

Professionalism and Teacher Educators: The Gender Politics of Pedagogy in Initial Teacher Education

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Introduction

Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in England has been high on the political agenda for educational change for over two decades. During this time its form and effectiveness have been the subject of much comment and analysis, both within the teacher education community and from political commentators. Accounts, analyses and polemics on ITE abound, but within this literature there is little explicit and sustained empirical research focused on teacher educators themselves. This situation in England and Wales is paralleled by that in other anglophone countries (see Maguire 1994; John 1996; Grundy and Hatton 1995; Reynolds 1995; Ducharme and Ducharme 1996; Acker 1996). Within the limited body of research on teacher educators, there are few studies which look at their professionalism or professional identity. It seems curious, and not a little ironic, that the form and content of ITE should be analysed at length without accompanying consideration of the professionalism of the people designing, teaching and evaluating the courses. As Furlong et al (2000:36) state

what student teachers learn during their initial training is as much influenced by *who* (my italics) is responsible for teaching them as it is by the content of the curriculum.

This omission means that teacher educators in general are an under-researched and poorly understood occupational group. But in particular, there are few studies which take into account how teacher educator professionalism might be influenced by women tutors' central involvement in the induction of students into the teaching profession, and by the gendered discourses, practices and expectations within that induction.

The research presented here is part of a larger study designed to investigate how teacher educators construct their professionalism, and how and why such constructions were made within the temporal and social spatial contexts of English ITE in the mid 1990s. The study is framed within a broadly sociological concern with the (re)production of social patterns and relations, particularly gendered relations, in and through educational work. It assumes that teacher educators are agents involved in (re)producing and legitimising the discourses of primary school teaching and primary teacher education within the ITE programmes, which are based in Higher Education (HE) institutions. Primary school teaching is seen in this research as a feminised occupation, usually undertaken by women, and inevitably influenced by gendered discourses and practices associated with the care and nurture of young children. Since primary ITE is an arena for the (re)production of primary schooling and is undertaken by predominantly female students, the study starts from the premise that it is also influenced by gendered discourses and practices to some extent (see Skelton 1989).

This paper identifies the important place of pedagogy and pastoralism in teacher educators' constructions of their personal professionalism(s). Case studies conducted in the Education

Departments (UDEs) of two 'new' English universities show women teacher educators resisting imposed changes to their established pedagogical and pastoral practices. On first sight the resistance seems superficial and unnecessarily defensive in the face of pragmatic changes, ironically designed to decrease the amount of work the tutors need to undertake with their students. But the analysis shows that the established ways of practising as teacher educators and the discourses underlying them are at the heart of personal professionalism for the tutors interviewed. The paper uses a theoretical framework derived from the work of Bourdieu to argue that the tutors' constructions of professionalism are formed in the nexus of gendered contemporary and historical discourses within the field of primary ITE, and the habitus of individuals who commenced their teaching careers in the primary sector. In conclusion, the paper analyses some of the enduring tensions resulting from the conflicts between these gendered constructions of professionalism and the HE settings within which the tutors work.

Overview of research on teacher educator professionalism

Studies of teacher educators present recurring themes and tensions in the professionalism / professional identity of this occupational group (see Carter 1984; Goyal 1985; Acker 1996; Ducharme 1993; Hatton 1997). These include issues of teacher educators' senses of commitment and responsibility to their students and to the school sector, the relationship between tutors' experiences and knowledge of schooling and their HE work, their attitudes to and engagement in research, and gender issues. Many of the studies (see, for example, Ducharme 1993) also find differentiations in the types of professionalism espoused, but offer limited theorising about how and why such differentiations occurred. Differences are variously attributed to the diversified nature of work within teacher education (see Ducharme and Agne 1989), gender factors (see Acker 1996), differing amounts of time spent in HE (see Kremer-Hayon and Zuzovsky 1995), deficient socialisation into the norms and expectations of the HE sector and/or the continuing, powerful effects of early professional socialisation into schooling (see Lanier and Little 1986; Ducharme 1993), or the effects of the institutional setting on individuals (see Reynolds 1995; Hatton 1997). These factors are often addressed in isolation, with limited attempts to consider the inter-relations between individual biography and professional practices, gender, the institutional settings and the fundamental aspects of teacher education at a macro level, either historically or at the time of the empirical research. Neither do most of these studies address questions of how professional identity might be affected by the central involvement of teacher educators in the (re)production of the knowledge and practices of schooling. This absence is of particular significance in studies of the professional identity of ITE tutors, given that such tutors are required to meet the imperatives of both the school and HE sectors in their daily work.

Women teacher educators are associated with the absence of conventional academic career development in HE (see Ducharme and Agne 1989; Ducharme 1993; Ducharme and Ducharme 1996). Ducharme and Ducharme's analysis, for example, typically identifies that there are few women in the senior ranks of teacher education departments in universities in the USA, and that women experience differing patterns of socialisation and career progression. They characterise women as the workhorses of teacher education, and state that women are more likely to devote a greater proportion of their time to academic service and a lesser proportion to research and scholarly activity than men

Other studies of gender issues in teacher education identify similar gendered divisions of labour within the paternalistic cultures of teacher education institutions (see Acker 1996; Maguire 1993). Female tutors are seen as positioned by broad social expectations of their roles reflected in gender biased institutional structures, students' expectations of women as

teachers, and tutors' self-expectations of their roles. Maguire's (2002) study, for example, explores the perceptions of older, female teacher educators, working in different areas and age phases of teacher education, in both old and new universities in England. Recurring themes in the analysis are the ways in which these tutors invest themselves in their students' development, and consequently become 'caught up with/against discourses of caring, professionalism and maternity' (p.13). In Acker (1996) and Acker and Feuerverger (1997) the care which female tutors showed for their students was a strong theme in the findings, although all the women knew that any additional work which this caring involved was not remunerated or valued for promotion purposes. The authors state that, in analysing their data, they found 'professional stories saturated with caring agendas that led to a multiplicity of tensions and failed hopes' (1996:415).

Maguire and Weiner (1994) argue that women in teacher education are differently positioned from men in terms of their 'overt structural location' and within the 'less visible contexts of their everyday lives' (p.133). In particular, they identify the positioning of women as the caring female, devoting time and attention to pedagogy and becoming a mother substitute for students. This pattern has also been identified as a factor within women's careers in other areas of academic life (see, for example Walsh 1996; Stiver Lie and O'Leary 1990), but Maguire and Weiner carry their analysis of teacher education further by arguing that within the discursive frameworks of ITE there is a powerful *congruence* between child-centred, progressive pedagogy in schooling and feminised discourses of teacher education. This congruence means that

the female teacher educator who was once the class teacher positions herself and is positioned in the college (sic) as 'mother', as facilitator, carer and passive observer, of her students and of her colleagues' (p.135)

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for the research draws on the concepts of field and habitus from the work of Bourdieu (1987, 1988, 1998). It conceptualises ITE as a field, within the social space of education, which can be analysed at three inter-related levels - the individual or micro, the institutional or meso, and the national or macro level (see also A. Hargreaves' (1995) concept of the 'social geography' of teacher education). I argue that analyses of professionalism need to be located in time through a diachronic rather than a synchronic emphasis. The framework also provides what Bernstein (1996) terms a *language of description* with which to analyse teacher educator professionalism.

I use a definition of professionalism as a 'socially constructed, contextually variable and contested' concept (Troman 1996:476), which draws on Bourdieu's work, but also has some grounding in traditions of research into school teacher professionalism. *Professionalism* is further defined here as the sets of professional knowledge, attitudes and values which define and articulate the quality and character of teacher educators' practices and actions. My definition incorporates some aspects of what other authors sometimes term *professionality* (see Hoyle 1975). Defining professionalism in this way assumes that it can be constructed, lived and understood at the level of the individual professional and exemplified in her/his practices.

Professionalism is seen as drawing on *reservoirs* and *repertoires* of professional resources (see Brown 1999) which are potentially available to teacher educators. At the macro level of ITE there are discourses and legitimating principles which provide the conditions for the recognition of what could be seen as legitimate elements of a reservoir of professional

resources (see figure 1) (**insert figure 1**). The institutional context - or meso level context - instantiates the macro level, and provides the meso level setting or one of the professional arenas in which professionalism is contested and valorised by individuals and collectivities of teacher educators. Individual tutors are conceptualised as entering the field of teacher education with distinctive professional histories and orientations which have in part formed their *habitus*, as their engrained and engraining ways of understanding primary schooling and primary ITE. These teacher educators then find affinities and disaffinities between their habitus and their institutional settings which enable them to construct, valorise and contest their professionalism.

Methodology

Following Yin (1988:46) the overall research design was defined as a 'multiple-case embedded study'. This design enables the interviews and questionnaires conducted with individual tutors to be analysed within the meso level settings of the university settings. Part of the empirical work for the study consists of a series of in-depth interviews with eight female teacher educators, working at two English 'new' universities. All the interviewees had what I defined as *primary on primary* experience of teaching and teacher education, that is they had been through primary ITE courses themselves, had taught in primary schools for at least five years before entering HE, and now taught for at least 50% of their time on primary ITE courses. They had all been recruited to HE after the publication of Circular 3/84 (DES 1984) which stated that all initial teacher educators should have 'recent and relevant' experience of teaching in the school sector. All the tutors were then part of the group of tutors known colloquially in British teacher education as the 'recent and relevant brigade'. Within each university, purposive sampling techniques were used to select a sample group which met these criteria and was also broadly representative of all the tutors working on the primary ITE courses.

Two interviews were conducted with each tutor, these were semi-structured and designed to generate 'rich' qualitative data about the teacher educators' constructions of their professionalism (see Glesne and Peshkin 1992; Lanzara 1991). Areas of focus within the interview schedule included the range of pedagogical and pastoral practices in which the tutors were involved, and the ways in which the institutional contexts within which they worked impacted on their professionalism and professional practices. Data on the interviewees' professional biographies in primary schooling and HE was collected using questionnaires prior to the first interview.

The professional resources which the tutors used during the interviews to construct and legitimate their professionalism were analysed following the principles and practices of network analysis (see Bliss et al 1983; Brown 1999). The data from the questionnaires was analysed and compared to the literature on the professionalism of two relevant occupational groups: primary teacher professionalism during the timeframes each tutor was teaching in schools; and academic professionalism during the time they worked in HE. These analytical procedures enabled me to identify the habitus of the tutors. Whilst working in the primary school sector all the women were identified as having a child-centred habitus; on entry to HE-based ITE this habitus became learner-centred.

The sample of the two universities involved in this study, selected using a replication not a sampling logic (see Yin 1988:53), was as follows:

i) *the University of Avonbridge* a new university on the edge of a major conurbation which had its origins in two small teacher training colleges. In the 1980s the institution had made a rapid transition from being a College of Higher Education to merger with a polytechnic in 1989, and then to new university status in 1992;

ii) *the University of the South West*, a new university, formerly a polytechnic, located in the inner city of a large conurbation. ITE provision at University of the South West was established following the Government's White Paper of 1966 which gave ITE provision to the newly established polytechnics.

I drew up institutional case studies, analysing the meso level settings provided by these universities. The analysis of this data enabled me to identify relevant historical and contemporary contextual factors. Both institutions had teaching-only focuses prior to 1992, but have received funding for some limited research activity since that date. Primary ITE courses provide the majority of the student numbers at both UDEs. Primary ITE at all three case study universities is still heavily gendered. It is about tutors who are predominantly female and in their mid to late careers in education inducting student cohorts, composed mostly of younger women, into the highly feminised occupation of primary schooling. Primary ITE and all the activities and interactions it involves at the universities are then positioned within gendered discourses, principles and practices.

Macro level context for the study

The theoretical framework for this study states that in considering teacher educator professionalism, it is important to adopt a diachronic rather than a synchronic emphasis. This section of the paper therefore briefly considers relevant aspects of the history of primary ITE in England, before moving to an analysis of the macro context for the empirical research in 1994 - 1996.

Primary ITE in England has its origins in the poverty of the nineteenth century elementary school system, and has since shared a historically pervasive sense of low status in the academic world with primary schooling. In the three decades between 1963 and 1994 the field of primary ITE was characterised by rapid changes, and by consequent discontinuities and fragmentation in its discourses, practices and knowledge bases. Something of these changes can be illustrated by contrasting the institutional locations, curricula and organisational structures of ITE in 1963 with those in 1994.

In 1963 the vast majority of primary ITE courses were provided by the college sector, many elements of which still retained the low status and relative financial and intellectual impoverishment, first identified by the McNair Report in 1944 (as cited in Taylor 1969). Most of the 108 colleges existing in England and Wales in 1963 were small, monotechnic institutions with less than 500 students (see Craft 1971). Nearly all students followed consecutive courses leading to the award of a Teacher's Certificate. This qualification had been increased in length from two to three years from 1960 onwards, but otherwise there had been only minor changes to the curriculum of primary ITE and to the values underlying it since the McNair Report.

Most colleges were residential, single sex communities with closely knit social, professional and academic infrastructures. The analyses of Heward (1993) and Maguire and Weiner (1994) emphasise that the college sector was managed and staffed predominantly by women. Within these feminised cultures tutors adopted an 'ethos of caring and commitment' (Maguire and Weiner 1994:126) to their students, as part of which 'women tutors provided positive role models to other women in relation to their working lives' (p.127). The analyses of both Bell (1981) and Shipman (1983) identify that ITE at this time provided a diffuse, moral and learner-centred process of socialisation into teaching, with tutors exercising

pastoral care and responsibility for the social, emotional, professional and academic development of intending teachers. In many cases this pastoral care involved the adoption of individualised teaching methods, including the so called 'mother hen' method in which a tutor assumed personal responsibility for the development of a small group of students (see Judge et al 1994). Primary ITE at this time then included thriving pedagogical and pastoral traditions in which the 'transmission' and 'acquisition' of knowledge, practices, values and professional orientations were inter-twined; some of these traditions were covert and implicit, many were heavily gendered, practised by predominantly female tutors inducting younger women into the discourses and practices of teaching (see Brown 1969).

By 1994 the majority of primary ITE was located in the expanded university sector. Intending primary teachers took their place alongside other university students in large, diversified and, in some cases, high status institutions, predominantly managed by men. Students followed either concurrent under-graduate courses, giving them a degree in education and Qualified Teacher Status, or a consecutive one year postgraduate course (a PGCE). The curriculum they followed could be characterised as professional training (see Furlong et al 2000). Superficially, it retained few overt traces of the moral and 'person-centred' curriculum and pastoral traditions of 1963, and had undergone many intermediate transformations since that time.

In approximately 30 years then the institutional settings, and the structures of the curricula for primary ITE had been transformed. Many of the institutions within which primary ITE was located in 1994 - 1996 had experienced an *academic drift* which took them from being small monotechnic teacher training colleges in 1963, through to identities as CHEs or polytechnics by the late 1970s, and on to being the new universities of the 1990s. State intervention in ITE intensified from 1984 onwards, with increasing monitoring and regulation of many dimensions of the field (see, for example, the statutory requirements for ITE listed in Circular 3/84, DES 1984, and Circular 24/89, DES 1989). Changes to the institutions and the curricula, together with the effects of state intervention in ITE, meant that the knowledge and experience required of primary teacher educators changed significantly over time, as did the specifications of tutor roles. State legislation during this time, for example, impacted on the knowledge and experience required of primary ITE tutors as recruitment and retention criteria. As stated earlier, the 'recent and relevant' criterion within Circular 3/84 (DES 1984) required all ITE tutors to have recent and experiential knowledge of teaching in the primary classroom. This criterion, in particular valorised the place of school experience within teacher educators' knowledge bases and professional experience, and is widely seen as altering the staff bases of the institutions by bringing large numbers of teachers, straight from schools, into HE-based ITE work (see Whitty et al 1987).

In the time frame for the empirical research ITE was taking place in new and changing contexts. Ownership of the field of ITE was being fiercely contested between the state, the HE sector and schools, and the continuing location of ITE programmes in HE bases looked far from certain (see Furlong 1996). Primary ITE at this time can be summarised as a school-focused enterprise, located in education departments within HEIs which were increasingly influenced by the university sector. The changing form of ITE, particularly the requirements in Circulars 9/92 and 14/93 (DfE 1992, 1993), required the education departments within these universities to engage with an increasingly school-focused ITE curriculum, and to generate new *partnership* arrangements with schools. These changes inevitably meant accommodating many of the imperatives of primary schooling. At the same time the academic drift of the institutions to university status required them to participate in and be regulated by the academic, economic and social imperatives of the university sector. As the 'new' universities of 1992, they joined an HE sector which was facing resource shortages, increased student numbers, and the burgeoning of managerialist discourses and practices which threatened traditional models of academic professionalism and autonomy

(see Halsey 1992; Fulton 1996). Additionally, in 1992 all HE institutions, including the new universities for the first time, were included in the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), bidding to acquire research funding.

ITE has long been characterised by its dualistic, 'Janus-faced' nature (Taylor 1984), but the scenario in 1994 - 1996 intensified this dualism. Education departments and ITE tutors at this time thus needed to accommodate the often dichotomous imperatives of schooling and HE, as two different fields of education, within their work.

Findings

As part of the interview schedule, interviewees were asked to identify the institutional factors which had affected their work. Funding constraints at both institutions were seen by the interviewees to be having major effects on their work and professionalism as ITE tutors.

These constraints, caused in part by the devolution of some HE funding to partnership schools, affected the modes of pedagogy and the student support systems in use at the two universities. In both institutions senior management had recommended the teaching of students by 'transmission methods', such as large group lectures which were superficially economical of staff and student time, but seen by all the interviewees as inappropriate to ITE.

As part of the same initiatives personal tutorials times for students had been cut back at Avonbridge and abolished altogether at USW. These changes were seen as embodying a view of teaching as reductive and instrumental.

Mary at USW stated that,

They (*the senior management*) want us to stick them all (*the students*) in the lecture theatre and just lecture at them, but teaching in ITE just won't work like that. They don't seem to understand this.

In a similar vein Bridget at Avonbridge says

It beats me how my head of department thinks that I can teach students how to teach art to primary school children by sitting them all in a lecture theatre and lecturing at them. Teaching art is about creativity and experimentation and personal space; it's about creating and making and using a range of mediums, not sitting passively and listening to someone telling you how to do it.

All the tutors in the sample fiercely resisted these changes to their established pedagogical practices. Sam summed up this resistance when she states,

I'm just not going to teach like that having a huge group of students in a lecture theatre and lecturing at them that's just not teaching to me, it's not real teaching, and it's certainly nothing to do with learning how to be a primary teacher

At first sight such resistance seems superficial and unnecessarily defensive, particularly given that the senior management in each university claimed that the proposed changes would decrease the over-burdened tutors' teaching hours. But analysis of the ways in which these teacher educators constructed their professionalism, and in particular of the

pedagogical and pastoral practices which they defined as 'good practice' in ITE, indicates that the changes challenged the fundamental tenets of that professionalism.

For all of these women learner-centred teaching is at the heart of their professionalism. As

Lydia states,

I suppose basically I still see myself as a primary school teacher, but in Higher Education. I still want to be at the heart of my students' learning, I want my class, my group or whatever, my students to teach and learn with.

Sam expresses similar feelings when she says,

I'm teacher, above all I'm still a teacher, that's the absolute centre of my professionalism, my sense of identity, as an educator of new teachers.

In discussing their pedagogy the tutors stated that they aimed to model primary teaching for their students through their teaching in the HE contexts. All of the tutors discussed similar models of pedagogy in use in primary ITE, but I have chosen here to illustrate these models, drawing on the account of one tutor, Bridget, whose resistance to the changes has already been quoted. Her preferred ways of teaching primary art involve,

my students being able to do the kind of practical hands-on art activities which they might find themselves teaching to their own class of primary children one day. Really getting stuck into all the materials I mean, really experiencing all that joy of personal creativity, the whole learning through experience thing which is so central to art in the primary school. With me as the teacher, they can be the learners, but my hope is always that through the way I teach them, they are also learning, learning about teaching, not just about how to 'do' those particular activities in the practical or artistic sense.

In this and similar examples tutors describe using either direct or stylistic modelling as teaching techniques; in doing this they position themselves as simultaneously both primary teacher and learner-centred teacher educator. Drawing on their own experiential knowledge of the primary classroom, they model the professional knowledge and pedagogies required of the primary teacher in HE settings. Bridget sees her students as learning *what to teach* (in this case developing the necessary substantive knowledge base for primary art), and as learning *how to teach* (developing the approved pedagogical forms) through the model which her pedagogy provides. Consequently, both the substance and the form or mode of her teaching are important. Her account stresses the importance of experiential knowledge in the process of learning to teach; it also stresses the importance of the tutor / teacher being able to meet the needs of her learners and to monitor their progress, as the following extract makes clear

I really enjoy creating the programmes for that group (*a group of fourth year BA(QTS) students she teaches*). I've worked with them throughout their time here, I know them all well, all their strengths and weaknesses, and I just feel, I just know where they need to go next, and what I should teach them and that's a powerful feeling.

It was also important to Bridget that her students know of the nurturing, learner-centred focus she adopts with them. She states,

They need to know the care and concern I put into working with them, that's a key part of the image of the professional teacher which I want to project for them. I want to be showing them 'Look, this is part of what it means to be a teacher' in all the work I do with them. I want to *show* that, not just talk to them about what good teaching is.

In other words it is important to Bridget to use the professional persona she adopts in her teaching to model the desired learner-centred focus. Such learner-focused pedagogies are an integral part of how tutors inducted students into *how to be* as a teacher, or how to develop the appropriate professional persona.

The formal and informal student support systems in operation at each university are also used by tutors to model the extended professional attributes of the good primary practitioner. In the interviews changes in the student support systems - particularly reductions in the time allocated to personal tutor systems - are fiercely condemned as inappropriate. Rebecca at USW, where the personal tutor system has just been abolished, comments,

I have personal students - or should I say ex-personal students now? - who are desperately in need of help and advice, but now officially I have no time in which to see them. That's crazy, they need to see me, I want to see them but the powers that be say 'no, this isn't necessary!' So what do I do? I see them of course but it has to be in my own time.

The changes to established modes of student support within both institutions conflicts with the diffuse pastoral roles which the interviewees see as part of their established practices in ITE, and as part of their core values as teacher educators. These tutors see students as undergoing an intense process of professional and personal development during ITE which potentially places them under stress, whether academic, professional or personal in nature. A key part of the tutor's role is to support students in this developmental process, helping them to deal with any difficulties arising. As co-ordinators of the process, tutors see themselves as involved in sometimes contradictory processes of nurturing, monitoring, and regulating their students.

The tutors' pastoral role is defined as diffuse, extended and affective. Many of the identified rewards of working in ITE centre around tutors' involvement in the student learning process - in all its complexity - and around feelings of being valued by learners. But such pastoral roles are also seen as demanding of time and emotional energy.

In one example, Sandra describes having an 'open door policy' for students. This enables her to offer personal students help as and when they needed it. She describes her support for Tracey one of her students who has been

having a lot of problems this year - great student, bright, well motivated, no academic problems, good in school - but terrible, terrible personal life She's needed a lot of support this year so she comes to me and we try to talk it through, so that she can stay on the course really

Sandra makes it clear that she knows Tracey well, and has supported her in resolving issues from her personal life which impinge - by implication repeatedly - on her ITE course. In this

narrative, and in many similar examples, a wide range of areas of the student's life and personality are known to the tutor. The tutor's role becomes extended and diversified away from tutor-as-professional-mentor into tutor-as-personal-counsellor. Sandra takes on this diffuse support role willingly, even though she indicates that it is time consuming and emotionally draining for her.

In another narrative an ITE tutor, Lydia, is relating a conversation with a second tutor, teaching in the History Department, about a main subject module which some of the Education students are taking. A contrast is implicitly established between the caring ITE tutor who knows her students and is overseeing their development and the other tutor. Lydia relates,

and I was talking to this tutor in History, talking to him about Melanie and Sam, some of my personal students, just about their general progress over the years and some of the difficulties they were having when he interrupted me and said, 'See, in History, we don't really see much of the students' and I thought I bet you don't, I bet you don't even know their names, let alone care about their progress

Lydia establishes that she feels a duty of care towards her personal students, and that she monitors their progress. The nurturing pastoral persona she constructs for herself contrasts sharply with the impersonal persona constructed for the other tutor; this tutor does not know the students; he does not appear to be concerned about this lack of knowledge; he is seen as lacking care towards his students, and by implication he inadequately monitors his students' learning.

During the interviews the tutors repeatedly celebrate their knowledge of their students as individuals in this way, often naming them and showing detailed awareness of their progression and the factors affecting it. Individualisation of students is a key strategy in pastoral interactions. Knowledge of and commitment to students is seen as an important aspect of teacher educator professionalism, predicated on an ethos of care, developmental nurturing and moral responsibility. Tutors celebrate this aspect, emphasising their closeness to their students, and stressing their ethics of responsibility and commitment to (re)producing the good primary practitioner through their work in ITE. For these tutors this is part of what it means to be a good teacher educator, since these diffuse pastoral responsibilities, and the mission with which they were associated, are at the heart of their form of professionalism.

I have termed the form of professionalism found in this study *practitioner bond professionalism*. This professionalism is integrally related to how the teacher educators see themselves as participating in the processes of (re)production in ITE. These female tutors place themselves at the centre of these processes; student induction into the required discourses and practices of primary school teaching is seen as taking place through their various professional activities and attributes. The tutors' work as teachers of teachers thus becomes the pivotal point for both student induction, and tutor professionalism. Tutors aim to (re)produce students in their own images, promoting themselves as *models* for the 'good' primary practitioner. Tutors adopt extended, affective and learner-centred teaching and pastoral roles with students, in order to model what they perceive to be the good primary teacher's attributes of being learner-focused and nurturing.

Analysis

The findings of this research show these teacher educators in the words of Maguire (2000: 158) effectively reconstructing themselves as 'primary school teachers in the ivory tower'(s) of their university settings, and claiming dual professionalism as both primary teacher educators and primary teachers. Like the women teacher educators from the earlier era of ITE, discussed earlier in this paper, their professional practices centre around providing positive role models of pedagogy and pastoralism to their students, but unlike those earlier tutors, these women are attempting to (re)produce these practices in the managerialist settings of modern, diverse universities. This section of the paper identifies how and why these constructions of professionalism could occur and be valorised by practitioners within the settings of the two universities. It then goes on to analyse some of the enduring tensions resulting from the conflicts between these gendered constructions of professionalism and the changing Higher Education (HE) settings within which the tutors work.

The arguments of Davies (1990) can be applied to a consideration of the constructions of teacher educator professionalism found in this study. She sees a failure of the field to provide a 'sociologically adequate explanation for the continuing marginalisation and powerlessness of women in the learned professions' (p.691) . She states that in order to understand professionalism, it is vital to analyse the gendered discourses which lie at the heart of professional practice. The concept of professionalism is seen as celebrating and defining a masculinist vision since the autonomy of the professional is constructed as fundamental to both traditional ways of interpreting this concept and to masculinity. Taking this perspective shows that profession

turns not so much on the *exclusion* of women, but on a particular form of their *inclusion*, (italics in the original) and on the way in which this inclusion is masked in a discourse of gender that lies at the heart of professional practice itself (Davies 1996; 663)

Within these masculinist discourses of professionalism, Davies sees the ideal typical professional encounter as one that 'privileges male characteristics while denigrating and/or suppressing female ones' (p.671). She cites the example of the hospital consultant as autonomous professional and the fleeting, impersonal, professional encounter between that consultant and the patient /'client'. But such an encounter can only be seen in these ways by ignoring the preparatory and servicing work which has enabled it to happen; almost all of this work is done by women, usually in roles deemed subservient. The central importance of this work in enabling the professional encounter to take place is dismissed, trivialised or devalued within the gendered discourses of professionalism.

Davies' central argument then is that analyses of professionalism need to focus on how gendered *inclusion* within professional practice works to reinforce professionalism as a masculine construct. She contends that the problem is not just with women's exclusion from certain professional arenas, but rather with the nature of their inclusion within them. This 'exclusion/inclusion problematic' (p672) defines and devalues the nature of women's roles within professional work.

If Davies' arguments are applied to the position of many women academics, including the teacher educators in this research, then it becomes clear that in the prevailing managerialist discourses of HE, teaching is often positioned as a practical and instrumental activity, involving simple models of tutor 'transmission' and student 'acquisition' of clearly defined knowledge and understanding about teaching. These reductive discourses imply that teaching and tutoring are about impersonal, fleeting and easily managed encounters with students. Both learning and teaching are reconstructed as straightforward, unproblematic

and depersonalised processes. But these processes are complex, deeply personal and sometimes problematic for all the individuals involved; there is much 'hidden work' in HE teaching in 'managing' these processes, and a significant proportion of this is undertaken by women for whom 'the caring script' (Acker 1996:6) is a fundamental and unacknowledged part of their work (see Heward 1996; Noddings 1992). Davies' arguments then identify a powerful way of analysing how gendered *inclusion* of many women academics in all sectors of HE works.

But for the women teacher educators in this study the gender politics of their situation works at an even deeper level to undermine the key tenets of their professionalism as teachers of intending primary teachers. In this research the devaluation of the often 'hidden' and feminised professional work of the tutors certainly means that their much of their professional work goes unrecognised and unrewarded; but this devaluation is a *double bind* for them since the (re)production of these diffuse and affective practices, and the discourses about primary school teaching and primary ITE associated with them, are at the heart of their professionalism. The devaluation - or worse the enforced abolition - of these practices means that central aspects of their claims to professionalism become fragile and threatened in their changing institutional settings.

Teacher educator professionalism in this study is seen as relational, formed by complex inter-relations between individuals, institutional settings and the historical and contemporary national context. A key factor is that constructions of professionalism are integrally related to how teacher educators understand the processes of (re)production in ITE and their functions within those processes. These tutors worked in institutions where until just before the empirical research was conducted the *institutional sedimentation* (Kirk 1986) of their universities included learner-centred, feminised discourses, principles and practices of primary ITE, linked to and congruent with child-centred discourses of primary schooling. These discourses were instantiated in organisational structures which, until just before the empirical research was conducted, had enabled tutors to engage in the extended, gendered pedagogical and pastoral roles they described. Contemporary discourses and practices, such as modelling and individualism, offer further reinforcement of the historical, gendered principles and practices accruing through this institutional sedimentation.

Practitioner bond professionalism draws on various discourses at the macro level of ITE. In the mid 1990s I identify that what I have termed the *cumulative convergence* of these discourses, instantiated as structures, practices and principles in the meso levels of the two universities created powerful affinities for the habitus of the tutors. These converging discourses included both historical and contemporary *gendered discourses* of primary schooling and primary ITE, what I have termed the *discourses of relevance* (following Maguire and Weiner 1994:132), and *discourses of craft professionalism*, including *reflective practice*. To this convergence, the gendered discourses contributed child and learner-centred ways of understanding the roles of primary teacher's school teachers and primary ITE tutors, including feminised practices of nurturance to facilitate the development of the learners. Discourses of craft professionalism contributed ways of understanding professional practice, and the experiential knowledge created through that practice, as central to processes of professional theorising. These discourses also contributed ways of understanding professional practice as the arena in which professional responsibility and autonomy are forged and continually renewed. As a further part of this convergence, the discourses of relevance - particularly those related to the concepts of *recent and relevant* and *partnership* - emphasised the centrality of experiential knowledge of primary schooling in teacher educators' professional identities. The cumulative effects of these discourses was to continue to position the often female ITE tutor's function as taking on the extended and diffuse work of monitoring and supporting the development of her individual students. Just as the 'good teacher' in primary schooling could be constructed as child-

centred (see Walkerdine 1984), then the 'good teacher educator' in ITE could be constructed as learner-centred.

I argue that the overall result of the *cumulative convergence* of these discourses was that these teacher educators found strong affinities between their habitus as feminised, child/learner-centred tutors, and the institutional settings of the two universities. Essentially, the principles and practices of their professionalism as school teachers continued to be valorised within gendered discourses, structures and practices of nurturance, relevance and experiential learning within the field of HE-based ITE. I draw on idea of *congruence* between the tutor's role in ITE and the teacher's role in school to further identify the affinities between practitioner bond professionalism and the institutional settings in which it is found. The gendered discourses found in ITE established a sense of congruence (Maguire and Weiner 1994:133) between the functions of the (usually female) primary school teacher and those of the (often female) primary ITE tutor as teacher and nurturer of her children/students (see figure 2) INSERT FIGURE 2. Through its inescapable associations with the 'enduring discourses of maternity' (1994:133), this congruence is deeply and inevitably gendered. For these teacher educators, entering ITE with child-centred habitus, this congruence meant that the tutors could continue to locate the validating principles, practices and orientations of their professionalism as feminised, child-centred school teachers within gendered and learner-centred discourses in HE.

If, as in practitioner bond professionalism, part of the tutor's understanding of her function as an agent of (re)production was to model 'good primary practice' and to monitor student development, then this positioning of tutor-as-class-teacher acquires double significance. The tutor's gendered and extended teaching role could be made visible as both a model of the pedagogical practices and professional orientations required of primary teachers *and* an example of her own 'good practice' in ITE teaching. Congruence between the functions of the primary teacher and the tutoring role in primary ITE was thus achieved (see figure 2), and *dual professionalism* as both primary teacher and primary teacher educator could be claimed. For these tutors then the pedagogical and pastoral practices they used, such as modelling and individualism, were doubly gendered.

Conclusion

For the teacher educators in this study the growing disaffinities they encountered within the institutional settings of Avonbridge and USW resulted in professional lives which were increasingly difficult to live. They were faced with balancing institutional constraints on modes of pedagogy and pastoralism, and compliance in meeting state regulations for ITE courses, with the caring agendas, complex pedagogies, moral responsibilities and diffuse tutoring roles of their practitioner form of professionalism.

This paper has argued that for these women teacher educators, like many other women academics in HE, there was a gendered form of *inclusion* in their academic and professional work which could be effectively overlooked or devalued within the masculinist and managerialist discourses of professionalism prevalent at their universities. But I have further argued that, as primary ITE tutors, these women worked within a labyrinth of gendered institutional structures, and pedagogical, pastoral and personal expectations which 'bound' them into professional roles as teacher educators, modelling the extended and diffuse attributes of primary school teaching for and with their students. Living and (re)producing these gendered forms of professionalism brought them into conflict with the managerialist imperatives of their changing institutional contexts. In continuing to construct and live their forms of professionalism then, tutors were attempting to do what Maguire (1994:81) defines

as 'the impossible job'. At the very least the balancing acts which they had to perform in attempts to reconcile both their 'caring scripts' and institutional changes involved individual tutors in intensive and often emotionally demanding work, achieved at high personal and professional costs to individuals.

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