discussed, the Ministry of Education, either being supported or being pressured by the more neoliberal sectors of the political elite, began espousing a discourse of improving teacher salaries by "payment to the best". This was expressed by major policymakers of the center-left coalition, back then in power:

> …it would be possible within a following period to raise, in a drastic manner, individual performance incentives -such as the pedagogical excellence allowance or the variable individual performance allowance-…This way, the teaching evaluation system, set in schools, would act no only to pressure teachers, but as a real incentive to improve professional teaching performance…. (Beca et al. 2006, p. 48).

This way, two bonuses based on teacher performance were established. On one hand, the Pedagogical Excellence Allowance (AEP in Spanish) in 2002, is a monetary incentive which can be obtained by any teacher that willingly takes tests that measure their subject matter and pedagogical knowledge and obtain the highest results, which lasts four years and can be re-obtained by following the same procedure. On the other, the Variable Individual Performance Allowance (AVDI in Spanish) in 2006, is bound to the national system of performance evaluation, which can only be obtained by teachers that got a grade of competent or distinguished. They have the right to receive the bonus after taking a similar test to AEP.

The adoption of the Teacher Evaluation, consecutive reforms to the Teachers' Statute and the proclamation of several laws and decrees that regulate teachers' work have been a point of tension between successive political administrations and the Teachers' Association since the turn of the century. Some authors have suggested the existence of two differing viewpoints on the teaching profession within policymakers belonging to the government coalition that has had more presence these past decades (center-left). On one side, those who emphasize the regaining of

lost labor rights and the reinstating of the principles of collegiality and peer-discernment, what Evetts (2005) calls occupational professionalism. On the other side, an outlook that emphasizes standards, the introduction of corporate management criteria in education, performance evaluations and individual incentives, flexible hiring policies, salary adjustments according to results, and individual accountability (Gobierno de Chile and Ley 2011; Mizala and Romaguera 2003; Vegas 2008). This second approach, that Evetts places within organizational professionalism, is the one that is put together around new public management postulates. Recent research accounts for the strengthening of these policies and approaches (Cornejo et al. 2015; Sisto 2011).

The year 2006 was crucial in the path being followed by teacher and educational policies in Chile. That year there was a massive protest movement lead by secondary students with support from teachers and university students; as well as the unexpected support of the citizenry in general (González et al. 2008). The demands of this movement were based around the inferior quality of education, educational inequality and the severe crisis of public education. The political elite, from both the center-left political coalition (currently in power) as well as the right-wing coalition in opposition, responded to student demands with what they called the "educational agreement for the quality of education". Within this bi-coalition agreement, between 2008 and 2011 four laws were approved that were aimed towards structural aspects of the school system, which in practice became a new regulatory framework for the Chilean school education. On that subject, then-president Michelle Bachelet wrote in one of the proposed bills that "the government has seen in the topics brought up by the student movement from this past year a real opportunity to move forward in effective agreements to achieve not only quality of education but also equal education" (Mensaje 2007, p. 1, 216–335).

The four laws that comprise this new regulatory framework are as follows:

(a) Law of Preferential School Subsidy [SEP] (Law 20.248 2008), that introduces the granting of additional resources through subsidies, to public or private subsidized school administrators that have "at-risk" students, after presenting an Education Improvement Plan [PME] and classifies schools according to their SIMCE scores.
(b) General Law of Education [LGE] (Law 20.370 2009), that replaces Pinochet's LOCE and gives a global framework to this group of new regulations, without altering the essence of what was being promoted by dictatorship-era educational policies.
(c) Law of Quality and Equality of Education (Law 20.501 2011a), which explicitly aims to make the Teachers' Statute from 1991 more flexible, and to give greater power and a managerial role to school principals.
(d) Law of Assurance of Quality of Pre-School, Primary and Secondary Education and its Auditing (Law 20.259 2011b), which creates institutions already announced by LGE that will set educational standards and the assurance of their compliance: the National Council of Education, the Education Quality Agency and the Education Superintendence.

In a documentary analysis recently performed we identified four main trends of teaching regulations within these laws (Cornejo et al. 2015). Firstly, the deepening of the standardization of teaching objectives and its intensive measuring with consequences. In this trend we place the expanding of SIMCE standardized census testing to 6 schools grades, the classification of schools according to these test results, the mandatory nature of centering "educational improvement plans" around standards (related to curriculum subjects measured by SIMCE, mainly language and mathematics), and the distrust on teachers' judgement when taking decisions regarding curriculum and continued education and training.

Secondly, a budding standardization on labor processes (how to do teachers' work). We identified within this trend the intensification of teaching evaluation mechanisms, the requirement of annual planning for classes and the obligatory compliance to focus further teacher education and training around the improvement of standards.

In third place, the refining of accountability mechanisms. We observed in these laws that teachers are subjected to the articulation of three types of accountability measures: new external inspections (by the Quality of Education Agency and the Education Superintendence), mechanisms of internal inspection and surveillance (by principals and administrators) and a series of accountability guidelines and obligations to students' families.

Lastly, we identified the establishment of new strategies to increase teacher job flexibility. We highlight in this matter the modification of the Teachers' Statute that facilitates termination and reduction of work hours, the introduction of new contractual regimes (under SEP law, with lesser stability and lower hourly wage) and the loss of professional exclusivity (under the LGE, anyone with a professional degree from a university course lasting at least eight semesters is legally allowed to teach).

This group of new regulations towards teaching work goes in hand with the introduction of a number of school policies that intensify standardization, privatization, competition, measurement of standards with punitive consequences for schools, and accountability mechanisms.

In this way, a sort of privatizing paradox takes place in the Chilean educational model, introducing policies guided by the principles of new public management to answer to demands made by the student movement. These demands, although not fully elaborate, were aimed not only towards the problem of educational quality and equality, but also to the public education crisis and the excessive presence of the market in education. That is, these new public management policies were introduced with the objective, at least publicly declared by a sector of policymakers, to "de-market" education and strengthen the public system (Assaél et al. 2015; Verger and Normand 2015).

17.3 Tensions in Teacher Subjectivity Since the Implementation of Policies Based on New Public Management Principles

The consequences of the profound changes described in educational regulations regarding everyday aspects of the teaching labor are still a research subject, because the introduction of this new regulatory framework and its recontextualization in schools is a matter that is still unfolding. Additionally, in the Chilean case, it is difficult to make the distinction between the effects of the market policies that were systematically implemented since the early 1980s, and the effects of these new regulations based on new public management policies.

With the aforementioned precautions present, it is possible to account for a series of tensions in teachers' subjectivity produced in recent years, that have been identified by several studies.

Firstly, it is possible to show a process of work intensification that has been described in other places in the world. It describes an increase in physical, mental and emotional strain on education workers, generated by an increase in the number and diversity of tasks to be fulfilled, as well as the prescription of demands which can be contradictory or impossible to achieve (Cornejo 2009). Most teachers feel they work subject to requirements that include the undertaking of tasks under deadlines which are impossible or very difficult to achieve. Near half of teachers consider their daily work to be ambiguous or with opposing demands, and that their relationship with students is problematic. This work intensification is expressed in the high percentage of contractual hours dedicated to classroom activities, reaching an average of 86% (the legal limit is 75%). Work intensification can also be seen in the high quantity of personal time that teachers must dedicate to fulfill work obligations, which equals almost a third of the number of contractual work hours. Finally, work overload can also be seen in the scant amounts of breaks during a work day, which are even less in municipal secondary schools (Cornejo 2009).

On the other hand, the pressure exerted on teachers for reaching standardized objectives generates the sensation that daily tasks must be mainly centered around the training of abilities that will allow students to achieve better results, taking away from what teachers consider to be the main purpose of educational practice: bonding with their students, as well as giving attention to their psychosocial or emotional needs (Assaél et al. 2014).

Additionally, the main actions that are being carried out in schools, such as daily planning, classroom observations, constant monitoring and evaluation of standardized learning goals; are experienced as meaningless impositions that diminish their autonomy (Assaél et al. 2011b). Paradoxically, the new regulatory framework bestows "greater levels of decision and autonomy to schools that have focused their work on preparing students for performing on national standardized tests. That is, autonomy is bestowed to those schools that, in practice, have already renounced to their autonomy from a curricular and educational project standpoint" (Fernández et al. 2016, p. 298).

Work intensification and loss of autonomy unfolds in a context of accountability measures that accentuate individual responsibility over academic results, increasing the feeling of distrust towards teachers. Several teacher testimonies point to the constant doubting of their authority as professionals. According to one teacher, the feeling that "I must provide evidence for everything, my word is not believable". Accountability would be operating as a surveillance device by means of a subtle but penetrating way of control that teaches to fulfill tasks and pressure others to do the same. This is achieved by exposing and individualizing supposed deficiencies that are easily measured by students test results and the supervision of planning and classroom teaching practices (Contreras and Corbalán 2010).

On this matter, several studies show the transformation of school culture into an auditing culture (Apple 2007), where members are obligated to constantly produce evidence or are pressured to behave according to plans and goals established by others—whether on a central or local level, or their employers in schools-, which may mean an increasing de-professionalization and loss of autonomy.

These accountability policies place teachers in a "hybrid" position, not knowing if they must educate or must teach for exams. This way, they start to build "teaching simulations": planning and calculating actions aiming to satisfy external demands, be well evaluated and answer to the increasing surveillance to which they are exposed, but making no substantial changes to their teaching practices beyond what is required by evaluations. In a recent ethnographic study, a teacher notes that "it really is complicated, everything related to school subjects, proper form and all of this and one suddenly gets all stressed out and thinks 'well, I'm standing here and what's more important, life or school subjects'" (Cornejo 2016).

In addition, the several pressuring, evaluation and accountability measures are carried out within a context of lack of institutional support for teaching labor, in what some have called a sort of "abandonment" of teachers; due to the fact that these policies are not based on a network that supports teaching labor, as opposed to countries which indeed have a public education system (Fullan 2003). As we could see in the first section of this writing, educational management rests on the figure of the municipal administrator and not in a public system as is understood. Several studies show that, of the 350 municipalities that manage education, a little over 10% have specialists that support teaching labor (Cornejo 2006).

As is possible to guess, these changes have had an impact on teachers' well-being and health. Recent statistics point that over 26% of secondary school teachers show high levels of emotional exhaustion, a strong signal for the apparition of Burnout Syndrome; which is alarming if we consider the negative consequences of exhaustion for teachers' health, as well as the carrying out of several educational tasks, such as the establishing of an adequate emotion environment for classroom learning, bonding with students, participating in institutional processes of management and coexistence, or the building of collaborative professional relationships. Aside from that, teachers report a series of illnesses with a morbidity rate that goes above the national average for the adult population. These illnesses are bronchitis (32.1%), irritable bowel syndrome (21.6%), dysphonia (18.6%), tendinitis (16.6%) and hypertension (11.5%). The results are worrying, because these are illnesses that

have an impact on teachers' general health (hypertension, IBS), as well as their main bodily work tools: their hands and their voice. The presence of illnesses and malaise is also more prominent in female teachers (Cornejo 2009).

17.4 Market-Based Policies, New Public Management, and the Dispute Over Teacher Subjectivity: An Open Scenario

As we have pointed out, school policies based on new public management were adopted in Chile aiming explicitly to "de-market" education and accept citizenry's criticism around the need to strengthen public education.

Beyond what was intended, the introduction of these policies, through several recent laws, have not been able to revert the essence of the changes imposed by Pinochet's dictatorship. On the contrary, as we have argued above, the implementation of these policies have invigorated and consolidated the market system in education, at the same time debilitating public education (where the enrollment rate continues to decrease and is now 32% of total enrollment). Additionally, this market-based educational model and the introduction of new public management have caused strong tensions in teacher subjectivity, which point to work intensification, restriction of professional autonomy, being held responsible, teacher abandonment, and a decline of well-being; causing a severe loss of morale within educators.

Several authors suggest that, in the end, it is teachers' professional identity and work meaningfulness that begins to redefine itself based on the introduction of new public management principles in our country (Sisto 2012; Cornejo 2012; Assaél et al. 2014). As Stephen Ball (2003) points out, incentive policies that reward competitive behavior between schools and teachers present a new ideal type of teacher that "think of themselves as individuals that constantly calculate their behavior, that 'add value' to themselves, that improve their productivity, that strive for excellence and live an existence of constant calculation" (p. 217). In a recent study, we noted that the systematic imposition of new regulations and discursive practices, the denial of historical discourses on the teaching trade, and the colonization of public discourse from a language belonging to the private corporate world, had led most teachers to a process of "ontologization" or naturalization of the hegemonic discursive order on education and teaching (Cornejo 2012). We also noted that the attachment teachers have with this hegemonic discourse is not accompanied by an emotional attachment. Far from it, what prevails in their discourse is unease, the feeling of being stepped on, repressed and undervalued, although for the moment it is not possible to appreciate in teachers a more elaborate reaction to these policies.

Two recent events make teachers' scenario an even more open one. On one hand, in 2014 and 2015 there were massive teacher protests across the country,

which peaked with a strike lasting more than 50 days against the bill for the Law of Teaching Career. This law had been largely demanded by teachers but, in its writing, what it did is strengthen control, standardization and performance payment mechanisms. What is remarkable during these protests is that teachers discussed about their work and their working conditions. The struggle for economical demands that have been characteristic of recent teacher conflicts, has been complemented with this protest that put forward basic questions about everyday work, about micro politics, about meanings on teaching in Chile these days. In addition, this teacher movement expressed itself in the recent electoral results of the Teachers' Association, where the candidate party related to the current political administration was thoroughly defeated in front of other positions that had an openly critical discourse regarding the reforms, were completely unrelated to the current administration, and proposed a new educational project for teachers.

As it can be seen, the relationships between managerial work relationships and teacher subjectivities that unfold are presented in a currently developing scenario, with high levels of conflict and instability that must be continued to be studied in the following years.

References

Anderson, G. (2013). Cambios macropolíticos e institucionales, nuevos paradigmas e impacto en el trabajo docente. In M. Poggi (Ed.), *Políticas docentes: formación, trabajo y desarrollo profesional*. Buenos Aires: Instituto Internacional de Planteamiento de la Educación IIPE-UNESCO.

Apple, M. (2007). Education, markets, and an audit culture. *International Journal of Educational, 1*(1), 4–19.

Assaél, J., Acuña, F., Contreras, P., & Corbalán, F. (2014). Transformaciones en la cultura escolar en el marco de la implementación de políticas de accountability en Chile. *Estudios Pedagógicos, 40*(2), 7–26.

Assaél, J., Cornejo, R., González, J., Redondo, J., Sánchez, R., & Sobarzo, M. (2011a). La empresa educativa chilena. *Educação & Sociedade*, *32*(115).

Assaél, J., Contreras, P., Corbalán, F., Palma, E., Campos, J., Sisto, V., & Redondo, J. (2011b). Ley SEP en escuelas municipales emergentes Cambios en la identidad docente. *Revista de pedagogía crítica Paulo Freire, 11.*

Assaél, J., Cornejo, R., Albornoz, N., Etcheberrigaray, G., Hidalgo, F., Ligueño, S., et al. (2015). La crisis del modelo educativo mercantil chileno: Un complejo escenario. *Currículo sem Fronteiras, 15*(2), 334–335.

Assaél, J., & Pavez, J. (2008). La construcción e implementación del sistema de desempeño docente chileno: principales tensiones y desafíos. *Revista Iberoamericana de Evaluación Educativa, 1*(2).

Assaél, J., & Pavez, P. (2010). Normas del ejercicio docente en Chile: de la protección y especificidad profesional a la flexibilización total de la docencia. *Revista Educación y Cultura*.

Ball, S. (2003). The teacher's soul and the terrors of performativity. *Journal of Education Policy, 18*(2), 215–228.

Beca, C., García, J. E., Montt, P., Sotomayor, C., & Walker, H. (2006). *Docentes para el Nuevo Siglo: Hacia una política de desarrollo profesional docente*. Serie Bicentenario. Santiago: Ministerio de Educación.

Carrasco, A. (2013). Mecanismos performativos de la institucionalidad educativa en Chile: pasos hacia un nuevo sujeto cultural. *Observatorio Cultural, 15*(1), 4–10.

Contreras, P., & Corbalán, F. (2010). Qué podemos esperar de la Ley Subvención Escolar Preferencial. *Revista Docencia,* 41.

Cornejo, R. (2006). El experimento educativo chileno 20 años después. *Revista REICE, 4*(1).

Cornejo, R. (2009). Condiciones de trabajo y bienestar/malestar docente en profesores de enseñanza media de Santiago de Chile. *Educação & Sociedade, 30*(107), 409–426.

Cornejo, R. (2012). *Nuevos sentidos del trabajo docente: un análisis psicosocial del bienestar/malestar, las condiciones de trabajo y las subjetividades de los/as docentes en el Chile Neoliberal* (Tesis doctoral). Recuperada de http://www.tesis.uchile.cl/handle/2250/111523.

Cornejo, R. (2016). Informe final proyecto FONECYT 11130244. Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología Chile.

Cornejo, R., Albornoz, N., Castañeda, L., Palacios, D., Etcheberrigaray, G., Fernández, R., et al. (2015). Las prescripciones del trabajo docente en el nuevo marco regulatorio de políticas educativas en Chile. *Psicoperspectivas, 14*(2), 72–83.

Evetts, J. (2005). The management of professionalism: A contemporary paradox. Recuperado de http://www.tlrp.org/themes/seminar/gewirtz/papers/seminar5/paper%20-%20evetts.doc.

Fernández, R., Albornoz, N., Cornejo, R., & Etcheberrigaray, G. (2016). Los discursos sobre autonomía del trabajo docente en el nuevo marco regulatorio educativo chileno. *Currículo sem Fronteiras, 16*(2), 283–302.

Florez, T. (2013). *Análisis crítico de la validez del sistema de medición de la calidad de la educación (SIMCE)*. UK: Informe Final. Oxford University Centre for Educational Assessment.

Fullan, M. (2003). *Las fuerzas del cambio, con creces*. Madrid: AKAL.

Gobierno de Chile (2005). Constitución política de la República. Incluye reformas políticas. Promulgada originalmente en 1980. Santiago de Chile.

Gobierno de Chile, & Ley, N. (2011). *20.529 que crea el Sistema Nacional De Aseguramiento de la Calidad De La Educación Parvularia*. Básica y Media y Su Fiscalización. Santiago: Diario Oficial de la República de Chile, Gobierno de Chile.

González, J., Cornejo, R., Sánchez, R., & Caldichoury, J. (2008). Perspectivas y significados del movimiento nacional de estudiantes secundarios chilenos. *Némesis, 6*.

Ley N. (2008). *20.248. Ley de Subvención Escolar Preferencial*. Diario Oficial de la República de Chile 1 de febrero de 2008.

Ley N. (2009). *20.370. Ley General De Educación*. Diario Oficial de la República de Chile 12 de septiembre de 2009.

Ley N. (2011a). *20.501 Calidad y Equidad En La Educación*. Diario Oficial de la República de Chile 26 de febrero de 2011.

Ley N. (2011b). *20.529 Sistema Nacional De Aseguramiento de la Calidad De La Educación Parvularia, Básica y Media y Su Fiscalización*. Diario Oficial de la República de Chile 27 de agosto de 2011.

Mensaje N. (2007). *Mensaje de s.e. la presidenta de la República con el que inicia un proyecto de ley que crea la superintendencia de educación* (pp. 216–355). Santiago de Chile: Secretaría General de la Presidencia.

Mizala, A., & Romaguera, P. (2003). Regulación, incentivos y remuneraciones de los profesores en Chile. In C. Cox (Ed.), *Políticas educacionales en el cambio de siglo. La reforma del sistema escolar de Chile*. Santiago de Chile: Universitaria.

Organización para la Cooperación y el Desarrollo Económicos. (2004). *Revisión de Políticas Nacionales de Educación: Chile*. Paris: Centro para la Cooperación con Países no Miembros.

Sahlberg, P. (2012). *El cambio educativo en Finlandia. ¿Qué puede aprender el mundo?* Buenos Aires: Editorial Paidós—Grupo Editorial Planeta.

Sisto, V. (2011). Nuevo profesionalismo y profesores: una reflexión a partir del análisis de las actuales políticas de "profesionalización" para la educación en Chile. *Signo y Pensamiento, 31* (59).

Sisto, V. (2012). Identidades desafiadas: Individualizaciòn, managerialismo y trabajo docente en el chile actual. *Psykhe, 21*(2), 35–46.

Vegas, E. (2008). Cómo mejorar las políticas de desarrollo profesional docente a fin de atraer, perfeccionar y retener profesores efectivos. In C. Bellei, D. Contreras, & J.P. Valenzuela (Eds.), *La agenda pendiente en educación. Profesores, administradores y recursos: propuestas para la nueva arquitectura de la educación chilena.* Santiago, Programa de Investigación en Educación Universidad de Chile-UNICEF.

Verger, A., & Normand, R. (2015). Nueva gestión pública y educación: elementos teóricos y conceptuales para el estudio de un modelo de reforma educativa global. *Educação & Sociedade, 36*(132).

Jenny Assaél is psychologist. Professor of the Department of Psychology of the School of Social Sciences of the University of Chile. Faculty member of the undergraduate, Master's in Educational Psychology and Doctorate in Psychology programs. She has ample experience in educational research, mainly in the field of school culture and teaching practices, teaching profession, and educational public policies. She has written several books on school ethnography in Chilean popular schools. Author and co-author of book chapters and articles on mercantile and standardization policies in education, teachers' work, teaching evaluations, and re-contextualization of educational policies within school cultures. Founder and executive member of the Observatory of Chilean Educational Policy (OPECH). Since the year 2000 she has been a researcher of the Latin American Network of Teachers' Work Studies (ESTRADO), and presently is also co-coordinator for the same network in Chile. She is a researcher of the "Education, Work and Exclusion"; "Educational Policies and Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean"; and co-coordinator for the "Educational Policies and the right to Education" workgroups of the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO).

Rodrigo Cornejo is psychologist and Ph.D. in Psychology from the University of Chile. Faculty member of the Department of Psychology of the same university. Director of the Observatory of Chilean Educational Policy (OPECH), Co-coordinator for the Latin American Network of Teachers' Work Studies (ESTRADO), associate member of the "Educational Policies and the right to Education" workgroup of the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO), faculty member of the Psychology and Education Team Program of the University of Chile. His main research and work subjects are: Teachers' Work, Educational Policies, Social Movements and subjectivity.

Chapter 18
Neoliberalism and New Public Action in Education in Québec: Changes in Primary School Culture and Teacher Identities?

Louis LeVasseur and Mélanie Bédard

As in most Western nations, the education system's performance has been at issue since the early 1990s. Québec's educational and social milieus are challenging the 1970s educational values that focus on the wholistic development of the individual, broadly inspired by the ideas of the New School, Rogers' psychological humanism, and non-directive teaching, or what is known as "open pedagogy." Has the child's intellectual and cognitive development been neglected? Have we neglected to develop economic skills at a time of market globalization (MEQ 1997a, b)? Given a dropout rate of 30%, and close to 70% in some communities, should we acknowledge that the Québec school is underachieving? Is educational reform required?

Announced in 1997 (MEQ 1997a) and begun in the fall of 2000, educational reform profoundly disrupted the official discourse on education: henceforth, school culture and pedagogy would focus on competencies, projects, interdisciplinarity, student activity, incorporating ICT and, in particular, cognitive development, an idea radically and explicitly opposed to the idea of the wholistic development of the individual (MEQ 1997b), which draws on a psychological notion of the student and pedagogy. In terms of the school system's administration, the emphasis would be on decentralization, school autonomy (Pelletier 2001), creating competition even among public sector schools, on the evaluation of schools and teachers (Maroy et al. 2014), on success plans with targets, on the adoption of strategic plans and the obligation to deliver results (Lessard and Meirieu 2004). Awards would be published in the media, affecting parents' decisions and strengthening mercantile logic

L. LeVasseur (✉)
Université Laval, Quebec, Canada
e-mail: Louis.Levasseur@fse.ulaval.ca

M. Bédard
Centre de Recherche Interuniversitaire sur la Formation et la Profession Enseignante (CRIFPE), Université Laval, Quebec, Canada
e-mail: Melanie.Bedard@fse.ulaval.ca

R. Normand et al. (eds.), *Education Policies and the Restructuring of the Educational Profession*, Perspectives on Rethinking and Reforming Education,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8279-5_18

(Desjardins et al. 2011). In short, as in Europe (Van Zanten 2004), the principles of New Public Management entered Québec's educational universe and redefined how it operates.

The new model for public action now regulates the education system according to criteria of effectiveness and efficiency, and economic benchmarks. Our question, therefore, is whether this approach impacts school culture, the "nature" of cultural, educational and pedagogical activities in primary teaching and, accordingly, teachers' professional identity. More specifically, the psychological humanism we refer to has long characterized educational thinking in Québec. Is it in the process of changing? We hypothesize that it is. That is, while the student as person is still at the heart of teachers' representation of education, teaching content, educational priorities, and even relations with culture are redefining the humanism of teachers who are increasingly, and perhaps unwittingly, incorporating requirements that derive from the economic world, or what Boltanski and Chiapello (1999) called the "new spirit of capitalism." According to this hypothesis, in other words, the ambient economic thinking is starting to percolate into primary school culture.

18.1 New Public Action and New Education System Regulation

Are there actually grounds for speaking of a new paradigm in characterizing how education systems have operated for the last 25 years? Maroy advances that argument based on the competition extant between Belgium's public and private education systems:

> We propose to examine the changes in how relations between public and private education are thematized under the influence of a broader change in the benchmarks for public action and paradigms within which the education system, educational practice and policy are considered. The shift from an "institutional" paradigm to a "school production system" paradigm would foster a new reading of private education in terms of the issue of educational efficiency (Maroy 2011, p. 57).

Based on the case described by Maroy, the institutional paradigm is being effaced in favour of an "organizational, managerial approach dominated by the issue of the efficiency of the arrangement of educational resources in the service of ends stated as almost exogenous to the educational means and processes used to achieve them" (Maroy 2011, p. 58). The school would be apprehended less from an institutional perspective (culture, values, socialization aims) than from the perspective of a "managerial, economics-based paradigm which sees the school primarily as productive of skills and useful knowledge (…)" (Dutercq 2011, p. 13). Actors in education would justify the shift from the institutional to the managerial paradigm as, because it is efficient and fosters competition among schools, it would benefit all educational systems.

Nonetheless, the school, especially at the primary level, remains a socializing entity that includes a cultural project, even though that project may vary from milieu to milieu and may be more or less unified due to the plural references in the world of education (Derouet 1992). Education has not become simply a machine that produces skills according to established social and economic needs, which must be subjected to diversified evaluation (efficiency of the educational system, school boards, schools, teachers, students in national and international exams). The new regulation of education, associated with decentralization, the emergence of mercantile logic, and the new "logic of accountability" (Normand 2014) are in fact characteristics of how educational systems and schools function in the West. But what happens to the school's cultural mission as a result of the change in paradigm or method of public action that focuses on production and efficiency? In other words, do these changes in how the education system is organized and regulated leave education's content and goals, and teachers' professional identities unscathed?

18.2 Changes in School Culture and the Relationship with Knowledge

Perhaps, gradually and unintentionally, the new educational content was rationalized in the name of the educational values dominant in the 1970s but, rather than aligning with a counter-cultural vision of society, as occurred in the 1980s, that content is meeting capitalism's new needs in the context of globalization. In other words, is what Chiapello (1998) and Boltanski and Chiapello (1999) observed about capitalism's appropriation of the critique's ideas occurring in primary education in Québec? In what follows, we show that teachers embrace the new educational content, but in the name of the 1970s educational values that centered heavily on the development of the student as person. But are there no important distinctions to be made between an individual's freedom—moral and cultural—and independence in a world that is subject to critique, and the cognitive autonomy of an individual who must play a productive, useful role in society? In education circles, talking about liberty and autonomy may amount to the same thing for many, but the educational content on which such student autonomy is based shows that liberty and autonomy are aligned with the ambient neoliberal values.

And, in the name of a highly fuzzy idea of a "knowledge society," are some teachers taking the Québec school into the post-modern era, as Lyotard (1979) intended the term? According to Lyotard, with the end of the grand legitimating narratives, knowledge is no longer used toward the realization of the self or Spirit (Hegel's argument), or towards the emancipation of humanity. If so, then what is knowledge's legitimacy based on?

> The question (overt or implied) now asked by the professionalist student, the State, or institutions of higher education is no longer "Is it true?" but "What use is it?" In the context

> of the mercantilization of knowledge, more often than not this question is equivalent to "Is it saleable?" And in the context of power-growth: "Is it efficient?" Having competence in a performance-oriented skill does indeed seem saleable in the conditions described above, and it is efficient by definition. What no longer makes the grade is competence as defined by other criteria [like] true/false, just/unjust, etc.–and, of course, low performativity in general (Lyotard 1979, p. 84) [translation from The Postmodern Condition, page 51, Tr. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi, Theory and History of Literature, Volume 10, Manchester University Press, 1984].

The idea of formal knowledge to which Lyotard refers with the exteriorization of stocks of information with respect to the knower, and the idea of performativity are, as we shall see, both illustrated in the relationship some primary teachers have with teaching ICT and project-based pedagogy.

18.3 Methodological Protocol

In the winter of 2017, we carried out ten interviews with primary teachers in the Québec City area, men and women who had an average of ten years of experience. The interviews were carried out with public sector teachers who worked in different social environments, in classes that could be characterized as heterogeneous and contained students from all social backgrounds, various ethnic groups, including some recent immigrants, and all academic levels; most students were succeeding, while some had learning or behavioural problems and, as applicable, were receiving technical or professional assistance. In other words, we only met with teachers who were engaged with Québec's mission for public schools: to take in without discrimination or selection all students located in the school's territory.[1]

The interviews took 60–90 min and dealt with the description of the milieu and students, the teachers' main values or educational goals, teaching content, the government program (MELS 2006), daily challenges, how their work had changed over the years, the evaluation of their work, relationships with parents, competition between schools, and perception of the future of Québec schools.

Three themes arising from the teachers' statements sharply illustrate the change to school culture: the intensive teaching of English, entrepreneurship, and ICTs, which we have combined with project-based pedagogy or student activity pedagogy. Teachers' comments on these themes show that some favour them while others, in contrast, are fairly reticent about them. We find it especially telling that, while the teachers disagree, their discourses converge on the same changes to school culture, which can therefore not be considered isolated incidents.

[1]Note that, in the course of their careers, some of these teachers became pedagogical consultants or school administrators.

18.4 Data Analysis

The following analyses present the introduction of new teaching content that connects with the economic values that are dominant in our Western societies. This educational content does not necessarily consist in new courses listed in the Québec Education Program (MELS 2006), but it constitutes the modalities for the transformation of what is taught, and the educational values of teachers, or at least some teachers.[2]

18.5 Intensive English

The intensive English program, given in Grade 6, is generating extensive debate and controversy not only in the schools at which we carried out our research, but across the Québec education system and within Québec society. How is this program indicative of the introduction of new educational values in Québec?

In the inaugural speech for the new session of the legislature in February 2011, Québec's Premier announced that all students at French-language primary schools would have to take intensive English for half of their last year at elementary school. The schools had five years to implement the measures. The following September, the then Minister of Education issued a press release stating that a monitoring committee was being set up to help implement the measure at all Francophone schools in Québec. In response to the reaction in the newspapers and elsewhere, the next government's Minister of Education announced, in March 2013, that this requirement was being lifted, leaving the decision up to the school council, composed of teachers and parents. Here, note that decentralization comes with real powers for parents and is indicative of a new regulation of education by mercantile values. Parents are not just stand-ins within the Québec educational system.

In 2017, the Education Act still does not mention intensive English in the basic school regulation for elementary education, and the Charter of the French Language section that deals with language of instruction has not been amended (Education Act, chapter I-13.3, s. 446).[3] The fact remains that, as of 2014, the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation [Superior Council of Education] was reporting that the

[2]Primary school is not the only level of education that is under pressure from ambient economic thinking. In April 2017, the Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport [Department of Education, Recreation and Sport], announced that Contemporary History, a course taught in the last year of high school, Secondary V, would be cut by half in order to include a financial education course in the curriculum. As for college and CEGEP, a level that comes between high school and university, on April 24, 2017, the newspaper Le Devoir reported that humanities courses were being eliminated due, in particular, to their poor fit with job market requirements.

[3]http://legisquebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/ShowDoc/cr/I-13.3,%20r.%208.

program was available at two thirds of Québec's Francophone school boards. The fact that 15% of schools were offering it in 2014, however, demonstrates how autonomous they are (CSE 2014, p. 46). At one of the school boards in our study, nearly 75% of elementary schools offer the program.

The formula adopted assumes that students in Grade 6, the last year of elementary before high school (or college, as it is called in France), must get through the entire curriculum in half a school year, with the other half given to English. Aside from the fact that, according to the teachers, this formula can increase learning difficulties for students who have less time to become familiar with the material, what does such a second-language education program mean for social actors and, more specifically, for the teachers at the elementary schools where it must be introduced?

Far too many social actors came out for or against the intensive English program to list all of their reasons for doing so. However, a report by the École nationale d'administration publique (ENAP, the national school of public administration) seems to get at the heart of the social, cultural and economic issues associated with this program. The authors stressed Québec society's interest in a "competitive bilingualism," now an "imperative" and a "fulcrum for innovation and economic prosperity," in a "steadily globalizing economy founded on excellence in human capital in all regions and at all levels of society" (Anstett et al. 2014, p. 132).

Of course, the reasons for introducing intensive English can vary substantially. Learning an international language such as English may be a perfectly valid goal. The fact remains, however, that the teachers we interviewed believe they see instrumental reasons behind this type of education, and are opposed because of that instrumentality. The parents know that students need an advanced knowledge of English to succeed in enriched high school classes and, eventually, to access the most prized levels of post-secondary education. Here, school culture is reduced to its mercantile value (Convert and Demailly 2011). It can be exchanged for better symbolic, cultural and academic goods. In other words, we do not learn English in order to read Shakespeare or Byron, but rather to acquire the entrepreneurial spirit that is presented as a condition for professional success and social advancement. At least that is how the teachers see it. In the following excerpt, the teacher interprets parents who are arguing for intensive English, which is not necessarily a prerequisite for admission to enriched classes at high school:

> I think the first thing the parents will say is: "my student won't be accepted into the PEI [international education program, a program frequently reserved for selected students, i.e. the academic elite], because he'll be weaker than the students who did the intensive English program." They have the impression their child will be behind in that subject, so even if it means losing a few [the weakest students] in French and math, or covering the subject in half a year and being cognitively overloaded, well at least they can say they are at the same level as the others in English, and will have the same opportunity to get into elite programs. We can't deny it, English is the language of business, the international language. Today, being bilingual is essential, but not for children under twelve and to the detriment of their overall development. (Subject 4)

We specifically asked one teacher about the rationale for the intensive English program and implementing it at schools when the teachers there were overwhelmingly opposed, among other reasons due to cuts to the subject grid.[4] His reply was:

> My impression is that the Québec school reflects the society we live in. We're living in a very neo-liberal society, with neo-liberal values, and I think that is reflected in Québec schools. I dare to hope there will be some desire not to make further cuts with the idea of offering students a highly varied corpus that touches on as much as possible. We're talking about French, math, science, of course, that nobody would dare take out of schools, but also ethics and religious culture, arts, sports, languages in general. (Subject 5)

However, even when the school's administration and teachers are against the intensive English program, the parents apply intense pressure to have the program adopted due to the competition among schools:

> We have to be attractive, we have to be good, we have to show parents we can do more. There's pressure there, there are parents who want to see intensive English in sixth grade. The school, the administration disagrees because there's the international program, and we think it would be too much … it would be too heavy. There's pressure. Last year, parents sent their child to private school. So we have to convince them that our school is just as good as … just as stimulating. (Subject 3)

The heavy value put on English is not the sole indicator of the presence of the neo-liberal values Québec schools are apparently starting to reflect. Entrepreneurial culture has growing symbolic importance within the school, even though it is not taught, and the Québec education program does not mention it.

18.6 Entrepreneurial Culture

The primary teachers also spoke extensively about the trend toward making the school the place where the entrepreneurial spirit is developed.[5] Here are two excerpts from interviews that show divergent positions on that trend:

> Entrepreneurial projects just have to start with a need. What matters is developing a taste for reading, a love of reading in students, having them discover an interest in reading. So how do we meet this need? We get organized, we've turned into a miniature consulting service in which we make suggestions, or hold literary workshops, which can vary from year to year. One year, it was a website with a map of the world that suggested readings that were related to different countries. (Subject 1)

[4]Subject grid cuts can vary depending on the environment. It can mean a cut to teaching time on core subjects, such as French mother tongue and mathematics, and general subjects such as arts, physical education, or ethics and religious culture.

[5]A previous study of recreation technicians at schools in the Montreal area between 2001 and 2006 also showed this trend; it took the form of initiatives aimed at making students accountable for recreational activities at school or developing a business plan and approaching private businesses for grants (LeVasseur and Tardif 2017).

> As for me, that's the last project I would support. The last value, too, at that age, because it's like developing the ability and appetite to make a profit in children very early: I produce, I've got a good idea, I sell it for twice, three times what it cost, that way, I'm going to employ people. These are not values I want to pass along to children. My God, telling children: "find good ideas so you can sell them"–that's the idea behind entrepreneurship, selling to make money. Those aren't the values I want for my society, that I want to transmit to children. It's still about performance: I want to be the richest, there's competition. (Subject 4)

We noted that the Québec school education program does not contain any education on entrepreneurship at the primary or secondary level. However, the spirit of entrepreneurship seems to be gaining more and more ground within the Québec school. The ministère de l'Éducation did set up an entrepreneurship program (not an educational program included in the curriculum or subject grid), but the demand for this type of education seems to be grassroots. The idea of entrepreneurship itself has entered the common culture, is turning into an imperative, a cultural model in which each individual is responsible for him or herself and his or her own personal, social and professional condition.

18.7 The Valorization of ICTs and Project-Based Pedagogy

A number of teachers mentioned that ICTs were part of classroom learning activities. Some of their statements indicate a change in the relationship with knowledge, not so much in the children as in the teachers themselves. Let us look at how one third-grade teacher we interviewed sees education. Much of her pedagogy involves setting up projects of all types essentially by using educational technology and then submitting the fruit of her students' work to contests in order to win prizes. She sees a continuity between the students' expertise in computer "applications," the development of projects, and the financing of activities within the framework of entrepreneurial culture. Knowledge is no longer an end in itself, or it is no longer what serves the shaping of the Spirit from a moral or intellectual perspective in the classical sense of the term. Learning becomes indifferent to the nature of knowledge itself. During the entire course of the 90-min interview, we were unable to identify a field of knowledge that the teacher saw as essential for students, except perhaps reading, mastering computer applications and fund raising for classroom activities, i.e. computing and reading. The student's necessary motivation rather than cultural considerations lie at the core of her vision of pedagogy:

> I think that when children are in action, they're connected with what motivates them. I always start with the principle of motivation. (…) I think they're engaged and, if I find something that engages them, there won't be a problem. That's my basic principle. Some resist anyway: it's longer and harder. (Subject 1)

> The children come into my classroom and like that there are lots of projects. It's fun, and they get into it and give more. I asked them to write a report on their first phase (what

> would you like, what are you happy with, what are your strengths?). One student wrote: "the projects are really fun." Another told me: "I feel like working harder." I can't ask for more. (Subject 1)

For her, the most effective way to motive students is to initiate them into both the world of computing and the world of entrepreneurship, in short, the world of action:

> In my classroom, I like doing entrepreneurship projects. I try to get the children … as much as possible … I do the basic things then, as soon as you have time, you can get into something that motivates you. For example, "Challenge," the Québec entrepreneurship competition. I participate every year, and I participate in the Ministère de l'éducation's reading competitions, and I win books, iPads. There, too, I always arrange to have the resources to be able to do projects that both the children and myself enjoy. (Subject 1)

One way to motivate students involves turning them into computer "experts" who can even help other students with using various applications:

> In my classroom, I've got one iPad for every two students. My students become tech experts and we give workshops for other groups. The little ones come into our classroom, and the students show them how to use the apps. (Subject 1)

In our sample, the positions are split. Some teachers report being wary of computing in the classroom because of an allied devaluation of written culture. Here, one teacher wonders whether learning to write—calligraphy—is still relevant, and whether written culture is overly emphasized in relation to oral culture:

> French is very important in our society, I mean our society, the *Québécois.* At the same time, I think it's too bad for some children, because, well: we use French a lot in (oral) communication, but use it very little in written communication, it is heavily used in reading … In truth, however, the oral aspect is more important. Reading and composition are given the same importance, whereas, when we think about it, writing … Personally, I've never written fiction, except when I was at school … I don't write stories! How many students will write fiction? How many students will write recipe books? Should we put as much importance on writing as on reading? Maybe not. (Subject 2)

In contrast, other teachers denounce the devaluation of written culture and even of the book, which seems to be becoming increasingly foreign to students:

> At my school, there was a lot of bragging about the fact that, at high school, a student can create a PowerPoint, use Excel or word processing software. A colleague even recommended that children take programming courses. Once again, this is heavily into the "usefulness" discourse, it will be needed in future life, the various jobs or imperatives of our technologized world. In my opinion, however, school is the one place where the work we do in education should not be colonized by those imperatives. Having a book, being able to contemplate a reading, look up references in a paper-based work … Some people think it's nostalgic, but I think it is still important. (Subject 7)

This is clearly no longer a knowledge and memorization culture. The previous teacher, although she defends book culture, is not defending a traditional pedagogy that focuses on memorization and conformity. One teacher also spoke to us about activities centred around debates, a text containing intentionally erroneous items students had to read so as to learn not to take a text at face value and, in particular, projects students had to put together using IT:

> It is a very dynamic school, students are really at the heart of what they learn, they do a lot of research, it's not … a child in a seat absorbing knowledge, the student progresses, manipulates, does research, questions, rethinks, and really, the international profile, that's something that can continue at CEGEP, there are students who come from other countries, who have had the experience elsewhere, so, really, some parents have chosen the school for the program. (Subject 3)

However, the teacher who maintains that the book retains all of its value in pedagogy points out the limits of project-based pedagogy. She sees it as weakening the teacher's intellectual authority and even perceives potential identity enclosure for students:

> I find the importance placed on the child's interests extremely irritating. I'm very concerned that always wanting to "start from the student's interests" will only help turn the children in on themselves. Instead, I think the teacher's role is in fact to initiate the child into the culture he would probably not have access to, or would not naturally be interested in without that initiation. (Subject 7)

Moreover, and here we come back to our initial thoughts on the nature of taught knowledge with Lyotard: the entire pedagogy seems to be articulated around finding information on the Internet. Students have to be able to discriminate between true and false information. Noble ambition, but how can it be achieved without training? Here, education is being confused with information, with the management of applications that provide access to information, or, to put it as Lyotard would, with the capacity to store information independent of the intellectual qualities that make it possible to render a judgement on that information. Now, is the formalism of school culture not representative of an education that only thinks of itself in terms of adaptability to social structures, and not in terms of resistance or critique? Yet some maintain tooth and nail that they are acting on behalf of children and the child's freedom. How do we explain this kind of conundrum?

18.8 Changes in Teacher Identity?

Does the emergence of new cultural references at school point to changes in teacher identity? By identity change, we mean that, in contrast with the 1970s and 1980s, new educational aims or values currently seem to be inspiring teachers. If in fact identity change is occurring, are we going from A to B, is A still maintained by some teachers with other teachers more identified with B, or is A tending to weaken in all teachers who would tend to incorporate B to a greater extent? Teachers can implement pedagogical practices and choose educational content pertaining to B while maintaining a pedagogical discourse that is characteristic of A. As we can see, several cases are possible.

Our data shows that the content of what we call A, specifically, psychological humanism (drawing on Rogers or the current of non-directivity, called open pedagogy in the Québec situation in the 1970s and 1980s) or the wholistic development of

the student's personality, was heavily criticized in the second half of the 1990s. The Ministère de l'éducation and the groups of experts it mandated defined the new priorities for education: B, i.e. the student's cognitive development (rather than personality development) in view of a world of economic competition in which ICTs play a dominant role. Careful, however: the Ministère de l'éducation, at least in its official policies, has never affirmed the need for educational instrumentalism. It even recommends a reform of education focused on contemporary psychological currents, i.e. constructivism, socioconstructivism and cognitivism (Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, 2006, p. 17). Nothing is said about how currents that are so different overlap, but we maintain that the idea of an intellectually active subject acts as a juncture between the new imperative of the student's cognitive development and the driving 1970s idea of education focused on the liberty of the subject.

In fact, does the freedom of the subject of forty years ago transmute into a subject's autonomy? It is no longer a matter of conceiving of an individual in terms of his or her existential and aesthetic freedom, an independent person whose expression of individual selfhood must be cultivated, but rather an individual whose creativity becomes the capacity to produce efficiently in the framework of a globalized economy (Boltanski and Chiapello 1999). The individual is free, but qualified, competent, mobile, responsible, knows how to engage in the most productive economic networks. The individual of the inspired city (Boltanski and Thévenot 1991) has been absorbed by profitability, instrumental rationality, mercantile, industrial and connectionist logic.

To the point that, in the case of Québec primary school teachers' professional identity, we could speak of the transition (according to the various modalities referred to earlier) from psychological humanism to a humanism which we characterize as connectionist, which must, in other words, enable students to access society's dominant social and economic networks, to play a leading role in the emerging global economy, a transition that some teachers denounce:

> Some private schools select students very early, in third or fourth grade, the students want to have good marks as it's the fifth-grade report card that will decide whether they will be accepted for the PEI. This means all of the attention is on performance, and no longer on balance and overall development which, in my opinion, is essential at that age. (Subject 4)

> Progressive ideas seem to have been coopted to serve a certain ideal of personal success; they are now vectors for highly individualistic values. For example, the radically progressive school I taught at instead seems to be entrenched in an ultra-capitalist, ultra-individualist perspective, under the cover of humanist values. That school provides parents, who are prepared to pay for the service, a locus for their child's personal realization, where their child can "develop his or her full potential," where creativity, self-expression, leadership and entrepreneurship are encouraged by doing projects. (Subject 7)

Without being able to express it analytically or in terms of the theory, another teacher emphasizes that a civil society reference point is being effaced through project-based pedagogy, as if a "common culture" no longer existed:

> It seems to me that the difference is that we have shifted to an "individual" paradigm, as if we had to adapt to each individual student and no longer teach a class …

Of course, the idea of a "common culture" is hard to defend in late-stage modernity, as it is always suspected of turning values into law, but the idea of a "common good" remains entirely legitimate. All of the teachers' remarks point to the weakening of what is "common" in education, or of the values derived from neoliberalism that yield a picture of the world, institutions and education as being necessary or, to put it better, as being grounded in nature.

By way of a conclusion, it is appropriate to nuance the interpretation of the transition from psychological humanism to "connexionist" humanism. Teachers were asked whether they thought their vision of education and their teaching constituted a stance of resistance, or rather a position of interchange with the dominant culture (mercantile values, aligning of education with economic needs, students prepared as early as possible for enriched high school classes, etc.). Some did not respond. Others, like the two teachers we just cited, emphasized their allegiance with a posture of resistance but, because of this, felt like a minority in their workplace. In fact, was the psychological humanism broadly characteristic of primary teachers in the 1980s part of the era's counter-culture, which could be argued due to the work done on Québec culture during those years (Ricard 1992)? Or was it already a form of thought that made emancipatory claims while already coopted by the new spirit of capitalism? In any event, with respect to the 1970s, listening to some of today's teachers yields an impression (which we will have to document later with more in-depth research) that that pedagogical culture, focused on wholistic personal development, could in some ways constitute a form of resistance to social discourses that tend to turn education into a simple sub-set of the economic system. However, that does not mean that such resistance guarantees emancipation (LeVasseur and Robichaud, forthcoming).

References

Anstett, E., Sauvain, V., Jacob, J., Viel, A., & Lamari, M. (2014). *Recherche évaluative sur l'intervention gouvernementale en matière d'enseignement de l'anglais, langue seconde, au Québec, Rapport de recherche* (p. 161). ÉNAP: Centre de recherche et d'expertise en évaluation.

Boltanski, L., & Chiapello, È. (1999). *Le nouvel esprit du capitalisme*. Paris: Gallimard.

Boltanski, L., & Thévenot, L. (1991). *De la justification*. Paris: Gallimard.

Chiapello, È. (1998). *Artistes versus managers. Le management culturel face à la critique artiste*. Paris: Métailié.

Conseil supérieur de l'éducation. (2014). *L'amélioration de l'enseignement de l'anglais, langue seconde, au primaire: un équilibre à trouver. Avis au ministre de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport.* Québec: Gouvernement du Québec.

Convert, B., & Demailly, L. (2011). Internet et l'instrumentalisation du savoir scolaire et universitaire. In Y. Dutercq (sld), *Où va l'éducation entre le public et le privé?* (pp. 139–154). Bruxelles: De Boeck.

Derouet, J.-L. (1992). *École et justice*. Paris: Métailié.

Desjardins, P.-D., Lessard, C., & Blais, J.-G. (2011). Les effets prédits et observés du Bulletin des écoles secondaires du Québec. In Y. Dutercq (Ed.), *(sld), Où va l'éducation entre le public et le privé?* (pp. 107–123). Bruxelles: De Boeck.

Dutercq, Y. (sld). (2011). Introduction. *Où va l'éducation entre le public et le privé?* (pp. 9–15). Bruxelles: De Boeck.
Lessard, C., & Meirieu, P. (sld) (2004). *L'obligation de résultats en éducation*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.
LeVasseur, L., & Tardif, M. (2017). Les techniciens en loisirs: d'une légitimation axée sur l' «inclusion scolaire» à la qualification des élèves. In M. Tardif, J.-F. Marcel, D. Périsset, & T. Piot (Eds.), *L'organisation du travail des acteurs scolaires* (pp. 7–31). Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.
LeVasseur, L., & Robichaud, A. (à paraître). L'envers de la résistance en éducation: émancipation, conservatisme et paradoxes. *Éducation et Sociétés*, *39*.
Lyotard, J.-F. (1979). *La condition postmoderne*. Paris: Minuit.
Maroy, C. (2011). Le changement de regard sur l'enseignement privé: le symptôme d'un changement de paradigme. In Y. Dutercq (sld), *Où va l'éducation entre le public et le privé?* (pp. 57–71). Bruxelles: De Boeck.
Maroy, C., Mathou, C., Vaillancourt, S., & Voisin, A. (2014). La construction de la politique de "Gestion axée sur les résultats" au Québec: récits d'action publique et trajectoire de la politique. *Education comparée/Nouvelle série, 12,* 45–69.
Ministère de l'Éducation. (1997a). *Réaffirmer l'école (rapport Inchauspé)*. Québec: Gouvernement du Québec.
Ministère de l'Éducation. (1997b). *L'école tout un programme*. Gouvernement du Québec: Énoncé de politique éducative. Québec.
Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport (MELS). (2006). *Programme de formation de l'école québécoise*. Gouvernement du Québec: Éducation préscolaire. Enseignement primaire. Québec.
Normand, R. (2014). Le leadership. Modernisation de l'école et sens de la justice. In J.-L. Derouet, & R. Normand (dir.). (2014). *La question du leadership en éducation. Perspectives européennes* (pp. 249–255). Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia L'Harmattan.
Pelletier, Guy. (2001). *Autonomie et décentralisation en éducation: entre projet et Évaluation*. Montréal: Éditions de l'AFIDES.
Ricard, F. (1992). *La génération lyrique*. Montréal: Boréal.
Van Zanten, A. (2004). *Les politiques d'éducation*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Louis LeVasseur is a professor at the Université Laval, Faculty of Educational Sciences, sur la formation et la profession enseignante (CRIFPE). His work focuses on school culture and the themes of academic subjects in relation to student socialization, the history of education in Quebec, and education policy and its impact on the work of teachers from a sociological perspective.

Mélanie Bédard holds a doctorate in sociology from Université Laval and is a postdoctoral researcher at the Centre de recherche interuniversitaire sur la formation et la profession enseignante (CRIFPE). Her work on the sociology of education has dealt with relations between parents and other socialization agents, and with various dimensions of school culture: the history of ideas and educational policy, inequalities, school culture, the division of educational labour, and relations between education and physical spaces. She teaches sociology of education, Quebec sociological thought, and research practice.