New Faces and Changing Places: Discourse, identity and early career primary teachers in post-2010 Multi-Academy Trusts

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ABSTRACT

In 2010, the incoming UK Conservative-Liberal Democrat (Coalition) government passed the Academies Act, enabling primary schools in England to become academies for the first time. By July 2020, 36 per cent of state-funded primary schools in England had become academies, many managed by Multi-Academy Trusts (MATs). Research into academisation has consistently recognised the close relationship between early career teachers (ECTs) and academy schools, however, there has been little research conducted on the attitudes of new teachers towards academies, or the impact of academisation on the developing identities of ECTs. This is despite a wealth of research conducted into teacher identity which emphasises the importance of school culture in developing a positive professional identity. The present research project intended to make a contribution to knowledge about the identity-positionings of ECTs working in primary academies, and also to broader literature about academisation in the primary phase.

In line with research in the tradition of critical policy sociology, the research was designed as a discourse study, focusing on the performative effects of language at both policy level and within situated school contexts. Drawing on speech act theory, the study presupposed the performative nature of language, arguing that language should be considered not simply as describing the world but as actioning social events. The language of government ministers was interpreted as constituting a set of serious speech acts which positioned ECTs; the language of ECTs was interpreted as constituting a set of everyday speech acts, through which professional identities were developed and sustained. As a piece of critical policy analysis, the study was informed by the theoretical work of Michel Foucault, understanding the policy positionings of ECTs as a project in governmentality.

The study was conducted in two phases. The first phase centred on a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (CDA) of ministerial speeches on education, delivered between May 2010 and March 2018. The second phase involved qualitative interviews with ECTs and senior leaders, conducted in two case-study MATs. Analysis, which was informed by CDA and conversation analysis, attempted to isolate the strategies used by ECTs to construct a positive professional identity.

The study found that academy status was not constructed as being an important factor for ECTs when considering where to work. ECTs foregrounded their personal biographies and pedagogical preferences when explaining why they had chosen to work in an academy school, and in doing so resisted being positioned as 'academy teachers'. I suggest that the construction of academy status as unimportant by ECTs contributes to a wider acceptance of academisation within education, supporting attempts by government to normalise academy status.

The study also found that ECTs starting their professional careers in primary academies were subject to multiple and often conflicting discourses from both policymakers and senior leaders, which led them to develop dynamic and shifting identity-positionings. As much previous research on the ECT phase emphasises how drawing from a stable, core identity is important in ensuring that ECTs remain committed and resilient within the teaching profession, the findings presented in the present research study therefore contribute to discussions concerning the high rate of attrition amongst ECTs.

‘One’s face, then, is a sacred thing’

(Goffman, 1967, p. 19)

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I

RATIONALE

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins with a short introduction to the research, focusing on academisation and the relationship between language and identity. The central section of the chapter details my own positionality as a researcher. I conclude with an overview of the thesis.

1.1 Research context and contribution

The formation of the Coalition government in 2010 resulted in significant changes to the English state school system. Since the passing of the Academies Act in 2010, the number of academy schools has increased rapidly; by July 2020, a total of 9200 schools were listed by the DfE as having academy status, accounting for 43 per cent of the state education sector (DfE, 2020a).

Prior to the research presented in this thesis, significant research had been conducted on academy schools (Ball, 2005; Green 2009; Gorard, 2005; 2009; 2014; Gunter & McGinity, 2014; Salokangas & Ainscow, 2018) and on the identities of academy school leaders, both in the secondary (Coldron, Crawford, Jones & Simkins, 2014; Kulz, 2015) and primary (Keddie, 2016) sectors. The primary purpose of the present research project was to extend knowledge of the impact of academisation on teachers during their early years in the profession, specifically those working in primary academy schools. At the time the research commenced (2017), there was relatively little published on primary academies and early career teachers (ECTs) who chose to work within them. The rise in the number of academy schools coincided with an increase in teacher attrition within the state sector, with teacher retention falling between 2011 and 2017 (DfE, 2018a). Of the teachers who qualified in 2013, 68 per cent remained in teaching five years post-qualification (DfE, 2018a, p. 6).

This thesis contributes to the field of critical work on the post-2010 academisation programme. Such work has already recognised the role that new teachers have played in staffing – and therefore sustaining – academy schools (Kulz, 2017; Salokangas & Ainscow, 2018). The research also contributes to critical research on education policy in England which has identified

the figure of the new teacher as playing a specific discursive role in the language of policymakers (Stanfield & Cremin, 2013; Bailey, 2015). Three significant findings are contributed to the scholarly field as a result of the study. First, findings indicate that ECTs who work in academies do not identify with their schools as academies, preferring to identify as teachers who happen to work in academies, rather than 'academy teachers'. This finding is significant in explaining why academy schools are successful in attracting ECTs. Second, I found that ECTs identified strongly as potential leaders, constructing the long-term classroom teacher as abject. Third, I argue that findings of the present research, contextualised within existing literature on ECT identity, suggest that ECTs are prevented from developing a stable and coherent sense of identity by the multiple and conflicting discourses they encounter within political and situated contexts.

1.2 Researcher positionality

The use of critical methods requires a particular focus on researcher reflexivity and an attention to the 'I' which influences the research design and its outcomes (Mao et al., 2016). As the research was influenced by critical, Foucauldian theoretical perspectives and an essentially interpretivist research framework, I did not design the research with an aim to be 'value-neutral' (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2017, p. 63). Personal and professional influences impacted on all stages of the research study.

Before starting this PhD study, I worked as a primary school teacher, first in local authority schools and then finally in an academy managed by a large national chain. I had nearly five years of teaching experience when I started the degree, and was therefore initiating research on ECT primary teachers working in academy schools with the status of a 'cultural insider' (Suwankhong & Liamputtong, 2015). My experience of working in a primary academy school had a significant impact on my choice of theoretical framework and, consequently, the development of my methodology and methods. While working as a primary teacher, I became aware of the language used to position both myself and my colleagues, and how this was reflected in discourse at school

level. During one PGCE training placement in a primary academy, for example, I was encouraged to apply for a job and told that the school liked to hire young staff. The reasoning behind this school's policy was then explicitly stated, as the Head explained that young staff tended to work harder than older staff. In that moment, I was made aware of the discursive construction of beginning teachers and their real-world consequences.

My past experiences as a primary school teacher also informed the choice of research methods I employed for the project. Although observations are frequently used as a form of qualitative data collection, my awareness of the use of observation in schools discouraged me from employing this particular method of data collection in my own research. At a practical level, I believed (based on my own experiences) that the prospect of being observed may increase anxiety in potential participants and might result in limited participation in the project. Furthermore, if I were to conduct observations, I would not only be evaluating how teachers constructed themselves and their settings, but I would also be assessing whether these constructions were accurate. For this reason, I avoided the use of observations, instead conducting interviews and focus groups (mainly after school[1] to limit my exposure to witnessing interactions between teachers and pupils). I decided against using a reflective journal, a research tool which is in essence a form of unstructured observation.

As the research project progressed, possibly in part because of the theoretical framework of the research study, I became increasingly aware of my own shifting positionality and identity as a teacher researcher. At the beginning of the study I identified primarily as an 'insider', as a teacher who had started a PhD, and consequently I used my teaching experiences as a foundation upon which I developed my theoretical and methodological approach to the project. However, by the time I was conducting fieldwork nearly two years later, my status as an insider/outsider had become much more fluid and indistinct, indicating that in practice 'boundaries between the two

[1] All data collection activities with ECTs took place after the school day had finished, but some senior leaders requested interviews during school hours.

positions are not all that clearly delineated' (Merriam et al., 2001, p. 405). At times during interviews I would draw on my experience as a teacher, mirroring Maclure's (1993) approach in which her research team 'tried to break down the usual "asymmetry" between interviewer and subject, by talking about our own lives and work where it seemed appropriate' (p. 313). However, at other points during interviews I reminded participants that I had not been teaching for two years in order to encourage them to expand or develop their responses, and in doing so I positioned myself as outside the primary school system. This fluid approach to my own identity as part-teacher and part-researcher enabled me to successfully negotiate research conversations.

The research process was therefore heavily informed by my previous role as a primary teacher. As such, my hope for the research findings – when they were fed back to participants – was that they would enable ECTs and senior school leaders to reflect on the language which is used in education, and the identities and hierarchies which language tacitly constructs.[2] If more care was taken with the language used to position teachers, I believe teachers would be more content with their role; certainly, the process of undertaking this research project has enabled me to gain a better understanding of why I felt disheartened towards the end of my teaching career.

1.3 Research aims and design

The aims of the research were to explore:

a) How primary teachers in the early career phase were positioned within education policy discourse during the post-2010 era of academisation;
b) How these policy positionings were received, understood and enacted upon within primary academy schools;

[2] A poster detailing key findings was emailed to research participants following the completion of the thesis (Appendix P, p. 351)

c) How ECTs working in primary Multi-Academy Trust (MAT) schools negotiated both political and situated discourses in order to construct positive professional identities for themselves.

The research aims were aligned with those of many projects based within the tradition of critical policy sociology (Gale, 2001; Regmi, 2017; Ozga, 2019). Critical policy sociology in education (as implied by its nomenclature) takes a critical rather than a descriptive approach to policy (Ozga, 2019), working to expose the effects of policy on teachers and pupils, and to reorientate the assumed location of educational problems away from schools and teachers and towards policy directives (Ball, 1997). Critical policy sociology has been criticised for its tendency to 'leave the interpretational relationships between data and analysis heavily implicit' (Ball, 1994, p. 107). As Gale (2001) notes, 'textual representations of policy discourses' (p. 382) are often provided by critical policy sociologists to indicate the direction or intention of policy, but these representations are themselves interpretative. The present research project aimed to more closely interrogate texts associated with post-2010 academisation and the professional identities of ECTs working in primary academies. I used tools and methods located within the broad tradition of discourse analysis to explore how primary ECTs working within MATs were discursively positioned by others and the strategies they deployed to construct their own professional identities.

1.4 Thesis outline

The thesis is divided into two main sections: Rationale and Findings. In line with much post-structuralist work, findings and discussion chapters are placed within the same overall section, reflecting an understanding that all research findings are to an extent interpretative (Humes & Bryce, 2003). Below I provide an overview of individual chapters.

I. Rationale

Literature Review

This chapter situates the *New Faces and Changing Places* research project within the wider literature on academisation and new teachers. I collate the findings of literature on academies to argue that a symbiotic relationship between new teachers and academy schools appears to be evident. I also situate the research within education literature which explores the relationship between discourse and identity.

Theoretical Frameworks

This chapter is concerned with the key theoretical concepts that influenced the design of the research study and the interpretation and analysis of data. Theories of power and subjectivity derived from the work of Michel Foucault are first discussed, before speech act theory and face-work are explored. I introduce the work of relevant theorists including J. L. Austin, Judith Butler and Erving Goffman.

Methodology and Methods

In this chapter, I detail the approach taken to data collection and analysis. In order to systematically explore policy discourse, I analysed a corpus of 361 speeches delivered by education ministers between 2010-18 using a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (CDA). The findings from this analysis informed the design of interviews and focus group activities, which I employed in case studies conducted across four primary academies in two Multi-Academy Trusts (MATs).

II. Findings

Ministerial Discourse 2010-18

This chapter is the first of three findings chapters, each of which analyse language at a micro-level. These findings chapters are organised by discourse producer, beginning with the discourse of

policymakers. *Ministerial Discourse 2010-18* charts the main findings from a corpus-assisted CDA undertaken on ministerial speeches.

Academy Leaders' Discursive Positionings of Early Career Teachers

This second findings chapter explores how academy leaders positioned ECTs. I argue that discrepancies between subject-positionings at policy and situated levels create a complex and challenging environment for new teachers to negotiate.

The Discursive Face-work Strategies of Early Career Teachers in Primary Academies

In this final findings chapter, I explore the face-work strategies of ECTs who work in primary academies. Using techniques derived from both CDA and conversation analysis, I indicate some of the strategies used by ECTs to construct a positive professional identity. Findings indicate that ECTs resist being positioned as academy teachers, and that their identity-positionings are dynamic, fluctuating according to context.

Discussion

The *Discussion* chapter returns to the ideas discussed in *Theoretical Frameworks* in order to interpret the findings within a wider theoretical context, moving beyond the more descriptive approach of the previous three findings chapters. Using ideas drawn from Foucault, I argue that the normalisation of academy status indicates the successful deployment of a governmentality which sought to reduce opposition to academy status. I show how the political speech acts of government ministers occasionally misfire, in that the subject positionings they offer to ECTs are resisted. Finally, drawing from politeness theory, the work of Judith Butler and previous research on ECT identity, I question whether the dynamic negotiations of discourse required of ECTs in the current context may be damaging, preventing the construction of a stable and coherent professional identity.

Conclusion

The final chapter focuses on the implications of the research findings, the limitations of the research project, and possibilities for future research. In terms of research implications, I warn against the 'dividing practices' (Foucault, 1982, p. 777) evident in the discourse of both policymakers and school leaders, which have the effect of fragmenting the relationships and identities of those within the teaching community. Regarding the methodology employed, I argue that corpus-assisted CDA, currently underused within education research, could provide significant original insights into the subject-positionings made available to teachers in different policy moments.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The aim of this chapter is to situate this study within a wide range of academic literature on (a) academisation and (b) teacher identity and its relationship with discourse. Approaching the literature review was complex. During the early stages of the research study, I attempted to visualise the relationships between different fields of research by using mind-maps (Figure 1, p. 10).

Figure 1: A mind-map of relevant literature and themes, completed 2017.

As the complexity of the mind-map presented above perhaps suggests, the scope of this literature review was too limited to do justice to the vast amount of literature which could inform a study of early career teacher (ECT) identity in the primary academy sector. The aim of the

literature review presented in this chapter is therefore to isolate and discuss the literature which was the most relevant to the study as presented in this thesis.

2.1 Academisation

2.1.1 The beginnings of academisation in England

Academy schools are part of a tradition of independent state-funded schools (Machin & Vernoit, 2011; Chapman & Salokangas, 2012; Wolfe, 2013), the legislative framework for which was introduced as part of the Education Reform Act of 1988 (Adonis, 2012; Walford, 2014).[3] Unlike maintained schools, which are funded and managed by local authorities and are governed by statutory education law (West & Wolfe, 2018), independent state-funded schools are managed by private organisations, such as charities, trusts or businesses. In England, the independent status of academy schools allows them to depart from a number of statutory regulations, such as school teachers' pay and conditions and the National Curriculum (Roberts & Danechi, 2019).

Independent state-funded schools are a feature of education reform efforts in countries around the globe, of which charter schools in the USA and Swedish 'free schools' (Friskolor) provide international examples (Astle & Ryan, 2008; Chapman & Salokangas, 2012; DfE, 2016a). Both charter schools and Friskolor were neoliberal strategies to generate improvement within local education markets, increasing diversity and competition by opening up public school systems to private education providers (Budde, 1996; Wiborg, 2010). The capacity of independent state-funded schools to generate local school improvement is highly contested (Gorard, 2005; 2009; 2014; Wiborg, 2010; Angrist, Pathak & Walters, 2013; Morris, 2015), but research conducted within the charter school movement in the US indicates that nevertheless, such schools can position themselves as particularly prestigious places to work (Weiner & Torres, 2016).

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[3] The Education Reform Act (1988) was introduced under Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government, and brought about sweeping changes to the education system in England. The Act legislated for the introduction of the National Curriculum, allowed headteachers more financial control through Local Management of Schools (LMS), and increased parental choice over where their children could be schooled. The effects of the Act included increased marketisation and competition within the education system (Gewirtz, Ball & Bowe, 1995).

Independent state-funded schools, such as academies, assist in shifting responsibility for schooling away from the state and onto private interests (Hatcher, 2006; Ball, 2007; Miller, 2011; West & Bailey, 2013; Keddie, 2015; Wilkins, 2017). This fundamentally alters the primary role of the state, moving away from the direct delivery of education, and instead towards processes of accountability and monitoring in order to raise standards (Wilkins, 2015), essentially governing schools 'from a distance' (Mourshed, Chijoioke & Barber, 2010, p. 34). The process of transferring schools from local authority control to private management limits democratic participation in education, as well as extending the interests of private organisations (Ball, 2005; Wrigley, 2009). Indeed, Reay (2017, p. 49) has argued that '[w]hile academisation is branded in terms of raising educational achievement, the real agenda is privatisation.'

In England, the first academies were opened between 2002 and early 2010 as part of 'New' Labour's drive for education reform (Long, 2015). The academy programme was initially one of a number of initiatives developed under successive Labour governments in order to generate school improvement, particularly in inner cities where low educational performance was considered to be entrenched (Sammons, 2008). The early academies were symbolic of New Labour's commitment to both education and business (Ball, 2007), emphasising the values of entrepreneurialism (Woods, Woods & Gunter, 2007; Ball, 2007; Green, 2009) which underpinned New Labour's third-way politics (Mccafferty, 2010). Many of the early academy projects involved the construction of expensive, unique buildings (Leo, Galloway & Hearne, 2010; Adonis, 2012) and the renewal of leadership and management (Ball, 2007; Adonis, 2012; Papanastasiou, 2013).

Labour's approach to school improvement was diverse, with different strategies for school improvement imposed on different phases of education. In primary schools, the focus was on centralised system reform through the introduction of the National Strategies, which 'unquestionably sought to tighten central control over pedagogy as well as curriculum and assessment' (Hargreaves, 2011, p. 688). In the secondary phase, interventions were more targeted, and aimed at specific schools judged to be underperforming. Academy schools were a prime

example of these targeted interventions, as they intended to 'to replace seriously failing schools' and 'raise standards by breaking the cycle of underperformance and low expectations' (David Blunkett,[4] quoted in DfEE, 2000, p. 2). Whereas school improvement for secondary schools was to be delivered through freedom and autonomy, school improvement in the primary sector was to be delivered through the heavy prescription of teaching practice and further restriction of teacher autonomy.

Much research into pre-2010 academies focused on how well they met their stated aims of raising educational achievement. In a series of papers, Gorard (2005; 2009; 2014) showed that improvements in attainment as a result of academisation were 'attributable to a change in student intake more than innovative approaches to management, governance, teaching and the curriculum' (Gorard, 2005, p. 375). Gorard's papers also highlighted the variations in attainment and improvement between academies, which was a key finding of a number of other research projects focused on the early academies (DfES, 2006; Curtis et al., 2008). The autonomy granted to early academies, combined with the pressure placed on these academies to be innovative (Leo, Galloway & Hearne, 2010), led to significant variations between academies in terms of their curriculum offer and ethos (Curtis, 2009). This variation between academies has continued, or even increased, during the post-2010 period of academy expansion (West & Wolfe, 2019).

2.1.2 Academisation under post-2010 Conservative-led governments

By the end of Labour's four terms in government there were 203 academy schools open in England.[5] With the formation of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat 'Coalition' government, academisation was granted a central place in education policymaking. In the white paper *The Importance of Teaching,* published in 2010, the government stated its 'ambition that Academy status should be the norm for all state schools' (DfE, 2010, p. 52*).* Post-2010 academisation was no

[4] David Blunkett was the Secretary of State for Education and Employment between May 1997 and June 2001.
[5] The majority of these schools were secondary, although 25 offered an 'all-through' education encompassing both primary and secondary phases (DfE, 2020a).

longer a targeted intervention focused on the individual school, but instead involved a whole-scale redesign of state education provision in England[6] in order to create a system of network governance engendering a 'self-improving school-led system' (Hargreaves, 2011; Greany, 2015; Ehren & Perryman, 2018). In order to achieve this objective, academy status was extended to a wider range of schools than underperforming secondary schools, including primary and special schools (DfE, 2010).

The number of academy schools grew rapidly over the following decade under Conservative-led administrations. By July 2020, 9200 schools in England had academy status, representing 43 per cent of the total school population. Of these academies, 5992 were primary schools, accounting for 36 per cent of primary schools in England (DfE, 2020a). Efforts to academise the majority of England's schools have led to radical changes in the ways that both schools (James, 2014; Keddie, 2016; Rayner, Courtney & Gunter, 2018; West & Wolfe, 2019) and local authorities (Hatcher, 2014; Wilkins, 2017; Greany & Higham, 2018) operate. The policy to extend academy status to primary schools should therefore be understood as part of a wider political and economic attempt to 'achieve fundamental restructuring in an established welfare state' (Taylor-Gooby, 2012, p. 61). In the wake of the financial crisis of 2007-08, the Coalition government promised to reduce the nation's budget deficit through an austerity programme that relied heavily on private sector and charitable involvement in public institutions (Lupton et al., 2016). Academisation, which involved the transference of public assets to private trusts (West & Bailey, 2013), was probably the most high-profile example of such privatisation within the education system. Post-2010 academisation was a process of 'education privatization by way of catastrophe' which entailed a 'conversion of publicly controlled education services into private and restricted ones' (Fontdevila, Zancajo & Verger, 2017, p. 224). As such, the policy of academisation was intimately linked to the Conservative's wider policy commitment to austerity (West & Bailey,

[6] Academisation as a programme is unique to England within the United Kingdom, with the devolved governments of Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland rejecting the academy model.

2013; Granoulhac, 2017), a policy commitment which was constructed as a solution to the economic catastrophe of the 2007-08 banking crisis and resulting national deficit (Stanley, 2014). As Thomson (2020, p. 96) notes, 'One of the arguments in favour of a uniform system of academies is efficiency.'[7]

The shift towards a school-led system through increased academisation encouraged the growth of Multi-Academy Trusts (MATs), responsible for the management of several academy schools. As of July 2020, 45 per cent of academies were managed by a MAT comprising of two or more schools, and the number of MATs in England had grown to 1192 (DfE, 2020a). MATs were positioned by policymakers as being a more efficient way to provide many of the middle-tier functions that were previously the responsibility of local authorities (Hill et al., 2012; Greany, 2015). The expansion of MATs, alongside the restriction of funding to local government, has resulted in a significant shift in the roles and responsibilities afforded to different policy actors within the educational landscape (Coldron et al., 2014; Wilkins, 2017; Ehren & Perryman, 2018; Thomson, 2020). Schools have been given more power, as the influence of local authorities has declined (James, 2014), enabling new policy actors to gain influence within education. In this new education landscape, sponsors of academies and MATs have leveraged more control over education policy and practice (Hatcher, 2006; Olmedo, 2014).

Coalition policy documents presented post-2010 academisation as a continuation and extension of the academy programme introduced by previous Labour governments, positioning academisation as an attempt to rapidly improve the quality of education in England (DfE, 2010; Bates, 2012). Schools that were judged to be in need of support were compelled to become 'sponsored academies', managed by a high performing school or a MAT in order to bring about rapid improvement. In the case of sponsored academies, Coalition policy continued the discourse of previous Labour governments in casting academy status as 'a simple, quick solution to the

[7] Although Thomson (2020) also showed that corruption and financial mismanagement, particularly prominent within the academy sector, resulted in a failure to achieve the efficient system promised.

problems of struggling schools' (Bates, 2012, p. 91). This process of 'forced academisation' caused high levels of anxiety and fear amongst school leaders, particularly those in the primary sector (Keddie, 2016; Greany & Higham. 2018). Large, national MATs were associated by some primary leaders with corporate practices and a loss of autonomy at school level (Keddie, 2016). As a result, many school leaders who believed their schools were at risk of forced academisation chose instead to voluntarily convert to academy status, in the hope that this would allow leaders to retain a degree of choice over which MAT to join (Wolfe, 2013; Keddie, 2016; Greany & Higham, 2018).

Where Coalition policy departed further from the policy of previous governments was in its extension of academy status to schools judged to be performing well. High-performing schools, which had previously been outside the remit of the academies programme, were encouraged to become 'converter academies' and take on the sponsorship of an underperforming school. In many cases, school leaders converted to academy status in the belief that this would allow them more financial flexibility or autonomy (Bassett et al., 2012), during a period in which local authorities were suffering severe cuts in funding (Granoulhac, 2017). Primary schools, being generally smaller than secondaries, often needed to join a MAT when they academised in order to become financially viable (Hill et al., 2012). As a result, the majority of academy primary schools are managed by a MAT.[8]

For primary school leaders, the expansion of academisation following the 2010 Academies Act involved the negotiation and mediation of national policy (Keddie, 2016; Greany & Higham, 2018), alongside attempts to maintain a stable professional identity in the context of rapid educational change (Keddie, 2016). Primary leaders were generally more satisfied with the support provided by local authorities than secondary leaders (Greany & Higham, 2018). On the whole, secondary leaders were more at ease with the identity of the ambitious academy leader, taking on a role in the reconfiguration of local education structures (Gunter & McGinity, 2014; Coldron et

[8] In April 2020, 510 primary schools were stand-alone academies, whereas 5441 primaries were part of a MAT (DfE, 2020a).

al., 2014; Kulz, 2015) whereas primary leaders were more focused on protecting their school from the standardising and prescriptive processes of national MATs (Keddie, 2016; Greany & Higham, 2018). With the expansion of academisation post-2010, an increased number of school leaders were encouraged to refashion their identities in line with business principles and expectations, and to distance themselves from the role of the classroom teacher (Courtney, 2015; Hughes, Courtney & Gunter, 2020). Academisation has, therefore, been shown to have a significant impact on the identities of teacher leaders.

Changes were also announced regarding initial teacher training (ITT) and responsibility for ongoing teacher development during the period of the Coalition government. The employment-based Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP), initially introduced under Labour, was rebranded and expanded into the School Direct scheme.[9] The increase in school-led ITT provision through School Direct continued a previous trend towards the expansion of employment-based teacher training in England (Furlong, 2013). Although universities remained involved in the certification process, and in many cases managed to mitigate the most damaging effects of the introduction of School Direct on university departments (Ellis & Spendlove, 2020), transformation of ITT was a key aspect within the wider range of policy reforms intended to create a self-improving school-led system. The introduction of 'Teaching Schools' under the Coalition government aimed to locate responsibility for ongoing professional development for teachers within schools, again facilitating a shift away from universities as providers of training and support for teachers. When discussing the rise of federations, chains, and Teaching Schools, Chapman (2013) noted that it was 'for the most part academy chains' who were awarded the prestigious status of teaching school (p. 339).

A preference for practice-based teacher training is a feature of neoliberal educational policy (Furlong, 2013; Cochran-Smith et al., 2016). As such, the introduction of School Direct was part of a wider trend in teacher education which has 'privileged practical components to the detriment

[99] The School Direct scheme offered both unsalaried routes for trainees who had just completed an undergraduate degree, and a salaried route for career changers (Get into Teaching, 2020).

of theory and analysis' (Brown, Rowley & Smith, 2016, p. 5), impacting on the way that teachers enact their professionalism and agency within school contexts. By limiting access to the theoretical elements of university-based ITT courses, trainees are socialised into high-stakes accountability systems which determine school practices, with little opportunity to resist or develop critical pedagogies informed by wider educational theory (Parker, 2015; Brown, Rowley & Smith, 2016). Practice-based teacher education therefore supports wider education reform, as trainees are removed from the opportunity to critically reflect on educational policy and practice (Parker, 2015). As Davies et. al. (2016) indicated, school-led recruitment of trainee teachers emphasises classroom readiness and the needs of specific schools.

School-centred ITT routes appear to be popular with schools, as leaders can use trainees' placements as 'extended job interviews' (Allen et al., 2016, p. 38). As MATs expanded and extended their influence, many took advantage of the opportunities available to train and develop their own teachers, with some developing their own ITT schemes. In June 2019, it was reported that 93 MATs managed their own ITT scheme, in partnership with a higher education institution (Ofsted, 2019, p. 8). Reforms which intended to make ITT more practice-oriented were therefore supported by the expansion of MATs. Changes to ITT provision indicated the significant role new teachers were to play in the deployment of policy initiatives to restructure the school system post-2010.

2.2 The new teacher and education reform

2.2.1 Generational divisions between teachers

Despite concerns about the detrimental effect of teacher turnover on student learning (Dolton & Newson, 2005; Brill & McCartney, 2008; Ronfeldt, Loeb & Wyckoff, 2013) new teachers are often employed in schools to facilitate rapid change during periods of political or institutional reform. New teachers lack the institutional or professional memory of their more experienced counterparts, which can render them more accepting of educational reform (Goodson, 2014). In

the face of staff resistance to change, one of the strategies open to headteachers is to replace older staff with new staff, who are considered more accepting of proposed reforms or requirements (Riseborough, 1993; Courtney & Gunter, 2015), a process which has been euphemistically described as 'staff renewal' (Keddie, 2019, p. 9). As new entrants to the profession, neophyte teachers are engaged in a process of professional becoming (Fuller & Bown, 1975; McCormack, Gore & Thomas, 2006; Britzman, 2003), one of the main aspects of which is developing a pedagogical repertoire (Huberman, 1993) and a sense of self-efficacy (Day et al., 2007). Teachers' values and classroom behaviours are often heavily informed by the first school they work in, and pedagogies and styles of classroom management which teachers develop in the first school they work in have a tendency to inform their practice in subsequent schools (Buchanan, 2015). As a result, new entrants to teaching are more likely to be 'on the bus' (Courtney & Gunter, 2015, p. 395) with the demands made of them than teachers with many years of experience in the profession, making new teachers valuable assets in times of educational change.

The figure of the new teacher can cause disruption and unsettlement within schools. As Sikes (1985, p. 39) noted, '[n]ew, enthusiastic workers in any occupation pose a threat to the *status quo*.' Whereas more recent studies of teachers' lives and careers have emphasised the importance of teaching experience and career stage over age (e.g., Day et al., 2007), Sikes's study on the life cycle of the teacher attended more closely to life stage, therefore providing a counterpoint to more recent studies, highlighting generational differences between teachers. Sikes found that older teachers were often described by their younger counterparts as 'outmoded in terms of pedagogy and values' (Sikes, 1985, p. 50). Young teachers, on the other hand, were characterised as being eager, keen, and full of ambition. The generational divide between teachers in schools has been recognised as a significant 'source of agitation' in schools (Ball, 1987, p. 60). Younger staff can enter the school with different pedagogical approaches to older staff and, as a consequence, older staff can feel belittled and disrespected (Ball, 1987; Menter et al., 1997; Lacey, 2012). Increasing evidence that the employment of novice teachers may have little significant impact on the

attainment of pupils in high-stakes tests (Allen & Allnutt, 2017; Greaves, Belfield & Allen, 2019) has recently troubled the privileged cultural status of the experienced teacher.

Although novice teachers are often characterised as being compliant, some studies have identified the most junior members of staff within a school as a force for change (Ball, 1987; Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006; Gallant & Riley, 2014). Novice teachers enter the profession with idealistic visions of teaching, informed by theories they have learned at university, and can be unwilling to bend their principles in order to comply with school demands (Nias, 1989; Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006; Lacey, 2012). Young, idealistic teachers who enter the profession and find they are unable to enact significant change may choose to leave teaching, and move on to a role where they feel they are more able to make a difference (Lacey, 2012; Gallant & Riley, 2014).

Divisions between different generations of teachers become particularly apparent during times of educational reform and upheaval. A significant finding of Riseborough's (1981) ethnographic study into the impact of comprehensivisation in England[10] was the heightened tensions between different generations of teaching staff. As a study of comprehensivisation, Riseborough's study was conducted during a previous period of significant school reform in England, and can therefore provide an insight into the type of tensions which arise during times of policy reform in schools, highlighting continuities in response to such political upheaval. Such continuities can be understood as the 'mooralities' which enable the 'dynamism of policy' (Savage et al., 2021, p. 10). Riseborough found that older teachers with many years of experience were effectively demoted, denied promotions and replaced by less experienced teachers, who were entering the profession with degrees. Such manoeuvring was considered essential to increasing parental confidence in the school, as the headteacher in Riseborough's study explained:

[10] Prior to the 1960s, state schools in England were divided into 'grammar schools' (which educated students who were high-performing, as indicated by their performance in the 'eleven plus' examination) and 'secondary modern schools' (which educated those who had 'failed' their eleven plus). With the issue of the Labour government's Circular 10/65 in 1965, local authorities were encouraged to reorganise their schools into 'comprehensives' which were intended to educate 'all young members of a community' (Haydn, 2004, p. 415).

> I had to expand the staff rapidly. The staff had got out of balance. We've been successful. We're now oversubscribed. This reflects the new confidence parents have but it would not have been achieved without the infusion of new blood. (Riseborough, 1981, p. 359)

Significant here is the implication that parents prefer new staff to teach their children, rather than older and more experienced teachers. Such presuppositions are also evident in more recent work on academy schools (Duoblys, 2017; Kulz, 2017), suggesting that the generational profile of a school is one way in which a school positions itself within a local education marketplace. During times of educational upheaval, new teachers embody new practices and ways of being teachers; they are symbolic of wider system reform. The symbolic value of teachers during times of educational change produces 'a climate in which teachers are increasingly seen in terms of their use value' (Reay, 1998, p. 179) rather than being supported as individuals.

Research into the differences between 'millennial' workers and workers of previous generations may also contribute to understandings of the difference between teachers currently entering the profession and experienced teachers. It has been argued that 'Millennial workers generally expect more than their non-Millennial colleagues' (Magni & Manzoni, 2020, p. 1), are more narcissistic and assertive than workers of previous generations (Deal, Altman & Rogelberg, 2010), and use different communicative strategies (Martin & Wilson, 2011). Research conducted with millennial entrants to the teaching profession has indicated that this generation of teachers are more willing to accept contradictions in their working lives. Millennial teachers have been described as 'shape shifting portfolio people' (Gee, 2004, p. 96) who are more comfortable narrating their 'feelings, actions, and beliefs about teaching and learning in contradictory ways' (Alsup, 2019, p. 55) than previous cohorts of teachers.

Generational divides between teachers have therefore been identified as an aspect of the micro-politics of school life for many years, but these divides become particularly obvious during times of education reform or change. At times of educational reform, experienced teachers – who have settled into a pedagogical style and have developed a sense of self-efficacy as a classroom

teacher – are confronted with requirements to reconsider their teaching practices or professional identity (Maclure, 1993; Woods & Jeffrey, 2002; Ball, 2003). New teachers, who are more recently trained and therefore more comfortable with new ways of working, can present a threat to older and more experienced teachers (Riseborough, 1981; Ball, 1987). The particular identities of millennial workers may also contribute to divisions between different generations of teachers, as millennials appear to be more accepting of aspects within schools which challenge their pre-existing beliefs or values (Alsup, 2019), and can be more assertive (Deal, Altman & Rogelberg, 2010) than teachers of previous generations.

2.2.2 Academy schools and new teachers

The early academy schools were intended to be a 'reinvention of the inner-city comprehensive' (Adonis, 2012, p. 7), and these reinventions – like the comprehensivisation reforms a few decades earlier – relied on employing young, neophyte teachers who were willing to work within the new system. Ofsted inspections of early academy schools highlighted the high numbers of new teachers employed, often in a critical manner. Unity City Academy,[11] opened in 2002, was criticised for its recruitment and retention problems, with Ofsted noting that 'Problems over recruitment and retention continue to affect the academy. A third of the teachers are newly qualified or unqualified graduate trainees' (Ofsted, 2005, p. 3). The Business Academy Bexley, another early academy project which opened in 2002, was similarly criticised for its high turnover of staff:

> In its fourth year of operation [...] there are still twenty new teachers to induct into the academy's ways of working. The academy has invested considerable time into supporting inexperienced teachers or those trained in other countries: the benefits of this investment are sometimes lost as teachers move elsewhere. (Ofsted, 2006, p. 2)

[11] Names of academies or MATs within this chapter have not been changed if the document quoted is available in the public domain (for example, an Ofsted report or media article). When academic literature is discussed and pseudonyms are used by the author, these pseudonyms are also used within this chapter; such pseudonyms are indicated by the use of inverted commas the first time the academy or MAT is referred to.

These Ofsted reports paint a picture of academy schools which were unable to recruit experienced staff, and as a result relied on graduate trainees or newly qualified teachers (NQTs). The hiring of inexperienced teachers was therefore presented as a pragmatic necessity. This pragmatism was reflected in the words of Philip O'Hear, the headteacher of Capital City Academy, which opened in 2003:

> As a new and expanding school, and with teachers still hard to find in London, we have had to expand and develop our staff through schemes such as Teach First and the Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP) [...] We now have many junior teachers with one or two other significant responsibilities (O'Hear, 2008, p. 53)

O'Hear blamed the location of Capital City Academy for his difficulties in hiring staff and justified his promotion of junior staff as a pragmatic response to recruitment and retention difficulties. In this way, the willingness of new teachers to work in academies facilitated and enabled the academy project, a project which was fiercely resisted by the National Union of Teachers (NUT, 2007) and groups of teachers and parents (Hatcher & Jones, 2006; Hatcher 2009).

As O'Hear also intimated, since the opening of the early academies under Labour, there had also been a strong association between Teach First and academies. Teach First was founded in 2002 as a solution to recruitment problems in inner-city secondary schools (Wigdortz, 2012), by providing a fast-track route to a role as a classroom teacher for high-performing graduates.[12] The relationship which developed between the early academies and Teach First was a result of the philanthropic networks that developed between charter schools in the US, academies in England, and the Teach for All network (Ball, 2007; Ball & Junemann, 2013; Olmedo, 2014).[13] Teach First has, from its outset, been a key enabling factor in England's academies programme by supplying

[12] Teach First recruits high-performing graduates, primarily from prestigious universities. Those selected for Teach First are trained for six weeks at a summer institute before working as a classroom teacher. After their first year they gain qualified teacher status (Teach First, 2020).

[13] The Teach for All network was founded by Teach First and Teach for America and promotes the development of alternative certification routes into teaching worldwide (Teach for All, 2020). Teach for All is a global philanthropic movement which is structurally reconfiguring the landscape of education by inviting new actors and new organisations into the delivery of public education (Ball & Junemann, 2012; Olmedo, Bailey & Ball, 2013).

academies with teachers. Andrew Adonis, known as 'the "architect" of Labour's academies programme' (Garner, 2011, n. p.), claimed that '[a]lmost all the academies are big recruiters of Teach First teachers' (Adonis, 2012, p. 145). For Adonis, this reflected an alignment of purpose:

> There is a close parallel between Teach First and academies. Both are focused on reinventing the comprehensive. Teach First seeks radically to improve their staffing; academies reinvent their governance and leadership. These are two sides of the same coin. (Adonis, 2012, p. 42)

Adonis's argument indicates the close relationship between early academies and neophyte teachers. This relationship may have been partially pragmatic, with early academies (particularly those in London) struggling to recruit experienced staff, who may have been more wary about working in the academy sector and its impact on their terms and conditions (DfES, 2005; NUT, 2007). However, as Adonis recognised, this relationship clearly went beyond pragmatism. The values of Teach First were closely aligned with that of the early academies, facilitating certain aspects of the academy movement. The entrepreneurialism of the early academies (Woods, Woods & Gunter, 2007; Ball, 2007; Green, 2009; Daniels, 2011) is mirrored in the values of the Teach First programme, which incites 'entrepreneurial qualities and practices amongst its participants' (Bailey, 2013, p. 808). Teach First trainees were therefore conditioned to respond positively to aspects of academisation which more experienced teachers resisted (Hatcher & Jones, 2006), which facilitated the success of academisation. The subsequent promotion of Teach First alumni to influential policy and leadership roles further extended not only the influence of Teach First, but also of the academies to which Teach First supplied staff (Elliott, 2018).

A number of research projects into academy schools have highlighted how academies appear to have a preference for recruiting young, inexperienced teachers, beyond those employed through Teach First. Such hiring preferences often appear to be used in order to build a staff team which is compliant with the demands of school or MAT management practices. In their longitudinal ethnographic case study of 'Parkside', a successful academy located in the North of

England, Salokangas and Ainscow (2018) described the majority of the staff as 'young, energetic and committed individuals' who 'eventually ran out of steam' (p. 51). The researchers also noticed that teachers with more than three years' experience were 'more likely than their junior colleagues to question, ignore or challenge Parkside' (p. 110). Recruitment incentives were offered to NQTs at Parkside, suggesting a strategic effort to employ inexperienced teachers. In Keddie's (2017) research on the 'CONNECT' MAT, schools entering the Trust went through a process of 'staff renewal' which Keddie understands is 'common in such philanthropic take-overs' (p. 9). Keddie described teachers working within CONNECT as being 'young and relatively inexperienced but highly motivated and hardworking' (p. 9). Headteachers at the chain were also described as young, and as having a 'strong commitment to CONNECT's vision and ways of working' (p. 10). The employment of young teachers in the CONNECT chain, both at class teacher and leadership level, helped to ensure the consistency of the MAT's educational vision and practice.

Practices identified at Parkside and within the CONNECT chain appear to be consistent with the research of Courtney and Gunter (2015), who found that headteachers were systematically eliminating teachers who were resistant to their 'vision work'. They found such practices were particularly common in the academy sector, where autonomy over school staffing made it easier to dismiss teachers. Such practices follow corporate models of leadership, and have been 'accelerated' (Courtney, 2015, p. 218) through an academies programme in which 'silencing or omitting opposition' was commonplace (p. 217). Research conducted by the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) suggests that teacher turnover in schools may be higher in MATs (Worth, 2017, p. 3). Such turnover could reflect practices of internal recruitment within MATs, whereby teachers were moved to different schools within the same chain in order to gain experience. However, high turnover could also indicate the policies of staff renewal identified by Keddie (2017) and Courtney and Gunter (2015), which indicate the power of MAT leaders to dispense with experienced teachers in favour of more compliant younger staff.

The employment of young teachers has also been interpreted as an exercise in brand management. In Kulz's (2017) ethnography of the London secondary academy 'Dreamfields',[14] she found that the 'image of energetic youthfulness' (p. 142) portrayed by the teaching staff was attractive to middle-class white parents, whose patronage was deemed necessary to ensure the continued success of the school. At Dreamfields, the figure of the teacher was 'revamped as dynamic business professional' (p. 142), which augmented the academy's positioning within the school marketplace as being formal and business-orientated, distinguishing Dreamfields from the stereotype of the chaotic inner-city comprehensive. In 2017, George Duoblys visited ARK King Solomon Academy in London, writing for the *London Review of Books*. He described the staff at the academy as 'a startling bunch: young, attractive and predominantly white' (Duoblys, 2017, p. 24); emphasising their youth and inexperience, he noted that of the forty or fifty teachers employed by the school, only the Headteacher, Max Haimendorf, had children. Max Haimendorf himself, an alumnus of the Teach First route, had been appointed at the age of thirty, and was at the time the 'youngest headteacher in the country' (Moorhead, 2010, n. p.). At flagship academies like Dreamfields and ARK King Solomon Academy, the youth and attractiveness of the teachers is part of the academy branding. The image of a young teaching staff underlines the institutional positioning of these academies as offering something new and different within the education marketplace. The clean-cut professionalism of young teachers is offered as a counterpoint to the image of the faded and aged union representative wearing 'T-shirt, jeans and a backpack', as described by Peter Hyman in his biographical account of working at Islington Green comprehensive during its conversion to academy status (Hyman, 2005, p. 107).[15]

[14] In her book *Factories for Learning* (Kulz, 2017), Kulz uses the pseudonym Dreamfields to describe the academy she researches. However, in a previous publication, Kulz (2015) explicitly used the name of the academy, Mossbourne, and its headteacher, Michael Wilshaw. Kulz (2015, p. 3) noted that when discussing matters of consent and anonymity, Wilshaw said 'Sure, I don't mind if you name the school – no one is going to read it [your research] anyhow!' Kulz's doctoral dissertation on Mossbourne/'Dreamfields' was awarded the BERA Doctoral Dissertation Award in 2014.

[15] Peter Hyman was a strategist for Tony Blair who later trained to be a teacher and founded the free school School 21 in 2012, and later the Big Education Trust MAT.

The literature on charter schools in the US also indicates that charter schools specifically seek to employ neophyte teachers, often through alternative certification routes, in order to facilitate system reform. In recent years, a symbiotic relationship has developed between charter schools and Teach for America, which has come under increasing scrutiny (Kretchmar, Sondel & Ferrare, 2014; Henry Jr. & Dixson, 2015; Lefebvre & Thomas, 2017; Waldman, 2019).[16] Despite only six per cent of American children attending charter schools (NCES, 2020a), it has been reported that almost 40 per cent of Teach for America corps are allocated to charter school settings (Waldman, 2019). There have also been criticisms of Teach for America's involvement in systematic efforts to increase the influence of charter schools. Teach for America played a key enabling role in the reorganisation of New Orleans's education system in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, which resulted in 123 public schools in the district being reduced to just four, and the number of charter schools being increased from seven to 31 (Klein, 2007, p. 5). The restructuring of New Orleans' school district has been interpreted as an act of white hegemony, as predominantly white teachers working within the Teach for America and TeachNOLA alternative certification schemes replaced experienced African American educators, a 'racialized assault [that] dispossessed African American educators of their labour interests, while enriching White educational actors and solidifying White dominance' (Henry Jr. & Dixson, 2016, p. 223). The capacity of organisations such as Teach for America to supply capable and willing neophyte teachers to charter schools facilitates the establishment of charters and sustains their ongoing influence (Olmedo, 2014; Lefebvre & Thomas, 2017).

Research has consistently indicated that alternative certification schemes such as Teach First and Teach for America have an influence on the professional identities of their trainees

[16] Teach for America is essentially the equivalent of Teach First in the US. Teach First was partially modelled on Teach for America programme (Rauschenberger, 2016), developed by Wendy Kopp in 1990. The scheme places 'highly successful high school and college students' as 'emergency' teachers (Tatel, 1999, p. 38) into 'under-resourced urban and rural public schools' in America (Tatel, 1999, p. 37). 'Corps', as Teach for America teachers are known, are trained during a short summer institute and have the opportunity to become certified during their placement (Teach for America, 2020).

(Bailey, 2013; 2015), encouraging alignment with entrepreneurial values which are more prominent in independent state-funded schools such as academies (Woods, Woods & Gunter, 2007; Green, 2009; Daniels, 2011; Courtney, 2015). When considering where to work, teachers prioritise finding a 'match' between their professional identities and beliefs with those of their school above external motivators such as increased pay (Kirabo Jackson, 2013). Schools that have a goal structure which aligns with that of their teaching staff are more likely to promote job satisfaction and self-efficacy in their teachers, increasing motivation and preventing possible attrition (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2011; 2017). Lefebvre and Thomas's (2017) research into Teach for America found that many Teach for America 'corps' identified a 'philosophical/pedagogical synergy' (p. 362) between their beliefs and values (which were strongly informed by the discourses of the Teach for America programme) and their employing charter schools. Teachers in Weiner and Torres's (2016) study were attracted to charter schools because they 'wanted a more elite position' (p. 78) which the institutional identity of the charter school could offer. Evidence from the charter school project in the USA could therefore suggest that ECTs might prefer the school cultures particular to these autonomous schools. Teachers seek out school cultures which they believe match their values and identities; for some teachers, this might involve seeking out academy schools, which have been identified as embodying particular values.

Regardless of preference, however, certain school cultures appear to be more conducive to teacher retention. In their study of 50 novice teachers in America, Johnson and Birkeland (2003) identified three types of school cultures: 'veteran-orientated professional cultures', 'novice-orientated professional cultures' and 'integrated professional cultures.' Veteran-orientated cultures emphasised privacy and professional autonomy, norms determined by the professional expectations of veteran teachers. Novice-orientated cultures, which were noticeably more prominent in the charter school sector, 'were dominated by new teachers and featured youth, idealism and inexperience' (p. 605). Schools with integrated professional cultures successfully engaged teachers in all career stages, valuing collegial and collaborative efforts across generational

divides. The researchers found that schools with integrated professional cultures were better at retaining staff.

Attrition in the early career phase of teaching has increasingly been recognised as a problem in England. In 2019, the DfE reported that of the teachers who qualified in 2018, 85 per cent were still in service a year after they qualified (DfE, 2019a). After five years, only 67 per cent of those qualified remained teaching in the state sector. Teacher recruitment and retention were increasingly recognised to be problematic during the period in which the present research project was conducted, with media attention frequently turned to the high rate of teacher attrition within the early career phase (Weale, 2016; Pells, 2017; Warburton & Davis, 2019). In 2019, following a critical report by the education select committee (House of Commons Education Committee, 2017), the DfE strengthened its offer to ECTs by introducing the Early Career Framework (DfE, 2019b). This framework promised increased support for professional development in the first two years of teaching. Initial piloting of the programme was delivered through four providers, one of which was Teach First (DfE, 2020b), and a significant number of the delivery hubs for the programme were located within MATs (Education Development Trust, 2020). Efforts to retain new teachers were therefore embedded within the academy sector and its wider networks, once again indicating the symbiotic relationship between new teachers and academies.

2.2.3 Leadership in the early career phase

Research into the career phases of teachers has indicated that the stage at which teachers expect to become leaders may be reducing. In Huberman's (1993) study, teachers generally advanced to leadership roles between 7 and 25 years in the profession, after consolidating and stabilizing their pedagogical style during the 'second stage' of teacher development, which lasted between 4 and 6 years in the classroom. However, Day et al. (2007) found that 86 per cent of primary teachers with 4 to 7 years' experience in the classroom had already taken on additional responsibilities. Teachers in this second stage of their career have been found to be eager to take on leadership roles (Lovett

& Cameron, 2011); however, the support and development available within school contexts has been identified as a major factor which either enables or restricts the realisation of ECTs' leadership ambitions (Muijs, Chapman & Armstrong, 2013; Woodhouse & Pedder, 2017). The trajectory of previous research findings concerning the stage at which teachers begin to take on leadership roles could suggest that teachers are beginning to aspire and advance to leadership roles at an earlier stage in their careers.

The introduction of the Teach First programme may have shifted expectations regarding ECTs and leadership capability. Research conducted on the Teach First programme (Muijs, Chapman & Armstrong, 2013; McIntyre & Thomson, 2016) found that many trainees on the Teach First scheme were 'keen and able to exercise leadership' (Muijs, Chapman & Armstrong, 2013, p. 767), taking on additional responsibilities beyond their classroom. As Teach First trainees are in the first two years of classroom practice, these findings once again suggest that teachers entering the profession now are expecting to progress to leadership at an earlier stage in their career than previously, although it should be noted that the Teach First programme is specifically tailored to develop leadership aspiration and skill in its recruits (Bailey, 2015; Elliott, 2018).

During the post-2010 period, the percentage of primary teachers employed in leadership roles rose. The rise in the number of teachers employed as assistant heads in primary schools was particularly significant, with four per cent of primary teachers employed as assistant heads in 2010, compared with five per cent in 2016 (DfE, 2018b). The percentage of middle leaders in primary settings also rose during the same period, from 15 per cent to 17 per cent (DfE, 2018b, p. 3). This growth in assistant heads and middle leaders in the primary sector was the largest area of leadership growth within state schools in England during the 2010-16 period. The expansion of leadership roles available during this period coincided with a peak in retirements between 2010-11, which 'consequently resulted in an overall younger population of teachers in leadership roles' (DfE, 2018b, p. 3).

The length of time taken to progress to headship was also beginning to reduce. In 2010, the average age to become a Head was 51 years, but by 2016 this had fallen to 48 years (DfE, 2018b). Whereas there had 'historically been a relatively consistent average length of time spent in teaching prior to taking up a headship in England, of between 18 and 20 years' (Higham et al., 2015, p. 11), the post-2010 period saw the rise of 'Fast Trackers', 'Young Heads' and 'Career Changers' – three types of teacher who were being promoted to headship within eight or nine years of entering the profession (Higham et al., 2015). These headteacher 'types' represented ten per cent of primary school heads (Higham et al., 2015, p. 9), and were often appointed to schools that had previously had difficulty recruiting for the position of headteacher. Such appointments were often made within schools which were located within deprived communities; as a result, all three headteacher types were over-represented in sponsored academies (Higham et al., 2015, p. 9), consolidating the relationship between rapid career progression and the academy sector.

ECTs entering teaching during the post-2010 period were therefore joining a profession within which rapid career progression was becoming more normalised, particularly within the academy sector. The possibility of climbing to the position of primary headteacher before the age of 35 was increasing, as were the number of middle leader and senior leader positions available to ambitious, aspiring young teachers. ECTs who trained post-2010 therefore began their teaching careers within school contexts in which progression to leadership roles was perhaps easier than for previous generations of teachers. These rapid progression opportunities appeared to be even more available within the academy sector.

However, it should be remembered that, despite increased opportunities to progress to leadership, teaching structurally remains a flat profession in which the 'status of the young tenured teacher is not appreciably different from that of the highly experienced old-timer' (Lortie, 1975, p. 85). Lortie (1975) noted that other professional careers, such as law, academia and medicine, provide a more staged career progression. The lack of staged progression in teaching reflects the

structure of schools, in which more classroom teachers are required than school managers, with a clear division between the two roles.

2.3 Teacher identity and discourse

2.3.1 Teacher identities: stability and fluctuations

Changes within the teaching profession, such as increased opportunities to rise to leadership or the introduction of new school types, have long been identified as having a significant impact on teacher identity. There is little consensus in the academic literature over the exact way in which teacher identity should be conceptualised (Beijaard, Meijer & Verloop, 2004; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). However, an overview of teacher identity literature 'reveals a common notion that identity is dynamic, and that a teacher's identity shifts over time under the influence of a range of factors' (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009, p.177). Rather than being static, teachers' identities are most often conceptualised within the literature as fluctuating in response to personal issues (such as family needs or support), professional factors (such as the introduction of new policies) and situated context (including school values and priorities) (Day et al., 2007; Day & Gu, 2010). Of these factors, school context has been highlighted in the literature as one of the most significant features which impacts on the developing professional identity of ECTs (Williams, Prestage & Bedward, 2001; Day et al., 2007; Peters & Pearce, 2012), with relational aspects of identity construction emphasised (Johnson, 2003; Day, Elliot & Kington, 2005; Peters & Pearce, 2012). As such, the changes to school context brought about through academisation are worthy of investigation with regard to their effect on teacher identity.

The understanding of teacher identity as dynamic and fluctuating in response to variations in professional and personal circumstance has gained traction since policy changes of the 1980s (Maclure, 1993; Johnson, 2003; Kelchtermans, 2009). Prior to the Education Reform Act of 1988, literature on teachers' professional identity and socialisation into school cultures emphasised the consistency of teachers' beliefs and values. Lacey (2012) found that when faced with practices

within schools that challenged their beliefs, new teachers often engaged in practices of 'strategic compliance' and 'strategic redefinition' (p. 96) which enabled them to maintain their core values, while at the same time effectively socialising into school cultures which required practices that were opposite to these values. Nias (1989) emphasised how the core values of primary teachers greatly influenced the way that they taught, arguing that 'teachers expect the job to make extensive calls upon the personality, experience, preferences, talents, skills, ideas, attitudes, values and beliefs of each individual' (Nias, 1989, p. 25).

Research conducted prior to 1988 therefore presumed a distinct and stable personal self which informed the professional identities of teachers. Such research presupposed that teachers' core identity was prior to and could be isolated from the contextual and professional demands which sometimes require teachers to change their pedagogical approaches. A 'substantive' self was assumed, which was considered to be relatively stable in comparison to the 'situated' self, which changed according to situation (Ball, 1972). Life history research, which 'demands holism' (Goodson & Sikes, 2001, p. 10), presupposed the possibility of gaining access to this core professional identity. At times, this identity was identified as being in conflict with personal identity (Ball & Goodson, 1985), but the core set of beliefs and values held by individual teachers was generally understood to be both stable and accessible to researchers.

Educational reform imposed since the late 1980s has, however, changed the way in which educational researchers approach teacher identity. The autonomy and individualism experienced by teachers in Nias's (1989) study was gradually eroded as various accountability and marketisation measures were introduced. The demands of policy have increasingly impacted on teachers' professional identities, to the extent that identity came to be recognised as a 'site of permanent struggle' (Maclure, 1993, p. 311). Within this context, some research studies have emphasised the continued agency of teachers and the mitigating effects of situated context, arguing that personal values and beliefs, alongside the priorities and values of individual schools, enable teachers some level of professional agency despite the demands of policy (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012; Maguire,

Braun & Ball, 2015; Gowlett et al., 2015). In such accounts, policy has a limiting effect but does not directly determine the agential capacity of teachers; teachers are 'policy actors' rather than 'policy subjects', with the capacity to resist or enable policy directives (Ball, 2015). However, other educationalists have claimed that policy has the effect of completely limiting who teachers are and how they can behave (Hatcher & Troyna, 1994). Regardless of the extent to which policy is considered to determine teachers' agency, the foregrounding of policy initiatives as an influence on teacher identity in educational research following the 1988 Education Reform Act has resulted in a construction of professional identity as more fragmented and unstable than previously assumed.

Despite the emphasis on the dynamic and fluctuating nature of professional identity in much educational research, some research has associated feelings of stability with positive outcomes for teachers, including increased commitment and resilience. Day, Elliot and Kington (2005) argued that professional commitment to teaching was grounded in 'a set of core, relatively permanent values based upon personal beliefs, images of self, role and identity' (p. 563). The VITAE research, which sampled 300 primary and secondary teachers across a range of professional life phases, found that:

> some teachers themselves do seek and find, in different ways, their own sense of stability […] the capacity to sustain such stability is directly associated with a combination of positive factors to be found within personal life situations and school working contexts (Day, Kington, Stobart & Sammons, 2006, p. 614)

Developing a sense of stability in the face of disruption and change was therefore highlighted by the VITAE research as one of the factors that enabled teachers to succeed in the profession. These findings have been supported by more recent research into the nature of teacher identity, conducted specifically with ECTs. Following their research with 60 ECTs in Australia, Johnson et al. (2016) argued that the development of a stable and robust professional identity was a necessary condition in maintaining resilience and commitment to the profession. Johnson et al.'s (2016)

research identified a 'connection between individuals' capacity to identify successfully as teachers and their resilience' (p. 105). The capacity of these ECTs to reconcile 'competing perspectives' (Johnson et al., 2016, p. 105) about teachers and teaching in order to develop a 'satisfying identity' (p. 103) greatly affected their resilience and commitment within the profession. Current research on teacher identity therefore highlights both the dynamic and fragmented nature of teacher identity in the current educational climate, while at the same time claiming that developing a robust, stable and coherent sense of professional identity is key to ensuring that teachers are able to effectively function in their chosen profession.

The emphasis on the importance of 'a stable sense of identity' (Flores & Day, 2006, p. 230) therefore continues in teacher identity research, although this may be variously referred to as the 'substantial self' (Passy, 2013, p. 1060), the 'real self' (Woods & Jeffrey, 2002, p. 89), 'professional self-understanding' (Kelchtermans, 2009, p. 261) or even 'desired selves as teachers' (Miller & Shifflet, 2016, p. 22). Sustaining multiple and conflicting identities as a teacher has been identified as challenging, particularly for novice teachers. Weiner and Torres, reporting on a research project conducted with nineteen novice teachers employed in US charter schools, found that while these teachers sought out employment in charter schools for those schools' prestige, over time these teachers 'struggled to hold multiple identities' (2016, p. 75) which had an impact on their commitment to the profession.

Researchers have also identified that the professional identity of teachers varies according to life or career stage, and there has been significant academic interest in the particular challenges faced by early career teachers (ECTs). The ECT phase has been determined as lasting different lengths in different studies. Some studies focus on teachers with fewer than five years of teaching experience (Hong, 2010; Cochran-Smith et al., 2012), others the first three years of teaching (Fenwick, 2011), and some limit their research to exploring only the first year in the classroom (McCormack, Gore & Thomas, 2006). In other influential studies, the ECT phase is constructed as lasting up to seven years (Huberman, 1993; Day et. al., 2007). Media reports have a tendency to

implicitly construct the ECT phase as lasting five years, based on statistics which report on teacher attrition in the first five years (Weale, 2018; Bennett, 2018). It is also worth noting that ECTs are referred to in different ways throughout the academic literature. The term 'early career teacher' is most often found in literature which has a specific focus on teacher identity or career stage (e.g., Buchanan et al., 2013; Sullivan et al., 2020). Other terms can also be found throughout the literature including 'new teacher' (Flores & Day, 2006) 'novice teacher' (Allen & Allnutt, 2017) or 'neophyte teacher' (Buchanan, 2015). Within critical literature on academies, there has been a tendency towards describing ECTs as 'young teachers' (Salokangas & Ainscow, 2018; Keddie, 2019), but this term can be problematic when describing teachers in the early career phase as it does not encompass mature career changers (Griffiths, 2011).

Studies on the early career stage of teaching typically foreground the particular difficulties of transitioning from being a student teacher to a classroom teacher (Johnson & Birkeland, 2003; Cherubini, 2009; Hulme & Menter, 2014). The early career phase in teaching is commonly constructed within teacher identity literature as a particularly challenging time, in which teachers learn to navigate the 'reality shock' (Veenman, 1984, p. 143) of transitioning from being a student teacher to being responsible for their own classes. Many studies highlight the struggles of new teachers, constructing the early career phase as a period in which 'survival concerns' (Fuller & Bown, 1975, p. 37) are at the forefront of teachers' minds.

Struggles faced by new teachers include practical challenges, such as managing the high level of workload associated with teaching (Flores & Day, 2006; Hobson et. al., 2007; Buchanan et. al., 2013; Mansfield, Beltman & Price, 2014; Pye et. al., 2016; Perryman & Calvert, 2020), but also the emotional challenges involved with teaching, including negotiating relationships with pupils and colleagues (Zembylas, 2005; Orland-Barak & Maskit, 2011; Kington, 2012; Peters & Pearce, 2012; Kington, Reed & Sammons, 2014; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2017). New teachers must also address the imbalance between idealistic visions of education and the reality of day-to-day teaching (Veenman, 1984; Smethem, 2007; Cherubini, 2009; Hong, 2010; Lacey, 2012; Gallant &

Riley, 2014; Schuck et. al., 2017; Perryman & Calvert, 2020). During their early career, teachers work to resolve the 'contradictory realities in learning to teach' (Britzman, 2003, p. 25), and either succeed or struggle to construct a satisfying professional identity (Britzman, 2003; Huberman, 1993; Day et al., 2007; Johnson et al., 2016).

Teachers' experiences and feelings of professional self-efficacy at the end of the early career stage have a significant impact on their professional identities moving forwards. Second-stage teachers (those with between four and seven years of teaching experience) have a tendency to re-evaluate their career choice (Huberman, 1993), which could partially explain the high rate of attrition commonly associated with teachers within the first five years of teaching (Gallant & Riley, 2014; Schaefer, Long & Clandinin, 2012). Kirkpatrick (2007) found that second-stage teachers who decided to stay in the profession made a further decision, over whether to 'invest', 'coast', or 'idle' (p. 1). Teachers who chose to invest sought to improve their teaching and remain committed to developing as a teacher. However, teachers who were not 'encouraged or rewarded for putting anything extra' (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 22) into their teaching often decided to 'coast' or 'idle' moving forward, relying on the skills they developed as novices to allow them to meet minimum expectations with minimum effort. When novice teachers felt their skills or investment were not recognised, this impacted on their professional identity moving forward.

Existing literature emphasises the important role that stability plays in enabling new teachers to feel successful as teachers and committed to the profession. In Huberman's model of the life cycles of teachers, the first three years of teaching were primarily focused on 'stabilization' (Huberman, 1993, p. 13). One of the major challenges identified as a significant within the early career phase of teaching is the identity work undertaken by new teachers in order to develop a stable sense of self-efficacy and pedagogical practice (Huberman, 1993; Flores & Day, 2006; Day et. al., 2007), often in the face of 'multiple challenges' (Falk, 2013, p. 95). Johnson et. al. (2014) argued that 'shaping a satisfying professional identity that takes account of the person within' (p. 104) was one of the factors which increased ECT resilience. Johnson et. al.'s (2014) research

showed that ECTs who were able to reflect on their sense of personal agency and who worked hard on developing a work-life balance were more resilient than ECTs who did not develop these strong, emergent identities as professionals.

Generational shifts may also have impacted on the type of professional identities which teachers develop. Smethem's (2007) research on the 'new generation of teachers' (p. 465) found that new entrants identified as 'classroom', 'career', or 'portfolio' teachers. Portfolio teachers 'envisaged teaching as a temporary measure […] en route to another, perhaps temporary career' (Smethem, 2007, p. 470); 'career' teachers, who were the most prominent in Smethem's sample, planned to progress to leadership roles in teaching; 'classroom' teachers were 'content to remain in the classroom' (p. 470) and accounted for the smallest number of teachers within the sample of eighteen. Smethem argued that such data indicated the 'changing demography of the teaching force' (Smethem, 2007, p. 465), as fewer teachers considered long-term classroom teaching as a stable career choice, and instead aspired to leadership progression or a portfolio career.

Research conducted on teacher identities has consistently highlighted how a personal commitment to supporting children and building positive relationships with them is an important motivating factor for teachers, strongly informing the construction of their professional identities (Flores & Day, 2006; Gu & Day, 2007). However, Alsup (2019) has noted that millennial entrants to teaching may be better able to negotiate tensions between these ideals and the practicalities of working in schools. In her research with six novice secondary teachers in the US, Alsup (2006) found that those who experienced tensions between their ideological expectations about how to best teach and support young children and the practices of their school were more likely to feel identity conflicts which led to a departure from traditional teaching roles. However, in more recent research conducted with a further six teachers classed as millennial entrants to the teaching profession, Alsup (2019) concluded that these teachers were more able to reconcile contradictions in their beliefs and values as teachers than those of previous generations. Alsup's (2019) findings suggest that teachers who have recently entered the profession may be more able to reconcile

disparate and contradictory identity-positionings in order to construct and sustain a robust and satisfying professional identity.

2.3.2 Policy, discourse, and teacher identity

Much discourse analysis in education focuses on the ways in which teachers are portrayed in society through the media (Hansen, 2009; Cohen, 2010; Alhamdan et al., 2014; Mockler, 2018), culture (Trousdale, 1992; Moore, 2004; McCulloch, 2009; Dalton, 2007), and in politics (Adams, 2011; Stanfield & Cremin, 2013). Such constructions of teachers and teaching are central in the creation and maintenance of 'cultural myths' (Britzman, 1986) which interact with teachers' personal biographies, having an impact on the possibilities available to teachers when constructing their professional identities. Beginning teachers are therefore subject to 'competing centers of gravity [which] pull [them] toward particular conceptions of teaching' (Smagorinsky, Rhym and Moore, 2013, p. 148). Portrayals of teachers are often sustained across different types of text, rather than being distinct and separate (Thomas, 2011). In this way, constructions of teacher identity deployed by these platforms interact with and, at times, support one another, contributing to a social construction of issues which become accepted as 'policy reality' (Falk, 1994, p. 1).

The discourse of educational policymakers has been a consistent focus of education researchers exploring the professional identities of teachers. In a number of research studies, the impact of education policy on teachers' professional identities has been analysed (Woods & Jeffrey, 2002; Day, Elliot & Kington, 2005; Au, 2007; Perryman, 2007; 2009; Brown & Manktelow, 2016; Bradbury, 2018). As Ball argued in his seminal paper 'The teachers' soul and the terrors of performativity', education reform 'does not simply change what people, as educators, scholars, and researchers do, it changes who they are' (Ball, 2003, p. 215). Just as policy is dynamic, teachers' responses to policy discourse have been shown to be dynamic and shifting. For example, the introduction of Ofsted inspections was initially shown to have a negative impact on teachers' sense of self, causing teachers to feel as if they lacked power and control in their work (Perryman, 2007).

More recently, research has indicated that Ofsted inspections have become so fundamental to teachers' lives that they have become integral to how teachers understand their practice and their identities as teachers (Clapham, 2015). Initially, research on the effects of accountability measures introduced as part of education reform efforts found that many teachers responded to the introduction of accountability measures by 'fabricating' practices and identities that, in some cases, conflicted with previously held beliefs and values (Ball, 2003; Perryman, 2009; Keddie, Mills & Pendergast, 2011). More recently, literature has shown how new entrants to the profession do not feel the same inner conflict as teachers in previous studies, and instead performance and accountability measures have come to provide the means by which new teachers understand their professional identity and role as a teacher (Perryman et. al., 2017; Holloway & Brass, 2018). Lesson observations, for these teachers, were part of the process through which teachers 'make themselves subjects of policy' (Perryman et. al., 2017, p. 746) by working to become 'good' teachers. The effects of policy on teacher identity are therefore historically located, changing according to context.

What these aforementioned policy studies have in common, however, is a focus on the effects of education policy on teacher identity. Such research often takes a 'policy-as-discourse' approach, which emphasises 'the processes involved in the creation of text' (Bacchi, 2000, p. 46), rather than the text itself. Other studies have more carefully focused on documentation, analysing how teachers are constructed in specific policy documents, taking an approach informed by literary deconstruction which 'tends to see everything as text' (Bacchi, 2000, p. 46). Policy studies more influenced by literary approaches to text often focus on one key policy document. Adams (2011), for example, analysed the Coalition's white paper *The Importance of Teaching,* and found that the 'position calls' offered to primary teachers through policy documents changed with the formation of the Coalition government, from an orientation towards developing a collective pedagogy as part of a school community to an increased focus on the individual teacher as craftsperson. In a number of education policy studies, a range of policy documents that give an overview of a particular policy

moment or objective are analysed. For example, in Stanfield and Cremin's (2013) analysis of how ideal types of teachers were represented in Coalition policy documents, a range of documents were selected for analysis including the 2010 white paper, alongside publications from favoured think tanks. Other research takes a comparative approach, identifying differences between policy constructions of teachers across different countries or territories (Mooney Simmie & Edling, 2019; Ryan & Bourke, 2013) or taking a diachronic approach (Søreide 2007; Thomas, 2005). The aim of such research is to illuminate how teachers are constructed in policy documents, by critically analysing the way in which teachers are portrayed by policymakers. In such research, policy documents are used to provide an insight into the wider ideological assumptions or objectives of governments.

Across these critical discourse studies of policy texts, there are significant indications that new teachers have been privileged in the discourse of educational policymakers. Thomas showed how Australian national education policy privileged a 'new generation of talented young teachers' (Australia's Department of Education, Science and Training, 2003; quoted in Thomas, 2005, p. 37). Stanfield & Cremin (2013) identified how UK Coalition policy documents positioned the 'elite graduate', the 'high flyer' and the 'ex-soldier' as ideal types of teachers. These findings indicate how global education reform efforts have a tendency to place a particular value on new entrants to the teaching profession, specifically privileging young teachers and constructing them as central to improved outcomes for children. This construction of young teachers as particularly worthy, able and valuable aligns with the figure of the young, enthusiastic teacher offered by the Teach for All project, and suggests a dominant discourse concerning young teachers within education reform policies in western democratic nations. This discourse positions the inherently 'good' young teacher as the solution to education problems, problems which have stemmed from the failures of previous teachers. In such discourse, teachers are therefore constructed as both the key problem and the key solution within education (Cochran-Smith et. al., 2016).

2.3.3 Discourse and teacher talk

Although policy documents and other cultural artefacts produce 'position calls' (Adams, 2011, p. 467) which provide possibilities to teachers when shaping their professional identities, it has been argued that teachers are 'policy actors' (Ball, 2015, p. 467) who have agency over the extent to which they embody or resist these calls. Teachers position themselves as professionals through discourse, using language to 'take up such positions *as their own*' (Vick & Martinez, 2011, p.181, emphasis original). An analysis of how teachers talk – the words they use, the narratives they construct – is therefore key in identifying how they construct their identities by taking up the positions offered to them, or by negotiating or resisting them.

Much research has been conducted into the linguistic strategies used by teachers to construct their professional identities. In their work on classroom interaction, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) identified the Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) model as the normative framework for spoken discourse within classrooms. In this model, the teacher initiates the discourse (for example by asking a question), the student responds, and the teacher then follows up this response by providing feedback. This pattern of interaction positions the teacher as the dominant party within the discourse, constructing the teacher as producing knowledge and the students as knowledge-receivers. More recent research has identified how these roles can be negotiated and altered by conversation participants in classrooms (Zhang Waring, 2009). Research into the ways in which teachers and students construct their identities as instructors and learners through classroom discourse involves recording naturally-occurring classroom interactions, and focuses on the interactional and relational aspects of identity construction – how identities are constructed through the interactions individuals have with others. Such research can be considered almost ethnographic in its data-collection method, as the researcher is first and foremost an observer collecting naturalistic data (Tsui, 2012).

Other research which seeks to explore how teachers construct their professional identities through discourse has reached beyond the classroom and explored how teachers talk in other

spaces. Vásquez and Urzúa (2009) recorded meetings involving novice language teachers and their school mentors. They identified a pattern in the way that new teachers used directly reported speech ('I said…') and directly reported mental states ('I think…'), with the former used to highlight accomplishments and successes, and the latter used to foreground uncertainty, negative emotions concerning teaching, and lack of knowledge. They argued that the use of directly reported mental states allowed novice teachers to position themselves as 'reflective thinkers and problem solvers' (p. 17) when dealing with difficulties, while at the same time presenting many of their classroom experiences as successful. Vásquez and Urzúa's research points to the competing and contradictory identity-positions which are offered to new teachers, and the ways in which new teachers attempt to negotiate these through language. Their research also shows how teacher identities are constructed in spaces beyond the classroom, in conversation with colleagues.

Byrne Bausell and Glazier (2018), like Vásquez and Urzúa (2009), explored how teachers constructed their identities during professional conversations with other teachers. By transcribing discussion groups which took place between new teachers over a period of six years, Byrne Bausell and Glazier (2018) were able to identify how the discourse of teacher entrants based in North Carolina (USA) shifted over time, as these beginning teachers were gradually socialised into the profession. When teachers entered the profession, they emphasised the importance of the community and child-centred learning, and were often critical of narrowed and scripted curriculum projects designed to increase attainment in high-stakes testing. However, as time went on, these teachers gradually incorporated increasing language related to testing into their professional conversations, eventually becoming 'fully absorbed into a new way of teaching as a result of the all-consuming policy context' (Byrne Bausell & Glazier, 2018, p. 324). Bates (2016) identified a similar trend in primary schools in England. Interviews conducted with 27 primary practitioners across two settings 'revealed a significant convergence of practitioner discourse with policy objectives' (Bates, 2016, p. 191). Like the teachers in Byrne Bausell & Glazier's later study, Bates's participants emphasised the administrative requirements of being a teacher – such as data

collection and curriculum delivery. These two studies therefore indicate how both the language of policy and its practical demands come to dominate teacher talk and the ways that teachers come to construct their professional identities within communities of practice. Although individuals may join the teaching profession with idealistic values strongly informed by personal biographies and beliefs (Flores & Day, 2006; Perryman & Calvert, 2020), the demands and the language of policy soon come to dominate.

Previous research into teacher talk has indicated that teachers construct their professional identities, at least in part, through their use of language. The language of policy, in particular, has been identified as a dominant influence on teacher talk in professional spaces. This study is aligned with such research in its exploration of the relationship between policy, discourse and teacher identity.

2.4 Summary

Previous research has recognised the centrality of new teachers to educational reform, and has also highlighted the relationship between academies and new teachers. This study is informed by previous critical work undertaken on academies, policy discourse and teacher identity, but is the first to explicitly explore the identities of ECTs working in primary academy schools. Considering the impact that school context plays in teacher identity, it is important to explore how changes to primary schools which have occurred as a result of post-2010 reforms have affected ECTs. Post-2010 changes to ITT indicated that ECTs were constructed by policymakers as having a key role to play within this period of reform, but the relationship between academisation and ECT identity, and the impact of academisation on the identities of new teachers, has yet to be systematically explored. This study is an attempt to address this gap in the research.

In line with past studies which have focused on language and its relationship to teacher identity, this study will focus on how the language of policy positions ECTs, and the linguistic strategies used by ECTs to negotiate these position calls. The next chapter explores the relationship

between language and identity more fully, by detailing the theoretical frameworks which informed the study's design.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The field of teacher identity research is vast, with different approaches taken to defining identity, as intimated in the preceding literature review. As the present project explored the identity of early career teachers (ECTs) working in primary academy schools, it was important to commit to a definition of identity early into the project, in order to inform a coherent theoretical and methodological approach to the research. This chapter describes the theoretical frameworks informing the study in detail.

This study was primarily informed by the work of the French sociologist and philosopher Michel Foucault. The study specifically focuses on the use of language to construct and negotiate identity-positionings. In doing so, it reads Foucault primarily as a philosopher of language (Veyne, 2010). The study also draws on speech act theory in its presentation of language as action, having performative effects on the construction and negotiation of identities, and recognises a distinction between 'serious' speech acts and 'everyday' speech acts, derived from Dreyfus and Rabinow's (1983) interpretation of Foucault's work. Serious speech acts construct societal norms, aligned with the specific requirements of historical circumstance, and are performed by those in privileged positions of power, such as policymakers and politicians. In contrast, the function of everyday speech acts is understood in this thesis as a process of constructing a positive sense of self-identity as a teacher, primarily through the socio-linguistic concept of 'face' (Goffman, 1967; Brown & Levinson, 1987). It was assumed that interview participants sought to maintain face – essentially a positive presentation of self-identity – through positive interactions with other social actors. The present research study aimed to explore both serious and everyday speech acts concerned with the construction of ECT identity.

The study explored how ECTs working in Multi-Academy Trust (MAT) primary schools were able to present and maintain a positive face in the negotiation of normative expectations of their role and identity. As such, the conception of teacher identity as presented in this research is

closely aligned with that of Maclure, who adopted a 'discourse-based approach' (1993, p. 314) to investigate identity as 'a kind of *argument* – a resource that people use to explain, justify and make sense of themselves to others' (1993, p. 311, emphasis original).

3.1 Foucault: Discourse, power and identity

3.1.1 Language, truth and the subject

Foucault's work is often described as post-structuralist, grouped with other French philosophers including Jean-François Lyotard, Jacques Derrida and Gilles Deleuze (see, for example, Hodgson & Standish, 2008; Humes & Bryce, 2010). However, for the purposes of this research project I prefer to locate Foucault's work alongside philosophers primarily concerned with the nature of truth and its relationship to documentation and language (namely Friedrich Nietzsche and J. L. Austin, amongst others) as proposed by Veyne (2010). Foucault positioned himself explicitly in a line with Nietzsche (Foucault, 1984) and also entered into philosophical debate around the 'speech act referred to by the English analysts' (Foucault, 2002a, p. 93), tacitly ackowledging the work of Austin (1975). In doing so, Foucault identified as a philosopher who was interested in language and its effects on identity and truth.

The key aspects of Foucault's philosophical approach lie in his rejection of the transcendental and essential, both in terms of knowledge and the self (Foucault, 1984). Foucault's work proposes that what it is possible to know, and possible to be, is produced (and therefore ultimately restricted) by societal factors and historical circumstance (Veyne, 2010). A Foucauldian analysis focuses primarily on how institutions or groups of people are historically problematised in discourse, the rhetoric used in discourse to explain these problematisations, and the subjectivities constructed by such problematisations (Rose, 1999). This study is therefore Foucauldian in that it focuses on the impact of one particular historical moment on identity construction, and resists locating the cause of participants' beliefs or behaviours in a 'core' teacher identity that remains fixed, despite historical and political change. In line with other Foucauldian

studies, it also resists ideology critique (Rose, 1999), in that it aims to trace how knowledges are constructed and developed, rather than seeking to prove them false.

Foucault preferred to identify with the purpose of his research rather than a specific philosophical tradition, arguing that his research focus remained constant to 'the problem of the relationship between subject and truth' (Fornet-Betancourt, Becker & Gomez-Müller, 1984, p. 9). Foucault intended that his research methods be used by other researchers in order to raise critical awareness of the subjectifying effects of the relationship between power and knowledge (Sawicki, 1991), and the aim of the present research project is consistent with this intention. Like others working within the field of education policy who draw on Foucault to illuminate aspects of education policy and policy enactment (Ball, 2003; Bailey, 2015; Perryman et. al., 2017), I intended to draw on the theories and methodologies offered by Foucault in order to make visible some of the power relations which had an effect on the construction of ECT professional identity during the post-2010 period of educational reform. Such work rests on the premise that Foucault's theories allow for the possibility of human agency, although I recognise that Foucault's conception of freedom and agency is one of the most contentious aspects of his philosophical framework (Butin, 2001; Fenech & Sumsion, 2007).

3.1.2 Discourse and archaeology

Some scholars have found it helpful to divide Foucault's work into several distinct stages, namely the archaeological, genealogical, and ethical stages of his philosophical work (Prado, 1995). Foucault's early work in the 1960s involved developing a methodology for an 'archaeological' analysis of how knowledge is constructed within the social world (Foucault 2002a; 2002b). This work introduced one of the most important ideas in Foucault's theory; that there is no *a priori* knowledge that is not historical (Veyne, 2010). The aim of the archaeological method was to try and discern the fundamental, historical structures of knowledge which determined thought and knowledge during a given historical moment (Foucault, 2002a). The possibility of having

knowledge of a subject or object which could be somehow neutral or removed from its historical genesis, Foucault argued, was impossible. For example, Foucault's analysis of madness from the Renaissance to the modern day, presented in in *Madness and Civilization* (Foucault, 1967), showed that concepts concerning identity and the self, which may feel natural and fixed to individuals, are actually historically contingent, fluid and fluctuating with time.

The process of archaeological analysis involves identifying continuations of knowledge from previous times, and also ruptures and changes which indicate the production of new ways of thinking and knowing (Gale, 2001). The present research project explores discourse in a very specific policy moment, namely the period of post-2010 academisation, attempting to identify what was unique and disruptive about this particular moment in time. Archaeological approaches to policy analysis focus on why a particular issue becomes identified as a 'problem' – an object of intervention – during a specific time (Scheurich, 1994). The point of archaeology is to produce an explanation of how these 'problematisations' come about as a result of historical changes. Rather than asking how an educational problem can be solved, an archaeological approach questions how the issue first came to be recognised as a problem requiring a solution. In line with an archaeological analysis, therefore, this research project aims to make explicit the particular discourses prevalent during the post-2010 period of systematic academisation in England and how these discourses specifically problematised particular objects (including teachers) within the field of education.

The term 'discourse' derives from this early, archaeological period of Foucault's work, although Foucault does not define the term clearly or use it in a systematic fashion throughout his work (Howarth, 2001). In *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* Foucault defines discourse as a:

> group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation; it does not form a rhetorical or formal unity, endlessly repeatable. (Foucault, 2002a, p. 131)

The fluctuating nature of discourse is apparent here, which suggests that rather than trying to define discourse by what it is, it is more sensible to look to the *effects* of discourse in order to

understand how it operates. Foucault also seems to suggest that discourse is a changing process through which subjects are able to take up a position:

> I wanted not to exclude the problem of the subject, but to define the positions and functions that the subject could occupy in the diversity of discourse. (Foucault, 2002a, p. 221)

This understanding of discourse, as a constantly changing opportunity which facilitates the construction of knowledge and identity, is consistent with arguments made by Hollway (1998) and van Langenhove & Harré (1999), who read 'discourse' as making positions available in the social world, which individuals are then able to take up or resist. Discourses are both productive, in enabling some ways of knowing and being; they are also restrictive, in that they constrain or limit other possibilities of identity formation (Bazzul, 2016). Furthermore, Foucault argued that there were a 'multiplicity of discourses' (Foucault, 1998, p. 33) surrounding any one object, providing multiple identity-positionings for individuals to take up.

As the present research project focuses on the way that language positions individuals, I use the term discourse to indicate a collection of statements or ideas which open up knowledges, moralities and positionalities – and, consequently, identities – to the individual. These statements can be apparent in both written and spoken language. The process through which subjectivities emerge in conversation with discourse is referred to by Foucault as *assujettissement*, which can be translated as 'subjectivation', 'subjection', or 'subjugation', and 'describes a double process of the actions of power in relation to selves that is both negative and positive' (Heyes, 2014, p. 160). Discourses are positive in that they enable new ways of being, but they are also negative in the sense that they oppress other possibilities or render such possibilities invisible.

3.1.3 Power, genealogy, and technologies of the self

It is Foucault's second period, during which time he focused on 'genealogy', which has probably had the most impact on the field of education. During this period, Foucault focused on developing

his understanding of the relationship between power and knowledge, and their constituent effects on the subjectivity of individuals. Although Foucault would later argue that his primary theoretical concern was always the subject (Foucault, 1982), it is his work on power during this period which is most frequently used in education research. In *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault, 1977), Foucault argued that in the modern age, power was no longer a 'privilege that one might possess' (p. 26), but a productive force which mobilised the social body. Disciplinary power, unlike sovereign power which preceded it, was no longer the privilege of one central authority figure. Instead, power 'is embedded in the governing systems of order, appropriation, and exclusion by which subjectivities are constructed and social life is formed' (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998, p. 18).

During this genealogical period, Foucault came to argue that knowledge and power exist in a dialectical relationship, in which historically contingent relationships of power produce what is accepted as knowledge, and access to this valorised knowledge works to sustain those in privileged positions of power (Foucault, 1998). This power-knowledge relationship has a constitutive effect on the subject. Institutions or disciplines such as economics or medicine develop 'modes of inquiry' (Foucault, 1982, p. 777), which produce accepted knowledge about the subject by dividing individuals into categories. An example of such categorisations are the 'dividing practices' (Foucault, 1982, p. 777) which objectivise individuals by dividing them into binary categories, such as sane/mad or sick/healthy. These dividing practices have the effect of normalising certain identities and pathologising others. Individuals recognise these categories, modifying their behaviour depending on their identification with the categories made available to them (Foucault, 1982, pp. 777-8). The mobilisation or deployment of both modes of enquiry and dividing practices open up different identity-positionings to the individual, encouraging individuals to cultivate certain beliefs or behaviours. Such differences between individuals are not, therefore, conceived as being essential to the person, but are instead the product of power relations which result in schismatic effects. As such, differences between individuals are understood not as '*an effect* of an originary loss or plenitude, but rather that identity and difference, though they certainly are

located in specific chains of effects, likewise *produce effects*' (Nealon, 1998, p. 11, emphasis original). Discursive divisions between different groups of people do not represent an innate or essential difference that existed before the description, but instead produce the effect of division which they construct.

A key aspect of Foucault's work on power during this period is his argument that power is not primarily or necessarily an oppressive or negative force, as is often assumed. In fact, Foucault argued that power is productive, creating and altering the social world. In *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault, 1977), he argued that knowledge of the human body and mind enabled the development of a disciplinary power which increased both the efficiency and docility of individuals, rather than repressing or diminishing output. This idea was extended to the whole population in *The History of Sexuality Volume 1* (Foucault, 1998), in which Foucault argued that techniques of biopower were deployed in order to improve the productivity and health of the nation, having wide-ranging effects on social organisation and individual identity. The Malthusian couple, for example, regulated and limited their own procreation in response to political socialisation and discourse (Foucault, 1998). In doing so, they contributed to the economic and social management of their country's birth rate. In this way, individuals came to be 'responsibilised' for the wider social body outside their own family. Biopower concerns the strategic use of particular identities or technologies of power on individual social agents with the aim of managing and extending life within the social body as a whole; it works through a process of discursively dividing the population 'into sub-groups that will contribute to or retard the general welfare and life of the population' (Dean, 2010, p. 119).

In contrast to how the effects of power are usually understood, Foucault argued that pleasure was a key effect of power, stating that:

> Pleasure and power do not cancel or turn back against one another; they seek out, overlap, and reinforce one another. They are linked together by complex mechanisms and devices of excitation and incitement. (Foucault, 1998, p. 48).

The pleasurable sensations involved in the exercise of power explain how power works through all individuals, rather than being the possession only of those in privileged positions of power. Foucault's insight that pleasure is an important factor in the deployment of power is key to understanding his arguments about governmentality, which have had a major impact on education research and are particularly prominent in the critical policy sociology tradition (Niesche, 2015; Regmi, 2017). Governmentality refers to rational attempts by governing authorities to shape the behaviour, beliefs, and consequently the *actions* of citizens in order to rule efficiently and limit resistance. Through shaping the identities of citizens, ruling governments aim to create 'docile bodies' (Foucault, 1977) who are not only accepting of policy, but who 'play a part in its operations' (Rose & Miller, 2010, p. 272). In this way, it is not only knowledge which is intimately bound to relations of power, but also pleasure (Dean, 2012), as the shaping of identity through efficient means involves the deployment of pleasure rather than oppression (Foucault, 1998).

Neoliberal governmentality, the form of governmentality which has been dominant since the 1980s, is focused on the 'valorization of the self-actualized subject' (Dean, 2010, p. 182), and shifts responsibility for health, wealth and national competitiveness from the state and onto individual citizens. Under forms of neoliberal governance, 'policy aims are achieved through the apparently autonomous actions of agents, but actions which are heavily steered by various control mechanisms' (Gillies, 2011, p. 207). In education, forms of neoliberal governmentality place the teacher as the central pillar in educational improvement and reform, responsibilising the teacher for a range of societal and cultural issues (Olmedo, Bailey & Ball, 2013; Simons, 2015; Slater, 2015; Bailey, 2015; Kulz, 2017; Torrance, 2017). Control mechanisms which work on teacher subjects include accountability practices such as student examinations and lesson observations (Keddie, Mills & Pendergast, 2011; Torrance, 2017). Such mechanisms are effective because they come to feel natural, or even pleasurable, to subjects, in contrast to oppressive regimes, which engender resistance and are therefore inefficient. An apparatus of power which instead works with the

'natural body' (Foucault, 1977, p. 155) can extract the most labour with the least resistance (Foucault, 1977).

Particularly pertinent in education studies is the pleasure the individual experiences through the act of confession, a pleasure which is experienced by both the confessing subject and their confessor (Foucault, 1998, pp. 44-5). Confessional activities encourage teachers to modify their teaching according to accepted norms, thus maintaining and extending dominant power structures (Atkinson, 2012). The pleasure that teachers feel when successfully participating in confessional activities produces conditions which enable these activities to be repeated, again supporting the extension of dominant power structures. In the case of observations, for example, Holloway and Brass (2018) have shown how accountability mechanisms such as unscheduled lesson observations were not understood by teachers as negative intrusions on their professional autonomy, but instead as opportunities to learn how to develop and perform better as a teacher. Teachers were committed to the confessional 'self-reflective practices' embedded into 'post-observation conferences', which they used as a 'means for gauging their personal value' (Holloway & Brass, 2018, p. 373). Such findings signal a departure from the findings of previous research in the critical policy sociology tradition, which had shown how 'the sense of being permanently under a disciplinary regime can lead to fear, anger and disaffection' (Perryman, 2007, p. 174). This shift in the way that teachers understand observation has been attributed to the effect of neoliberal governmentality on teacher identity (Bailey, 2015; Perryman et. al., 2017; Holloway & Brass, 2018); this said, some research has highlighted the continuing possibilities for resistance (Ball & Olmedo, 2013).

Foucault showed that the field of power relations is complex and unpredictable, but also that it is wrong to assume that power always exists in a resistance/compliance relationship with individuals in which power is always an oppressive force. Power is understood as 'a way in which certain actions modify others' (Foucault, 1982, p. 788); power does not *prevent* things happening, but *produces* further action. Furthermore, Foucault argued that forms of disciplinary power and bio-

power are successful because of the capacity of power relations to appear natural, almost invisible to the individual:

> power is tolerable only on the condition that it mask a substantial part of itself. Its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms. (Foucault, 1998, p. 86)

Foucault argued that power has the effect of making social actors feel pleasure, freedom and agency without feeling controlled, thereby challenging traditional conceptions of power in which social actors feel repressed or pressured to conform. Foucault's alternative conception of power has been of great interest to researchers who work with groups who are traditionally assumed to be lacking power, for example sex workers (Smith, 2017) and disabled children (Curran, 2010). The objects of my study – teachers in the early career phase – are often presented as lacking agency and as being oppressed by structural inequalities (Fuller & Bown, 1975; Cherubini, 2009; Gallant & Riley, 2014). Foucault's theories offer an alternative way of conceptualising and understanding their actions.

In the final period of his work, Foucault attempted to resolve the tensions in his work surrounding structural discipline and individual freedom by focusing on ethics, or 'care of the self' (Foucault, 1988a; 1988b). Critics of Foucault's genealogical phase had emphasised an apparent lack of agency for the individual in *Discipline and Punish,* with subjectivities entirely constituted by dominant discourses (Stickney, 2009). Foucault's final phase of writing therefore involved a move from subjectivity (how the individuals are known and constituted by others) to identity (how individuals work to know themselves). During this later phase of his work, Foucault distinguished between different types of 'technologies' that worked on the individual, thereby having an effect on how these individuals constructed their identity. Foucault described *technologies of power* as being able to 'determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination', whereas *technologies of the self* 'permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls […] so as to transform

themselves' (Foucault, 1988b, p. 18). This final phase of Foucault's thought is increasingly being used as a theoretical framework to explore how teachers develop a professional identity (Olmedo, Bailey & Ball, 2013; Bailey, 2013; Perryman et al., 2017), indicating an increased scholarly recognition that teachers willingly participate in practices which are intended to alter their way of being in order to improve themselves, rather than being passively subjected to oppressive technologies of power.

3.2 Speech Act Theory: Language as action

3.2.1 Speech as action

Speech act theory is an area of philosophical investigation concerning ordinary language use, developed primarily from the work of the philosopher J. L. Austin (1975). Austin's insight into language as action underpins much linguistic theory, including Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992). Speech act theory is gradually becoming more adopted more widely as a theoretical framework for analysing the impact of political language and its effects on individuals' behaviours and beliefs (Dupont, 2019). Although there is not a long tradition of directly applying speech act theory as a theoretical framework within the field of education studies, recent publications within the field indicate a growing interest in how speech act theory can inform analysis of educational issues (Bergh, 2011; Arneback & Quennerstedt, 2016; Gasparatou, 2018).

The fundamental premise of Austin's argument (and of speech act theory more widely) is that language, although often wrongly assumed by many positivist philosophers to be simply descriptive, is actually 'performative' (Austin, 1975, p. 3). Language does not simply describe or represent what already exists in the world, but instead brings about effects and changes in the social world. Language is able to *do* things, as well as describe things. One of the most famous examples Austin gives to illustrate his argument is of the wedding ceremony. When the groom says 'I do', the groom is not simply describing a state of affairs, but bringing a new state of affairs into being (Austin, 1975, p. 5). Before the utterance the pair were not married; after the utterance

they are. The utterance itself has therefore brought about a change in the social world. Austin called this type of speech 'performative', and made a distinction between this type of utterance and descriptive statements that can be determined to be either true or false, known as 'constative utterances' (Austin, 1975, p. 6).

A distinction resides in the way performative utterances are analysed, in comparison with descriptive statements. Rather than perceiving performative utterances to be either true or false, they are judged on whether they are happy or unhappy, that is, whether their intended effect is successfully brought about. For example, Austin argues that if a priest was not present when the marriage ceremony took place, the utterance of 'I do' by the bride and groom would not have the intended effect of binding them together in marriage. The performative outcome of the speech act is dependent on a range of social factors, including a priest being present, there being witnesses present, the marriage taking place in a licensed location, etc. If any of these contextual factors are incorrect, then despite saying 'I do' the two will not be married. The performative utterance will have failed to have brought about its intended effect, the bride and groom will not be married, and the utterance is therefore 'unhappy' (Austin, 1975, p. 16). It cannot be said that the performative utterance 'I do' is *false* in this circumstance, but it can be said that the utterance is unhappy, in that it has certainly failed to bring about the intended effect. Speech acts are not, therefore, analysed according to whether they represent the truth about a situation or not. They are analysed according to their effectiveness in bringing about a certain action.

In understanding speech as action, the aim of this study was to 'disentangle the question of truth value from the question of performative effect' (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 129). Rather than assuming that the discourses of politicians and teachers should be analysed in order to determine whether they were true or false statements, instead the focus of this study was oriented towards the effects of the language used. Language was presumed to have an effect on the social world, rather than a representative function with a corresponding truth value, and analysed as such. Such

an analysis holds that 'in characterizing people in various ways we constitute them as people of a certain kind' (Marshall, 1999, p. 312).

3.2.2 'Serious' and 'everyday' speech acts

In the present research project, two different forms of discourse are explored and analysed: political speeches and research interviews. These different forms of discourse have different functions and effects. Dreyfus and Rabinow's (1983) distinction between 'serious' and 'everyday' speech acts, proposed in their analysis of Foucault's contribution to philosophy, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* is helpful in distinguishing how these two different forms of discourse should be understood as contributing to the construction of teacher identity. Serious speech acts are performative utterances produced by those in the position of expert, whereas everyday speech acts are produced during the negotiation of ordinary, everyday conversations.

Dreyfus and Rabinow's focus on serious speech acts highlights that speech act theory was of great interest to philosophers working in the continental tradition, including Foucault, despite its origins in the English analytic tradition of philosophy. Notably, both Foucault and Derrida troubled the identification and effect of the speech act with the intention of the speaker. In *Signature Event Context*, Derrida critiqued the work of Austin by arguing that the intention of the speaker and the context of the utterance does not fully determine its effects or interpretation:

> the category of intention will not disappear; it will have its place, but from that place it will no longer be able to govern the entire scene and system of utterance. (Derrida, 1988, p. 18).

This, Derrida argued, was particularly true of written texts, because the very nature of writing breaks the statement from its immediate context and enables it to be read and interpreted anew in a different context or at a different time. Foucault similarly rejected the conflation of the speech act itself and the intentions of its author, stating that the 'speech act is not what took place just prior to the moment when the statement was made (in the author's thought or intention)'

(Foucault, 2002a, p. 93). However, unlike Derrida, Foucault argued that the meaning of a speech act was tied to its emergence in a particular historical context:

> [the speech act] is what occurred by the very fact that a statement was made – and precisely this statement (and no other) in specific circumstances. (Foucault, 2002a, p. 93).

Foucault's focus on the historical context of the speech act is consistent with his argument that discourse fluctuates according to historical factors. Foucault and Derrida therefore disagree on the relative importance of context when interpreting speech acts, but they share the same critique of authorial intentionality, arguing that the intention of the author should not be the sole factor which determines the interpretation or analysis of a text.

In their analysis of Foucault, Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983) further argued that his work was particularly attentive to 'serious speech acts'. These expert utterances construct knowledge which informs the production of normative identity-positions. The speech acts that experts produce are 'what experts say when they are speaking as experts' (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. xiv). In this study, ministerial speeches were chosen as an example of serious speech acts within the field of education. Government ministers may not have expertise in teaching, however, they nonetheless occupy the position of expert within the discursive field. This is because although everyday and serious speech acts may be similarly structured, and ultimately have a similar overall function (to affect a change in an individual's feelings, or to result in an action or event of some sort) the effect of serious speech acts will be *quantitatively* different to the effect of an everyday speech act. Whereas an everyday speech act may have an effect on one person or a small group of people, a serious speech act has the capacity to affect a greater number of people, as it is more likely to be repeated to people beyond its original utterance. Serious speech acts are often recorded and disseminated wider than everyday speech acts, dislocating their immediate context and opening them up to alternative interpretations (Derrida, 1988). Furthermore, the expert

positioning of the individual uttering a serious speech act gives the act more credibility, making the speech act more likely to have a happy rather than an unhappy outcome.

Interview participants, on the other hand, produce 'everyday' speech acts. These everyday speech acts are key to the construction of identity, functioning as a way of building, maintaining and presenting a positive self-identity. Using everyday speech acts, individuals position themselves within a discursive field made available to them. Positioning theory, a branch of social psychology derived from speech act theory, is relevant to the understanding of everyday speech acts (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999). Positioning theory holds that within social interaction, the effect of utterances is to discursively *position* subjects to take on a certain characteristic or role, for example, as powerful or weak, dominant or submissive, knowledgeable or lacking knowledge. This social interaction can involve spoken interaction during conversations, or interaction with written discourse. Following their positioning within a conversation, participants within the conversation must then agentially negotiate the position that has been offered to them. The positions of all participants in the conversation are, throughout this process, constantly negotiated using a variety of linguistic strategies including self-positioning (use of the first-person singular 'I') and moral positioning (use of moral codes and norms). The negotiation of this positioning constitutes identity, as participants seek to build an understanding of themselves and how they wish to present themselves within the constraints offered to them through the interactional process. Analysing the everyday speech acts or 'positionings' of individuals involved in conversations can provide an indication of the serious speech acts which both limit and enable their capacity to construct certain identities for themselves.

In practice, a distinct binary between serious and everyday speech acts is difficult to maintain. Senior leaders who participated in this research project, for example, spoke from a position of power which rendered their speech acts as 'serious'; however, they were also engaged in the 'everyday' speech acts of negotiating interpersonal conversation. Contextual factors necessarily determine the force of utterances. However, if we accept, as van Langenhove and Harré

(1999) suggest, that discourses open up spaces for individuals to position their identity, then both serious and everyday speech acts are the means by which individuals are prompted to agentially align themselves towards (or alternatively, resist) particular discourses. Researchers working on discourse analysis have therefore incorporated speech act theory into their analysis of texts (Fairclough, 1992; Strauss & Feiz, 2014), arguing that language – especially when repetitive, consistent, or aligned to a particular moral or epistemological stance – can have a constitutive effect on subjectivity, by prompting individuals to position themselves within or against particular discourses. The discursive field available to individuals is at least partially (if not exclusively) made available to individuals through the utterance of serious speech acts. Serious speech acts govern what is considered normative, and through everyday speech acts individuals negotiate these norms. The difference between serious and everyday speech acts therefore concerns the distinction between subjectivity and identity. Whereas serious speech acts are concerned with subjectifying individuals and making them knowable to others, everyday speech acts are employed in the service of identity, enabling individuals to work on presenting or knowing themselves.

3.2.3 The repetition and ritual of speech acts

Although Foucault held that discourse had a subjectifying effect on individuals, it has been argued that 'how discourse effects [the constitution of governable individuals] through the *force of language* is not fully developed by Foucault.' (Marshall, 1999; p. 309, emphasis original). The early work of the philosopher Judith Butler endeavoured to synthesize the theoretical claims of Austin and Foucault in developing an understanding of how the subject is formed through performative discourse (Butler, 1997; 1999; 2007; 2010; 2011; Youdell, 2006). Butler's early work is primarily focused on gender and identity, exploring the power of ritual discursive and material practices to constitute gender. Butler argued that there is no pre-existing ontological condition of gender, but instead that gender is constructed through performative acts, which she argues can be both linguistic and material. For example, Butler argued that the pronouncement of babies as boy or

girl is not a constative utterance representing a fact (as usually understood), but actually a performative utterance that inscribes gender difference. As the child grows older, repetition of performative utterances on gender then continue to have effects on the child's developing identity (Butler, 2007). Butler's work also draws heavily on the theories of Foucault to conceptualise how power relations create and sustain systems of normativity which make the socially constructed *appear* ontologically essential. Butler's work therefore provides an example of how speech act theory can provide a methodological bridge, linking the abstract Foucauldian notions of power and discourse, and the practicalities of identifying the exact *means* through which power and discourse is constituted in everyday life. For Butler, the use of performative utterances can lead to 'certain kinds of socially binding consequences' (Butler, 2010, p. 147); these consequences can then be analysed as the multiple effects of power and discourse working on individual subjectivity.

Butler holds that Austin's distinction between descriptive utterances and performative utterances is untenable, arguing that 'the constative claim is always to some extent performative' (Butler, 2011, p. xix). For Butler, one of the key functions of performative discourse is to constitute and sustain identity categories. In line with Foucault, Butler rejects the concept of the core or essential identity, arguing instead that 'what we take to be an internal essence […] is manufactured through a sustained set of acts.' (Butler, 2007, p. xv). The performative nature of political discourses 'mobilize identity categories' (Butler, 2011, p. xiii) which serve political goals. What appear to be descriptive or representative statements in discourse actually function as performatives, which act as normalising instruments of power. These normalising instruments differentiate between what is considered acceptable or normal and what is considered abject (Butler, 2007; 2011). Again drawing from Foucault, Butler argues that genealogical studies are necessary to make explicit 'the political stakes in designating as an *origin* and *cause* those identity categories that are in fact the *effects* of institutions, practices, discourses with multiple and diffuse points of origin' (Butler, 2007, p. xxxi, emphasis original). Butler's troubling of the distinction between constative and descriptive utterances provides a key theoretical foundation for this thesis,

as political discourse is primarily analysed in terms of its performative effects on identity rather than its truth-value as a descriptive utterance. Furthermore, her synthesis of Foucauldian theory and speech act theory indicates how the two theories, although originating in different philosophical fields, can be advantageous in an analysis of the effects of political discourse on identity.

One of the explanations Butler provides as to the efficacious nature of performatives is sustained repetition and the ritual nature of discursive practices. Butler argues that 'performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual' (Butler, 2007, p. xv). Repetition has the effect of consolidating discourse to give it the effect of appearing natural or transcendental, and therefore somehow unquestionable. In this way, discursive practices which are the result of historical circumstance appear as though they are reflective of fundamental truths, and therefore have the effect of normalising certain practices, beliefs or behaviours. Butler is consistent with Austin (1975) in her emphasis on the importance of ritual and repetition for the efficacy of speech acts (Butler, 2007; 2010; 2011). However, for Butler, repetition does not only have the effect of compounding and sustaining the perlocutionary effects of discourse, but also reiterates discourse in such a way that the effect is 'established anew, again and again' (Butler, 2010, p. 149). The repetition of normalising discursive practices does not always occur in a ritual or identical manner; reiterations can shift and alter over time, creating new ways of stabilising normative identity-positions.

Butler does not claim that performative utterances are always successful, resisting the 'magical view of the performative' (Butler, 1997, p. 21). However, she maintains that a speech act can be analysed as a speech act even if it fails to achieve a consistent or expected effect. Indeed, in this Butler is entirely consistent with Austin, who spends a significant amount of time in *How to do things with words* (1975) speculating about the different ways in which speech acts can fail or 'misfire.'[17] Where Butler differs from Austin is in how she posits that individuals can resist or

[17] As previously discussed, failures can happen - because the speaker is insincere, or because a condition of the speech act's felicity (or happiness) has not been met).

trouble identity categories which are normalised in discourse through performative means; this resistance can result in the failure of performative political speech acts.

However, in line with Foucault, Butler is careful to emphasise how resistance is not located 'outside' discourse. Although individuals can construct an identity which resists social norms, this resistance is not separate from the norm, but intimately bound up with it:

> There is the operation of a norm, invariably social, that conditions what will and will not be a recognizable account [of myself]. And there can be no account of myself that does not, to some extent, conform to norms that govern the humanly recognizable, or that negotiate these terms in some ways. (Butler, 2001, p. 26).

The construction of identity involves both the recognition and the negotiation of subjectifying practices through discursive positioning. In her explanation of how individuals come to give an account of themselves, Butler highlights the dominance of social norms, which govern how individuals can come to know themselves. Although resistance to social norms is possible, individuals come to understand themselves as 'resisting' through an initial recognition and negotiation of the norm.

3.3 Discourse and identity: 'Face' and 'politeness'

3.3.1 Face and face-work

Data gathered from qualitative interviews with research participants during this study had a different purpose and function from the serious speech acts of policy texts. Interview data required a different theoretical approach, understanding that these data reflected a collection of everyday speech acts, rather than serious speech acts. Theoretical concepts of 'face' (Goffman, 1967) and 'politeness' (Brown & Levinson, 1987) were therefore employed to inform the analysis of interview data. These concepts aim to explain how individuals position themselves in conversation through linguistic means (in accordance with the subject-positions made available to them through discourse) with the ultimate aim of building and portraying a positive self-identity.

The concept of 'face' was developed by the sociologist Erving Goffman. It has been argued that there is a 'striking resemblance' (Burns, 1992, p. 142) between the work of Goffman and that of Foucault, as both are interested in processes of socialisation and normativity. However, whereas Foucault is interested in systems, taking a 'top-down' approach to understanding how societies and the individuals within them function, Goffman instead employs a 'bottom-up' approach to understanding human behaviour, starting from the individual. Goffman's work explains how individual behaviours feed into social norms during concrete conversations and interactions; whereas Foucault's work is centred on abstract systems, Goffman is interested in ordinary conversations (Hacking, 2004). Using Goffman's ideas as a foundation for understanding and analysing participant interviews and focus groups does not, therefore, signal a departure from the overall Foucauldian framework of the thesis. Goffman's concept of face does, however, allow for a more focused analysis of the everyday speech acts produced by research participants.

In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Goffman, 1959), Goffman developed his 'dramaturgical analysis' of human interactions. Using the metaphor of the theatre, Goffman described how an individual guides and controls the impressions that others have of them, aiming for their 'audience' to accept the presentation of identity – or self-image – which they offer. As such, the self for Goffman is generated through a social process, rather than being a fixed entity which resides in the individual (Tseëlon, 1992). Importantly, Goffman argues that this presentation of identity is not fixed, but changes according to context; however, he emphasises that individuals strive to maintain a coherent impression of their identity, and, furthermore, an 'idealized' performance which 'is moulded and modified to fit into the understanding and expectations of the society in which it is presented' (Goffman, 1959, p. 44). One way in which an individual strives to construct and maintain a coherent self-image is through a tendency to 'conceal or underplay those activities, facts, and motives which are incompatible with an idealized version of himself' (Goffman, 1959, p. 56). Through an analysis of how people speak, it is therefore possible not only to identify how they wish to present themselves, but also the values, beliefs and behaviours which

they consider to be ideal. At points, 'destructive information' may damage the impression that the individual wishes to portray to others; this is information which has the potential to destabilise the coherent, idealized self-identity which the individual wishes to portray, and as such must be hidden from others. Attempts to portray a coherent, stable image of the self indicates the importance of portraying a coherent self, despite the nature of identity as dynamic and socially constructed (Schwalbe, 1993; Hancock & Garner, 2014).

Goffman argued that during interaction with other social actors, individuals strive to maintain a positive 'face', which he defined as:

> the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself […] Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes. (Goffman, 1967, p. 5)

He went on to argue that individuals aim to be 'in face' during conversations, which enables them to feel confident and assured, and gives them a sense of security. However, it is possible for individuals to become involved in interactions which damage their social worth somehow, which Goffman described as being in the 'wrong face'. Being in the 'wrong face' feels uncomfortable, as would being 'out of face' – unable to understand, and consequently unable to negotiate the conversation successfully. Conversation participants therefore negotiate interaction in order to maintain the status of being 'in face' and avoiding being in the 'wrong face' or 'out of face.' Goffman argued that in social interaction, individuals were primarily focused on maintaining their own face (avoiding embarrassment), whilst also avoiding damage to the face of others participating within the interaction (avoiding embarrassing others). Goffman's concept of face is inherently indebted to speech act theory, as it presupposes that all speech is action. According to Goffman's theory of face, individuals use speech as action to build and present a positive face to others whilst interacting in conversations.

3.3.2 Politeness

Goffman's concept of face was significantly expanded and developed by the sociolinguists Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson (1987), who used it as a foundational premise for their theory of politeness. Brown and Levinson analysed conversation in American and British English, Tamil, and Tzeltal in order to develop a universal theory concerning how individuals seek to maintain face during spoken interaction. Although Brown and Levinson's claims to universality have since been criticised,[18] politeness theory remains an area of research interest within pragmatics and sociolinguistics (Sifianou & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2018). Although Brown and Levinson's original work on politeness was limited to everyday conversation, researchers have since modified and used politeness theory to analyse political discourse (Chilton, 1990; Harris, 2001), and the concept was also incorporated into Fairclough's framework for Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992). In this research project, the concepts of 'face' and 'politeness' are therefore significant in both the analysis of policy texts and participant interviews. However, the traditional sociolinguistic understandings of 'face' and 'politeness' (as informed mainly by Goffman and Brown & Levinson), are most relevant to, and most clearly inform, the analysis of participant interview data in this study.

Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness starts from Goffman's notion of face. For Brown and Levinson, face work is about attending to the 'positive consistent self-image' (Brown & Levinson, 1978, p. 61) which all individuals wish to portray and sustain during conversation. Brown and Levinson define two aspects of face work, negative face and positive face. 'Negative face' is the desire of individuals to be unimpeded by others, and 'positive face' is the desire of individuals for their desires to be desirable to other members of the conversation (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 62). In essence, in order to maintain face a conversational member needs to position himself or herself as both autonomous and as having desirable attributes. Interjections by

[18] Most notably by researchers working on East Asian languages (Matsumoto, 1989; Gu, 1990).

other conversational members which threaten the autonomy or positive presentation of others within the interaction are understood to be 'face-threatening acts' (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 65). Acts which threaten either the negative face of the hearer include utterances such as requests, suggestions, and warnings. Acts which threaten the positive face of the hearer include expressions of disapproval, challenges to the hearer's position of point of view as previously expressed, or even the raising of particularly divisive, controversial or taboo topics which may result in the hearer positioning themselves negatively. Face-saving acts are concerned with preserving the negative and positive face of both the speaker and other conversation members.

The concepts of face and politeness are used in the analysis of interview data gathered in this research project in order to analyse how individuals build and maintain a positive self-identity as a teacher. It has long been argued that teacher identity should not be considered a stable, fixed entity, but something which fluctuates according to situation and context (Day et al. 2007; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Kelchtermans, 2009). Researchers who conceive of teacher identity as fluctuating and dynamic understand identity as a process of continual construction and maintenance of a positive self-identity within changing social contexts (Maclure, 1993; Coldron & Smith, 1999). The concepts of face and politeness are helpful when analysing how exactly such identity-building is expressed and actualised by individuals in concrete conversations. Attending to face-work and politeness strategies gives an indication of the linguistic strategies through which teachers construct positive self-identities, and present and maintain these identities in different situations. As the negotiation of face and politeness is understood to be inherently bound to conversational context (as individuals will encounter different threats to their face in different situations), using face and politeness as theoretical concepts for understanding the linguistic construction of identity allows some explanation of why participants' self-positioning alters according to research context.

A theoretical framework which focuses on the everyday speech acts involved in maintaining face through politeness strategies constructs identity as a contextualised attempt to

present a positive self-image, rather than as a reflection of a set of stable, core beliefs and values which exist in the inner psychological being of the participant. As Billig (1996) argued, 'Attitudes are not to be understood in terms of the supposed inner psychology of the attitude-holder. They have outer, rhetorical meanings' (p. 2). A linguistic focus on politeness and face is intentionally superficial, acknowledging that there is no fixed, core identity from which individuals draw their beliefs and values, even if the affective result of societal ritual and repetition may make it appear or feel as though such a core identity exists. Although individuals might strive to present a coherent and stable self-image (or face) to others, this should not be understood to derive from an essential, innate identity which resides within the individual.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has outlined the theoretical frameworks which informed the design of the present research project. I have explained how the major concern and point of interest for the project was language and its relationship to identity. This study is interested both in how teacher identity is positioned by others, but also how teachers construct their own identities. Language is the medium through which individuals construct the identities of themselves and of others; attention is directed at the language of policymakers, senior leaders and ECTs concerning academisation and the figure of the early career primary teacher.

The project primarily draws from Foucault, whose work provides a conceptualisation of how discourse, power and knowledge work to produce the social world and the identities of those individuals within it. Speech act theory further informed the way in which language was conceptualised within the study, alongside sociological and linguistic understandings of how face-work is undertaken in everyday conversations. Butler's insistence on the importance of repetition and reiteration in discursive practices forms the theoretical foundation for the use of corpus linguistics methods in the policy analysis phase of the research. This approach will be further discussed in the following chapter on *Methodology and Methods*, but here it is sufficient to note that

Butler's emphasis on the normalising effects of discursive repetition and reiteration had a significant impact on the methodological design of the research project.

This study attempted to take both a top-down and a bottom-up approach to understanding how teacher identity is constructed. By analysing political texts, it is possible to understand how particular identity-positionings are made available to teachers through discourse. This is a top-down approach, exploring how language external to the social agent could possibly affect their identity construction, assuming that language is part of governmentality projects employed by policymakers in order to influence the conduct of individuals and, in doing so, maintain the efficient functioning of the state. By analysing the language of teachers, it is possible to see how teachers use language to construct positive presentations of their self-identity, which may involve aligning with political discourse, or resisting it. This is, in comparison, a bottom-up approach which focuses on language produced by teachers themselves. In analysing the language of teachers, it is possible to identify how power works through and with individuals; how government objectives are supported through the subject-positions made available to teachers.

In this research project, therefore, language is understood to play a crucial role in the construction of identity, both for political ends at a structural level and for self-presentation at an agential level. The following chapter, *Methodology and Methods*, explains in detail how the research project was designed, drawing from different forms of linguistic description including corpus linguistics, critical discourse analysis and conversation analysis, in order to analyse the language of policymakers and teachers at a micro-level. The ultimate aim of such an analysis, however, is to illuminate the modalities of power which informed the *assujettissements* made available to ECTs during the post-2010 period of rapid educational change under Conservative-led governments. The social theory of Foucault, which provides a theoretical insight into the relationship between identity and power, will be returned to in the *Discussion* chapter towards the end of the thesis.

4. METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

The purpose of this chapter is to give a detailed account of the design of the present research project, its methodology and the methods employed. To address the research questions, which centred both on the discourse of policymakers and that of teachers, the research was conducted in two phases. The first phase involved a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (CDA) of speeches delivered by ministers working in the Department for Education (DfE) between 2010 and 2018, which aimed to explore how early career teachers (ECTs) were positioned by policymakers. The second phase of the research focused on how teachers responded to the policy positionings offered to them by government ministers, employing interviews with senior leaders and ECTs working in primary academy schools, sampled using a case study approach. The chapter begins by explaining the research questions and designs, before going on to explain phase one and phase two of the research project in more detail. Ethical considerations for both phases of the study are also discussed.

4.1 Research questions and design

The aims of the research, as previously stated in the *Introduction*, were to explore:

d) How primary teachers in the early career phase were positioned by education policy discourse during the post-2010 era of academisation;

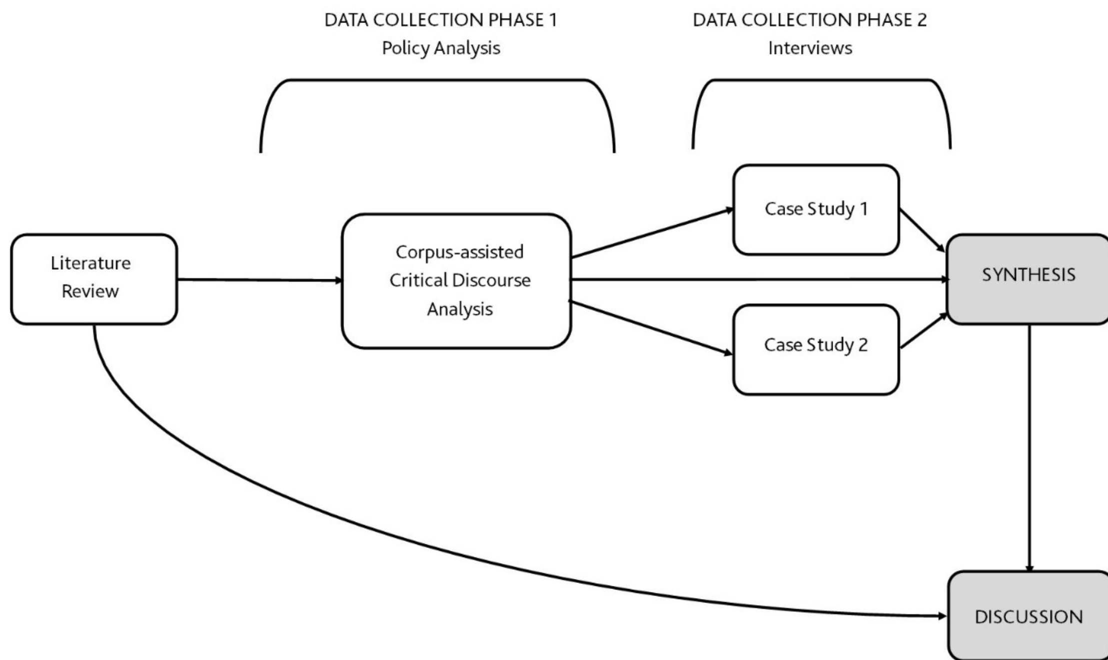
e) How these policy positionings were received, understood and enacted upon within primary academy schools;

f) How ECTs working in primary Multi-Academy Trust (MAT) schools negotiated both political and situated discourses in order to construct positive professional identities for themselves.

As the aim of the research was to explore both policy and its reception, the study was designed in two distinct phases. The research design (Figure 2, p. 71) was based on a sequential, exploratory

mixed methods design (Creswell et al., 2003), which is a two-phase approach to research, particularly suited to education.

Figure 2: Research design



The first phase of a sequential exploratory mixed methods design traditionally involves exploring a phenomenon qualitatively, to facilitate the development of an instrument or hypothesis for further testing in a later (usually quantitative) phase of research. Priority is usually given to qualitative aspects of the research, with integration (or synthesis) of phases occurring during data interpretation. This research project involved a first phase in which policy documentation was explored in detail, followed by a second phase in which case study research allowed for these policy positionings to be explored in practice, therefore broadly mapping on to the sequential exploratory design model. However, during both phases of research, the primary data collected was qualitative. Data for phase one was collected from ministerial speeches published on the DfE website, and data for phase two was generated from focus groups and interviews. The study was therefore

multi-method, combining two different methods (Hunter & Brewer, 2015), employing both documentary policy analysis and case studies in the exploration of ECT professional identity during a particular policy moment.[19]

Although the present research study employed a number of different methods to explore the identity construction of ECTs working in primary academy schools, there was a coherent methodological focus on language throughout all stages of the research process. This focus on language ensured a connection between the theoretical framework and the methodology engaged to explore the research questions. Corpus-assisted CDA was used to analyse policy texts. Interview and focus group data was primarily analysed using the same CDA framework employed during policy analysis, with some additional analytic techniques from conversation analysis employed to further elucidate this data. Corpus methodologies, CDA and conversation analysis are all types of discourse analysis, which allow researchers to attend to aspects of written and spoken language in order to enable an exploration of how identity is constructed through language. As such, the use of these different discourse analysis techniques to analyse the data collected during each phase of research supported the focus on language which ran throughout the research project.

Phase one of the research project explored how the language of education policymakers constructed particular discourses which opened up multiple *assujettissements* to ECTs. In line with the Foucauldian theoretical framework, the policy analysis aimed to identify multiple (and possibly conflicting) discourses surrounding the professional identity of the ECT, rather than one dominant and oppressive ideology. The key focus of phase one of the study was therefore to identify the multiple ways in which education policy positioned ECTs, and particularly those working in MAT primary schools. However, as Fairclough (1992) argues, critical analysis of how language, discourse and society interact must involve not only an analysis of texts, but also an analysis of their reception, dissemination and enactment as social practice. For this reason, phase two of the

[19] Although some simple descriptive statistics are used throughout the research project to describe the characteristics of different sets of data (Welkowitz, Cohen & Lea, 2011), the project is primarily driven by qualitative data collection and analysis.

research study explored how policy discourse was received and enacted in schools and by individuals. Moving beyond linguistic analysis and exploring the social field in which the language under analysis is situated is a typical feature of CDA, reflecting its interdisciplinary nature (Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Taylor, 2013). By researching discourse at the level of both text and social enactment in practice, a form of triangulation is also achieved (Weiss & Wodak, 2003) whereby the trustworthiness of the research is increased (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The key question for phase two of the study was the extent to which the sampled ECTs positioned their identities according to the discourses apparent in education policy. This was not to assume that discourse mitigates the agency of individuals (Butin, 2001; Butler, 2010), but to acknowledge that discourse subjectivises the individual, having a performative effect on their identity construction. This performative effect may take the form of resistance rather than acceptance, as 'discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance, and a starting point for an opposing strategy' (Foucault, 1998, p. 101). Education research is replete with examples of different types of resistance against education policy (e.g., Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006; Hatcher & Jones, 2006; Keddie, 2016). The aim of conducting interviews with ECTs was therefore to explore the multiple ways in which ECTs negotiated the discursive positionings made available to them when constructing positive professional identities in their early career phase. The research design therefore reflected the aim of the research study to gain an insight into both serious and everyday speech acts (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983) concerning the identities of ECTs working in academy schools during the post-2010 era of academisation.

4.2 Phase One: Policy analysis

4.2.1 Building a corpus of policy texts

In order to analyse policy discourse, I constructed a corpus of speeches which will be referred to henceforth as the Department for Education Ministerial Speeches (DFEMS) corpus, which

allowed me to systematically analyse the speeches of politicians concerning education. Between May 2010 and March 2018, 361 speeches delivered by DfE ministers and other prominent politicians were made available on the DfE website.[20] The DFEMS corpus consists of the entirety of the speeches delivered during this period and published on the DfE website. The amount of tokens (words) within the corpus was 880503, and the amount of types (distinct words) was 20350, amounting to a type/token ratio (TTR) of 2.3. Though relatively small, the DFEMS corpus enabled a rich exploration into the multiple ways in which teachers were positioned by ministers during the years of the Coalition and following Conservative governments. The value of building a corpus of ministerial speeches lies in the large amount of text freely available to access and evaluate, facilitating a corpus-assisted approach to CDA. Also, a systematic analysis of ministerial speeches between 2010-18 had not previously been attempted, so the DFEMS corpus contributed a new dataset to the field of policy research within education.

Political speeches trouble the binary between written and spoken communication, because they are written in advance and then delivered. Unlike other forms of spoken discourse, conversation does not take place during a political speech. Only the producer of the text is able to speak, limiting the opportunity for those positioned by the discourse-producer to renegotiate their positioning. Political speeches are therefore a 'unilateral act' (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 31). It is also worth noting that the intended receivers of the speech are not limited to the specific environment in which the speech is delivered**.** The speeches in the DFEMS corpus were made available to download on the DfE website, emailed to interested parties, and used in media reports. The immediate context of the speech and the original intention of its producer should not, therefore, wholly determine the interpretation of the text (Derrida, 1988). The language of politics 'enters our daily experiences so pervasively that we cannot afford to neglect it' (Carter & Nash,

[20] 357 speeches were delivered by senior or junior ministers working within the DfE. Four speeches were given by the Prime Minister or Deputy Prime Minister, but were included in the DFEMS corpus as they focused on education and were therefore published on the DfE website in the same manner as speeches produced by education ministers. Information on speech producers is available in Appendix R (p. 355).

1990, p. 147). Its purpose is to manipulate and convince the discourse-receiver, and through this rhetorical manipulation has effects on the material world and how it functions (Partington & Taylor, 2017).

4.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

The aim of the DFEMS corpus analysis was to assist in the exploration of the ways new teachers were positioned in the discourse of government ministers during post-2010 Conservative-led governments. Discourse analysis, a form of analysis concerned with naturally occurring language and its relationship with social context, was employed to determine the ways in which politicians positioned teachers during this rapid period of educational reform. The decision to utilise discourse analysis closely aligns with the theoretical framework of this research study, as:

> Much of the fascination of discourse analysis comes from the realization that language, action and knowledge are inseparable. The most essential insight, discussed by J. L. Austin in his 1955 lectures at Harvard University,[21] is that utterances are actions. Stubbs (1983, p. 1)

CDA is distinct from other forms of discourse analysis in that it takes an explicitly political stance, questioning the social effects of text. The aim of CDA is to highlight the "'common sense" assumptions or ideologies implicit in the conventions beneath people's conscious awareness that legitimizes existing power relations.' (Zhang Waring, 2018, p. 186). Researchers who use CDA often explicitly align their analytical approach and findings with theoretical perspectives on power and identity (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). The CDA approach is distinct from other forms of qualitative data coding, such as thematic coding, in that it takes a highly analytical approach focusing on the linguistic construction of texts. This entails a specific focus on describing the structure, grammar and vocabulary used in texts and analysing how they combine to make texts effective in constructing the social world (Locke, 2004).

[21] Published as *How to do things with words* (Austin, 1975).

There are many diverse approaches to CDA, informed by different theoretical traditions (Rogers, 2011). This research study primarily uses Fairclough's early framework for conducting a CDA, as proposed in his books *Language and Power* (1989; 2015) and *Discourse and Social Change* (1992). Fairclough's CDA framework (Fairclough, 1989; 2015; 1992) uses Foucault as a theoretical foundation, therefore supporting the theoretical stance of this study. Fairclough's approach to CDA is regarded as the most influential approach to CDA (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002; Widdowson, 2004; Poole, 2010), and understands language as existing in a dialectical relationship with social practice, both constituting the social world, and also being constituted by it (Fairclough, 1992; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). Language is therefore understood as having the capacity to both reflect the social world as it is, but also to bring new understandings and events into being. It is important to note here that the aim of CDA is to gain a greater understanding of the social world as represented or brought into effect by language, rather than an understanding of the 'inner mind' of the producer of the text. CDA is used to illuminate the way that power is produced and reproduced through text and language, rather than to gain an understanding of someone's personality or beliefs (Taylor, 2013).

In terms of its linguistic foundation, Fairclough's (1992) framework for conducting CDA relies on Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL), developed from the work of Michael Halladay (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The key aspect of SFL which distinguishes it from other linguistic theories is its emphasis on the function of language, a concern with language in use (Widdowson, 2004). Whereas other systems of linguistics analyse short examples of text (and sometimes rely on created examples in order to illustrate a point), the emphasis within SFL on how language works in practice results in a focus on longer texts taken from real life, and an exploration of how different texts interact with each other. This focus on text *cohesion* (Halliday & Hasan, 1976) – the use of grammar to link different clauses in the text, and the repetition of vocabulary – is a key area of analysis for the type of CDA proposed by Fairclough (Fairclough, 1992, p. 235). As such, Fairclough's framework was a particularly appropriate choice for this research study, which

analysed long written and spoken texts and, assisted by corpus methods, focused specifically on the repetition of words.

Departing from much qualitative research, the use of CDA meant that I avoided using 'thick description' as a method of presenting my analysis and research findings. Thick description 'does more than record what a person is doing. It goes beyond mere fact and surface appearances [...] In thick description the voices, feelings, actions and meanings of interacting individuals are heard, made visible' (Denzin, 1989a, p. 100). My analytical focus instead was on thin description, attention to the minutiae of language, in order to give a transparent and credible account of how discourse was deployed to construct identity, avoiding any attempt to extrapolate intentionality or meaning.

4.2.3 Corpus-assisted discourse analysis

Although CDA is primarily a qualitative research methodology, it is generally accepted that findings can be supplemented or enhanced by computer-assisted strategies or analysis, drawn from the field of corpus linguistics (Stubbs, 1996; Fairclough, 2003). Corpus linguistics has been defined as 'studies into the form and/or function of language which incorporate the use of computerised corpora in their analyses' (Partington, Duguid & Taylor, 2014, p. 5). In phase one of this study, corpus methods focusing on the micro-level of vocabulary and grammar supported a CDA which attended to wider textual features such as structure and argumentation. This research design for phase one of the study therefore stands in the tradition of corpus-assisted discourse analysis (Baker, 2006; Mautner, 2009) in using corpus methods to assist in a rigorous analysis of text, which is theoretically guided by the tradition of CDA.

The use of corpus-assisted CDA in education studies is relatively rare. Hansen (2009) used corpus methodologies to analyse 5419 headlines from British newspapers to show how teachers were represented in the media. More recently, Mockler (2018) used a corpus-assisted analysis of Australian print media to explore discourses of teacher quality. However, beyond these papers,

corpus-assisted approaches to CDA in education studies are generally underused. This study therefore contributes to a small field of educational research which illuminates the advantages of using corpus-assisted discourse analysis to provide insights into educational issues.

Exploration of the DFEMS corpus in this study was facilitated through the use of Wordsmith 7.0 tools (Scott, 2016), a software developed for corpus linguistics research. Frequency data can be easily generated using Wordsmith tools, allowing the researcher to gather ranked information about the frequency of words within a given selection of texts, enabling a comparison of word patterns across different time periods or text producers (Table 1, p. 78).

Table 1: DFEMS corpus frequency data, generated using Wordsmith 7.0 wordlist function

C:\Users\SPIK1_16\Documents\CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS DOCS\Conservative Policy Docs\Speeches\

File Edit View Compute Settings Windows Help

N	Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%	Disp...ion	Lemmas	Set
1	THE	43…1	4.92	364	100.00	0.98		
2	TO	32…0	3.69	364	100.00	0.96		
3	AND	30…7	3.45	364	100.00	0.98		
4	OF	25…8	2.82	364	100.00	0.97		
5	IN	18…5	2.13	364	100.00	0.98		
6	A	16…9	1.83	364	100.00	0.98		
7	THAT	14…7	1.66	364	100.00	0.96		
8	FOR	10…4	1.20	364	100.00	0.96		
9	IS	10…9	1.15	364	100.00	0.98		
10	#	10…4	1.13	362	99.45	0.88		
11	WE	9,935	1.12	364	100.00	0.92		
12	ARE	7,760	0.87	364	100.00	0.96		
13	I	7,002	0.79	362	99.45	0.91		
14	HAVE	6,193	0.70	363	99.73	0.95		
15	AS	6,160	0.69	363	99.73	0.98		
16	THIS	5,983	0.67	364	100.00	0.93		
17	ON	5,966	0.67	364	100.00	0.96		
18	WITH	5,873	0.66	363	99.73	0.95		
19	BE	5,562	0.62	364	100.00	0.97		
20	IT	5,550	0.62	363	99.73	0.95		
21	SCHOOLS	5,426	0.61	307	84.34	0.87		
22	THEIR	5,110	0.57	361	99.18	0.96		
23	WILL	4,634	0.52	359	98.63	0.95		
24	MORE	4,599	0.52	363	99.73	0.96		
25	OUR	4,516	0.51	363	99.73	0.91		
26	THEY	4,342	0.49	363	99.73	0.95		
27	FROM	4,295	0.48	363	99.73	0.97		

frequency alphabetical statistics filenames notes

20,350 entries Row 1 0% T S

As the study was driven primarily by the research aim to discern how the identities of ECTs were constructed in ministerial discourse, concordance analysis was used as the primary tool for identifying language patterns. Wordsmith locates all occurrences of a particular word within a corpus of texts (see Table 2, p. 79), displaying them in context with the five words previous and

five words following the target word(s) displayed in a list. This is referred to as a concordance line (or, more specifically, a Key Word in Context or KWIC line) and is the most common concordance format.

Table 2: Concordance of occurrences of word 'chain' in DFEMS corpus, generated using Wordsmith 7.0 concord function

Concord

File Edit View Compute Settings Windows Help

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word #	Sent #.	Sent Pos	Para #.	Para Pos	H... #.	H... Pos	Sect #.	Sect Pos	File	Date	%
1	, rural primary schools wanting to form a chain and cluster around a secondary			1,739	78	33	0	..8			0	..8	LHill 3.2.11	2018/Aug/17	94%
2	or voluntary sector, in a school or in a chain, in an agency or independent -			597	32	25	0	...			0	...	ETruss	2018/Aug/15	24%
3	shortlisted. And 2 winners - Sudiksha, a chain focused on early years education,			2,006	...	8	0	..5			0	..5	MHancock	2018/Aug/15	83%
4	features school) chose to convert in a chain with a local school at the other side			1,217	60	16	0	..6			0	..6	MGove	2018/Aug/16	43%
5	, a centre manager, a manager of a chain, or perhaps an entrepreneur			2,842	...	57	0	..1			0	..1	SGyimah	2018/Aug/13	86%
6	, a centre manager, a manager of a chain, or perhaps an entrepreneur			1,742	53	42	0	..1			0	..1	SGyimah	2018/Aug/10	72%
7	Trinity Academy or the Harris Academy Chain â€" which had three schools			632	27	17	0	...			0	...	NGibb	2018/Aug/09	26%
8	. And in this country, Ark, the academy chain, took it on and developed it. Ark run			2,215	...	9	0	..4			0	..4	ETruss	2018/Aug/15	84%
9	Executive of the Ormiston Academy chain - and Andy Buck, who has done a			55	1	32	0	54			0	54	MGove	2018/Aug/16	1%
10	join them including the primary academy chain grants and the sponsor capacity			758	33	22	0	...			0	...	NMorgan	2018/Aug/10	47%
11	they can apply for a primary academy chain development grant of Â£100,000			1,387	56	22	0	..6			0	..6	LNash	2018/Aug/15	53%
12	and literacy. For example, Ark academy chain has set itself a target of â€œ100%			1,305	51	6	0	..4			0	..4	NGibb	2018/Aug/14	76%
13	to mean uniformity. The most appealing chain restaurants allow their proprietors a			1,613	81	5	0	..2			0	..2	ETruss	2018/Aug/16	90%
14	, has established the Perry Beeches chain of schools, with superbly talented			1,040	45	14	0	..9			0	..9	MGove	2018/Aug/16	25%
15	schools. But in maths mastery, a big chain like Ark took the lead, and made it			2,297	...	8	0	..6			0	..6	ETruss	2018/Aug/15	87%
16	campaign to stop a multinational clothes chain using sweatshop labour, how can			329	10	20	0	...			0	...	TLoughton	2018/Aug/17	11%
17	being part of a supportive, collaborative chain or network - because when you			2,149	90	20	0	..8			0	..8	MGove	2018/Aug/15	87%
18	. Mossbourne in Hackney; the Harris chain across south London and			1,253	60	7	0	..2			0	..2	NGibb 7.6.11	2018/Aug/17	58%
19	academy in the high-performing Harris chain. 34 of these new sponsored			5,374	...	18	0	..3			0	..3	MGove	2018/Aug/16	87%
20	partnership - a school improvement chain working across the country. And			2,465	93	20	0	..4			0	..4	MGove	2018/Aug/16	50%
21	teaching schools and the large nursery chain, Bright Horizons, so this is a			1,100	50	28	0	..9			0	..9	CTaylor	2018/Aug/15	45%
22	teaching schools and the large nursery chain, Bright Horizons, a shared project			1,778	83	28	0	..7			0	..7	ETruss	2018/Aug/15	73%
23	by Ark, have drawn on the charter school chain KIPP, the Knowledge is Power			1,042	48	20	0	..1			0	..1	NGibb	2018/Aug/14	37%
24	. Or they can rifle through their supply chain, and poach from there. So what			1,520	...	9	0	..9			0	..9	MHancock	2018/Aug/15	80%
25	, for companies in the car industry supply chain. From next week, they can submit			1,349	84	37	0	..8			0	..8	MHancock	2018/Aug/15	88%
26	famous for explaining the problem of the chain fountain - who is leading the			4,249	...	17	0	..8			0	..8	MGove	2018/Aug/15	82%
27	an existing outstanding teacher in their chain - following a bespoke 10 day			2,585	...	22	0	..4			0	..4	MGove	2018/Aug/16	69%

concordance collocates plot patterns clusters timeline filenames source text notes

28 entries Row 1 0% T S

Cluster analysis, which highlights the most frequent patterns of collocations and lexical bundles in a given corpus, was used in tandem with concordancing to identify repeated patterns of language in text (Table 3, p. 80). Patterns in vocabulary and grammar could then be easily discerned, sorted, and analysed systematically.

Once I had identified a word pattern of interest using Wordsmith, I 'cleaned' the data by exporting it to Excel, correcting any typographical errors and adding any analytical notes, for example whether the concordance line identified positioned teachers in a negative, positive or neutral fashion. Cleaned concordances are presented as findings in Chapter 5 (*Ministerial Discourse*).

Table 3: Cluster list of word 'curriculum(s)' in DFEMS corpus, generated using Wordsmith 7.0 wordlist function

Word list (unsaved)

File Edit View Compute Settings Windows Help

N	Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%	Disp...ion	Lemmas	Set
1	THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM	116	0.01	57	15.79	0.00		
2	NEW NATIONAL CURRICULUM	44		34	9.42	0.00		
3	OF THE CURRICULUM	32		29	8.03	0.00		
4	THE NEW CURRICULUM	29		15	4.16	0.00		
5	KNOWLEDGE RICH CURRICULUM	27		15	4.16	0.00		
6	NATIONAL CURRICULUM AND	27		22	6.09	0.00		
7	THE CURRICULUM AND	25		22	6.09	0.00		
8	CORE ACADEMIC CURRICULUM	24		12	3.32	0.00		
9	TO THE CURRICULUM	20		20	5.54	0.00		
10	CURRICULUM AND THE	19		18	4.99	0.00		
11	IN THE CURRICULUM	18		17	4.71	0.00		
12	KNOWLEDGE BASED CURRICULUM	17		12	3.32	0.00		
13	CURRICULUM AND QUALIFICATIONS	14		12	3.32	0.00		
14	NATIONAL CURRICULUM IS	14		9	2.49	0.00		
15	NEW COMPUTING CURRICULUM	14		10	2.77	0.00		
16	AN ACADEMIC CURRICULUM	11		8	2.22	0.00		
17	OUR NATIONAL CURRICULUM	11		11	3.05	0.00		
18	THE CURRICULUM IS	11		9	2.49	0.00		

frequency | alphabetical | index freq. | index alph. | statistics | filenames | notes

52 entries | Row 1 | 0% | frequency: ou... | T | S | 1

There are several advantages to using a corpus linguistic approach to supplement a qualitative CDA (Baker, 2006). Perhaps the most obvious reason for considering the incorporation of corpus linguistics methods into a CDA research design would be to increase the trustworthiness of the study, by triangulating the qualitative data generated through the CDA with simple quantitative data generated through a corpus analysis. Weiss and Wodak (2003) argue that triangulation is a particularly important strategy for those undertaking CDA to employ, because as a methodology CDA can be accused of 'critical baseness' or 'politicizing' (p. 21). As Stubbs notes, 'computers make it more difficult to overlook inconvenient instances, and are to that extent a move towards descriptive neutrality' (Stubbs, 1996, p. 154). As corpus linguistics software finds every instance of a word and presents it to the researcher in its immediate context, it could be

argued that the rigour of using corpus methods goes some way to counteracting 'the charge, frequently levelled at critical discourse analysis (CDA), that individual texts are cherry-picked to suit the researcher's own political agenda' (Mautner, 2009, p. 32).

In corpus linguistics, particular attention is turned towards words which occur together at a higher chance than would be expected. These words are usually referred to as *collocations* if involving a pair of words (Sinclair, 1991), or *lexical bundles* or *clusters*[22] if denoting a longer phrase (Biber, Conrad & Cortes, 2004). It has been argued that collocations are 'pervasive and subversive' psychological associations (Hoey, 2005, p. 3), and that for this reason, manual qualitative analysis is unable to adequately identify them. The frequency at which certain words or groups of words are used to subjectivise individuals is a key consideration for this study, as its theoretical framework holds that 'production always happens through a certain kind of repetition and recitation' (Butler, 1994, p. 33). Discourse, therefore, is understood to have an incremental effect, with frequent discourses considered more dominant than infrequent ones. The concept of lexical priming supports this theoretical stance. The theory of lexical priming holds that individuals become psychologically attuned to expect certain groups of words to occur together. These 'primings' can be productive, when the receiver of the discourse wishes to emulate the producer of the discourse. They can also be receptive, where collocations occur in contexts which the receiver of the discourse considers negative, and therefore resists active participation with the discourse (Hoey, 2005). This theory supports the theoretical framework of the present research study which, in line with Butler, holds that it is through ritual and repetition that speech acts are imbued with performative power (Butler, 1994; 2007; 2011). The patterns identified by using Wordsmith, and the theories underpinning the identification of such patterns, are therefore highly consistent with the research aims, objectives and theoretical framework of this research study.

[22] Lexical bundles are referred to as clusters on the Wordsmith programme.

A further advantage of using corpus techniques for data collection is that corpus methods are extremely useful in identifying and visualising diachronic changes in language use. A collocation analysis can illustrate how significant groups of words are frequently used during some periods, and then less well used in others. During my research, collocation data was useful for identifying how discourse changed significantly according to particular government administrations or when different Secretaries of State for Education were appointed. Resistant discourses can also be easily identified using collocation data. Collocations that do not follow the pattern of other collocations can easily be identified, allowing for effective negative case analysis (Willig, 2013). Collocation data is therefore extremely valuable when taking a Foucauldian approach to language, where the aim is to identify multiple and shifting discourses.

The analysis of the DFEMS corpus began with an in-depth CDA of 69 key texts from the DFEMS corpus, chosen because they specifically referred to primary schools, ECTs, MATs, teacher agency, and/or teacher identity. To enhance consistency when analysing policy texts, I developed a CDA analysis sheet, which I used as a prompt sheet when analysing individual documents (Appendix A, p. 301). Each text was analysed using the same CDA analysis sheet as a guide, increasing the rigour, transparency and replicability of the analysis (Taylor, 2001). Once all the documents had been analysed, the CDA analysis sheet also facilitated the process of drawing comparisons between documents, making it more obvious when a word or grammatical form was repeated across the text corpus. Once these texts had been analysed, I identified a number of key words and patterns which appeared significant and warranted further investigation using Wordsmith.

Once corpus analysis using Wordsmith was complete, a number of speeches were again isolated and manually analysed as whole texts. Texts which appeared from concordance analysis to contribute to the discursive construction of teacher identity were subject to further qualitative analysis as whole texts, essentially a 'close reading of individual texts' (Baker, 2012, p. 248) again informed by Fairclough's (1989; 1992) framework for CDA. This qualitative analysis of entire texts

in turn sometimes initiated further interrogation of KWIC lines. The research was therefore recursive, 'moving back and forth' (Baker, 2012, p. 248) between concordance analysis and the analysis of whole texts using CDA.

By integrating corpus methods within a CDA framework, I identified patterns of lexicality and grammar which would have been challenging to isolate when reading the texts in full. The use of corpus methods allowed key passages of text to be identified through the analysis of concordance lines, which could then be explored more thoroughly in their wider context. Such an approach still required decisions to be made about, for example, the significance of frequencies and the interpretation of texts (Baker, 2012). When the analysis of the DFEMS corpus was complete, I used the themes which had been isolated during the analysis to develop focus group and interview materials for phase two of the research study.

4.2.4 Ethical considerations (phase one)

As phase one and phase two of the project were very distinct in their data collection and methods, separate applications for ethical approval were made for each phase. Ethical considerations were informed by BERA's Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2011) and the University of Worcester's ethics policy (University of Worcester, 2017). The application for phase one of the data collection was submitted to the University of Worcester's Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HASSREC)[23] on 6 December 2017, and was approved on 14 December 2017 (Appendix F, pp. 310-8). As phase one of the data collection only involved working with publicly available texts, rather than human participants, the ethical approval was submitted for proportionate review only at this stage. None of the documents were classified as sensitive under the Data Protection Act (1998) or the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) introduced in 2018.[24] As all documents analysed as part of phase one were freely available

[23] The name of this committee has since changed to The College of Arts, Humanities and Education Research Ethics Panel.
[24] GDPR came into effect in May 2018, after ethical approval for phase one had been granted.

online, it was not necessary to make any special arrangements for storage of the data during the research project, or confidential disposal of the data once the project had concluded.

4.2.5 Identification of themes for phase two case studies

One of the aims of the phase one policy analysis was to determine a wide range of themes and ideas which could be further explored with teachers and senior leaders in phase two case studies. Primarily, these themes were inductively generated from immersion in the phase one data, however, the identification of particular themes was also heavily influenced by both the theoretical framework of the project and the literature review which had preceded the phase one data analysis. Furthermore, my past experience as a primary school teacher working in a MAT school also had an influence on some of the themes I wished to explore further in phase two. However, as the project progressed I increasingly viewed my past experience as a teacher through the lenses provided by the study's theoretical framework, and therefore it would have been extremely challenging, if not impossible, to isolate which themes I identified as a result of theoretical readings conducted during my study and which were dependant on my past professional experience.

The findings from the phase one policy analysis were therefore intended to be broad and wide-ranging. The Foucauldian theoretical framework of the project called for an identification of multiple and contradictory discourses within the serious speech acts produced through policy texts, therefore indicating a large number of themes which could be further explored in phase two of the project. 'Repetitive or patterned relationships' (Bazeley, 2013, p. 192) that occurred in phase one policy texts were identified as possible thematic points of departure for discussion during data collection activities in the next phase of the study.[25] The focus of the themes was on the

[25] Some themes which emerged out of the phase one data were omitted for ethical reasons. For example, although trade union membership and political associations were mentioned in DfE political speeches, information about these topics is classed as sensitive data under GDPR legislation (2018). As I decided to omit questions about sensitive data from data collection methods for ethical reasons, these topics were not explored in phase two data collection activities despite discourse concerning these topics becoming evident in the analysis of phase one data.

knowledges, relationships and subjectivities being constructed by policy texts, rather than on linguistic features such as vocabulary or grammar. A list of the themes identified as points of departure for phase two of the study can be found in Appendix B (pp. 302-4) which also details how interview questions and focus group activities for phase two were developed from these themes.

4.3 Phase Two: Case studies

Phase two of the research project explored how policy discourse was received and enacted by individuals working in MAT primary schools. To explore this, I designed a multiple-case study, involving four primary academies across two MATs. There is a long history of the case study method being employed by educational researchers whose aim is to explore how education policy is received and enacted by schools. In recent years, case studies have been used extensively by education researchers to explore academies and MATs (e.g., Green, 2009; Salokangas and Chapman, 2014; Kulz, 2017; Keddie, 2019; Salokangas and Ainscow, 2018).

A case study is 'not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied' (Stake, 2005, p. 443). Case studies involve the combination of different research tools, which can be drawn from different methodologies, including both quantitative and qualitative approaches (Yin, 2009). The case study approach is therefore particularly suitable for multi-method research projects, as a key characteristic of case study research is the presupposition that 'no one kind or source of evidence is likely to be sufficient (or sufficiently valid) on its own' (Gillham, 2000, p. 2). A case study allows the researcher to limit the scope of their research to particular individuals or communities, and is therefore an appropriate choice for researchers looking to make an in-depth, qualitative exploration of the effects of specific phenomena on individuals within a particular context. Case studies are also particularly suited to small-scale research projects in which one researcher has responsibility for the entirety of the study, allowing them to carefully limit the

amount of data which are collected, making the research project manageable within a clearly defined time-scale.

This study is consistent with the multi-method case study approach, involving the combination of data collected from different persons (ECTs and senior leaders) and via different data collection techniques (interviews and focus groups). The purpose of including case studies in this research project was to combine different data to develop a rich and complex description of a particular bounded system (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2018). The purpose of triangulating the data through a case study approach was to describe in detail the multiple and complex discursive strategies which are used by individuals to construct a positive professional identity (or 'face'). Having identified policy positionings of ECTs in phase one of the research project, the use of case studies in phase two of the project allowed for an in-depth, qualitative exploration of how individuals were responding to these positionings in practice. In line with the Foucauldian theoretical framework, the aim of the case study research was to identify and map discourse, rather than to discover an underlying truth.

I chose to use several different forms of interviewing (roaming interviews, focus groups, and semi-structured interviews) as data collection methods. Often qualitative interviews – for example those located within a phenomenological theoretical framework – will assume that the purpose of the interview process is to discover or reveal an essential or natural subject, which is revealed through authentically voiced personal opinions made by participants (Hughes, 2010). However, one of the key aspects of Foucauldian theory is the rejection of an essential nature or identity. As Veyne explains, 'a subject is not "natural"; in each age he is modelled by the "discourses" and set-up of the day' (Veyne, 2010, p. 103). The design of my data collection activities with participants reflected the ontological assumption that there is no essential or natural subject which can be discovered through a research process, as there is no voice or perspective which can be discovered or liberated from beyond the structures of everyday power relations. Rather than attempting to gain authentic (and therefore somehow removed) perspectives, the aim

of Foucauldian research is to explore the effects of power relations on the subject (Foucault, 1982; Nealon, 2008).

As the focus of the project was professional identity, I avoided questions of a very personal nature, instead attempting to focus on professional behaviours and attitudes. The language and behaviour of participants was analysed at 'face value', with the emphasis on understanding the effects of power relations on the identities of ECTs, rather than digging down to discover their 'true' or 'natural' feelings. Kvale (1996) describes this approach as 'traveling' rather than 'mining' for information (p. 5), comparing the positivist assumption that interviews reveal a true self with the constructionist idea that the researcher and researched are travelling together, co-constructing meaning and understanding. This aligns with the role of a Foucauldian researcher as a cartographer rather than a detective (Deleuze, 2006) mapping the visible effects of power relations and points of departure from them, rather than searching for a hidden truth.

4.3.1 Sampling: Case study schools

The MAT landscape is extremely diverse, with MATs varying in terms of their pedagogical stance, governance structures, size, and geographical spread (Hill et al., 2012). Recognising this diversity, I hoped to recruit two MATs with contrasting features to participate in the research study, in order to design a multiple-case study which was likely to generate evidence of multiple positionings by actors in response to education policy discourse. Where it is hoped that the case study facilitates understanding of a phenomenon external to the case, and perhaps generalisable to the wider population, employing a multiple-case design is particularly appropriate, as comparison between different cases can be drawn (Stake, 2005). In this study, drawing from more than one case therefore increased understanding of policy enactment in schools, as well as the overall trustworthiness of findings. Yin (2009) advises that '[a]nalytic conclusions independently arising from two cases, as with two experiments, will be more powerful than those coming from a single case (or single experiment) alone' (pp. 60-1).

In May 2018 I contacted the CEOs of thirty-two MATs and invited them to participate in the research project (Appendix I, p. 337-339). The MATs I approached varied in size and geographical spread, but had either been mentioned in a policy document as an example of good practice or were located close to the University of Worcester. Some MATs met both of these criteria. Of the thirty-two MATs contacted, six responded to my contact, either to request further information (four MATs) or to politely decline (two MATs). Of the four MATs who requested further information, two MATs finally committed to the project. The difficulty in gaining access to research in academies has previously been documented by academic researchers (Woods and Woods, 2009; Leo, Galloway and Hearne, 2010). My difficulties in engaging MAT CEOs with this study might suggest that this difficulty persists.

It was felicitous that, ultimately, the two MATs that finally committed to the research differed in many key areas (Table 4, p. 89), providing the necessary sampling for a comparative multiple-case study. Both of the MATs had been initially contacted because they had been positioned as providing an example of good practice by the DfE at some point between May 2010 and March 2018. As such, the sample was unable to give insight into the possible differences between MATs which had been selected by the DfE as examples of good practice and MATs which had not been positioned by the DfE in this way. This imbalance in the sample is a limitation of the research study, as it is possible that the MATs focused on in the study were more likely to be attentive to the preoccupations of the DfE, and as a consequence more aligned with government discourse. Both sampled MATs included a mix of both sponsored and converter academies. In terms of other key features – such as size, geographical spread and school types included in the MAT – they differed from each other, providing some aspects of difference required for a multiple case study.

Treating MATs as the case to be studied meant that further decisions needed to be made over which individual academies within the MAT to sample. In both MATs, an executive leader acted as a gatekeeper, determining my access to individual academies. At Rosemary Trust during

the time of the fieldwork only two primary schools were part of the MAT, and I was granted access to research in both. At Dahlia Trust, I negotiated with the CEO of the MAT to gain access to two primary schools which had very different pedagogical aims and approaches. Fieldwork took place between October 2018 and February 2019.

Table 4: Features of sampled case study MATs

FEATURE	MAT 1	MAT 2
Pseudonym used in this study	The Dahlia Trust[26]	The Rosemary Trust
Size	Large (> 25 schools in the MAT)	Small (< 5 schools in the MAT)
Geographical spread	National *(Present in three Local Authority areas)*	Local *(Present in one Local Authority area)*
Phase coverage	Primary academies only in MAT	Primary and secondary academies in MAT No all-through provision
Academy type coverage	No Free Schools in MAT Includes Sponsored and Converter academies	Includes Free Schools Includes Sponsored and Converter academies
Number of individual academies in MAT sampled	2 primary academies	2 primary academies
Appears in DfE Ministerial Speeches corpus as demonstrative of good practice	Yes	Yes

4.3.2 Sampling: Individual participants

ECTs and senior leaders in participating schools were invited to participate in the research project. I recruited ECT participants with 0-5 years teaching experience, which is considered a 'common cut-off for determining when teachers cease to be a novice' (Bettini & Park, 2017, p. 5). Perhaps as a result of media attention on teacher attrition in the first five years of teaching, I found through informal conversations with teachers during the early stages of this research project that teachers with more than five years of experience had a tendency to construct themselves as experienced

[26] Pseudonyms are used to provide anonymity to the individual participants in this research study, their schools and MATs (BERA, 2018).

teachers rather than ECTs. ECTs were invited to participate in an individual roaming interview lasting between 30 to 90 minutes, and in a focus group with their colleagues within the same school, which lasted between 45 and 60 minutes. The definition of senior leadership responsibility was decided by participating schools; I requested that the CEO as gatekeeper invited all senior leaders to participate in a semi-structured interview lasting between 30 and 45 minutes. Two of the senior leaders I interviewed (Mason and Natalie) had six years of teaching experience. According to some studies of teacher career phases, this would place them towards the end of the early career phase (Huberman, 1993; Day et al., 2007), and their relative inexperience in comparison with other senior leaders who participated in the research study was taken into consideration during data analysis.

Table 5 (pp. 91-2) provides an overview of the human participants who took part in the research study. Eighteen participants took part in the study overall, either by participating in a roaming interview, a focus group or a semi-structured interview. The sampling strategy was purposive (Robson, 2011) in that participants were invited to participate in the study based on their employment as a primary school teacher working within a MAT, and their career phase (ECT) or position in a MAT (senior or executive leader). This type of purposive sampling is useful when a research project is focused on 'specific, unique issues or cases' (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2017, p. 218). However, the sampling was also to a certain extent determined by convenience, which is usual in case study research (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2017). As Robson (2011) argues, the 'exigencies of carrying out real world studies can mean that the requirements for representative sampling are very difficult, if not impossible to fulfil' (p. 276). The sample in this study was limited by the practicalities of the project and was not therefore intended to be representative of the teacher population as a whole. Overall, the sampling strategy provided access to a range of teacher perspectives, which was sufficient to show discursive patterns and variation; the limitations of the study are discussed in the *Conclusion*.

Table 5: Human participants in research study

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION						CASE STUDY INFORMATION		DATA COLLECTION INFORMATION		
PSEUDONYM	ROLE	NQT	ECT (< 5 years)	MLT/SLT/ EXECUTIVE	ITT ROUTE	TRUST	SCHOOL	ROAMING INTERVIEW	FOCUS GROUP	SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW
Rachel	Director of Primary Education	×	×	EXEC	-	The Rosemary Trust	-	×	×	✓
Simon	Class Teacher Year 3	×	✓	×	School Direct	The Rosemary Trust	Dill Academy	✓	✓	×
Julia	Class Teacher Early Years	✓	✓	×	BEd Primary Education	The Rosemary Trust	Dill Academy	×	✓	×
Isabella	Class Teacher Year 4	✓	✓	×	BEd Primary Education	The Rosemary Trust	Tarragon Academy	✓	✓	×
Nicole	Class Teacher Reception	×	✓	×	Unqualified teacher	The Rosemary Trust	Tarragon Academy	×	✓	×
Noah	CEO	×	×	EXEC	TEFL Diploma	The Dahlia Trust	-	×	×	✓
Margaret	Executive Head	×	×	EXEC	-	The Dahlia Trust	Carnation Primary School	×	×	✓
Grace	Class Teacher Nursery	×	✓	×	Qualified abroad	The Dahlia Trust	Carnation Primary School	✓	✓	×
Zoe	Class Teacher Year 1	✓	✓	×	PGCE	The Dahlia Trust	Carnation Primary School	✓	✓	×

Logan	Class Teacher Year 2	✓	✓	✗	SCITT School Direct	The Dahlia Trust	Daffodil Primary School	✓	✓	✗
Bethany	Class Teacher Year 3	✓	✓	✗	Qualified abroad	The Dahlia Trust	Daffodil Primary School	✓	✓	✗
Emily	Class Teacher Year 1	✗	✓	✗	Qualified abroad	The Dahlia Trust	Daffodil Primary School	✓	✓	✗
Jemima	Class Teacher Year 4	✗	✓	MLT	Qualified abroad	The Dahlia Trust	Daffodil Primary School	✓	✓	✗
Amelia	Class Teacher Year 5	✗	✓	✗	PGCE	The Dahlia Trust	Daffodil Primary School	✓	✓	✗
Abigail	Class Teacher Year 5	✗	✓	MLT	PGCE	The Dahlia Trust	Daffodil Primary School	✓	✗	✗
Charlotte	Executive Head	✗	✗	EXEC	BEd (Hons)	The Dahlia Trust	Daffodil Primary School	✗	✗	✓
Natalie	Assistant Headteacher English Lead	✗	✗	SLT	PGCE	The Dahlia Trust	Daffodil Primary School	✗	✗	✓
Mason	Assistant Headteacher Early Years	✗	✗	SLT	BA (Hons)	The Dahlia Trust	Daffodil Primary School	✗	✗	✓

4.3.3 Roaming interviews with early career teachers

Roaming interviews, also known as walking or go-along interviews, usually involve the researcher being led on a tour of a specific building or area by the research participant. Porta et al. (2016) define roaming interviews as 'interviews conducted while being in and moving within participant selected spaces' (p. 1). Roaming interviews have been used in a wide range of disciplines, including health (Miaux et al., 2010), social geography (Evans and Jones, 2011), sociology (Porta et al., 2016), and education (Clark and Moss, 2011), and are often considered a more participatory research method than traditional, 'sit down' approaches to interviewing (Carpiano, 2009; Clark and Moss, 2011), as they challenge the 'conventional distance between researchers and participants' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2018, p. 56). The research participant leads the interview, and as such is placed in the position of expert (Mannay, 2010). Roaming interviews were therefore a valuable tool when researching with ECTs, who can identify and be identified as vulnerable and exploited (Muijs et al., 2010; Hulme and Menter, 2014; Bailey, 2015; Lefebvre and Thomas, 2017).

The use of participatory research methods is aligned with the theoretical approach taken in this study. Participatory research projects are concerned with power (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2018), and aim to trouble and critique accepted norms concerning those in privileged or expert positions of power. In research interviews, 'power is mainly intertwined with the subject's gender, age, and professional background' (Vähäsantenen and Saarinen, 2013, p. 494). One of the main reasons for using roaming interviews was to create more of a power equilibrium between myself as researcher and the ECT research subjects. This was partly in recognition of the fact that when working with ECTs, the power differential was likely (in some cases if not all) to be weighted towards myself, because I was older than many ECTs and was entering the research environment in the 'expert' position of an educational researcher. Roaming interviews also shift the attention of research interviews away from the interview subject and towards the professional environment (Anderson, Adey and Bevan, 2010; Evans and Jones, 2011). This reorientation towards the *where* of research shifts the power dynamic, and as such can help to build trust between researcher and

research participant (Carpiano, 2009), leading to the co-creation and collection of rich and insightful data about professional identities (Evans and Jones 2011).

The design of roaming interviews can be best understood along a spectrum, with the most participatory approaches being led entirely by the research participant, and the least participatory approaches being organised around a route pre-determined by the researcher (Evans and Jones, 2011). In line with researchers such as Kusenbach (2003) and Porta et al. (2016), I followed routes determined by the ECT participant. However, to ensure that I was able to address the themes raised by the phase one discourse analysis, I followed Robson's (2011) advice of creating a 'shopping list' (p. 285) of topics, which ensured that I was orientated towards probing particular themes during the roaming interview. Such topics included policies concerning displays, environmental routines, and the reasons why the ECT was attracted to apply to work at the academy or MAT. This shopping list of topics was informed by phase one findings (Appendix C, p. 305-307). However, there was no specific order in which these themes were addressed, and other themes and topics developed during roaming interviews as a result of the organic nature of the research method.

4.3.4 Focus Groups with early career teachers

Focus groups are a particularly useful tool for researchers who are interested in exploring the part that language plays in constructing identity. Gill et al. (2008) argued that focus groups provide an opportunity to 'collect group language' (p. 293) and Kitzinger (1995) states that by 'tapping into interpersonal communication [focus groups] can highlight cultural values or group norms' (p. 311). Belzile and Öberg (2012) note the 'tacit division between researchers who view the participants primarily as individuals sharing held truths and those who view them as social beings co-constructing meaning while in the focus group' (p. 459). I fall into the second category, understanding the focus group as a unique method of generating and recording interaction

between members of a group. I therefore understood my role more as a facilitator than an interviewer (Kitzinger, 1995).

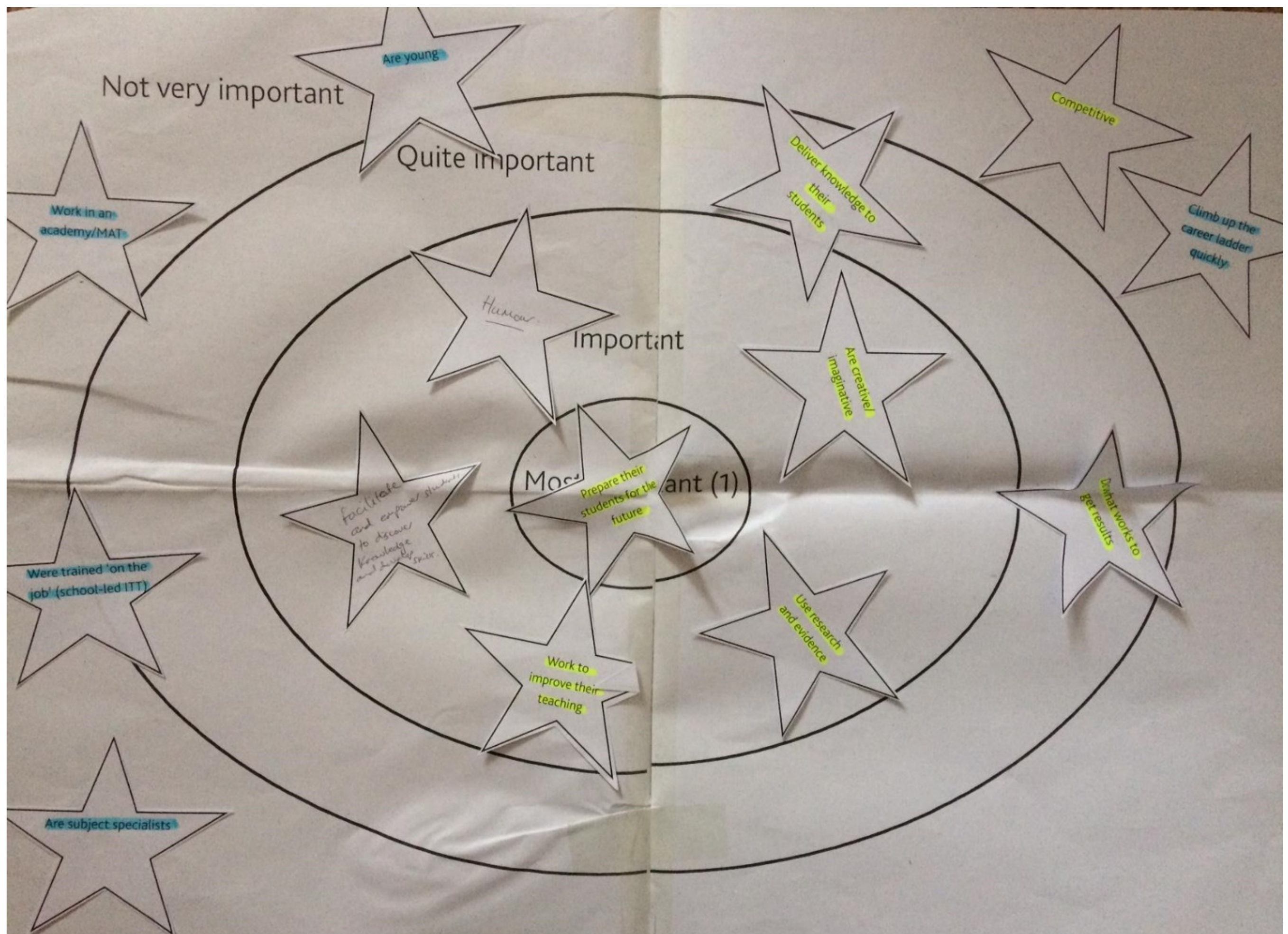
There are also a number of practical benefits to focus groups. Focus groups can engage people who are nervous about individual interviews, or who feel they will have nothing to contribute in an individual interview situation (Kitzinger, 1995). In my research study, a number of participants contributed to the focus groups but did not participate in roaming interviews, suggesting that there are practical benefits to providing participants with a choice of how to participate in a research project. Focus groups also generate a large amount of data in a relatively small period of time in comparison to other data collection methods (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2018), making them a useful tool when working with busy primary school teachers.

In total, four focus groups were conducted during the study, one in each school which participated in the research study. The focus groups were therefore homogenous, in that all the participants were ECTs working in the same academy school. The use of homogenous focus groups is common in qualitative research (Kreuger, 1994), as they offer the opportunity to gain an insight into the normative culture of an organisation or institution. Brown (2015) has argued that using focus groups in naturally occurring settings allows researchers to gain 'insights into the research topic that would not otherwise be available' (p. 86). By interviewing employees collectively, rather than individually, data can be co-constructed which is unique to the group dynamic.

To facilitate discussion, I used a sorting activity during focus groups (Figure 3, p. 96; Appendix D, p. 310), as recommended by Kitzinger (1995). Participants were provided with twelve stars, on which features of teachers' purpose, identity and role were printed. These features were generated from the themes identified during the phase one policy analysis. Participants were asked to sort these features into four categories arranged as concentric circles: 'not very important', 'quite important', 'important' and 'most important'. Participants were also informed that only one star was allowed to be chosen as the 'most important' feature in the centre. Additional stars were

provided without any text on them so that participants could add any features that they felt were missing from the twelve provided. The additional, blank stars were intended to provide an opportunity for participants to explore alternative discourses or resistance strategies which are available to teachers, but which may not be reflected in policy discourse. The point of the activity was to promote group discussion, rather than to generate quantitative data about teachers' attitudes towards their work, and as such the outcomes of the ranking activity were not quantitatively analysed.

Figure 3: Sorting card activity conducted during a focus group.



The ranking activity was piloted with PhD students at the University of Worcester prior to being delivered during fieldwork, and as a result some changes were made. Certain features were

removed as topics of discussion as it was felt they might encourage participants to reveal sensitive data (as determined by GDPR), such as trade union membership or political affiliations. Also, in order to scaffold the activity and enable participants to become involved more quickly, features were colour coded, with more 'binary' features being coded blue and more complex or vague features being coded yellow. For example, the distinction between 'old' and 'young' is relatively binary, so the characteristic of being a 'young' teacher was coloured blue. In contrast, the use of research and evidence is more complicated, perhaps requiring discussion about what counts as research or evidence, so 'uses research and evidence' was coloured yellow. As there were twelve stars to rank, this small modification was intended to provide a scaffold for participants in terms of deciding which stars to discuss first.

4.3.5 Semi-structured interviews with senior leaders

To increase the trustworthiness of this study I interviewed executive and senior leaders in MATs alongside ECTs, employing a method of 'data triangulation' (Denzin, 1989b, p. 237). By gaining information concerning ECT role and identity from both the ECTs themselves *and* school leaders, I was able to identify areas of discursive alignment and difference. The aim was not to build a coherent or consistent picture of the object of study (in this case ECT identity), but instead to identify and map the multiple discursive positionings available to ECTs, upon which new teachers could construct their identity. The primary focus of the interviews with senior and executive leaders was therefore on the role of the ECT and the characteristics that were considered necessary or desirable in an ECT employed by the MAT.

Interviews with senior leaders were semi-structured,[27] following the structure suggested by Robson (2011, p. 284) with a five-stage process of: introduction; easy 'warm-up' questions; the main body of the interview; 'cool-off' questions intended to diffuse any tension; and closure. The

[27] Initially I had planned to undertake roaming interviews with senior and executive leaders, as with ECTs. However, following discussion with my supervisory team, we decided that a more conventional approach to interviewing would be more suited to data collection with those in senior or executive level roles, as interviews with leadership may engender a greater amount of sensitive talk than would be appropriate in the open spaces demanded by roaming interviews in schools.

semi-structured approach is more flexible than that of a structured interview, allowing the researcher to ask for clarification or extension from the interviewee, or to depart from the pre-determined interview structure if an unexpected avenue of interest is constructed through the interviewer/interviewee interaction. Galletta (2013) advocates semi-structured interviewing as it provides the opportunity to explore objects of research from both theoretical and personal perspectives, 'eliciting data grounded in the experience of the participant as well as data guided by existing constructs in the particular discipline' (p. 45). For this study, semi-structured interviews therefore provided an appropriate data-collection method. A structured interview could limit the amount of discussion during the interview, as structured questions would be heavily influenced by the phase one data analysed from government policy documents and might, therefore, limit the opportunity for alternative discursive positionings to be explored with participants. However, an unstructured interview could focus too heavily on the perspectives and experiences of interviewees, providing no opportunity to explore policy positionings of ECTs. A semi-structured interview, however, provided opportunities for both researcher and participant to introduce and explore themes of interest to them.

4.3.6 Transcription of interview data

All interviews (ECT roaming interviews, ECT focus groups, and semi-structured interviews with senior leaders) were recorded using a dictaphone and then transferred to a password-protected laptop ready for transcription and analysis. I transcribed all interviews using a modified version of Gail Jefferson's transcript symbols (Jefferson, 2004), which were originally developed to enable conversation analysis. Jefferson's transcription system uses punctuation marks to indicate non-verbal communication markers, such as laughter or changes in volume. I simplified Jefferson's symbols by removing some of the more esoteric transcription symbols, so it would be more accessible for teachers and educationalists without a background in linguistics. Participants were provided with a sheet explaining the transcription symbols used during the member checking

process (Appendix E, p. 309). The use of these transcription tools significantly increases the transparency of the interview process to the reader of the study, by indicating non-verbal communication markers employed by participants, thereby making the analysis of the interviews and focus groups more trustworthy. The use of transcription symbols also enabled me to employ methods from conversation analysis to interpret the self- and other- positionings of ECTs and senior leaders within the research interviews.

4.3.7 Ethical Considerations (phase two)

Phase two of the research study involved researching with living humans and therefore a greater degree of ethical consideration was required for this phase of the study. However, as none of the human participants were considered vulnerable and the research (although taking place on school premises) did not involve children, proportionate review was considered acceptable in this case. An application for ethical approval for phase two of the data collection was submitted to HASSREC for proportionate review on 5 March 2018 (Appendix G, pp. 319-35). The application was accepted, subject to minor amendments, on 20 March 2018.

Ethical considerations were, as with the first phase of research, informed by BERA's Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2018)[28] and the University of Worcester's ethics policy (University of Worcester, 2017). The most pressing ethical concern in this study was that participants might disclose information about themselves or make critical comments about their academy or MAT which could result in them being treated negatively by colleagues or being disciplined by more senior members of staff. The majority of ethical considerations for phase two of the project were therefore focused on mitigating this risk.

Roaming interviews take place in public areas where participant talk can be overheard, and therefore cannot be considered as providing a space in which participants could share divisive

[28] By this stage in the research project, BERA ethical guidelines had been updated, so I drew from the 2018 rather than 2011 published guidelines.

views in confidence. To mitigate the risk of participants vocalising opinions which could have damaged their professional status or professional relationships with colleagues, I reminded all participants at the beginning of the interview that there would be an opportunity to speak in a more private space at the end of the interview. During this final part of the interview I asked participants to choose a space in school where they felt comfortable to answer a few more personal questions. The majority of participants chose their classroom, and I ensured that these spaces for the final part of the interview were more secure by closing doors, lessening the possibility of colleagues overhearing. Participants were also offered the opportunity to have a follow-up interview by phone to discuss any issues which they did not feel comfortable discussing on school premises, although no participants took up this offer.

As with roaming interviews, using focus groups raised specific ethical issues regarding confidentiality. One of the major ethical problems with using focus groups is that 'over-disclosure' may occur (Bloor et al., 2001, p. 30), when one or more individuals reveal something which they would feel uncomfortable talking about outside the focus group, and which they may later regret. Such over-exposure can be a particular problem when working with '"captive" populations' (Kitzinger, 2006, p. 23), which includes the sample of ECTs, who were all working at the same academy. Bloor et al. (2001) argue that it should not be assumed that over-disclosure will always have negative consequences. Participants may develop a feeling of solidarity with other participants if they disclose a feeling or past action that they then receive support or acknowledgement for within the focus group. However, the negative consequences of over-disclosure could be very damaging, particularly as it is reported that academy leadership teams are becoming increasingly vigilant about ensuring that all staff are 'on the bus' (Courtney and Gunter, 2015, p. 395). Bloor et al. (2001) recommend reminding all focus group participants that participation is voluntary before starting discussion, and member-checking of transcripts before publication. I followed both of these recommendations so as to mitigate any negative consequences of over-disclosure.

I requested that semi-structured interviews with senior leaders took place in private spaces within school, which mitigated some of the ethical problems concerning privacy which occurred with go-along interviews and focus groups. The majority of interviews took place in the office of the participant, with some taking place in intervention rooms which the senior leaders had chosen as a more appropriate space, for example if they shared an office with another member of staff. Phone interviews were also offered as an alternative, although no participants chose to participate by phone. The reason for conducting these interviews in private spaces recognised that leaders may wish to discuss certain members of staff or other schools or MATs in confidence. Interviews were paused when any interruption took place.

One of my main concerns as a researcher was to ensure that I developed research methods and tools that would make participants feel relaxed and comfortable when participating in the project.[29] As I had previously worked as a primary school teacher, I was aware of the pressured and sometimes stressful nature of work in a primary school, and was keen to avoid contributing to these negative feelings. I visited all schools prior to starting the research project to explain the study and what would be involved, allowing time for questions so that any concerns could be discussed. To limit any possible anxiety about the nature of the interviews, I sent both senior leaders and ECTs a skeleton structure of the interview in advance, to give them an idea of the sort of topics that would be covered (Appendix C, pp. 305-7). The theoretical framework of the study also had a significant impact on the type of information I was attempting to elicit from participants, and consequently the nature of the questions asked. I avoided asking questions of a very personal

[29] My concern to make participants feel comfortable informed my decision not to include observations as a research method. Although case studies often involve the use of observations, I avoided the use of observation as a data collection technique in an attempt to recognise the 'equal status and reciprocal relationships between subjects and researchers' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2018, p. 59). In *Discipline and Punish,* Foucault (1977) describes how observation acts of a mechanism of power, disciplining bodies. In his description of the Panopticon, Foucault explains how prisoners were compelled to self-discipline as a result of their awareness of always being under the gaze of other prisoners or the prison guard, concealed in a central tower. While working as a teacher, I became increasingly aware of the disciplinary effects of observation, and how observation can be used as a tool to reproduce inequalities and hierarchies within institutions. My concerns about the use of observation in current teaching practice have been echoed in research undertaken by Perryman (2007) and Page (2017). The decision to rely on interviews and avoid observation was therefore an ethical decision, informed by my positionality as a researcher and the theoretical framework of the research study.

nature, as I was not aiming to 'dig out' hidden information or private beliefs from the participants. Instead, my focus was on the way that participants used language to position themselves and construct their identities. I did not ask any questions that were intended to elicit answers containing sensitive personal data, as defined in GDPR regulations.[30] However, it should be noted that some participants did choose to share information which would be classed as sensitive personal data as part of the research process, for example information about their mental health. Following their involvement in the research, all participants were provided with debriefing information (Appendix J, p. 340), which signposted them towards support organisations for teachers.

Informed consent was gained from all research participants prior to taking part in the research study. Participants were informed about the study at least seven days in advance of research activities taking place, giving them time to consider fully whether they wanted to participate in the project. At this point, participants were provided with information sheets (Appendix K, pp. 341-3) and consent forms (Appendix L, pp. 347-8). Once transcriptions had been completed, all participants were sent a copy of their transcripts by email for member-checking (Robson, 2011). All participants were given until 31 July 2019 to withdraw from participating in the research, and were reminded of this on information sheets, by email and verbally throughout the process. There were no withdrawals, although as part of the member checking process three participants requested additional assurance about the nature of the anonymisation process, as they felt their particular narratives were quite unique and could compromise their confidentiality. These three participants were all reassured when I provided them with anonymised transcripts, and none chose to withdraw. Following the conclusion of the data collection and the analysis and interpretation of data in November 2020, participants were provided with summative findings of the research (Appendix M, p. 349).

[30] Categories classed as sensitive personal data under GDPR regulations are: racial/ethnic origin; political opinions; religious/philosophical beliefs; trade union membership; genetic data; biometric data; data concerning health (mental or physical); data concerning sexual orientation or experiences.

All data was stored according to GDPR (2018) regulations. All transcripts were anonymised before any hard copies were printed. Hard copies of transcripts and analysis sheets will be destroyed using the University of Worcester's confidential waste service once the PhD is completed. Electronic copies of transcripts were stored on a computer and a USB, both of which were password protected. Electronic copies of transcripts will be deleted after ten years. Audio recordings were deleted once member checking and analysis was completed. Only myself and my supervisory team had access to transcripts during the data analysis process.

4.4 Analysis of phase two data and synthesis with phase one data

4.4.1 Initial thematic coding

Once the case study interview and focus group material had been transcribed and member-checked, the process of analysing the phase two data and synthesising it with the phase one data began. Phase two data was analysed independently of phase one data at first, with attempts to synthesise the data analysed from phases one and two taking place only once the initial coding and analysis of phase two data had been undertaken. Case studies were coded sequentially: I coded all the transcripts from The Rosemary Trust first, followed by those from the Dahlia Trust. By reading and coding the case study data sequentially I was able to notice differences and similarities between the two case study MATs.

The first step in analysing the phase two interview and focus group data was to deductively code all interviews and focus group transcripts using codes derived from the phase one analysis (Appendix B, pp. 302-4). Holistic coding was used to isolate themes, as it provides 'a broad brush-stroke representation' (Saldaña, 2016, p. 23). Using this technique, often large excerpts of text were coded according to a theme or idea (Appendix N, p. 350). The frequency of each code occurrence was recorded and then counted, generating a simple content analysis of the themes apparent in the case studies. This data was transferred into Microsoft Excel to aid comparison and visualisation (Appendix O, p. 351). To immerse myself in the data, I then re-read each transcript and wrote a

short vignette for each participant (Appendix P, p. 352), in which I reflected on how each participant had positioned themselves during our research conversations, and the strategies they had used to present a positive professional identity (or 'face'). The process of coding sequentially according to case study, followed by writing a short vignette for each individual participant, allowed me to attend to and consider aspects of each participant's individual and relational identity in turn. The vignettes served no purpose other than to focus my attention on how individual participants engaged in face-work, encouraging me to consider areas of coherence and contradiction in the way that participants spoke about themselves.

Using the code frequency counts and initial research questions as a guide, I then identified five themes which occurred at high frequency throughout the case study texts. The themes identified for further analysis were:

- Fidelity to school culture
- New teachers
- Workload
- Academisation
- Rapid career/pay progression (leadership)

Some of these codes were more prominent in one case study than another, or in one group of participants than another. For example, the topic of workload occurred at the second highest frequency in the corpus of ECT interviews and focus groups, but was not as prominent in the corpus of interview transcripts with senior leaders. The process of deciding which codes to prioritise for further analysis therefore involved some element of subjective decision-making by myself. Reflection on the importance of foregrounding the voices and experiences of ECT participants, and consideration of the research questions which informed the study, had some impact on decisions concerning which codes to subject to further analysis.

4.4.2 Critical discourse analysis and conversation analysis

Once extracts of interviews had been selected, they were analysed primarily using a CDA approach which was based on Fairclough's (1989; 1992) CDA framework. As with the phase one analysis, I

used an analysis sheet which prompted me to consider certain aspects of the interview extracts (Appendix Q, p. 353). This ensured a similar approach was taken to the analysis of each interview extract, increasing the transparency of the research act. Although the basic CDA framework used for the analysis of case study conversations was the same as that used for the phase one policy analysis, it was slimmed down to encourage me to focus on the identity-positionings of participants as constructed through everyday speech acts. The analysis sheet used in phase one had been very useful in generating a wide range of data which informed the construction of phase two data collection instruments and analysis. However, upon reflection I felt that I needed to take a narrower approach in phase two. This narrower approach would help me to make sense of the data and ensure that the primary focus of the study at this point was directed at teacher identity. I therefore limited the CDA prompts on the phase two analysis sheet to interactional control, cohesion, grammar, lexicality, politeness and ethos.

As the speech analysed in phase two was naturalistic, I was able to attend more closely to politeness strategies, looking at linguistic features employed to construct or save 'face' (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Naturalistic speech involves a number of non-linguistic positioning devices such as hesitations, emphasis, and repair strategies, and I wanted to acknowledge these linguistic devices within my analysis. I therefore included a number of prompts drawn from the field of conversation analysis. Conversation analysis is a form of discourse analysis, and therefore the use of techniques derived from conversation analysis is consistent with the theoretical and methodological framework of the research study. The unique feature of conversation analysis is that it focuses on the minute details of verbal and non-verbal interaction which take place in conversation, aiming to identify and describe patterns of turn-taking, repair and hesitation in naturalistic conversation (Have, 2007). As with the use of methods drawn from corpus linguistics in phase one, the use of strategies drawn from conversation analysis in phase two was intended to support and assist with the analysis of text.

Methods from conversation analysis were employed as they were able to provide additional support for parts of the CDA analysis, most notably the analysis of modality and politeness. For example, frequent hesitations and self-repairs (when the producer of speech interrupts and self-corrects their own speech) could indicate that the producer of the utterance is uncertain (Corley & Stewart, 2008), therefore impacting on the modality of the speech. Similarly, hedging strategies (such as 'I think' or 'sort of'), which Lakoff (1973) famously argued made truth claims 'fuzzier', can indicate a lack of speaker commitment (Prokofieva & Hirschberg, 2014). Rather than coming across as certain, passages of talk with frequent hesitations or conversational repairs indicate an uncertain modality to the speech, and hedges indicate when a speaker is loath to identify fully with an utterance. Cut offs, filled pauses and sound stretches indicate that the participant is considering or pre-empting a self-repair strategy (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977), and is therefore aware that what they say might be contentious, problematic, or contradicted by other conversation participants. Such insights are valuable when attempting to understand how individuals construct their professional identities, as these insights indicate the level of confidence that speakers have in their identity-positionings.

The analysis of textual extracts in phase two of the study was therefore based primarily on CDA methods, ensuring a consistent methodological and theoretical approach between the two distinct phases of data collection and analysis. However, the use of transcription and analysis techniques borrowed from conversation analysis positively contributed to designing a transparent and credible analysis of phase two interview texts.

4.4.3 Synthesis with phase one policy analysis

The final stage of the analysis process was to synthesise findings from the phase one policy analysis and the phase two case study data. During the course of the research project a large amount of data was collected and analysed, and the priority for this stage of the process was to select a number of salient themes to report on in the final PhD thesis. As Morse (2018) comments, 'in interpretative

qualitative inquiry, facts may or may not matter to the overall project, and it is the wisdom of the investigator to determine the difference' (p. 806). The final task of synthesising the data not only involved comparing the findings of the phase one policy analysis with the phase two case studies, but also making choices over which findings were key to the study and merited foregrounding in this thesis.

After the initial analysis of case study data, it became clear that the process of synthesising data from phase one and phase two of the study could not be linear and straightforward. The layers of discourse which had been identified in policy texts and in the everyday speech acts of ECTs and senior leaders were multiple, sometimes conflicting, and reflected historical shifts. The process of combining findings from the phase one policy analysis and the phase two case studies would therefore need to be iterative to acknowledge the complexity of the findings, involving a cyclical process of exploring how themes and ideas from the two phases could be synthesised. Seidel (1998) described the process of qualitative data analysis as a cycle of 'Noticing, Collecting and Thinking about interesting things' (p. 1). By coding the data, the researcher notices interesting things. This process of coding is followed by an effort to collect the data together, sorting different codes or ideas into categories. Once the data is sorted, the researcher then has to think about the data and make sense of it. Seidel argues this cycle of coding (noticing), sorting (collecting) and making sense of (thinking about) the data is recursive, in that at any point in the cycle the researcher might be encouraged or required to return to a different part of the cycle and approach the data in a different way. This process of noticing, collecting and thinking informed my cyclical approach to synthesising the phase one and phase two data.

After the initial coding and CDA of interview and focus group transcripts had taken place, I returned to policy documents to further explore the relationships between political discourse and ECT identity-positionings. The process of conducting, transcribing, reading and analysing teacher interviews highlighted themes from the phase one policy analysis which I had previously considered to be minor. For example, teacher workload – although mentioned in speeches made

by DfE ministers – was not consistent or as prominent as other themes in policy discourse. However, analysis of interview and focus group transcripts identified workload as a significant topic of interest for ECTs. I therefore returned to the corpora of policy texts, focusing on workload and identifying in more detail how exactly it was being constructed in policy discourse. The process of synthesising phase one and two findings involved reflection on my particular interests as a researcher and my past experience as a teacher, as I attempted to foreground findings which reflected the research question and the concerns of participants rather than my own personal and professional interests. Writing informal and flexible memos organised by theme, which pointed me towards significant chunks of relevant texts, enabled me to structure the 'messy' (Marshall, 2002, pp. 56-7) process of synthesising data from phase one and two and identify subtle nuances in language across different data sources.

4.5 Triangulation and trustworthiness

The theoretical framework of this research positions the study as being partially located within the broad field of social constructionist research (Burr, 2003). Such research rejects the possibility of discovering and portraying an objective truth, arguing that 'the "objectivity-talk" of scientists becomes just part of the discourse of science through which a particular version, and vision, of human life is constructed' (Burr, 2003, p. 151). As such, the focus on triangulation and analytical rigour in this methodology may appear problematic. Usually, different forms of triangulation are understood as being employed to increase the 'validity' of the research (Denzin, 1989b). Triangulation, from a positivist perspective, is considered to be 'a plan of action that will raise sociologists above the personal biases that stem from single methodologies' (Denzin, 1989b, p. 236). Similarly, the phase one policy analysis followed Taylor's (2001) guidance that CDA should be carried out with analytical rigour in order to increase the validity of findings. However, if all language and action is understood as social construction, rather than the representation of truth, it may seem futile to employ methods such as triangulation or analytical rigour to avoid personal

biases. With no objective truth to obtain beyond the construction, personal bias is, arguably, the only truth that research can claim to represent.

Although Denzin's (1989b) positivist conception of triangulation remains the most prominent in social science research, other ways of understanding and using triangulation have been proposed which are more suitable for interpretivist or social constructivist research. Mathison (1988) argues that 'triangulation results in convergent, inconsistent, and contradictory evidence that must be rendered sensible by the researcher' (p. 13). Mathison's understanding of triangulation is particularly pertinent to this research study. Triangulation, from a Foucauldian perspective, increases the possibility of collecting data on the multiple discourses which inform knowledge and identity construction. Without employing techniques of triangulation, the researcher is likely to restrict their access to the multiple and varying discourses that performatively impact on the construction of identity. The purpose of triangulation in this study is different from its purpose as proposed by a positivist researcher, in that its purpose is to destabilise discourses and 'truths', rather than uncover them. The use of triangulation strategies in this research study is therefore appropriate, as long as it is recognised that the purpose of such strategies is not to obtain access to a hidden, objective truth.

Throughout this chapter, I have avoided the use of the term 'validity' and instead used 'trustworthiness' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), which has the effect of slightly distancing the research from the positivist paradigm (Shenton, 2004). The classic account of trustworthiness in qualitative research, as provided in Lincoln and Guba's *Naturalistic Inquiry* (1985), proposes that in order for qualitative research to be trustworthy it needs to be credible, transferable, dependable and confirmable, and also involve a degree of researcher reflexivity. The term trustworthiness accepts that qualitative research conducted within a social constructionist theoretical framework cannot, and does not, aim to present a verifiable truth. Instead, this understanding of trustworthiness:

> takes the position that evaluation outcomes are not descriptions of the "way things really are" or "really work," or of some "true" state of affairs, but instead represent meaningful

> constructions that individual actors or groups of actors form to "make sense" of the situations in which they find themselves. (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 8)

Rather than attempting to argue for a particular truth which could be verified, the aim of this research study was to provide an account of how ECTs made sense of their professional identities to others. Some of the techniques suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985) to increase the trustworthiness of qualitative research were employed in this research study, including triangulation and member checking. This methodology chapter and the previous chapter on theory also aim to improve the trustworthiness of this research project, by providing an 'intellectual audit trail' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Carcary, 2009) which details exactly how and why decisions were made during the research process.

Trustworthiness remains a key concept and aim in qualitative research primarily because it provides 'one way in which researchers can persuade themselves and readers that their research findings are worthy of attention' (Nowell et al., 2017, p. 3). The main purpose of increasing the trustworthiness of a study is to make it appear valuable to readers, such as policymakers (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It could be argued that such strategies are particularly important in the current climate of educational research, which has an increasing emphasis on positivist methods, most notably randomised controlled trials (Torrance, 2008). The present research was conducted during a time of increasing concern about teacher recruitment and the wellbeing of new teachers. Policymakers began to respond to these concerns in 2019 with the publication of the Early Career Framework (DfE, 2019b). I believe that my findings from this research project interpreted and presented the particular challenges of the early career phase in a unique light, and that these findings could possibly contribute to enhancing policymakers' understanding of the difficulties faced by teachers when they entered the teaching profession. However, in order for these findings to be taken seriously by policymakers, I believed that techniques to improve the trustworthiness of my findings needed to be employed. This was the primary reason why I endeavoured, at every opportunity, to present trustworthy findings, which were fully immersed in the data.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has provided an outline of the methodological framework for the research study presented in this thesis, the methods employed, and my efforts to increase the trustworthiness of the study. The chapter has emphasised how the study centred on language as the key route to understanding teacher identity, with different forms of discourse analysis employed to illuminate how ECTs positioned their professional identities, and were positioned by others.

The study involved a number of methodological innovations, most notably the use of corpus-assisted CDA to systematically explore ministerial speeches, and the use of roaming interviews to access ECT discourse. The innovative methodologies and novel datasets used in the research produced findings which provide a significant contribution to the field of research. These findings are discussed in detail in the following three chapters.

II

FINDINGS

5. MINISTERIAL DISCOURSE 2010-18

This chapter explores the *assujettissements*, or subject-positionings, made available to early career teachers (ECTs) through the serious speech acts of government ministers between 2010-18, as evidenced in the DFEMS corpus. Amongst other discursive patterns, the chapter attends to diachronic shifts in discourse across the 2010-18 period, during which four different Secretaries of State for Education were appointed. Although there were consistencies across the period - for example, consistent support for the expansion of academisation - each Education Secretary prioritised different education policies (Table 6, p. 115). The information in Table 6 indicates how Michael Gove, who had the longest tenure as Education Secretary during this period, was also the most avid reformer, introducing policies which impacted on curriculum and assessment alongside the expansion of academisation and school-led initial teacher training.

This chapter begins by discussing the discursive construction of different teacher types in post-2010 ministerial discourse, before moving on to discuss how two particular aspects of teachers' working lives – autonomy and workload – were constructed in the DFEMS corpus. I chose to focus on autonomy and workload because they were frequently raised by participants in the case study phase of the research study. The chapter ends with a reflection on the political discourses which ECTs were exposed to during the turbulent period of educational reform 2010-18. The multiple and sometimes contradictory nature of these discourses indicates the rapid change that was taking place following the election of the Coalition government in 2010, after thirteen years of Labour government. The serious speech acts of government ministers offered multiple or contradictory subject positions which ECTs were required to navigate.

Table 6: Secretaries of State for Education in England, 2010-18

Secretary of State for Education	Dates in post	Government Administration(s)	Policy papers	Policy priorities
Michael Gove	11 May 2010 - 15 July 2014	Cameron-Clegg Coalition 2010	White paper *The Importance of Teaching* white paper (DfE, 2010)	• Expansion of academisation and MATs • Expansion of school-led initial teacher training • Introduction of new national curriculum (2014) and assessment
Nicky Morgan	15 July 2014 – 14 July 2016	Cameron-Clegg Coalition 2010 Cameron 2015	White paper *Educational Excellence Everywhere* white paper (DfE, 2016a)	• Parity of educational access nationwide • Character development • Leadership development and succession planning in MATs
Justine Greening	14 July 2016 – 8 January 2018	May 2015 May 2017	Green paper *Schools that work for everyone* (DfE, 2016b)	• Social mobility 'opportunity areas' • Apprenticeships and technical education
Damian Hinds	8 January 2018 – 24 July 2019	May 2017	n/a	• Recruitment and retention strategy for teachers, including the Early Career Framework • Extra-curricular activities for building character and resilience • Expansion of grammar schools • Changes to admissions in faith schools

5.1 Dividing teachers

5.1.1 Academy teachers

Analysis of the DFEMS corpus indicated that teachers who worked in the academy sector were constructed by ministers as distinct from, and hierarchically superior to teachers who worked in the maintained sector. Manual analysis of speeches within the DFEMS corpus using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) revealed a number of points in which a discursive knot[31] could be identified between a discourse concerning academy schools and a discourse concerning teacher quality:

> allowing MATs to develop and retain the best teachers who have well defined career paths
>
> recruit the best teachers - with schools like the Harris Academies training their own.
>
> Academies are attracting the best teachers and leaders

These excerpts of text indicate how academy schools were positioned by government ministers as employing the best staff. The superlative adjective 'best' hierarchically positions teachers working in academy schools as being superior to teachers who work in the maintained sector, indicating a clear coherence within the DFEMS corpus with regard to the discursive intertwining of academisation and teacher quality. Tacitly, these statements also positioned maintained schools as having staff who were of a lesser quality than their academy counterparts.

In a number of speeches, it was stated that teachers in academies earned more than teachers working in maintained schools. These claims constructed further division between teachers working in academies and teachers working in maintained schools, and further positioned teachers working in academies as being more valuable:

> Pay freedom allows academies to offer more attractive salaries
>
> Teachers in academies earn more.

[31] A glossary is provided at the end of the thesis (prior to the appendices) detailing linguistic terminology.

teachers in Academies often enjoy better pay than in other schools.

An analysis of these utterances as speech acts needs to be undertaken with an awareness of the political context in which such claims were being made. In 2014, the government introduced performance-related pay for mainscale teachers. As a result, by stating that academy teachers earned more, ministers implicitly positioned academy teachers as more valuable and high-performing than teachers working in maintained schools. In the context of a performance-related pay policy being introduced, ministerial assertions that 'teachers in academies earn more' should not be understood as a neutral and constative description of fact,[32] but as contributing to a discursive and hierarchical division between academy teachers and maintained teachers.

The exact nature of the relationship between academisation and teacher quality in the DFEMS corpus was, however, constructed as ambiguous. In a number of cases, academies were said to 'recruit' the best staff:

> [Academies are] free to innovate in every area, to **recruit** and reward the best staff
>
> any change to our academy freedoms - in particular, to the freedoms we've given heads to **recruit** the best staff, just like independent schools do
>
> By directly funding these schools and freeing headteachers to run them and **recruit** the best staff, academies have turned around hundreds of struggling schools

However, academies were also said to 'develop' or be responsible for 'training' the best staff:

> allowing MATs to **develop** and retain the best teachers who have well defined career paths
>
> recruit the best teachers – with schools like the Harris Academies **training** their own.

[32] Teachers working in academy schools earned less than those working in maintained schools, according to government figures. In 2018 classroom teachers and leadership teachers earned more on average if they worked in a maintained school. Only headteachers earned more, on average, if they worked in an academy school (DfE, 2018a). So, if these statements were to be interpreted as constative they could be proven false.

The role of the academy with regard to teacher development and training was, therefore, ambiguously constructed. It was claimed both that academies employed the best staff because they were more attractive to high-quality teachers, but also because academies trained and developed their teachers to become high-quality teachers. It was therefore ambiguous whether academies themselves were directly responsible for the quality of their staff, or whether the quality of academy staff was dependent on academies being able to employ teachers who were either innately high-performing or have had good opportunities to develop *before* they were employed by academy schools. In short, it was unclear whether academies were responsible for *attracting* staff or for *training* staff to outperform those in maintained settings.

In terms of subject-positionality, particularly for new teachers, there is a significant difference between academies being constructed as being able to hire the best teachers, and academies being constructed as training or developing the best teachers. If academies are constructed as hiring the best teachers, then the subject-position opened up to teachers hired by academies is a positive one. Teachers hired by academies can construct themselves as high-quality teachers who have been chosen to work at academies as a result of their existing skills and knowledge. However, if academies are constructed as training the best teachers, the subject-position made available to these teachers hired by academies is very different. As these teachers can only be understood as high-quality *as a result* of the training and development afforded to them by their academy employers, they are positioned as having to be compliant, following the demands made of them by their academy schools in order to become good teachers.

Despite this ambiguity, however, it is important to note the overall coherence in the construction of academy schools as employing the best teachers. Ministerial speeches during the 2010-18 period, as evidenced by the DFEMS corpus, positioned academy schools and the staff who worked in them as hierarchically superior to maintained schools and their staff. This positioning has the effect of opening up certain subject-positions to ECTs working in academy schools, enabling them to perform certain social identities or types of *ethos* – that of the high-

performing or high-quality teacher, or of the teacher being well supported by the training and development afforded to them by their academy school. Such subject-positioning could support ECTs working in academy schools to present a positive face.

5.1.2 Generational divisions

The corpus-assisted analysis of the DFEMS corpus indicated that the lexical cluster 'generation of teachers' occurred frequently in the speeches of government ministers between 2010-18 (n=28). Table 7 (p. 119) indicates that the lexical cluster 'generation of teachers' was the seventh most frequent lexical cluster involving the word teacher(s).

Table 7: Highest frequency three-word lexical clusters involving 'teacher(s)' in DFEMS corpus, generated using wordlist function

Rank	Cluster	Frequency within DFEMS corpus	Number of texts in which cluster is present	Percentage of texts in which cluster is present
1	INITIAL TEACHER TRAINING	49	37	10.25
2	TEACHERS AND HEADTEACHERS	36	20	5.54
3	TEACHERS AND LEADERS	35	20	5.54
4	SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS	33	27	7.48
5	THE BEST TEACHERS	32	27	7.48
6	OF TEACHERS AND	32	27	7.48
7	GENERATION OF TEACHERS	28	23	6.37
8	HEADS AND TEACHERS	27	23	6.37
9	TEACHERS AND SCHOOL	25	20	5.54
10	FOR TEACHERS TO	24	18	4.99

The lexical cluster 'generation of teachers' was unique in its construction of teachers according to age or point of entry, rather than quality or position.

Table 8 (p. 120) is a concordance showing all occurrences of the lexical cluster 'generation of teachers' in the DFEMS corpus. Table 8 (p. 120) shows that the lexical cluster 'generation of teachers' was particularly prevalent during the period of the Coalition government when Michael Gove was Secretary of State for Education, with 20 occurrences taking place during this time. By analysing the adjectives that occur in close proximity to the word cluster 'generation of teachers'

it is possible to discern two distinct lexical patterns. The first concerns the use of temporal adjectives, concerned with new and future teachers, indicated by 'next' and 'new' (n=14). The second pattern is the use of the evaluative adjectives 'best' and 'better' (n=15). There is also one instance at which these two intersect, with the 'next generation of teachers' described as 'many of the best'.

Table 8: Concordance of lexical cluster 'generation of teachers' in DFEMS corpus (n=28)

Concordance (n=28)	Producer	Date	Discursive positioning
from the best possible instruction. The generation of teachers currently in our schools is the best ever	Gove	16/06/2010	Positive
the future. I believe we have the best generation of teachers ever in our schools	Gove	06/09/2010	Positive
at a time when we have the best generation of teachers ever in our schools	Gove	16/06/2011	Positive
are uniquely fortunate to have the best generation of teachers ever working in England's schools today	Gove	01/09/2011	Positive
the profession are better than any generation of teachers ever before. But I	Gove	24/11/2011	Positive
we're going about securing the next generation of teachers and school leaders	Gove	11/01/2012	Neutral
ITT and CPD, nurturing talent in the next generation of teachers and sharing best	Gove	10/05/2012	Neutral
are at the heart of training each new generation of teachers. And the best	Gove	14/06/2012	Neutral
has got better - we have a better generation of teachers and leaders in our	Gove	05/07/2012	Positive
and more classrooms by the best young generation of teachers ever. Teachers	Gove	09/05/2013	Positive
Secretary because we have the best generation of teachers ever in our classrooms	Gove	05/09/2013	Positive
an even greater role in training the next generation of teachers as accredited	Gove	05/09/2013	Neutral
take even more control over training the next generation of teachers, many of the best	Gove	05/09/2013	Positive
recruiting, selecting and training the next generation of teachers. The programme	Laws	16/01/2014	Neutral
been for many years. We have the best generation of teachers ever now working	Gove	03/02/2014	Positive
Leadership - making sure that the next generation of teachers put behaviour management	Gove	03/02/2014	Negative
thanks to the hard work of the best generation of teachers ever - who can now	Truss	03/04/2014	Positive
We are lucky to have the best generation of teachers ever in our schools	Gove	07/06/2014	Positive
great teachers -and we have the best generation of teachers ever now in our schools	Gove	12/11/2014	Positive
are at the heart of training the next generation of teachers. We're	Morgan	19/01/2015	Neutral
take the lead in training the next generation of teachers. I'm acutely aware	Morgan	03/11/2015	Neutral
the most of the fact that we have the best generation of teachers ever - giving them	Morgan	17/03/2016	Positive
of education and ensuring the next generation of teachers are endowed with	Gibb	16/02/2017	Negative
And I especially want to see a new generation of teachers becoming part of	Greening	17/02/2017	Negative
making sure that a new generation of teachers have the support	Greening	17/02/2017	Neutral
shift on this, particularly because a new generation of teachers will expect teaching	Greening	10/03/2017	Neutral
to clearer career pathways for the next generation of teachers and school leaders	Greening	10/03/2017	Neutral
teachers in our schools - the best generation of teachers yet. And my top priority	Hinds	10/03/2018	Positive

Positive discursive positioning n=15, Negative discursive positioning n=3, Neutral discursive positioning n=10

The frequent references to the 'next' or the 'new' generation of teachers indicates a temporal discursive orientation towards the new entrant to the profession. New teachers were clearly an object of interest for government ministers:

> making sure that a new generation of teachers have the support they need
>
> schools take responsibility for recruiting, selecting and training the next generation of teachers.
>
> nurturing talent in the next generation of teachers

There were a high number of utterances concerned with new entrants to the profession. In contrast, previous generations of teachers were backgrounded – there were no references to past, previous, or older generations. The act of linguistic foregrounding evidenced here has the effect of ensuring that the discourse-receiver is repeatedly made aware of new teachers and what needs to be put in place in order to enable them to succeed or thrive. The object of discourse during this period was clearly the new teacher.

However, perhaps more interesting is the use of evaluative adjectives, in which the cluster 'generation of teacher(s)' is modified by the comparative adjective 'better' (n=2) or the superlative adjective 'best' (n=13), and often the adverbial intensifier 'ever' (n=12). These evaluative descriptions contribute to the construction of teacher identity by creating hierarchical divisions between teachers. The current generation of teachers is repeatedly and consistently constructed as a hierarchically superior group:

> We are lucky to have the best generation of teachers ever in our schools
>
> This is thanks to the hard work of the best generation of teachers ever
>
> we have the best generation of teachers ever now working

The use of superlative and comparative adjectives within the DFEMS corpus constructs two groups of teachers, and, furthermore, a hierarchical contrast between them. The use of such

adjectives indicates the attitudinal stance of the discourse producer. The current generation of teachers are judged to be particularly valuable – the 'best' generation of teachers ever, 'better' than previous generations. The construction of this valued group has the implicit effect of constructing an opposing group of teachers who are less valued – the previous generation. Whether teachers identify as part of the current generation of teachers, or a previous generation of teachers, will impact on how attractive this discursive positioning is. For teachers who identify as part of the current or new generation of teachers, this is a seductive and positive subject-positioning which might be appealing and motivating. For those who identify or are positioned as part of a previous or older generation of teachers, this discourse could be damaging to both positive and negative face, as it implicitly devalues the working practices and identity-positionings of teachers from previous generations.

There is also evidence to suggest that in the DFEMS corpus it is 'young teachers' specifically who are associated with the best generation of teachers:

> there is a culture of higher and higher expectations now being driven in more and more classrooms by the best young generation of teachers ever.
>
> Children enjoy brilliant teaching from gifted young professionals. We are uniquely fortunate to have the best generation of teachers ever working in England's schools today.
>
> We have the best generation of young teachers ever in our schools.

In these utterances, not only is an explicit distinction constructed between previous and current generations of teachers, but a divide between youth and age is also tacitly constructed. Oppositional categories, which can be explicit or rely on presupposition, can be employed by the producers of text in order to make certain implications available to the receiver of the discourse. In this case, the oppositional category constructed relies on the presupposed binary between youth and age, or youth and experience. As the word 'young' exists in a binary, oppositional relationship with the word 'old', by constructing the best generation of teachers as young, the text implicitly constructs older teachers as less valuable. Young teachers are the 'best generation', so implicitly

older teachers must be part of a worse generation which has gone before. Ministerial discourse therefore not only opened up subject-positions for young teachers, but also for their more experienced counterparts. This finding is further explored in sections 5.1.4 (*Young teachers*) and 5.1.5 (*Experienced teachers*).

5.1.3 New teachers

Table 9 (p. 124) shows the highest frequency adjectival collocates with the word teacher(s) in the DFEMS corpus. The adjectives which collocate with the word teacher(s) indicate the ways in which different groups of teachers were discursively constructed within ministerial discourse: essentially, they show the ways in which teachers were divided and distinguished from one another. Many of the most frequent adjectival constructions of teachers determine divisions in terms of teacher quality, for example 'great', 'best' and 'outstanding.' Other adjectives are used to accentuate differences of status or role between teachers, for example 'head', 'trainee', 'classroom' 'qualified' and 'specialist'; descriptions of teachers according to their disciplinary specialism, such as 'maths' and 'PE', also fall into this category. The high frequency of these particular disciplinary specialisms suggests that maths and PE were particularly valued or problematised by ministers during the 2010-18 period. The high frequency of the adjective 'primary', which occurs at a higher frequency than 'secondary', could indicate a particular focus on primary teachers within the DFEMS corpus. Whereas the term primary is the 64th most frequent word associated with the word teacher(s) and the 11th most frequent adjectival collocate, the term secondary does not enter the list of twenty most frequent adjectival collocates with teacher(s).

Table 9: Twenty highest frequency adjectival collocates with teacher(s), generated using wordlist function

Rank (within adjectival collocates)	Overall placement within ranking of collocates with teacher(s)	Collocate	Frequency within DFEMS corpus	Number of texts in which collocate is present	Percentage of texts in which collocate is present
1	12	GREAT TEACHERS	268	160	11.02
2	16	BEST TEACHERS	204	156	10.74
3	17	INITIAL TEACHER	204	152	10.47
4	23	HEAD TEACHERS	152	84	5.79
5	30	NEW TEACHERS	116	100	6.89
6	31	MATHS TEACHERS	104	72	4.96
7	36	SCHOOL TEACHERS	88	76	5.23
8	47	CLASSROOM TEACHERS	68	60	4.13
9	55	EXCELLENT TEACHERS	60	52	3.58
10	56	GOOD TEACHERS	60	52	3.58
11	64	PRIMARY TEACHERS	56	48	3.31
12	66	EXPERIENCED TEACHERS	52	48	3.31
13	68	QUALIFIED TEACHER	52	48	3.31
14	73	TRAINEE TEACHERS	52	36	2.48
15	84	YOUNG TEACHERS	44	40	2.75
16	86	HEAD TEACHER	40	40	2.75
17	88	PE TEACHERS	40	16	1.10
18	89	SPECIALIST TEACHERS	40	36	2.48
19	99	OUTSTANDING TEACHERS	36	28	1.93
20	126	BRILLIANT TEACHERS	28	28	1.93

Table 9 (p. 124) also clearly shows a high frequency of adjectives within the DFEMS corpus oriented around the new teacher, including 'new', 'young', 'trainee', and the collocation 'initial teacher' (the frequency of which can be explained by the term 'initial teacher training'). This discursive emphasis on new entrants to the profession is consistent with a policy focus on teacher recruitment rather than retention, as the object of discourse is more frequently the new entrant to the profession, rather than the experienced teacher. Whereas 'new' collocates with 'teachers(s)' in 100 texts within the DFEMS corpus, 'experienced' only collocates with 'teacher(s)' in 48 texts. There are, therefore, more than double the amount of ministerial speeches in which the term teacher(s) is associated with the adjective 'new' than 'experienced.'

The most frequent way in which new entrants to the profession were referred to by ministers was as ‘new teacher(s),’ and this collocation is explored in more detail in Table 10 (p. 126). Positive discursive positionings of new teachers (n=15) were more frequent than negative positionings (n=1). In a number of cases (n=7), these positive discursive positionings were direct, explicitly positioning ‘new teachers’ as having valued characteristics:

> wonderfully talented cohort of new teachers and a superb generation
>
> ensure more high-quality new teachers reach the schools and
>
> most benefit from great new teachers. That's why we've a

Table 10 (p. 126) also shows how repeated references to the academic superiority of new teachers were made in three speeches with the utterance ‘the proportion of new teachers holding a first class degree’, as shown in the following extended concordance line:

> the annual initial teacher training census shows us that the proportion of new teachers holding a first class degree is at an all-time high. The best graduates are going into teaching. Year on year, the prestige of the profession is growing.

Such utterances also provide examples of how new teachers were positively positioned in a direct manner. The value of a first class degree is presupposed, with no further evidence provided to explain why teachers who have achieved a first class degree should be expected to perform better as teachers; when analysed as performatives, these utterances serve to construct the attainment of a first as a valued characteristic. The effect of such performative utterances is multiple. By emphasising the increased proportion of new teachers who have a first class degree, these utterances not only distinguish teachers who have achieved a first class degree as particularly valuable, but also construct the entire cohort as having an increased value in comparison with previous cohorts. Such utterances therefore work to devalue teachers who have attained less

prestigious grades, and previous cohorts of teachers whose average performance included fewer firsts.

Table 10: Concordance of collocation 'new teacher(s)' in DFEMS corpus (n=35)

Concordance	Producer	Date	Discursive Positioning
country needs about 35,000 new teachers each year there will	Gibb	20/04/2011	Neutral
we need about 35,000 new teachers each year so there will	Gibb	24/04/2011	Neutral
universities in preparing new teachers. Throughout teachers'	Gibb	24/04/2011	Neutral
and ensuring that all new teachers have a real depth of knowledge	Gove	16/06/2011	Negative
expertise is devoted to giving new teachers the training they need	Gove	01/09/2011	Neutral
teacher training so every new teacher is given the proper support	Gove	01/09/2011	Neutral
we will ensure that when new teachers arrive in class they can	Gove	01/09/2011	Positive
wonderfully talented cohort of new teachers and a superb generation	Gove	23/11/2011	Positive
curriculum, spent a fortune on new teacher training, and engaged	Gove	11/01/2012	Neutral
highly-respected training which each new teacher deserves and needs	Gove	14/06/2012	Neutral
ITT providers to give new teachers the best possible start	Gove	14/06/2012	Neutral
required - ensuring that every new teacher is able to pass a test	Truss	17/01/2013	Positive
has consulted on the new Teachers Standards, and they	Truss	21/06/2013	n/a
a fifth year. While our new teacher training scheme, School	Gove	05/09/2013	n/a
More than 7 out of 10 new teachers now have a first	Gove	05/09/2013	Positive
want to recruit as many new teachers in these subjects as we	Gove	05/09/2013	Neutral
modern language to 18. And new teachers are trained to diagnose	Truss	03/01/2014	Positive
have enhanced the training new teachers receive to ensure they	Gove	03/03/2014	Positive
state education, and our new teachers' standards require a	Gove	07/07/2014	n/a
in the profession. These new teachers are getting the right	Morgan	26/10/2014	Positive
generous bursaries for new teachers worth up to £31,000	Morgan	19/11/2014	Neutral
but also inspired new teachers to better serve their	Timpson	03/12/2014	Positive
schools that more of our new teachers than ever before have	Morgan	19/01/2015	Positive
content in training for new teachers building on the best	Morgan	16/06/2015	Neutral
challenging to recruit new teachers in the context of a	Gibb	05/09/2015	Neutral
that the proportion of new teachers holding a first class degree	Gibb	05/09/2015	Positive
have the most need of new teachers. Our Prime Minister,	Morgan	19/01/2016	Neutral
that the proportion of new teachers holding a first-class degree	Gibb	27/01/2016	Positive
that the proportion of new teachers holding a first-class degree	Gibb	05/02/2016	Positive
challenges we face in recruiting new teachers, rather than adding to	Morgan	26/03/2016	Neutral
with the aim of ensuring new teachers are fully trained in dealing	Gibb	19/09/2016	Positive
few years are crucial for new teachers to embed learning and	Greening	17/02/2017	Neutral
ensure more high-quality new teachers reach the schools and	Greening	10/03/2017	Positive
most benefit from great new teachers. That's why we've a	Greening	24/10/2017	Positive
of what we prefer. For new teachers to be given skills to	Gibb	23/03/2018	Neutral

Positive discursive positioning n=15, Negative discursive positioning n=1, Neutral discursive positioning n=16, n/a = 3.[33]

[33] In the occurrences marked n/a the reference is not to teachers but to either the teachers' standards or ITT.

There were, however, a higher number of indirect positive positionings of 'new teachers' than direct positive positionings. The collocation 'new teachers' appears to be most closely associated with utterances concerned with the recruitment and training of new teachers, with 23 of the 35 occurrences of the collocation 'new teacher(s)' associated with such information, for example:

> Ensuring that every new teacher is able to pass a test
>
> have enhanced the training new teachers receive to ensure they
>
> These new teachers are getting the right training to prepare them to succeed

In these utterances, new teachers are indirectly positioned in a positive manner, through an emphasis on the improved nature of recruitment and ITT provision. Such discourse constructs teachers exiting this new, improved system as being better trained than those leaving previous systems, thus tacitly positioning those entering the profession under new systems put in place post-2010 as superior than their predecessors who were trained under previous government administrations.

An exploration of the collocation 'new teacher(s)' therefore suggests that, using both direct and indirect means, government ministers positioned new teachers as a particularly valuable group, foregrounding the superiority of new teachers and therefore backgrounding (and tacitly devaluing) experienced teachers. By exploring the collocations 'young teacher(s)' and 'experienced teacher(s)' in more detail, the deployment of this discursive strategy becomes more evident.

5.1.4 Young teachers

The use of the adjectives 'young' and 'experienced' has the effect of constructing differentiations between teachers which are particularly interesting. Such divisions differ from divisions of quality or status, instead essentially constructing divisions between teachers in terms of age. There were sixteen occurrences of the pattern 'young teacher(s)' in the DFEMS corpus (Table 11, p. 129).

As with the lexical cluster 'generation of teachers', the majority of the occurrences of the collocation 'young teacher(s)' were produced under the Coalition government during Michael Gove's tenure as Education Secretary (n=12). Under Michael Gove, most ministerial references to 'young teacher(s)' involved a positive discursive positioning (n=10). In addition to the adjective 'young', the evaluative adjectives used to construct this group of teachers included 'outstanding', 'idealistic', 'excellent', 'brilliant', and 'gifted'. The premodifier 'truly' is also used to intensify the evaluative adjectives attached to this group. Truly is a truth-intensifier, which in these cases both marks the proposition as intended to be received as a truth-claim (or a constative utterance) rather than a value judgement, and also heightens the commitment of the discourse-producer to the claim. Evaluations are used in text not only to express opinions, but also to construct and maintain relations between discourse-producer and discourse-receiver. As a result, when evaluative lexical terms are introduced, it is important to question the relationships which are being constructed and sustained by the text.[34]

The range of evaluative adjectives employed to describe young teachers was wide, and included both official and unofficial evaluative terminology:

> projects proposed by outstanding young teachers like Sajid Hussein
>
> concern from a gifted and idealistic young teacher
>
> benefit from some truly excellent young teachers

The adjective 'outstanding' is official in that it was, until 2017, a term employed by Ofsted inspectors to hierarchically divide teachers into categories. Outstanding was the top category reserved for teachers who had delivered the best lessons.[35] The use of official vocabulary such as

[34] Thompson and Hunston (2000) argue that there are three main functions of evaluation, which are expressing opinion, maintaining relations, and organising discourse.

[35] Until 2017, Ofsted inspectors would grade individual lessons they had observed. In 2017 this practice was abolished as Ofsted admitted that 'one-off observations of a single teacher are likely to be unreliable for evaluating that teacher' (Ofsted, 2018, p. 3). These categories were used by school management teams after 2017 to grade teachers based on single lesson observations, despite Ofsted having abolished them (TES, 2017). Ofsted categories were still used to grade schools after 2017.

outstanding therefore gives the utterance an additional credence or sense of objectivity, and makes this evaluative statement even more difficult to negotiate or dispute. However, most of the evaluative terms used to describe young teachers – for example 'gifted', 'idealistic', 'brilliant' – are not part of an official vocabulary, and instead indicate the subjective stance of the discourse producer. By using adjectives from both official and unofficial lexicons in descriptions of young teachers, these teachers are constructed as excellent according to both objective and subjective measures. The DFEMS corpus clearly evidences a positive positioning of young teachers, particularly during the period of the Coalition government, constructing this group as having a particularly high social value.

Table 11: Concordance of collocation 'young teacher(s)' in DFEMS corpus (n=16)[36]

Concordance (n=16)	Producer	Date	Discursive positioning
are projects proposed by outstanding young teachers like Sajid Hussein - who's Kings Science Academy	Gove	06/09/2010	Positive
it's horrifying to think that that young teacher must now be contemplating retirement	Gibb	20/04/2011	Neutral
it's horrifying to think that that young teacher I remember must now be contemplating retirement	Gibb	24/04/2011	Neutral
movement was started by idealistic young teachers who were sick and tired of the entrenched practices	Gove	20/06/2011	Positive
can benefit from some truly excellent young teachers. We've launched the Teachers' Standards Review Group	Gibb	28/06/2011	Positive
Key Stage Two. A new cohort of brilliant young teachers trained here - in the classroom	Gove	01/09/2011	Positive
as I've always said, I believe that the young teachers who are now entering the profession are better	Gove	24/11/2011	Positive
I say it. We have the best generation of young teachers ever in our schools.	Gove	26/03/2012	Positive
the concern from a gifted and idealistic young teacher that we are not being	Gove	09/05/2013	Positive
have been developed by brilliant young teachers. And David Benson, the	Gove	05/09/2013	Positive
the very best generation ever of young teachers - those who have entered our classrooms over the last few years	Gove	05/09/2013	Positive
when BBC3 make heroes out of tough young teachers, when even Tatler publish	Gove	03/02/2014	Positive
make teachers', and in particular young teachers', working lives miserable	Morgan	29/07/2015	Negative
from the potential offered by MATs for young teachers to quickly accelerate to leadership positions	Morgan	05/03/2016	Positive
people in this room to help ensure that young teachers are entering a research-informed	Gibb	12/09/2016	Neutral
Development] in the early stages of a young teacher's career is absolutely	Greening	24/10/2017	Negative

Positive discursive positioning n=11; Negative discursive positioning n=2; Neutral discursive positioning n=3

[36] Concordances in this findings chapter only show occurrences of the exact collocations with adjacent terms, in this case, when the word 'teacher(s)' is immediately preceded by the word 'young'. This explains any discrepancies in the frequencies of collocations as listed in Table 8 and Tables 9, 10 and 11. Table 8 includes collocations which are in the neighbourhood of the target term 'teacher(s)', therefore including adjectives which may be up to four words removed from the target word. To illustrate, 'teachers are best with young children' would be included as a collocation in Table 8, but not in Table 10.

In a number of statements, the young teacher is constructed as the logical subject of the clause, and therefore as having significant agency:

> [Free School] projects proposed by outstanding young teachers like Sajid Hussein
>
> movement was started by idealistic young teachers who were sick and tired of the entrenched practices
>
> concern from a gifted and idealistic young teacher that we are not being rigorous enough
>
> new and more ambitious maths curricula have been developed by brilliant young teachers

Young teachers propose Free School projects, start pedagogical movements, critique education policy and develop curricula. Rather than having things done to them, these young teachers are constructed as having high levels of agency. The combination of agency and excellence attributed to young teachers within ministerial discourse positions this group as having a high social value.

There are, however, two instances in which the positioning of young teachers within the DFEMS corpus contradicts the general trend, and is more negative:

> bureaucracy and paperwork that I know can make teachers', and in particular young teachers', working lives miserable.
>
> Focusing on CPD [Continued Professional Development] in the early stages of a young teacher's career is absolutely critical.

In the first instance, young teachers are specifically constructed as being damaged by bureaucracy and paperwork, tacitly positioning young teachers as less resilient than their more experienced colleagues. In the second, young teachers are positioned as being particularly in need of professional development, which foregrounds their inexperience. Rather than being constructed as particularly valuable, these utterances construct young teachers as requiring additional input from schools, therefore possibly reducing their value. The explanation for this contradiction within the discourse could be the result of a historical shift. Whereas the majority of the positive positionings of young teachers were produced under Michael Gove's tenure as Education

Secretary, once he departs, there appears to be a movement towards constructing young teachers as more vulnerable and in need of support.

Despite the apparent discursive shift after the appointment of Nicky Morgan, the subject-position constructed for the young teacher within the DFEMS corpus is primarily a positive, and therefore also a seductive one. The young teacher is constructed as the agent of educational change and improvement, described using evaluative adjectives which emphasise their positive qualities. This positive positioning in policy has the effect of associating particular behaviours and characteristics with young teachers, thereby normalising these behaviours and characteristics. The association of such characteristics with young teachers also has an effect on the discursive construction of older teachers, as the adjective 'young' exists in a binary relationship to the adjective 'old.' By explicitly positioning young teachers as having a high value, older teachers are tacitly positioned as having a low value. Subject-positions are not only, therefore, opened up to the young teacher through such discourse, but also to the older, experienced teacher. The subject-position opened up to the older teacher as a result of this discourse is a negative one, constructed in opposition to the positive subject-positioning of the young teacher. Whereas the DFEMS discourse supports the construction of a positive face for the young teacher, it could damage the positive face of other teachers with more experience.

5.1.5 Experienced teachers

Experienced teachers were constructed as a distinct group by government ministers during the 2010-18 period. There were thirteen occurrences of the collocation 'experienced teacher(s)' in the DFEMS corpus. In general use, the connotative meaning of the adjective 'experienced' is positive; to say someone is experienced is to recognise their skill and knowledge as a result of being dedicated to a particular interest for a significant period of time. However, in the DFEMS corpus, the positioning of experienced teachers is complex. Through choices of both vocabulary

and grammar, experienced teachers were positioned in a more negative fashion than young teachers. However, one of the responsibilities assigned to experienced teachers in government discourse is to train new entrants to the profession. There was therefore a lack of coherence in the positioning of experienced teachers, as they were at once positioned as being less valuable than new entrants to the profession, but at the same time responsible for training new teachers. This contradictory positioning of experienced teachers also positioned new teachers in a disconnected fashion, as both equal to experienced teachers, but also as being required to learn from them.

Table 12 (p. 132) shows all the occurrences of the collocation 'experienced teacher(s)' in the DFEMS corpus.

Table 12: Concordance of collocation 'experienced teacher(s)' in DFEMS corpus (n=13)

Concordance (n=13)	Producer	Date	Discursive positioning
hospitals, they will allow new and experienced teachers to learn and develop	Gibb	20/04/2011	Negative
schools - that will allow new and experienced teachers to learn and develop	Gibb	24/04/2011	Negative
is by observing other, more experienced teachers. That is why we intend	Gibb	24/04/2011	Positive
Hospitals - where both new and experienced teachers can learn and develop	Gibb	28/06/2011	Negative
under the guidance and supervision of experienced teachers. In Singapore I saw	Gove	13/09/2011	Positive
graduates into teaching and retain experienced teachers. I'd like to do more for teachers	Gove	28/11/2011	Positive
in teaching practice will give new and experienced teachers an opportunity to learn	Gibb	06/01/2012	Negative
teaching hospitals - so that new and experienced teachers can learn and develop	Gove	11/01/2012	Negative
valuable research and giving new and experienced teachers an opportunity to develop	Gibb	26/05/2012	Negative
learn and train in schools, working with experienced teachers and putting their lessons into practice	Gove	14/06/2012	Positive
progress of each child. Even the most experienced teachers can't know exactly	Hancock	24/01/2014	Negative
They work with over 30 schools, using experienced teachers, specialist leaders	Gove	07/06/2014	Positive
may be finding it more difficult to recruit experienced teachers. We have heard schools' concerns	Gibb	09/03/2016	Positive

Positive discursive positioning n=6; Negative discursive positioning n=7

It is clear from the concordance that, in a similar way to the collocation 'young teacher(s)', the majority of occurrences (n=12) take place during the time of the Coalition government, when Michael Gove was Education Secretary. The discursive attention on young and experienced teachers during the period of the Coalition government strongly suggests that the deployment of

specific subject-positions for different groups of teachers was a discursive strategy during this period of rapid educational reform.

In comparison with the collocation 'young teacher(s)', it is notable that 'experienced' is the only adjective used to demarcate and construct this group. Whereas the adjective 'young' when constructing young teachers was often part of a sequence of adjectives (including evaluative adjectives such as 'brilliant', 'idealistic' and 'gifted') experienced teachers are simply described as 'experienced', with no further adjectival description. Experienced teachers are therefore constructed as implicitly lacking the brilliance, idealism or excellence of young teachers; their only character trait is experience. Constructions of experienced teachers are very limited, with less effort on the part of policymakers to positively position them within the discourse.

In six of the occurrences of the collocation 'experienced teacher', this word pattern is extended into the lexical bundle 'new and experienced teachers'. In each of these occurrences, the use of the co-ordinating conjunction 'and' constructs new teachers and experienced teachers as equal. New and experienced teachers are therefore constructed as being equally in need of learning and development:

> they will allow new and experienced teachers to learn and develop
>
> where both new and experienced teachers can learn and develop
>
> teaching practice will give new and experienced teachers an opportunity to learn

Although a division between new teachers and experienced teachers is upheld, both types of teachers are positioned as deficient in that they are both in need of opportunities to 'learn and develop'. The requirement to learn and develop would, of course, be expected of new entrants to the profession. However, to construct experienced teachers as *equally* in need of opportunities for learning and development has the effect of devaluing both their status and their knowledge as experienced members of the profession. Despite their experience, these teachers are constructed

in discourse as being equally in need of training as new teachers. This has the effect of implicitly troubling or devaluing experience as a positive attribute.

In three occurrences, experienced teachers are made responsible for training other teachers, primarily new entrants to the profession. This has the effect of positively positioning experienced teachers, as it implicitly suggests that their experience has a value which should be passed on to less experienced members of the profession:

> In Finland trainees receive extensive classroom teaching practice under the guidance and supervision of experienced teachers.
>
> New recruits will work and train in schools, working with experienced teachers and putting their lessons into practice from day one.
>
> We believe that one of the best ways to improve teaching practice and to allow teachers to become better professionals is by observing other, more experienced teachers.

The construction of experienced teachers in these occurrences clearly places experienced teachers as hierarchically superior to new entrants in terms of knowledge and skill. However, in these occurrences the value of experienced teachers appears to be oriented around the figure of the new teacher – the 'trainee' or the 'new recruit'. Experienced teachers are positioned as valuable as a result of their relationship with new entrants, rather than in and of themselves. The object of discourse is the new teacher, rather than the experienced teacher, with new teachers as the reference point around which other teachers' values and responsibilities are organised and understood. The continuing focus on the new teacher has the effect of foregrounding the figure of the new teacher and backgrounding the experienced teacher, consistently turning the discourse-receiver's attention towards the new teacher rather than experienced members of the profession. The linguistic construction of such statements therefore devalues the role and contribution of experienced teachers to the education community.

In contrast to young teachers, who are constructed as agentially responsible for a number of education initiatives in ministerial discourse, the transitivity associated with experienced teachers is passive:

> new centres of excellence in teaching practice - teaching schools - are being established. Modelled on teaching hospitals, they will allow new and experienced teachers to learn and develop their professional skills throughout their careers.

> We believe that one of the best ways to improve teaching practice and to allow teachers to become better professionals is by observing other, more experienced teachers.

> But I also think it's important we continue to attract the very best young graduates into teaching and retain experienced teachers.

> They work with over 30 schools, using experienced teachers

Experienced teachers are not constructed as the actors within these statements. Instead of doing things, experienced teachers have things done *to* them by others. Experienced teachers are 'allowed' to develop, they are 'observed' by new teachers, they are 'retained' by schools or 'used' by others as part of a school improvement plan. The grammar used prevents experienced teachers from being positioned as change agents with ownership over or investment in their actions. Experienced teachers are instead constructed as passive, used as objects by other social actors and institutions. By grammatically constructing experienced teachers as the subject of other social actors' actions and desires, they are effectively backgrounded once again, implicitly devaluing their capacities.

For discourse-receivers, including ECTs, ministerial discourse presents a confusing and contradictory message about experienced teachers. On the one hand, experienced teachers were devalued in ministerial discourse. Experienced teachers received none of the glowing adjectival evaluations of young teachers; they are not 'idealistic', 'gifted', 'bright' or the 'best'. Experienced teachers were positioned as being just as in need of training and development as new teachers and were transitively constructed as passive rather than active social agents. However, conversely, experienced teachers were also constructed as responsible for training the next generation of teachers in the new school-led system which was being developed. School Direct and Teaching Schools proposed under the Coalition government aimed to remove responsibility for ITT and Continuing Professional Development (CPD) from higher education institutions and instead locate responsibility within schools, particularly academies. In order for this policy to be effective,

experienced teachers needed to be positioned as responsible for the training of new entrants to the profession. The contradictory positionings of experienced teachers indicate a cruce in the discourse, a tension within policy objectives that on the one hand deride experienced teachers in favour of new entrants, while on the other constructing experienced teachers as best placed to support new teachers so as to implement the movement of ITT (and CPD) from universities into schools.

The *assujettissements* opened up to experienced teachers necessarily impacted on those available to ECTs. With experienced teachers primarily constructed in a more negative fashion than their younger counterparts, new teachers were positioned by ministerial discourse to construct their professional identities as being in some way hierarchically superior to more experienced members of the profession. This could provide opportunities for new teachers to construct a positive face, by positioning themselves in alignment with ministerial discourse. However, by constructing experienced teachers primarily as responsible for training new entrants, ECTs were positioned as being expected to follow the advice of more experienced, older members of the profession, particularly during their training. Such expectations may restrict ECTs' freedom to act, therefore threatening their negative face. These two subject-positions opened up to ECTs were contradictory, presenting challenges to ECTs in the process of constructing a professional identity.

5.2 Teacher work

5.2.1 Teacher autonomy

Academy schools, as independent state-funded schools, were afforded a significant amount of legal autonomy in comparison to maintained schools, enabling freedom from the National Curriculum and from paying teachers according to nationally-agreed pay and conditions. This section explores how autonomy, a key issue within academisation, was constructed by DfE ministers during the 2010-18 period. I will show through a detailed exploration of the DFEMS corpus that autonomy

within academy schools was constructed in multiple and conflicting ways, opening up diverse and complex *assujettissements* to teachers.

The autonomy afforded to academy schools was used throughout DfE policy speeches as a justification for the expansion of the academy movement. Throughout the corpus of DfE policy speeches delivered between May 2010 and March 2018, the word 'autonomy' occured 337 times in total, in over a quarter (28 per cent) of the texts. The lexeme 'free*',[37] which was frequently associated with or used synonymously with 'autonomy', also occured at a high frequency, with associated words (such as free, freedom, freely) occurring a total of 1,248 times.

When analysed manually, a number of speeches within the DFEMS corpus evidenced a promise of greater autonomy to teachers as a result of the reforms implemented by post-2010 governments. In these statements, discursive strands concerning autonomy and teacher subject-positioning were intertwined, creating a discursive knot binding teachers and autonomy. Teachers under post-2010 reforms were described as having 'greater' autonomy, a comparative adjective which has the effect of dividing teachers working under previous governments from those working under post-2010 policy initiatives:

> our reforms to give teachers greater autonomy, flexibility and freedom
>
> the move towards much greater professional autonomy for teachers
>
> attention to improving teacher quality, granting greater autonomy to the front line

In several occurrences, three discursive strands were intertwined, as academisation was specifically linked to autonomy for teachers. Utterances made by government ministers claimed increased freedom for teachers who worked in academy schools:

> Academy freedoms accentuate the greater autonomy enjoyed by teachers
>
> One of the biggest strengths of becoming an academy is the autonomy it gives teachers to run schools, free from interference by politicians and bureaucrats.

[37] Encompassing free, freedom(s)

> The autonomy academy status brings means putting power into the hands of school leaders, because we improve outcomes for young people by ensuring the teachers who teach them, and the heads who lead their schools, are given the freedom to make the right decisions in the interests of those children.

Autonomy for teachers was also specifically associated with performance in the primary sector, with autonomy being constructed as a causal factor in school improvement:

> Ambition, autonomy and opportunity. These are the hallmarks of every high performing education system in the world - from Singapore to Finland, Shanghai to Alberta: all areas where teachers are respected and the highest educational attainment is expected of children. This is why we have been taking urgent action to raise standards right across the state education system by cutting bureaucracy, supporting the very best teaching and giving heads much greater say over how they run their schools. These are vital reforms and they will be of fundamental importance in raising standards of maths amongst pupils at our primary schools - particularly those from poorer backgrounds who have been let down the most over the years.
>
> The past 5 years have demonstrated incontrovertibly that autonomy and freedom in the hands of excellent leaders and outstanding teachers delivers excellence. We also know that excellence can be delivered in the most challenging of environments. Just ask the pupils at Lowedges Junior Academy in Sheffield where 45% of pupils are eligible for free school meals.

ECTs employed in primary academy schools, then, might expect to be granted a high level of autonomy. Ministerial discourse repeatedly claimed that teachers, particularly those in academies, had 'greater autonomy', claiming that academy teachers had more autonomy than teachers working in maintained settings. Such discourse offered the subject-position of the 'autonomous teacher' to teachers working within academy schools, while simultaneously restricting teachers working in maintained settings from identifying as such.

Corpus-assisted analysis of the DFEMS corpus reveals, however, that the construction of autonomy in the DFEMS is more complex than might at first appear, particularly regarding the social agents or institutions who were positioned as the beneficiaries of autonomy. A cluster analysis (Table 13, p. 139) identified the most frequent lexical clusters associated with the word 'autonomy.' The most frequent word clusters associated with autonomy were 'autonomy for

schools' (n=17) and 'freedom and autonomy' (n=17). There were two further word clusters associating schools with autonomy, 'of school autonomy' (n=10) and 'autonomy at school' (n=6). None of the frequent word clusters involving 'autonomy' or 'autonomous' were closely connected to the lexeme 'teach.' The most frequent linguistic association between autonomy and any particular social actor or agent was clearly constructed between schools rather than teachers, or even teacher leaders. This cluster analysis suggests that it is the institution of the *school* which should be understood as being constructed as autonomous, rather than individuals (such as teachers or leaders) who work within schools.

Table 13: Highest frequency three-word lexical clusters involving 'autonomy'/ 'autonomous' in DFEMS corpus

Rank	Cluster	Frequency within DFEMS corpus	Number of texts in which cluster in present	Percentage of texts in which cluster is present	Agential association
1	AUTONOMY FOR SCHOOLS	17	12	3.32	School
2	FREEDOM AND AUTONOMY	17	11	3.05	n/a
3	OF AUTONOMY AND	12	11	3.05	n/a
4	GREATER AUTONOMY OVER	11	11	3.05	n/a
5	AND AUTONOMY FOR	10	5	1.39	n/a
6	OF SCHOOL AUTONOMY	10	5	1.39	School
7	MORE AUTONOMY FOR	9	9	2.49	n/a
8	COMBINATION OF AUTONOMY	8	8	2.22	n/a
9	GREATER AUTONOMY AND	8	7	1.94	n/a
10	HAVE GREATER AUTONOMY	8	8	2.22	n/a
11	THE AUTONOMY OF	8	8	2.22	n/a
12	AUTONOMY FOR INDIVIDUAL	7	7	1.94	n/a
13	AUTONOMY OVER WHAT	7	7	1.94	n/a
14	AUTONOMY AND ACCOUNTABILITY	6	6	1.66	n/a
15	AUTONOMY AND PARTNERSHIP	6	5	1.39	n.a
16	AUTONOMY AT SCHOOL	6	5	1.39	School
17	AUTONOMY ENJOYED BY	6	6	1.66	n/a
18	GREATER AUTONOMY FOR	6	6	1.66	n/a
19	GREATER AUTONOMY TO	6	6	1.66	n/a
20	OF OPERATIONAL AUTONOMY	6	6	1.66	n/a

In the light of findings drawn from the cluster analysis, it is possible to reappraise references to teacher autonomy identified during manual qualitative CDA of individual ministerial

speeches. The construction of teacher autonomy in such speeches could be understood as a form of metonymy. In this case, teachers and leaders, particularly in academy schools, are constructed as having greater autonomy because they metonymically represent the school as a whole. It is the academy or MAT which legally has autonomous status, and as such the parts of this institution – the teachers and leaders – are also constructed as having freedom and autonomy. The discourse should not, therefore, be considered as literally promising, but only *figuratively* associating autonomy and freedom with teachers in the academy sector. This use of metonymy creates a linguistic ambiguity within the DFEMS corpus, having the effect of obfuscating exactly who and what benefits from the autonomy associated with academisation and promised by government ministers.

The contradictory and multiple constructions of professional autonomy as evidenced in the DFEMS corpus may have significant effects on the ways in which ECTs were able to position themselves. The findings presented above on autonomy show that although at a number of points ministers positioned teachers in academies as having 'greater autonomy', further corpus-assisted analysis reveals that schools are the more frequent entity with which the concept of autonomy is associated. For the individual teacher, this renders the promise of autonomy confusing. It is unclear whether the teacher is expected to be autonomous or whether, instead, they are expected to comply with the demands of their autonomous school.

5.2.2 Hard work and workload

The terms 'hard work' and 'workload' have a similar denotational meaning. However, despite referring to the same activity, the two terms have different connotational meanings, due to the activities, characteristics and outcomes associated with them. This section will show how the DFEMS corpus constructed a positive connotational meaning for 'hard work', and a negative connotational meaning for 'workload'. The construction of contrasting connotative meanings for

the same process resulted in multiple and contradictory subject-positions being opened up for ECTs.

In the DFEMS corpus, the collocation 'hard work' had a positive connotation, being most frequently associated with positive outcomes or included in lists of positive characteristics. There were 140 occurrences of the collocation 'hard work' within the DFEMS corpus, of which 129 positioned hard work in a positive manner, ten in a negative manner, and one neutrally (Appendix S, pp. 355-9). In contrast, in the same corpus the term 'workload' had a negative connotation. (Appendix T, pp. 360-3). Overall there were 98 occurrences of the term 'workload' in the DFEMS corpus, of which the majority were negative (n=79), and a minority positive (n=3) and a more significant number of neutral positionings (n=16), mostly explained through the term 'workload' being used in a subheading or as a title. Therefore, although the terms 'hard work' and 'workload' both refer to the same processes – of planning, preparing, marking, delivering lessons, preparing data and other teacher tasks – they have very different connotations within the DFEMS corpus. The connotational implications of these two terms in the DFEMS corpus can be discerned through an exploration of the words they are closely associated with.

Table 14 (p. 142) shows lexical clusters associated with the collocation 'hard work'[38] in the DFEMS corpus, as identified and isolated using Wordsmith. The lexical bundles 'thanks to the' and 'hard work of teachers' both occurred 14 times throughout the DFEMS corpus. The strong relationship between these three terms 'thanks', 'hard work' and 'teachers' indicates that hard work was commonly used throughout ministerial speeches as an explanation for educational success. The following utterances are examples of this causal link:

> Today, over 1.4 million more children attend schools judged by Ofsted to be 'good' or 'outstanding' than in 2010, thanks to the hard work of teachers
>
> In 2012, just 58% of England's 6-year-olds met the expected standard in the phonics screening check. By 2016, thanks to the hard work of teachers and the use of phonics, this rose to 81%.

[38] 'Hard work' is a strong collocation, in that the two words are frequently found together in everyday language use (Sinclair, 1991). The collocation is not, therefore, unique to the DFEMS corpus.

> Since 2010, the number of children in failing secondary schools has fallen by 250,000. This is thanks to the hard work of the best generation of teachers ever

In these examples, the hard work of teachers is an explanatory factor in why schools are upgraded to good or outstanding status; why younger children are better at reading (in conjunction with the application of phonics); and why older children are attending better schools during their secondary years. Ministerial discourse therefore implicitly constructs the activity of working hard as a positive character trait by associating hard work with educational improvement.

Table 14: Highest frequency four-word lexical clusters involving 'hard work' in DFEMS corpus, generated using concord function[39]

Rank	Cluster	Frequency within DFEMS corpus
1	THE HARD WORK OF	26
2	TO THE HARD WORK	21
3	HARD WORK AND DEDICATION	16
4	THE HARD WORK AND	15
5	HARD WORK OF TEACHERS	14
6	THANKS TO THE	14
7	OF TEACHERS AND	9
8	THANK YOU FOR	8
9	FOR THE HARD WORK	8
10	FOR YOUR HARD WORK	7
11	AND THE HARD WORK	6
12	YOUR HARD WORK AND	6
13	AND DEDICATION OF	6
14	ALL YOUR HARD WORK	5
15	ALL THEIR HARD WORK	5
16	THE HARD WORK THAT	5
17	FOR ALL THEIR	5
18	HARD WORK AND COMMITMENT	5
19	HARD WORK OF THE	5
20	DESPITE THE HARD WORK	5

[39] The concord function provides less statistical information on lexical clusters than the wordlist function, which is why this table does not provide the same amount of frequency information as previous cluster lists. However, the concord function allows for bespoke collocation searches (here, enabling a search for the collocation 'hard work') whereas the wordlist function will only allow for exploration of collocates with single words.

Table 14 (p. 142) also shows how the words 'commitment' and 'dedication' were also closely linked to the collocation 'hard work'. Commitment and dedication are words which describe positive character traits and are therefore words which explicitly contribute to the construction of identity-positionings within the discourse. In the DFEMS corpus, as indicated by Table 14 (p. 142), the act of being committed or dedicated to the profession was discursively intertwined with the activity of undertaking hard work. The frequency of the collocation between 'hard work', 'commitment' and 'dedication' constructs these three terms as having complementary meanings:

> I want to thank you [Teaching Leaders] for your hard work, dedication and commitment to such an important cause.
>
> Thank you [headteachers] for your hard work, your commitment and your exceptional ability to bring about excellent educational outcomes for young people
>
> [PIRLS[40] results] are a tribute to the hard work and dedication of primary teachers who have quietly revolutionised the way children are taught to read in this country.

The link between hard work, commitment and dedication suggests that the capacity to undertake hard work is being positioned in the ministerial discourse as a privileged characteristic. By privileging those who undertake hard work, ministers construct the capacity and willingness to take on hard work as a way for new teachers to position themselves as valuable social actors. Furthermore, the repeated association of hard work with dedication and commitment primes the discourse-receiver to construct associations between these three terms, constructing hard work, dedication and commitment as having a similar meaning.

The privileging of *hard work* is more explicitly constructed in a number of speeches:

> If our schools are to improve across the board, our education system needs to reward hard work and ambition, not just time served

[40] Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) is an international assessment which compares reading attainment across different countries. It is administered every five years (NCES, 2020b).

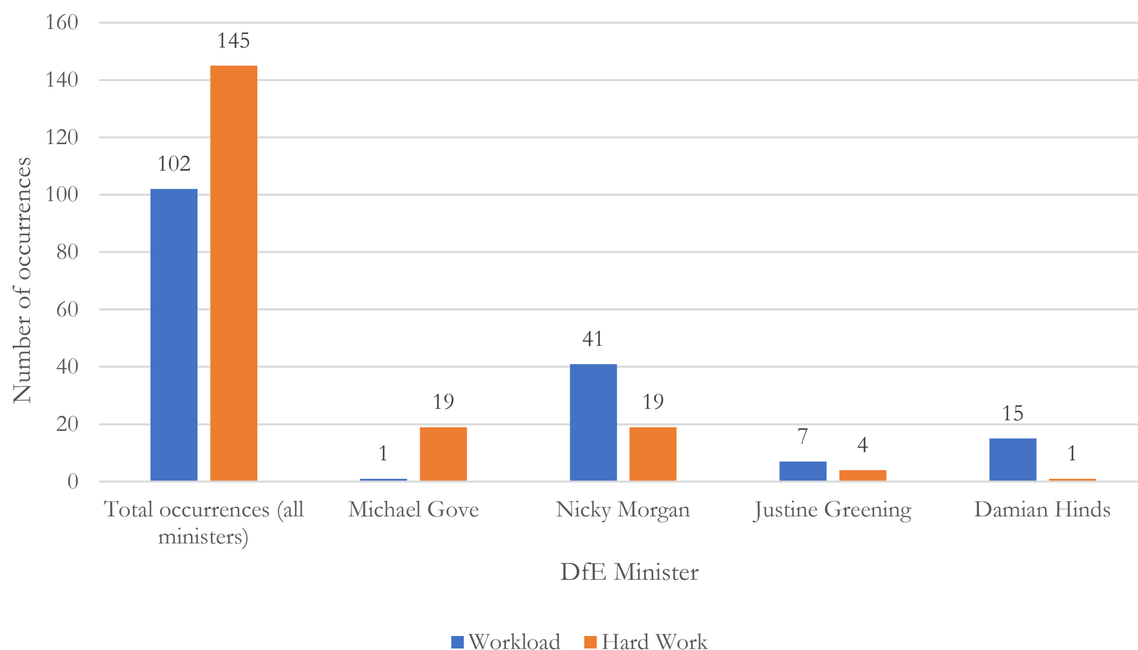
> Teaching is difficult. It is hard work. It is both challenging and rewarding intellectually and emotionally. And for all of these reasons, it remains one of the most honourable and important professions you can choose.

By explicitly privileging hard work as a characteristic, and by associating hard work with positive character traits such as commitment and dedication, the DFEMS corpus positively positions the process of *hard work*. It praises teachers and leaders who display this privileged characteristic and constructs a causality between educational success and hard work. The process of undertaking hard work is therefore constructed as a positive action, and the subject-position made available through discourse is that of a hard worker, who has a positive impact on educational improvement. Hard work is something to be praised and rewarded, and therefore those who work hard are to be praised and rewarded, constructed as valuable social actors. This subject-position is an attractive one, as the teacher who works hard is positioned as committed, dedicated, and an effective change agent responsible for educational improvement.

However, there is a noticeable change of emphasis from *hard work* to *workload* which takes place after 2014, indicating a change in the way that teacher work was constructed in ministerial discourse. Figure 4 (p. 142) shows the number of occurrences of *workload* and *hard work* across all ministerial speeches in the DFEMS corpus, with occurrences by Secretaries of State for Education isolated in order to give an indication of the shift in discourse over time. Michael Gove's speeches as Secretary of State for Education show a clear emphasis on 'hard work', with 19 occurrences of 'hard work' and only one reference to 'workload'. However, for the following three Education Secretaries, this trend is reversed, with more of an emphasis on 'workload' and fewer occurrences of 'hard work'. This reversal takes place immediately after Michael Gove's departure, with his successor Nicky Morgan making 41 references to 'workload' and 19 to 'hard work'. The reversal

is most pronounced in the speeches of Damian Hinds,[41] who refers to 'workload' a total of 15 times across his two speeches included in the DFEMS corpus, but 'hard work' only once.

Figure 4: Occurrences of 'workload' and 'hard work' in the DFEMS corpus



The sudden shift in emphasis here indicates a cruce as the process of teacher work is re-constructed in the discourse. This cruce is likely to reflect increasing concern about teacher recruitment figures in the years 2014-15.[42] Rather than the 'hard work of teachers' being positioned as a causal reason for educational success, 'teacher workload' becomes positioned as a problem which the government needs to solve:

> teachers simply didn't have time to engage with research. This government has made tackling the workload of teachers a priority.
>
> Too many of our teachers, and our school leaders, are working simply too long hours - and too often on tasks that the evidence shows are not helping children to learn. We need

[41] Only two speeches of Damian Hinds were included in the DFEMS corpus as phase one of the research study was concluded during his tenure as Education Secretary.
[42] See, for example, Okolosie (2015).

> to get back to the essence of successful teaching; strip away the workload that doesn't add value and give teachers the time and the space to focus on what actually matters.
>
> Another key strand of the government's work to support and empower teachers is the government's priority of reducing teacher workload. Teachers should be freed from spending hours on marking and entering progress-data, particularly when evidence suggests these do not improve pupil outcomes.

The process of teacher work as *workload* in these extracts is negatively constructed, as a causal reason for the failure of teachers to engage with educational research, as a teacher concern, and as having negligible impact on pupil outcomes. The subject-position opened up by such discourse is a teacher oppressed by overwhelming amounts of unnecessary workload, a subject-position which is at odds with the teacher who brings about educational success through hard work. The teacher subject who is damaged by workload is passive and oppressed by demands made of them, rather than actively participating in work in order to secure educational improvement. The passive nature of the teacher oppressed by workload demands is emphasised by the grammatical transitivity employed in these text extracts. Teachers need to be 'given' time, they need to be 'freed' from workload, the government is engaged in 'supporting' and 'empowering' them. Teachers in these paragraphs are constructed as passive rather than active social agents, reliant on the government to free them from the burden of their overwhelming workload.

Two contradictory subject-positions concerning the process of teacher work are therefore opened up by the discourse of government ministers during the 2010-18 period of educational reform. One subject-position constructs teacher work as a key factor in educational improvement, and those who engage in hard work as valuable social actors. This is an enabling and positive subject-position. Another, contrasting subject-position constructs much teacher work as having limited value, and teachers as passively being oppressed by the demands made of them. This is a repressive and consequently negative subject-position. ECTs entering the profession during this period therefore had to negotiate multiple and contradictory discursive positionings concerning the nature of the work they were undertaking.

5.3 Summary

This chapter has explored the subject-positionings made available to ECTs through ministerial discourse in the years 2010-18. The DFEMS corpus provides evidence of a discursive division being constructed between young and experienced teachers, through the deployment of repeated lexical clusters and collocations including 'generation of teachers', 'new teacher(s)' 'young teacher(s)' and 'experienced teacher(s)'. However, the discourse of government ministers during this period was at times confused and contradictory. Constructions of another notion, autonomy, were complex and multiple; similarly, constructions of teacher workload shifted significantly following the appointment of Nicky Morgan as Education Secretary in 2014.

This chapter has therefore shown that ECTs in the post-2010 period were exposed to a number of competing and contradictory political discourses which they could draw on when attempting to build a coherent and stable professional identity (or 'face'). However, although political discourse has an impact on teacher identity, it is not the only discursive resource that ECTs can draw on to construct their professional identities. The next chapter moves on to explore how these political discourses were interpreted and enacted by senior leaders in schools. The way that senior leaders enacted political discourse created another discursive resource which ECTs could use to construct their professional identities during their formative years as teachers.

6. ACADEMY LEADERS' DISCURSIVE POSITIONINGS OF EARLY CAREER TEACHERS

The previous chapter analysed ministerial speeches as examples of serious speech acts which impact on the subject-positionings made available to early career teachers (ECTs). This chapter moves on to explore how senior leaders working in primary academy schools positioned both their schools and MATs, and the ECTs who worked within them. The language which school leaders use to construct ECTs, like the language of policymakers, opens up *assujettissements* (subject-positions) which ECTs can resist or identify with.

Four schools participated in the research project, across two Multi-Academy Trusts. Daffodil School and Carnation School were part of the Dahlia Trust. Both were located within the same large urban city, but had different approaches to pedagogy. Daffodil School, which had an Ofsted grade of Outstanding and had been designated a Teaching School,[43] had a formal approach to the curriculum, was highly focused on data and used a number of schemes of work in an effort to sustain high academic attainment in its pupils. Carnation School was located in an area of material affluence and attracted parents who worked within the creative industries; it had an Ofsted grade of Good and took a very flexible approach to the curriculum. Teachers were encouraged to be creative with their use of resources, time and space in the school. Two schools from the Rosemary MAT also participated in the research project, Tarragon Academy and Dill Academy. Both of these schools were located in an urban area with significant economic, material and cultural deprivation. Dill Academy had a Good Ofsted rating, and was on an upward trajectory as an academy, having previously been rated Inadequate and then Satisfactory before conversion to academy status. Tarragon Academy, in comparison, had opened as a Free School with new

[43] Teaching Schools are 'outstanding schools which have been nationally recognised for their capacity to support and help other school to improve outcomes' (Teaching Schools Council, 2021, n.p.). Teaching Schools were introduced in *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE, 2010) as part of the drive to develop a self-improving school-led system.

buildings and initially received a Good grading by Ofsted, but in its most recent inspection had been graded as Requires Improvement. As in the Dahlia Trust, schools within the Rosemary Trust had their own approaches to curriculum, pedagogy and assessment, although branding across the Rosemary Trust schools was stronger than in the Dahlia Trust.

Beginning with an exploration of how senior leaders construct academies, the chapter then moves on to show how senior leaders positioned ECTs. The chapter finishes by discussing how senior leaders constructed aspects of teachers' working lives, including autonomy and workload.

6.1 Academisation

In order to ensure that their schools were not negatively positioned as a result of having academy status, senior leaders interviewed for this study constructed distinctions between different types of academies, opening up an oppositional space for leaders in which their own academy or MAT could be positively positioned. Leaders also made efforts to align their practices with those of the local authority, constructing continuations in educational practice. These discursive positionings indicate a resistance to ministerial positionings of academies as hierarchically superior to local authority schools.

6.1.1 Distancing from other academies

During their semi-structured interviews, all senior leaders who participated in the research project were prompted to talk about the ethos and pedagogical approach of the academy school they worked in, and their Multi-Academy Trust (MAT). All senior leaders sought to construct a positive identity for their school. However, the strategies employed to position their schools and MATs positively varied considerably, depending on participants' experience. It was noticeable that senior leaders who had experience of teaching and leading prior to 2010 distanced themselves, their schools and MATs from what they perceived to be negative discourses concerning academisation and MATs. This discursive distancing indicates that the positive positionings of academy schools

evident in ministerial speeches were, in school contexts, contested or resisted. Three discursive strategies were used by these experienced senior leaders to distance their schools and MATs from other academies: temporal, moral, and geographical.

Temporal distinctions that were discursively constructed by senior leaders between academies had the effect of negatively constructing the early academies, while positioning newer academies in a more positive light:

> *I think the original academisations were- was sort of power (.) things you had chief (..) big chief execs who wanted their ↑empire and they'd swallow up lots of schools and actually it wasn't really about the children and the education* […][44] *but [now] it it's (.) I don't think it's any different all you do is substitute a Local Authority for a Trust it's there's no difference.*
>
> Rachel (Director of Primary Education, Rosemary MAT)

> *At the beginning our schools we::re the the the:: (..) and if I'm re::ally (..) self-critical or↑cynical (.) um the lion's share of our schools I ↑suspect (.) did not want to become ↓academies.* […] *So we were, and I think The Dahlia Trust was very much in its early days, a less unpalatable alternative.*
>
> Noah (CEO, Dahlia MAT)

Here, Rachel and Noah use metaphorical language in order to negatively position early academy trusts. The word 'empire', as employed by Rachel, has negative connotations, emphasising her construction of the leaders of early academy schools as primarily concerned with their own power and status. By using the term 'swallow up', Rachel constructs early MATs as predatorial and schools as vulnerable victims. Similarly, Noah's use of the idiomatic expression 'the lion's share' constructs his own MAT as a predator, and the schools he worked with as victims. These uses of metaphor construct the early period of academisation as a period of chaos or violence, with powerful academies able to oppress schools who were more vulnerable.

The discursive strategy employed by Noah and Rachel in these statements uses a temporal narrative mode of discourse to distinguish past academies from present academies. This separation of past from present enables current academies to be positioned more positively than their

[44] The non-italicised bracketed ellipsis […] is not part of the Jefferson transcription system (Appendix E, p. 309) but instead indicates that part of the transcription has been omitted for brevity.

predecessors. Academy leaders position their academies and trusts as part of a new wave of academies which have a different (and implicitly more positive) approach; they are, in Noah's words, 'less unpalatable' than the early academies. Such negative constructions of MATs are at odds with the ways in which academies are positioned in the DFEMS corpus, and indicate the existence of multiple discourses surrounding the function and behaviour of MATs beyond those of policy, some of which appear to be negative. Noah and Rachel were able to draw on these negative discourses as a discursive resource in order to present their own trusts in a positive light.

The second discursive strategy employed by MAT leaders to distance themselves from other academy trusts was to construct a moral difference between trusts. The morality centres on following national pay and conditions for teachers, with academies which depart from these employment conditions positioned negatively. Margaret constructed a clear divide between her own MAT, which awarded national pay and conditions, and other Trusts which did not:

> *So at Dahlia we follow national st- national terms and conditions so that's nice and straightforward. But, you know if you're in one of tho::se that don't* [...] *Then each time you move (.) they make it very ↑difficult for you to, for you to move because they take, you know you start again, and they don't transfer your time across and your maternity's really difficult and things so people tend to kind of get locked in or ↑women tend to get locked in because (.) they can't afford to go to another trust or whatever, or go back to a local school and not have their time ˙hh (.) counted for.*
>
> Margaret (Executive Headteacher,[45] Carnation School, Dahlia MAT)

For Margaret, the decision to depart from national pay and conditions for teachers was constructed as a moral issue. She used emotive language, including the evaluative adjective 'mean' and the modal verb 'should' in order to emphasise a moral difference between her academy, which followed national pay and conditions, and other academies which choose not to. Rachel in The Rosemary Trust also talked about how academies were said to undermine national pay and conditions:

[45] Margaret was the Executive Head of three schools within the Dahlia MAT which had formed a federation of schools. One of these schools was Carnation School, which participated in the research project.

And all these I think these urban myths about well you'll have to work till five and you'll get shorter holidays no it's all on teacher's pay and conditions which is exactly the £same as it is (.) anywhere else and there isn't any difference.

Rachel (Director of Primary Education, Rosemary MAT)

Like Margaret, Rachel distanced her MAT from such practices. Rachel claimed that these practices were 'urban myths' and that working in an academy was 'exactly the same as it is anywhere else', using laughter to further emphasise that she was taking a stance against such constructions of academies.[46]

The attempt by both leaders to distance themselves and their institutions from any claim that they might, as academies, be avoiding adhering to national pay and conditions for teachers, is coherent across both statements here. Margaret accepted that such practices happen, and judged academies who chose not to follow national pay and conditions as morally wrong. Rachel instead treated claims that academies do not pay teachers according to national pay and conditions as constative utterances, claiming they had a negative truth-value. Both leaders made efforts to avoid their institutions being positioned by others as places where teachers might not be awarded nationally agreed pay and conditions, despite this being one of the primary characteristics – indeed, government ministers argued one of the key advantages – of being an academy school.

The third discursive strategy was identified in Rachel's interview. Rachel was unique within the sample in her status as an executive leader working in a small, local Trust, and was therefore able to use an additional strategy of geographical distancing:

I think (.) r- reasons people worry about joining an Academy Trust is because they think they'll lose the autonomy of their ↓school and they'll lose (.) the school will become ↑cloned and (.) et cetera. But then it depends on the Trust (.) which Trust you join. Some Trusts, some of the bigger Trusts: (.) do do that they do ↑clone (.) and they do it all the same way ˙hh other Trusts (.) like ↑us, and other local Trusts we don't ↑do it like that.

Rachel (Director of Primary Education, Rosemary MAT)

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[46] Laughter can 'display a discordant stance' (Holt, 2012, p. 431), providing an indication that a discourse-receiver does not agree with the discourse-producer.

By positioning her MAT as a 'local Trust' Rachel was able to construct a discursive division between her MAT and other 'bigger Trusts'. These larger, implicitly national Trusts were constructed as removing school autonomy. The term 'clone', which has a negative connotational value (implying a strategy of mechanised duplication which leads to the creation of inferior products) was repeatedly used by Rachel to emphasise the extent to which such MATs control their schools. Rachel emphatically positioned her own MAT as against these practices, saying 'we don't do it like that'. Rachel's interview suggests that discourses of academy autonomy, as evidenced in the DFEMS corpus, were contested on the ground by alternative and contradictory discourses.

6.1.2 Alignment with local authorities

Alongside distancing their institutions from other academies, academy leaders who participated in this research project also made discursive efforts to align themselves with the practices of local authorities. Rachel argued that there was no difference between the support of a local authority or the support of a MAT:

> [In a MAT] *you have that central team who ↑support you so (.) there i- if you like the central team are your local authority but they're there all the ↑time. So (.) I don't think in terms of s- dema:nds, sta:ndards <anything I don't think it's any different. Because if (.) you've either got the Trust saying come on, you need to ↑work at these things you need to improve or you've got your local ↓authority saying it.*
>
> Rachel (Director of Primary Education, Rosemary MAT)

Rachel constructed both local authorities and MATs as having the same function, both demanding that schools 'need to improve'. In this way, Rachel argued that working under a local authority was the same as working under a MAT, emphasising practices of continuity, rather than disruption, in her construction of academisation.

Noah and Charlotte, who both worked in Dahlia Trust, showed an even keener desire to align themselves with local authorities:

↑If we've done our job ↓well (.) a teacher shouldn't notice any significant difference (.) between being in a Dahlia Trust academy from being in a we:ll run, a well run maintained school with a supportive local authority.

Noah (CEO, Dahlia MAT)

this local authority had some fantastic advisors that were often in schools, often teaching, and I'm really <u>missing</u> that side of things.

Charlotte (Executive Head, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT)

Noah constructed the aim of schools within the Dahlia MAT to be indistinguishable from maintained schools 'with a supportive Local Authority'. Charlotte painted a very positive picture of her local authority, using the evaluative adjective 'fantastic' to indicate a positive affective stance towards local authority employees, and using the adjectival intensifier 'really', combined with a vocal emphasis, to emphatically state how much she was 'really <u>missing</u> that side of things'.

For Rachel in Rosemary Trust, there was little difference between MATs and local authorities because both played the same role of demanding school improvement. For Charlotte and Noah working in Dahlia Trust, a more supportive role was constructed for local authorities. In these research conversations, therefore, the executive leaders explicitly self-positioned as discursively aligning with the practices of local authorities. Whereas great effort was made by these leaders to distance themselves and their institutions from the perceived negative characteristics of MATs, the same was not true of local authorities.

Senior leaders' constructions of continuation between local authorities and academies challenge the constructions of academy autonomy evident in the DFEMS corpus, indicating the multiple, complex and contradictory discourses concerning academisation. While ministers made efforts to hierarchically position academies as superior to local authority-maintained schools, academy leaders praised local authorities, lamented their demise and criticised other academy chains. This divergence created multiple and contradictory spaces in which the academies could be positioned, and in turn, multiple contradictory spaces for ECTs to construct their professional identities as academy teachers.

6.2 Early Career Teachers

6.2.1 Leadership in the early career phase

The positive positioning of new teachers which was apparent in ministerial discourse could be interpreted as serious speech acts which engender expectations of leadership potential in ECTs. One of the questions posed to senior leaders concerned opportunities for training and progression for ECTs within their academy school and wider MAT, and this question often prompted talk about ECT leadership. Leaders appeared to presuppose that training and development for ECTs naturally referred to opportunities to progress to leadership. Different leaders constructed leadership in the ECT phase in different ways, suggesting that the discourse concerning the capability, excellence and leadership potential of ECTs was contested. Some leaders constructed leadership potential as an expectation; others as a positive character trait; others as a problem.

The most unproblematic constructions of ECT leadership were produced by Natalie and Mason, who were both assistant headteachers at Daffodil School, part of the Dahlia Trust. Both Mason and Natalie had six years of teaching experience when they participated in the research, so both were relatively inexperienced as school leaders and had trained and taught entirely within the post-2010 period of education reform. Both self-positioned as ambitious teachers, who had made efforts to accelerate quickly into leadership positions. When asked about training and progression opportunities for ECTs, Natalie and Mason both constructed one of their jobs as senior leaders as identifying leadership potential in new teachers:

> *Well that's, that's one of my favourite things is spotting talent.* […] *At an early, at an early stage.*
> Natalie (Assistant Head, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT)

> *Literally, what I would love so the NQT*[47] *I have, she I don't know if it's ↑because she did the training here, she's just unbelievable. And I would love her to have some sort of NQT (..) in charge of the NQTs, like this is how I come and do it* […] *she wrote on a lot of things she would love to be an NQT mentor in a few years' time, which I think she'd be ↓great at.*
> Mason (Assistant Head, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT)

[47] Newly Qualified Teacher (within a year of qualification).

Natalie makes this positionality explicit, stating that one of her 'favourite things is spotting talent'. Mason is less explicit, but his hierarchical positioning of one favoured NQT over others indicated that he had taken on the role of identifying which ECTs were worthy of rapid promotion. Both Natalie and Mason presupposed a fixed conception of teaching quality, and also assumed that a teacher's quality can be judged at an early stage in their career. The result of this presupposition amounts to a dividing practice, in that a distinction is constructed between inherently 'good' teachers and inherently lesser ones at an early point in their teaching career.

The hierarchical division of teachers according to their value or competence is not only a task which Natalie and Mason construct as unproblematic, but is also a task which Natalie and Mason position as part of their own identities as senior leaders. The consistent use of the personal pronouns 'I' and 'me' by both Natalie and Mason indicates an attempt by both leaders to self-position as having a particular skill; in this case, the skill of spotting leadership talent. Both Natalie and Mason talk with certainty and clarity, with few hesitations, indicating their commitment to the positive truth-value of their statements. For Natalie and Mason, both of whom had teaching experience limited to the post-2010 period, the capacity for ECT leadership was accepted as common sense, and both positioned themselves as leaders as being able to recognise this capacity in others. In positioning certain ECTs as being capable of leadership, Natalie and Mason also positioned themselves as talent spotters.

For Noah and Rachel, who were experienced leaders working at MAT level, supporting teachers to progress into leadership positions was constructed as an opportunity offered by their particular MAT. The Dahlia MAT had several schemes, including an Expert Teacher scheme through which teachers could be given responsibility for school-to-school support in a particular area. The Rosemary MAT had introduced a Leadership Development Programme. In contrast to Natalie and Mason, Noah and Rachel constructed the identification and development of leaders not as a personal attribute or skill, but as an offer made by MATs to teachers.

Noah: *we have an ↑RQT*[48] *programme which varies depending on the turnover of ↑staff and we've developed an Expert Teacher programme which is the next thing*
Researcher: *Right*
Noah: *Which is w- to- foster a: school to school support process you need people with a badge so we set up a quality scheme whereby head <teachers could apply to become an expert teacher, they needed the support of their, they needed the ↑support of their headteacher, they needed to submit evidence base.*
Researcher: *Mmhm*
Noah: *So basically we took the definitions from the SLE*[49]
Researcher: *[Right yeah yeah*
Noah: *[And ↑upped it by twenty per cent.*
Researcher: *So (.) ↑when would you be expecting people to go fo:r [(.) like after how many years?]*
Noah: *[wh- the earliest, the earliest (.)] I think we've accepted someone through is NQT plus ↑four.*
Researcher: *Ok. So five (.) five years.*
Noah: *Yeah. I think. It might be three. I could be wrong, I'll get you to check, but we've got some people who've hit the ground, who've really hit the ground running. I- I I, it's not, I don't buy the argument ˙hh of ye:ars of service*
Researcher: *Mmm*
Noah: *↓'Cause as one of my former managers said to me ten years' experience is not the same as one year – one year's experience ten times.*
Researcher: *Right. £huh*
Noah: *If you do the same thing ten times without changing it that's not ten years of experience*

Noah (CEO, Dahlia MAT)

Throughout this conversation Noah used a number of discursive strategies to position the Dahlia MAT positively, one of which is relevant to the subject-positioning of ECTs. As part of his efforts to present the Dahlia MAT in a positive light, Noah claimed to have promoted teachers with limited experience but who had 'hit the ground running', a metaphorical term which is highly ambiguous. He also explicitly rejects discourses which value experience, hierarchically positioning teachers who have 'hit the ground running' above those with 'ten years' experience'. The subject-position tacitly opened up to ECTs here is of the hard-working, ambitious new teacher. Noah's attempt to positively position his MAT with the claim that such teachers are part of his staff aligns with the preference for youth over experience, which is evident in the DFEMS corpus.

[48] Recently Qualified Teacher (within two years of qualification).
[49] Specialist Leader of Education. The DfE describes this role as 'about developing the capacity and capability of other leaders so that they have the skills to lead their own teams and improve practice in their own schools' (DfE, 2014, n. p.)

Rachel, like Noah, attempted to positively position her MAT by emphasising the leadership opportunities on offer to NQTs:

> *we've got a real erm (.) tch route of ↑direction for all our staff so when they ↑join us or when they come to interview they can see how we're going to support them* […] *How we're gonna value them, how we're gon- what we're going to put in to their training and development and also they can see the opportunities to become leaders.*
>
> Rachel (Director of Primary Education, Rosemary MAT)

> *certainly with the primary schools we have a really big focus on developing our own erm and giving people opportunities so we run a leadership development programme (.) which is run for twelve weeks we've got another two weeks left* […] *the follow up to that is that I will meet all of them (.) and go through their sort of individually and say 'Right, what next? Where do you want to go next, how can we support you?*
>
> Rachel (Director of Primary Education, Rosemary MAT)

Rachel verbally emphasised how her MAT had a 'really big focus' on developing teachers. Leadership development was constructed as an 'opportunity' and a 'support' for new teachers, with leadership training constructed as an indication of how much the MAT 'values' its teachers. In this passage, Rachel conflates development with leadership to the point that leadership is constructed as the only way to develop as a teacher. The Rosemary Trust is constructed positively as a MAT which supports its teachers because it offers leadership development and opportunities. Tacitly, therefore, particular value is afforded to ECTs who are understood to be taking advantage of leadership training and opportunities.

Noah and Rachel here make discursive attempts to construct their academies as positive places to work, and it is notable that they do so by emphasising the leadership opportunities on offer to ECTs within their MATs. Both Noah and Rachel favoured the plural pronouns 'we' and 'our', indicating an attempt to position their academies rather than themselves as individuals. This suggests the existence of a discourse which constructs leadership progression as desired or expected by ECTs when looking for a place to work, as Noah and Rachel aimed to construct their academies in a positive manner by aligning with this discourse. The expectation of leadership

progression in the ECT phase is supported by ministerial discourse which positions the young teacher as superior.

Of all the leaders interviewed, Rachel was most eager to discuss ECT leadership, indicating that ECT leadership was a topic of great significance or importance for her. Leadership progression was Rachel's most frequent topic of conversation, mentioned a total of 15 times throughout her interview. When asked to talk about the characteristics she would look for when hiring an NQT, Rachel immediately introduced the topic of leadership, saying:

> *I think e:ven from an NQT you do want someone with a bit of aspiration* […] *Because if someone's good you ↑do want to support them in being good and* enjoying *being good and seeing the fruits of their labour if you like but you also want to you can't think cold (.) I think Trust wide well actually this is someone coming through who potentially could be a middle leader do you know what I mean?*
>
> Rachel (Director of Primary Education, Rosemary MAT)

Rachel constructs the good teacher as a potential leader, which implicitly constructs teachers who are not in leadership positions (particularly if they have experience) in a negative fashion. Rachel uses the generic 'you' which has the effect of positioning her response as normative rather than subjective. Support for teachers is again conflated with leadership opportunities, creating the impression that for teachers who are successful, leadership is the only option to progress or to be recognised as valuable. The metaphor 'fruits of their labour' constructs leadership as an organic and natural result of good practice, with leadership growing naturally out of good teaching.

However, in research interviews with Charlotte and Margaret, some resistance to the discourse of ECT leadership and rapid progression could be identified:

> *I think it's scary, rapid rise to leadership.* […] *˙hh I think (.) and I'm not talking about everyone because there will be some fantastic leaders out there but I think you need to have experienced lots of ↑things. Not necessarily as a class teacher but as a, as a teacher. Erm, you need to be, have ↑wisdom* […] *You need to have life experience a::nd if you're talking about other people's children you kind of, you don't need to be a parent but you need to get where those parents are, ˙hh are coming from. You have to understand the emotions that parents will sometimes have, you will have to understand why it's really important that their child is treated fairly and (.) you have to be able to unpick some of those things and I think early on in your career you're often just working out £how to be a good class teacher.*
>
> Charlotte (Executive Headteacher, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT)

> *I always worry that erm people do need to (.) do their time (.) and they need to craft their craft erm <because if you go up too quickly:: (.) you lose something. Erm, and if you haven't experienced it yourself it's very difficult to then lead others. ˙hh and we did get ourselves into a bit of a pickle in education where (.) people didn't want to be leaders (.) and so we were just promoting people way too quickly. Erm (.) and the:n you know they were, they found themselves in a situation whe:re (.) they'd got a job which they then (.) couldn't do.* […] *Erm and so for me it's about making sure that people have had that real breadth of experience before you move them up***.**
>
> Margaret (Executive Headteacher, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT)

There are a number of similarities in the way that Charlotte and Margaret talk about ECT leadership. Both Charlotte and Margaret use a negative vocabulary when discussing ECT leadership, using terms including 'scary' and 'worry'. Both headteachers also use the same argument to resist discourses of ECT leadership, constructing experience as a requirement for successful leadership. Experienced teachers were constructed as being valuable because they had experience not only of the classroom, but experience beyond the classroom. Such discourses resist those evident in the DFEMS corpus, which worked to background and therefore diminish the value of experienced teachers. New entrants to teaching were negatively constructed by Margaret and Charlotte as having a deficit of experience which was detrimental to their classroom practice and leadership ambitions (and, in Margaret's discourse, detrimental to the education system on a wider scale). In this way, the discourse of these two executive heads directly resisted the discourse evident in the DFEMS corpus, which idealised ECTs and positioned them as change agents, superior than previous cohorts of teachers.

This said, both Margaret and Charlotte employ a significant amount of hesitations and hedging devices during their talk about ECT leadership. During the short extract of Margaret's speech above, the transcription notes eight instances of unfilled pauses (e.g. (.)), and five instances of filled pauses (e.g. ˙hh). Charlotte uses three unfilled pauses and five instances of filled pauses, and two repetitions. Margaret and Charlotte also hedged their claims. Both Margaret and Charlotte used the first-person singular pronoun 'I' to ensure that their speech is understood as a personal opinion, rather than an observation or fact. Charlotte lessened the impact of her claims by adding

'I'm not talking about everyone'. Margaret states that education got into a 'bit of a pickle' by hiring inexperienced leaders, also minimising her commitment to these statements. The high level of hesitation and the hedging apparent in Margaret and Charlotte's speech during these conversations about ECT leadership indicated some level of discomfort or unwillingness to completely identify with their statements, showing perhaps a recognition that discourse on ECT leadership was problematic and contested, or a belief that they were making statements which resist a dominant or more normative discourse. The modality of Charlotte and Margaret's talk is in stark comparison to that of Mason and Natalie, who stated their claims about ECT talent-spotting and leadership with high levels of certainty and minimal hesitation.

Those working in leadership positions therefore constructed ECT leadership in different and conflicting ways. Some of the senior leaders who participated in the study clearly positioned ECTs as having leadership potential, a discursive positioning which aligned with DFEMS constructions of ECTs as being agential and having a high social value. However, other leaders constructed ECT leadership as problematic. The discourse of senior leaders within MATs therefore opened up multiple and conflicting *assujettissements* to new teachers.

6.2.2 Early career teachers as deficient

Ministerial discourse positioned ECTs as particularly valuable social actors. However, a number of senior leaders who participated in the present research project resisted this policy positioning of ECTs as hierarchically superior, and instead constructed new teachers as deficient. The recruitment and retention of teachers was foregrounded as a problem by senior leaders in order to frame ECTs as in some way deficient. These positionings of ECTs as deficient align with positionings of ECTs evident in later speeches within the DFEMS corpus, particularly those made when Justine Greening and Damian Hinds were Education Secretary, which emphasised the need to provide support for ECTs; such positionings contest those evident in earlier speeches produced during the time of the Coalition, which positioned ECTs as having a high social value.

Charlotte was explicit and vocal about the problems she faced recruiting high quality NQTs. She used a narrative mode of discourse to construct a difference between the past – the 'glory days' in which it was easy to retain experienced teachers and recruit high quality NQTs – and her present in which she was finding it more difficult to hire teachers:

Charlotte:	*I think recruitment and retention is making a huge negative impact*
Researcher:	*Right, ok*
Charlotte:	*So I, I've been a Head in those glory days when you could wait for the 31st May and hope that you'd got your experienced teachers and then go out and get wonderful NQTs know you would have all your NQTs but we're now getting to the situation whe::re the, sss, we've got some fantastic NQTs but that's through a lot of hard work, of saying no to a lot of NQTs that have come through=*
Researcher:	*=[Right*
Charlotte:	*[and what I'm noticing with NQTs is, is the National Strategies gave us a framework in which to ↑teach or to train our teachers, our teachers now are not getting anywhere near the quality of training that I got as a teacher and=*
Researcher:	*=[Ok*
Charlotte:	*[and I got as a leader.*

Charlotte (Executive Headteacher, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT)

This narrative as constructed by Charlotte directly contradicts the narrative of progress tacitly constructed by government ministers in their positive positionings of the current or next generation of teachers. Charlotte attributed a deterioration in ECT quality to a change in training methods; following the new curriculum in 2014, teachers were no longer trained according to guidance provided by the National Strategies. In this way, Charlotte constructed teaching quality as a skill which can be learned and developed, rather than an innate and fixed characteristic belonging to individual people. In her construction of national training and development strategies as a key factor in developing high-quality teachers, Charlotte tacitly constructed ECTs as a homogenous group. All are positioned as deficient, as a result of policy changes post-2010.

Rachel, like Charlotte, drew on temporal framing to construct the present as a 'time of crisis':

> *Erm:: so yes and I mean we are in (.) we are in a time of crisis for recruitment, particularly in this area (.) umm and but we still don't take people. That can't teach. We'd rather go another six weeks with supply which I know is not great either, umm than take someone who wouldn't be right.*

Rachel (Director of Primary Education, Rosemary MAT)

Although Rachel did not explicitly construct ECTs as having deteriorated in quality, her construction of the present time as a period of crisis for the recruitment of teachers also contradicts statements made by government ministers about the high quality of the current generation of teachers. While the government were positioning new teachers as exceptional, some headteachers were constructing the quality of new teachers as limited and deteriorating. In stating that her academy would not hire people who 'can't teach', Rachel tacitly constructed teaching quality as an innate characteristic, in contrast to Charlotte who foregrounded the importance of training. As such, Rachel allowed for more variance between ECTs than Charlotte's discourse assumed.

Margaret differed from Charlotte and Rachel in her temporal assessment of the situation, but like Rachel constructed teaching quality as a reflection of innate characteristics or predispositions:

Researcher: *And do you think (.) the teachers coming in now are any different than they were when you were [(.)] No?*
Margaret: *[I doubt it] Because there was always a mix of people who were, who wanted to do it who didn't want to do it (.) who were good and who we::ren't (.) erm (.)*

Margaret (Executive Headteacher, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT)

Margaret constructed a continuity between the past and the present, arguing that 'there was always a mix of people'. In this way, Margaret resists temporal narratives of both progress and decline, instead dividing teachers into categories – those who wanted to teach and those who didn't, those who 'were good' and those who weren't. Like Rachel, Margaret attributed these divisions to essential or innate characteristics rather than training.

The hierarchical division between teacher types which can be identified in the discourse of Charlotte, Margaret and Rachel opened up subject-positions for teachers entering the workforce which contrasted with the dominant positioning of new teachers as having a particularly high social value, as evident in Coalition ministerial discourse particularly. ECTs are therefore subject to

multiple subject-positionings by others not only at the level of policy, but also within schools, where the discourse of senior leaders can contradict those of policymakers.

6.3 Teacher Work

6.3.1 School culture: autonomy and compliance

The discourse of school leaders concerning autonomy and compliance reflected that of the DFEMS corpus, in that it was multiple and, at times, contradictory. There was a distinct difference between the way that leaders working at school level spoke about autonomy and compliance, compared with the way that leaders working at MAT level addressed this topic. Headteachers and senior leaders who worked within schools emphasised the importance of school culture. Leaders working at MAT level, however, were keen to position their MATs (and the schools within them) as having a flexible approach which allowed for teacher autonomy, contrasting with headteachers' foregrounding of the importance of compliance with school culture. However, these MAT-level leaders also associated compliance with school improvement. Leaders working at MAT level therefore drew upon multiple and contradictory discourses of autonomy and compliance in an attempt to positively position their MATs as both allowing teacher and school autonomy, but also ensuring that school improvement took place.

Headteachers working at school level positioned their schools as having very specific school cultures. The expectation that teachers would be compliant with the demands of their individual academy school was apparent at both Carnation and Daffodil schools, both schools within the Dahlia MAT, but with very different approaches to pedagogy. In both schools, leaders constructed teachers as being either compliant or resistant to school culture, and resistance to school culture was constructed as a result of innate or essential beliefs and values of teachers. In this way, Margaret and Charlotte, as headteachers in these schools, were able to blame institutional difficulties in retaining teachers on a discrepancy between teacher personality and school type.

Margaret, the headteacher of Carnation school, positioned her school as having a very fluid and progressive approach to education. For this reason, she argued that some teachers would not like working at Carnation:

Margaret:	*Because you can be very ↑unhappy here if you don't like our learning ↓model*
Researcher:	*Ahha*
Margaret:	*And we've had people for whom it doesn't work.*
Researcher:	*Right*
Margaret:	*And they want to know that between *taps on table* nine and ten they do English*
Researcher:	*Right*
Margaret:	*And then they have their break, whereas we're saying it doesn't work like that*
Researcher:	*Right*
Margaret:	*There's <u>lots</u> of people who come here and they say they ↑love it, and <u>some</u> who say they love it but I wouldn't wanna work here*

Margaret (Executive Headteacher, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT)

Margaret carefully constructed a positive identity for Carnation school by making divisions between types of teachers. She used the conjunctions 'and' and 'but' to construct two different types of teachers – those who love Carnation 'and' want to work at Carnation, and those who love Carnation 'but' wouldn't want to work there. In doing so, Margaret constructed any issues regarding Carnation and teacher happiness as being located within the teacher, rather than the school. The culture of the school is constructed as both unbending and unproblematic, with the preferences of teachers presented as the reason why some teachers have difficulty complying with school culture. Margaret continued to draw on and, in turn, construct this discourse as the interview progressed. Later in the interview, Margaret used an example of one of her teaching staff to illustrate the kind of teacher who could thrive at Carnation:

Margaret:	*he'd been teaching for four, five years round there and, you know, he came to the <u>first</u> kind of CPD days and he didn't ↑say ↓anything! And we were like oo::h, my gosh, we've got this wrong. Erm, and then he said afterwards 'I've just been used to a school where you go to staff meetings (.) and you just, you sit there and they tell you things.'*
Researcher:	*Mmm*
Margaret:	*And he said you know 'the culture of me (..) kind of having a £↑conversation and a ↑debate in there is just so ↑foreign to me.' So you know there's definitely kind of cultural things that, that happen*
Researcher:	*But he's still here? [So he's grown in the end*

Margaret: *[Oh he loves it! But he found the first term (.) really hard. He had to let go we were like you know he'd say 'I'm gonna do my Maths in that' and we'd go 'No no no do it in a different ↓way, you know, and he's not very <he doesn't ↑consider himself to be very artistic. And he's in there today, and we're like 'GET THE GLITTER OUT!'*
Researcher: *£ha*
Margaret: *And he's like 'Oh no!' you know? But he's really embra:ced the idea (.) that he can learn. ˙hh And if you come here, and you have that attitude, 'yep, it's different, but I'm really gonna learn' (.) then it's a great place to be. But if you're somebody who likes your own little classroom (.) and you like to close your door and you're – you just like to get on, it's ↑not a great place*

Margaret (Executive Headteacher, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT)

Margaret worked hard to discursively construct Carnation as an inclusive and welcoming school, which employed many different types of teachers, as long as they were able to conform to its unique learning model. Margaret uses the discourse marker 'you know' five times during this short extract, constructing as generalised knowledge her opinion that there exist school cultures which are unique to schools, and which work for some teachers and do not work for others. In Margaret's discourse, the happiness of teachers is dependent on the extent to which their personality – or 'attitude' – is compatible with the culture of the school. The use of the first-person plural 'we' has the effect of further obfuscating responsibility for the intransigent nature of school culture at Carnation. By using the pronoun 'we', Margaret distances herself from being positioned as an authoritarian leader making personal demands of staff, while still maintaining that her school has a particular culture which teachers are required to conform to.

Unlike Carnation School, Daffodil School was presented by its headteacher, Charlotte, as being formal, particularly with regard to the core subjects of English and Maths:

Charlotte: *we would always want the children to be high achieving, and that sometimes means that our approach i::s, some people would say it can be quite ↑formal, in terms of the way we teach maths and English*
Researcher: *Ok*
Charlotte: *But, we're wanting to go for an approach that's quite formal in maths and ↓English and a bit mo::re ˙hh informal, what people say is ↑creative in their approach, maybe more in the afternoons=*
Researcher: *=[Ok*

Charlotte: *[That seems to suit our children in our school because ˙hh err we introduced Read Write Inc*[50] *about eight years ↑ago and Read Write Inc. erm, is frowned upon by some people=*
Researcher: *=[Ok*
Charlotte: *[Eight years ago, was frowned ↑upon, but it plugged a gap for our particular children who ˙hh* <u>*needed*</u> *to understand the very basics before they could learn to::, learn to read.*

Charlotte (Executive Headteacher, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT)

Like Margaret, Charlotte constructs binaries to differentiate between people who were on board with the approach at Daffodil, and those who criticise it. Charlotte uses the collocation 'some people' (which is at one point stressed in order to provide emphasis) to denote those who may be critical of a formal approach. In using this collocation, Charlotte was able to disengage from prominent and antagonistic discourses concerning informal and formal education strategies, and instead present the culture of Daffodil as being primarily driven by pragmatic concerns rather than principles. Charlotte's use of the term 'some people' enables her to avoid positioning these other people as morally right or wrong, or politically left or right. Like Margaret, Charlotte also distances herself from being positioned as responsible for the culture of Daffodil School by using the plural pronouns 'we' and 'our' to construct a sense of collective decision-making and responsibility, and to dislocate herself from the role of authoritarian leader.

Both Margaret and Charlotte explained how teachers who were uncomfortable conforming with the requirements on their school move on to other schools, or possibly leave the profession:

I also think that the extra demands and the focus that we've ended up giving to the core subjects has caused <u>*some*</u> *people to think (...) you know, is this the place for (.) me.*

Charlotte (Executive Headteacher, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT)

we took someone from Daffodil last year, that one didn't work ou:t […] but last year we took someone from Clematis who (.) didn't really get on at ↑Clematis. But, and again was a bit more creative and was going to leave the profession [...] she came here and she loved it. So that kind of worked.

Margaret (Executive Headteacher, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT)

[50] Read Write Inc. is a commercial phonics scheme created by Ruth Miskin and published by Oxford University Press (Ruth Miskin Training, 2020).

The presupposition underpinning both arguments here was the non-negotiable requirement for teachers to conform to their school culture. It is noticeable that both heads appear slightly uncomfortable admitting when teachers were unable to continue on at their schools; both Charlotte and Margaret pause at significant moments, indicating higher uncertainty. Charlotte's use of the discourse marker 'you know' at this point also signals an attempt to construct this utterance as a statement of shared knowledge concerning the nature of teachers' decision-making, rather than a personal interpretation. The unease that both Charlotte and Margaret show in constructing the non-negotiable nature of school culture may indicate an effort by both heads to resist identifying as authoritarian or demanding, or to position other heads in such a manner. Both Charlotte and Margaret consistently use the plural pronoun 'we' when discussing school culture, constructing school culture as a communal and shared activity, rather than being driven by their own authoritarian demands.

Margaret and Charlotte constructed their schools pedagogically and philosophically as being opposite to one another. Margaret described Carnation as flexible and creative, Charlotte positioned Daffodil as formal. However, both heads' expectations in terms of teacher autonomy and fidelity are the same. Both heads expect that teachers will be happy to conform to school culture, rather than change or challenge it. When teachers are unhappy or dissatisfied with their schools' culture, this problem is located in the essential characteristics or predispositions of the individual teacher, rather than the school culture. Teachers who do not fit within school culture are expected to look elsewhere and find somewhere they might be happier, rather than challenge or change the institution they are currently employed in. A discourse constructing compliance as necessary for a happy working life was therefore strong and coherent across the discourse of both school heads interviewed, despite these two heads having very different pedagogical approaches.

Discourse at the level of MAT executive leaders was, however, different from that of these school leaders. At MAT level, there appeared to be a greater conflict between discourses of autonomy and compliance. Noah and Rachel, as MAT executive leaders, were questioned about

the relationship between the MAT as an umbrella organisation and individual schools. Initially, both MAT leaders interviewed discursively distanced their MATs from authoritarian practices which placed a limit on teacher and school autonomy. Rachel did this by constructing an imagined image of an authoritarian MAT in which teachers were all required to follow the same programme, against which she contrasted the Rosemary Trust:

Rachel:	[…] *our children are different in our schools so therefore the curriculum is slightly different.*
Researcher:	*Mmhm*
Rachel:	*Sta:ff are different so therefore their methodology of teaching we aren't a one size fits all we don't say 'Right everyone's gonna do - start with this slide and then move' do you know what I mean?*
Researcher:	*Mmm*
Rachel:	*That's not the approach. Erm, because it doesn't work.*

Rachel (Director of Primary Education, Rosemary MAT)

Rachel here sought to construct a positive institutional identity for The Rosemary Trust by comparing its attitude to teacher and school autonomy as in opposition to that of an imagined MAT which demanded compliance from its staff. This draws from discourses discussed previously in this chapter, of the authoritarian MAT, from which Rachel wished to distance the Rosemary Trust. Rachel's modality is extremely strong and certain. She uses unambiguously negative terms (including 'not', 'don't' and 'doesn't') in order to unambiguously position The Rosemary Trust as a MAT which takes a strong negative stance against demands for compliance and fidelity. She uses the phrase 'one size fits all' in order to tacitly critique other MATs, a lexical cluster which usually has a negative connotational meaning, referring to cheap, poorly constructed products. In education, this lexical cluster is used to critique pedagogies or curricula which treat all teachers and students as the same, ignoring the diversity of students and suppressing the creativity of teachers.[51] The Rosemary Trust is positively constructed in opposition to this image, as taking a more individual – and therefore implicitly higher quality approach. Rachel's use of direct speech ('Right

[51] See, for example, Goodwyn's (2012) critique of the National Curriculum and teachers' standards, entitled 'One size fits all: The increasing standardisation of English teachers' work in England.'

everyone's gonna do – start with this slide and then move') portrayed an image of an imagined MAT which provides the negative against which The Rosemary Trust is positively constructed. Rachel's question 'do you know what I mean?' acts a discourse marker, ensuring that the discourse-recipient is aware of discourses concerning compliance and autonomy in education. In this case, Rachel's question indicated that she considers her negative construction of MATs as demanding compliance to be a characteristic of MATs that is generally recognised or understood, so that she is able to distance her own MAT from this image.

Noah, who was CEO of The Dahlia Trust, similarly sought to distance his MAT from MATs which were very directive and minimised teacher or school autonomy:

Noah:	*we're trying to create an environment in which headteacher can be the best so (.) by not having a fixed ↑model, we make it more ↑difficult for ourselves we make it more ↑expensive for ourselves we put ourselves into a hell of cat herding because if if headteachers disagree with me=*
Researcher:	*=[Mmhm*
Noah:	*[Nothing gets <u>done</u>*
Researcher:	*Right, ok*
Noah:	*You know, we (.) I don't (.) <u>have</u> that authoritarian power, all I have is a kind of convening power, a persuasive power*

Noah (CEO, Dahlia MAT)

Noah was more specific than Rachel in positioning headteachers specifically as the agents who have autonomy in The Dahlia Trust. Although Noah did not mention the autonomy of teachers explicitly, he distanced The Dahlia Trust from directive teaching schemes that have the effect of limiting teacher autonomy, stating at a later point in the interview that the Dahlia Trust's approach was:

the <u>absolute</u> <u>opposite</u> of Singapore Maths and Ruth Miskin.

Noah (CEO, Dahlia MAT)

Noah placed a strong emphasis on the words '<u>absolute</u> <u>opposite</u>' in this statement. The use of the term 'absolute' works as an adjectival intensifier, greatly increasing the strength of the claim Noah is making about his MAT's approach to teaching. The modality of this statement is therefore

extremely strong and certain, having the effect of positioning The Dahlia Trust as taking a very different approach to MATs and academies who might employ schemes such as Singapore Maths or Ruth Miskin's phonics programme (Read Write Inc).[52] Indeed, the use of the word 'opposite' emphasised the distance between Noah's approach and that of other educational institutions, and also constructed the difference as a binary choice between being, on the one hand, formal and authoritarian and on the other informal and democratic. Noah's discourse around autonomy and compliance therefore mirrored Rachel's significantly, as both constructed binary opposites in order to position their MATs as being supportive of school and teacher autonomy.

Noah's resistance to taking on an authoritarian institutional identity could be further observed in his vocabulary choices and use of hedges, pauses and self-repairs in the following interview excerpt:

Noah:	*Now (..) there are occasions when we've ha- because most of our schools were <u>severely</u> struggling when they ↑joined, ˙hh when we might be a little bit more scaffoldy*
Researcher:	*Mmhm*
Noah:	*It's like yes, it is education is about primary education it is about preparing the child helping them find the right identity preparing them for <u>life</u> and for secondary ↑education ˙hh but you have also got to be able to teach them to read and write and ↓count.*
Researcher:	*Right*
Noah:	*And if you're ↑not doing that £hahaha*
Researcher:	*Ok £ha*
Noah:	*£huhuhuhu so we have been more scaffoldy with some but we <u>don't</u> (.) we <u>tried</u> initially to mandate as little as possible as we've evolved we mandate a little bit more*

Noah (CEO, Dahlia MAT)

Noah used the euphemistic word 'scaffoldy' to describe the process by which schools are managed by the Dahlia MAT. This term scaffold in itself would be considered euphemistic, but by adding

[52] Noah's argument here is clearly more rhetorical, or performative, than constative. As discussed previously, Charlotte, the head of one of the schools in Dahlia MAT, argued that the use of Read Write Inc. 'was frowned ↑upon, but it plugged a gap for our particular children.' Some headteachers within the Dahlia Trust were therefore using schemes which their CEO positioned the Trust as being 'the <u>absolute</u> <u>opposite</u> of'. It appears important for Noah to construct the Dahlia MAT as being a MAT which is against standardised schemes of work that require compliance from teachers, such as Read Write Inc. However, Charlotte – a successful headteacher within Noah's MAT – constructed such schemes as necessary in order to ensure children achieved high academic standards. There appeared, therefore, to be a conflict concerning the discursive construction of standardised schemes of work within Dahlia MAT.

the suffix '-y' Noah renders the process of managing such schools as even more nebulous and informal. Noah's reluctance to identify completely with the more directive approach also can be seen in his frequent use of hedging strategies, as seen in phrases such as 'we might be a little bit', 'it's like', and 'a little bit more'. Such hedging strategies have the effect of making truth claims fuzzy,[53] enabling Noah to avoid unambiguously positioning his management style as authoritarian in these cases. During this conversation concerning the process of managing struggling schools, Noah frequently paused, and there were two examples of self-repair, indicating that the topic of authoritarian management was a trouble source for Noah. Noah positioned the schools he supports in this manner as unambiguously failing by using and verbally emphasising the adjectival intensifier 'severely' when describing them, which acts as a justification for an authoritarian approach. When combined, these linguistic strategies position Noah and, by extension, the Dahlia Trust, as being reluctantly authoritarian.

This reluctance to identify as authoritarian could also be found in Rachel's discourse:

Rachel:	*Again I challenge and support and we look at opportunities to <u>look</u> at best practice and share but (.) I'll be honest sometimes have to say 'no *taps on table* you're doing it like this'*
Researcher:	*Right*
Rachel:	*Because children only get one shot*
Researcher:	*Right*
Rachel:	*So if I need a <u>rapid</u>, something to rapidly change and rapidly <u>improve</u> because it's not working for our ↑children I will (.) I've probably done this three ↓times but I will say 'no we're gonna do it this way. (.) Let's just do it this way, sort it for the children ˙hh and then we'll reflect on it., once we're safe, once we've got the opportunity, but right now we're doing it this way.'*

Rachel (Director of Primary Education, Rosemary MAT)

Rachel started her conversation about limiting autonomy with the honesty phrase 'I'll be honest'. This marked her admission that she can be, at times, authoritarian or directive as a dispreferred response. The honesty phrase is essentially a face-saving act, a phrase used to lessen or anticipate possible criticism, so Rachel's use of this term indicates that Rachel is aware that identifying as an

[53] For more on how hedging devices render truth-claims 'fuzzy', see Lakoff (1973).

authoritarian leader who limits the autonomy of schools and teachers opens her up to criticism from others. Rachel quickly moves the conversation on to the theme of children in order to justify her actions. The use of the words 'safe' and 'opportunity' tacitly construct the current educational climate as dangerous and limiting, causally attributing decisions to limit school and teacher autonomy to environmental factors in education rather than personal or professional choices, and therefore providing further justification for Rachel's actions.

While both Rachel and Noah worked to discursively position their MATs as being flexible and allowing teacher autonomy, both leaders also talked about how they were prepared to be authoritarian when necessary. The rationale for this authoritarian management style is coherent across both Rachel and Noah's arguments: both place the child at the centre of their argument. Alternative terms such as student and pupil – which could have been chosen in these cases – would not have the same emotional pull, and would therefore have a lesser performative effect; childhood is associated with vulnerability and innocence in a way that the term pupil or teacher is not. Noah and Rachel indicate an awareness of, and draw upon, school improvement discourses which associate strong, authoritarian leadership with improved outcomes for children. However, their reluctance to identify as authoritarian leaders indicated that these leaders preferred to position themselves and be positioned by others as allowing their teachers autonomy.

Discourses of teacher autonomy and fidelity were therefore multiple and conflicting across leaders interviewed for this research study, having an impact on the subject-positions made available to ECTs. At school level, headteachers consistently expected their teachers to conform to school culture. When teachers did not conform, the problem was constructed as being located in the essential or inherent personalities or pedagogies of individual teachers, rather than being constructed as a result of the inflexibility of school cultures and the demands of school leaders. However, at MAT level, leaders were reluctant to claim they had authoritarian styles of management which would demand fidelity from teachers or leaders. Authoritarian styles of management were negatively constructed, and MAT leaders instead made efforts to position

themselves and their MATs as places where teachers and school leaders had freedom. For ECTs entering MATs, conflicting subject-positions were therefore opened up by the discourse of senior leaders at MAT and school level. For ECTs, therefore, it was not only policy speech acts which constructed teacher autonomy in contradictory ways, but also the speech acts of leaders within their schools and MATs.

6.3.2 Teacher workload

In the previous chapter, I argued that there was a cruce apparent in the discourse of government ministers concerning teacher work, with a significant discursive shift occurring once Nicky Morgan was appointed as Education Secretary. Whereas during Michael Gove's tenure 'hard work' was constructed as a positive attribute of successful teachers and schools, following his departure teacher 'workload' became a policy problem. This cruce was also clearly apparent in the discourse of senior leaders. Teacher workload was not a subject that I directly raised during interviews with senior leaders; nevertheless, several senior leaders chose to take interactional control of the interview by introducing this topic of conversation. Although school leaders were keen to position teacher workload as a problem that they had recognised and were working to improve, they also made it clear that they would only want to employ hard-working teachers. Senior leaders therefore privileged the identity of the hard-working teacher, while at the same time positioning themselves as concerned about high teacher workload, reflecting the cruce apparent in ministerial discourse.

When Rachel at The Rosemary Trust introduced the topic of teacher workload, she used the discourse marker 'obviously' in order to indicate that she considered the dominant discourse concerning teacher workload to be negative:

> *obviously the teacher workload we've done quite a lot on teacher workload and wellbeing reduction* […] *I'll go to other ↑schools and looking at how they can reduce their workload and things ˙hh so it's something that I'm mindful – <u>mindful</u> with. So however we haven't got it a hundred per cent ↓right erm and I need to work um er I – I'm doing sessions at <u>both</u> schools about the workload (.) wellbeing stuff (.) brown paper, lots of sticky notes and things.*
>
> Rachel (Director of Primary Education, Rosemary MAT)

Throughout this extract of speech, Rachel consistently used the first-person singular pronoun 'I' to position herself as actively responsible for raising the profile of workload reduction for teachers. However, it is interesting to note here the lack of concrete examples Rachel presents when discussing workload reduction. She talks about observing other schools and delivering sessions on workload but provides little clarity on what this actually involves beyond 'wellbeing stuff (.) brown paper, lots of sticky notes and things'. The ambiguous construction of what workload reduction would actually entail in practice suggests that Rachel may be aware of the need to align her own discourse with that of later ministerial discourse (which was prominent during the period of the interviews) that positioned teacher workload as a problem to be resolved. Rachel positioned herself as someone who was actively acknowledging and solving this problem, concomitantly positioning The Rosemary Trust as a MAT which cared about the wellbeing of its teachers, but without providing concrete information to evidence this self-positioning.

Towards the end of her interview, Rachel returned to the topic of teacher work. However, at this point she took a different stance, constructing workload not as a problem which needed to be addressed and reduced, but instead a non-negotiable aspect of teaching at The Rosemary Trust:

Rachel:	[…] *it was about setting those high standards. Don't come to this school and think you're just gonna coast.*
Researcher:	*Right*
Rachel:	*If you wanna work here, you're gonna have to work ↓hard.*

Rachel (Director of Primary Education, Rosemary MAT)

Here, teacher workload is not constructed as a problem to be resolved, but an indicator of 'high standards' and a positive teacher trait. Rachel positioned teachers who worked hard as valuable, while negatively positioning teachers who believed they might be able to 'coast'. Furthermore, by constructing her school as a place where teachers are required to work hard, Rachel sought to draw a distinction between her school and others. This distinction is achieved through the use of spatial deixis, as Rachel refers to 'this school' and 'work here'. Rachel's discourse constructs her own school as hierarchically superior to others, because of the heightened demands which are placed on teachers in her own school; such positioning has the effect of venerating hard work. By

comparing this extract to that previously discussed, the cruce in Rachel's discourse is evident; teacher workload is constructed as a problem which needs to be reduced, while simultaneously, hard work is constructed as a positive character trait.

This cruce was also evident in the discourse of Charlotte, when she spoke about commitment as one of the important qualities which ECTs must possess in order to be successful:

Charlotte:	*commitment to the children, commitment to the job, commitment t- to the school. It, it's teaching's not an easy job*
Researcher:	*Mmhm*
Charlotte:	*So you can't come in thinking it's an easy job. We all try and do everything we can to make it as easy as ↑possible but it's not an easy job so it's kind of I don't want someone with a* ***vocation*** *but neither can they think it's a nine-till-(.) three job*

Charlotte (Executive Headteacher, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT)

In her response to this question concerning teacher qualities, Charlotte indicated her difficulty in negotiating the competing discourses which construct teacher workload as simultaneously problematic and to be valorised. In constructing teaching as not an 'easy job' and stating that teachers can't 'think it's a nine-till-(.)three job' Charlotte positioned teachers as needing to work hard. In doing so, Charlotte constructed the ideal teacher as one who is willing to work hard: the commitment that Charlotte has positioned as important is essentially defined by how hard and how long a teacher is willing to work. The use of the generic 'you' indicates an attempt to construct workload as a problem located within teaching generally, rather than being specific to her own school. Charlotte therefore constructs hard work as an unavoidable and generalisable part of being a teacher, distancing herself from taking responsibility for teacher workload at Daffodil School.

Charlotte's repeated use of modified disclaimers in this extract, however, indicate the difficulty she had in navigating competing discourses of hard work and teacher workload. The first disclaimer Charlotte uses is 'We all try and do everything we can to make it as easy as ↑possible but it's not an easy job.' Charlotte constructed herself and her team in a positive manner, as working hard to make life easier for teachers. However, she ultimately constructed teaching itself negatively as a difficult job, and implicitly critiques teachers who are not willing to accept this. This

implicit critique is further supported in the next disclaimer Charlotte constructs: 'I don't want someone with a vocation but neither can they think it's a nine-till-(.) three job.' Charlotte pre-empts criticism that could be levelled at her regarding her expectations of teacher commitment by stating 'I don't want someone with a vocation', before then going on to negatively position teachers who are not willing to work hard: 'neither can they think it's a nine-till-(.) three job.' The pause before three is also significant, as Charlotte thinks about an appropriate span of time to support her argument. Charlotte's use of disclaimers indicated that she feels uncomfortable stating her expectations that teachers are required to work hard, or that their capability is judged on the amount of work they are willing to undertake. Her resistance may reflect discourses which negatively position teacher workload. However, ultimately Charlotte's discourse draws on discourses which venerate hard work, positioning ideal teachers as those who are willing to work hard.

The discourse of both Charlotte and Rachel draws attention to the multiple and contradictory discourses concerning teacher work, and the subject-positions that such discourses open up. Both Charlotte and Rachel construct the ideal teacher as one who works hard. This construction of the ideal teacher not only opens up the subject-position of the ideal teacher who works hard, but also the abject teacher who is unaware of the amount of work required, or incapable of fulfilling these requirements. These subject-positionings are constructed through the language of academy leaders, their serious speech acts having an impact on what is considered normative or desirable within MATs. However, the positioning of the hard-working teacher as an ideal type was not simplistic and unambiguous. Charlotte and Rachel seemed to recognise the difficulties with teacher workload, both at a practical and a discursive level. In recognising these difficulties, they constructed a further subject-position; the teacher passively oppressed by unnecessary workload. Each of these complex and interlinked subject-positionings need to be discursively navigated by ECTs, as they attempt to build a successful professional identity in their posts as teachers.

6.4 Summary

This chapter has explored the discourse of senior leaders working within MATs. As with ministerial discourse, the discourse of senior leaders was multiple and conflicting. At times, conflicting discourses were uttered by different individuals within the same MAT, indicating a diversity of discourses at MAT level. For example, within the Dahlia Trust, discursive strands were identified which constructed ECTs as both deficient and as potential leaders. However, at other points, cruces were identified within the discourse of individuals. This was apparent in discussions with Charlotte and Rachel concerning autonomy and workload. At times, discourse in schools and MATs mirrored or supported that of ministers. For example, Mason and Natalie (who had only taught under post-2010 governments) constructed ECTs as potential leaders, aligning their discourse with that of government ministers who positioned young teachers as active agents of change, superior to previous generations of teachers. However, there were also divergences from ministerial discourses, with more experienced leaders distancing themselves from being identified with some aspects of academisation. Internal conflict was therefore evident within the discourse of senior leaders, as well as conflict between the discourse of school leaders and policymakers.

ECTs entering the profession were required to negotiate these multiple and conflicting discourses in order to construct a positive professional identity. The next chapter moves on to explore the strategic use of everyday speech acts employed by ECTs to present a positive face.

7. THE DISCURSIVE FACE-WORK STRATEGIES OF EARLY CAREER TEACHERS IN PRIMARY ACADEMIES

The theoretical assumption of this research study holds that all individuals, when involved in conversation, are engaged in a process of 'face-work'. As such, it is assumed that for research participants the interview process is concerned with the maintenance of 'face', that is, the presentation of a positive and consistent self-image. This chapter highlights some of the discursive strategies used by early career teachers (ECTs) working in primary academy schools to construct and maintain a positive professional identity, as identified in research interviews.

The discursive strategies employed by ECTs to maintain a positive face reveal the social expectations of ECTs working in primary academies; essentially, the type of characteristics, dispositions or experiences that are considered to be valuable or abject. The chapter begins with a focus on how ECTs resist the subject-positioning of the 'academy teacher', before moving on to discuss how they present their work as classroom teachers and their attitudes towards leadership.

7.1 Being an 'academy teacher'

7.1.1 Flexibility and pragmatism

Despite policy texts constructing a hierarchical distinction between academy and maintained schools and the teachers who work within them, ECTs did not identify as 'academy teachers'. The strategies of discursive distancing which ECTs employed when talking about academy status aligned with senior leaders' discursive attempts to construct continuity and similarity between maintained and academy schools, resisting policy constructions of academies as being particularly prestigious places to work. ECTs sought to emphasise their professional identity by rejecting the importance of academy status, rather than embracing it. One way in which they achieved this was by emphasising their flexible and pragmatic commitment to teaching anywhere.

During roaming interviews, ECTs were asked about why they had chosen to work at their school, and whether the school's status as part of a MAT had impacted upon their decision. Discussions about academisation were also prompted by the ranking activity in the focus group. In answer to these questions, some teachers chose to distance themselves from being positioned as 'academy teachers' by downplaying the significance of academy status, and instead emphasised their flexibility and pragmatism when choosing to apply for a teaching position.

In her roaming interview, I asked Isabella why she had chosen to work at Tarragon Academy. Isabella appeared to interpret these questions as a face-threatening act, rejecting the suggestion that working in a particular school or academy might be an important consideration when applying for a job:

Researcher: *We talked a bit about why this ↓school but it doesn't seem like that was a (.)*
Isabella: *No (.) it's just a school, yeah*
Researcher: *Or this Trust, ↑really? [Or again*
Isabella: *[No, that was one of the questions on the interview and I had to completely (.) £blag it but honestly I hate (.) well in interviews I hate the question 'why do you want to work for us' or 'why did you apply for this job' £ha because I need £money? Because I did a £teaching degree and it's a teaching post?*

Isabella (NQT, Tarragon Academy, Rosemary MAT; roaming interview)

Isabella used a number of discursive tools to resist being other-positioned as a teacher who had specifically chosen to work in an academy school. The depreciatory 'just' was used by Isabella to emphasise the similarity between her school and other schools, challenging policy constructions of academies as hierarchically superior to other schools by emphasising the similarity between her academy and other schools. Isabella emphasised her stance through the use of social laughter, rhetorical questioning, and the repetition of the emotional word 'hate' in her answer. The employment of the honesty marker 'honestly' and the adverbial intensifier 'completely' further emphasised her stance on the matter; overall the impression constructed through Isabella's linguistic choices was very certain, stressing her commitment to the statement that academy status was not an important factor when choosing where to work. Isabella's answer to this question

therefore suggested a strong resistance to being positioned as a teacher who would specifically choose to work at an academy. Indeed, Isabella appeared to interpret the suggestion that she might specifically choose to work at an academy as a face-threatening act, as somehow damaging her positive self-identity, and as needing to be fiercely resisted.

As part of the focus group at Dill Academy, Julia and Simon were also offered the opportunity to talk about why they chose to work at Dill Academy, or the Rosemary Trust more widely. Julia's response was similar to Isabella's, in that she attempted to distance herself from being positioned as a teacher who had actively sought employment in the academy sector:

Julia:	*I work in an academy because (.) that's how (.) my path has gone, not because I've chosen it.*
Researcher:	*You didn't choose it because you thought 'If I work there, [that'll] be great for my career'=*
Julia:	*[no]*

(Dill Academy, Rosemary MAT; focus group)

Julia appeared to want to distance herself from the issue of academisation by explicitly self-positioning as a teacher who had no particular preference over whether she worked in an academy or a maintained school. When the issue of academisation was raised, Julia said 'I work in an academy because (.) that's how (.) my path has gone, not because I've chosen it'. This statement had the effect of emphasising qualities of pragmatism and flexibility. Rather than identifying as an academy teacher, Julia positioned herself as a teacher who just happened to get a job at an academy. When asked directly whether she had chosen to work at an academy because it could support her career, Julia quickly answered with the short and direct negative response 'no', indicating the clarity of her stance and her commitment to her self-positioning.

The attempts of Julia and Isabella to resist being other-positioned as teachers who had actively decided to teach in the academy sector suggests that working in an academy did not enable these ECTs to claim any particular social status. On the contrary, Julia and Isabella appear to claim social value for themselves as teachers by emphasising their pragmatic willingness to accept any

teaching job – for Julia, following where her 'path has gone' and for Isabella accepting any 'teaching post'. Pragmatism, flexibility and commitment to teaching appear to be constructed by these ECTs as more valuable character traits than working in an academy school, suggesting that ministerial constructions of academy prestige and superiority are troubled by social actors within schools – even those within academy schools, who might benefit from aligning with such discourses.

7.1.2 Personal experience of the maintained sector

During both focus groups and roaming interviews participants were prompted to reflect on what it meant to work in an academy school, and the impact that this had on them as teachers. ECTs generally constructed the differences between working in a local authority-maintained school and an academy school as minimal. In doing so, it was again evident that ECTs worked to distance themselves from being positioned as academy teachers. In a number of cases, ECTs referred to personal experiences of working in both academy and maintained settings in order to justify their construction of academy schools as being indistinguishable from local authority-maintained schools.

Simon self-positioned as having personal experience of both academy and local authority-maintained schools. He then went on to argue that the difference between academies and 'non academy' schools was an issue for senior leaders, rather than ECTs:

Simon:	*I've worked in an academy and placement was in a non-academy and there's not (.)*
Researcher:	*No difference?*
Simon:	*Barely anything different. I think the politics are*
	[…]
	I fff I think it's more for the higher higher in the hierarchy when it comes to academy and government based sch- I don't ↓know.
Researcher:	*Ok*
Simon:	*I'd say it's not very important at all.*

Simon (NQT, Dill Academy, Rosemary MAT; focus group)

Simon distanced himself from the issue of academisation, arguing that the distinction between academy and maintained schools was not an issue for ECTs, but for those who were 'higher in the

hierarchy.' In this way, Simon constructed academisation as an issue which was of little importance to ECTs. Simon used personal experience as a justification of this appraisal, saying he had worked in both academy and maintained schools. This personal narrative was an act of deliberate self-positioning, in which Simon claimed expertise and knowledge by drawing on past experiences. Simon constructs the minimal difference between academy schools and local authority schools not as an opinion, but as a fact to which his lived experience is testament. Rather than engaging in exploring the differences between his placement in a maintained school and his current employment in an academy school, Simon worked to construct the two as similar, especially for ECTs.

During the focus group at Carnation School, Zoe used a similar strategy to Simon, supporting her argument that working in an academy was not an important consideration or status marker for ECTs by drawing on biographical experience:

Zoe:	*Work in an academy.*
Grace:	*Mmm*
Zoe:	*I'd say it doesn't matter, does it? (.) [Depends on the school.*
Grace:	*[I don't think it does either I think*
Zoe:	*I've been to academies that are completely different*
Grace:	*Mmhm*
Zoe:	*And I've been to ↑schools that are completely different I don't think it really ↑means much anymore*

(Carnation School, Dahlia MAT; focus group)

Zoe introduced the topic of working in an academy and gave Grace time to respond, but then quickly indicated her own stance on the topic and invited Grave to agree, assuming interactional control of the conversation. Zoe therefore appeared committed to ensuring that a particular interpretation of the status of academy schools was introduced into the conversation. Like Simon, Zoe offered biographical information to deliberately self-position herself as having a particular expertise on the matter, saying 'I've been to academies that are completely different […] And I've been to schools that are completely different.' This reference to personal experience, as with Simon's talk, constructs Zoe's statements not primarily as matters of opinion but as facts which

are proven and supported by her experiential knowledge. Zoe not only worked to argue that academy status was not a distinguishing characteristic of schools, but also detailed her own experiential knowledge to support her argument.

Zoe's argument slightly differed from Simon's in that she constructed differences between academies and differences between schools, rather than simply maintaining that there was little difference between academy and maintained schools. For Zoe, academy status does not determine a school's features, and both academies and schools can vary from one another regardless of their status as academy or maintained. However, underlying both Simon and Zoe's arguments is a construction of academy status as being an unimportant factor for ECTs to concern themselves about when seeking employment as a teacher. Grace's contribution is led by Zoe, but it is important to note that she evaluates Zoe's claims as being correct, agreeing with Zoe that academy status is not important. As a result, the two work to construct a shared knowledge which positions academy status as unimportant.

Abigail also constructed her academy school, Daffodil, as being the same as 'any other school'. For Abigail, the culture of Daffodil School was determined by its Ofsted rating, rather than its status as an academy:

Abigail:	*there was no like 'we do this in the Dahlia Trust', it's all very Daffodil we do it in Daffodil not in the Trust, Trust whatever.*
Researcher:	*Mmm*
Abigail:	*Yeah, so no, I don't think brand Dahlia is very strong in this school at all.*
Researcher:	*Mmm (..) and*
Abigail:	*So, that's why, so really it's not any different from any other school, really*
Researcher:	*Mmm*
Abigail:	*Apart from the only reason it's different (.) well, yeah it's more (.) they wanna maintain their excellent results so there's a lot of pressure, but then I've also worked in another school ˙hh another outsta::nding school in a very poor area <again that was outstanding that had a pressure to stay outstanding, and I think sometimes that's worse working in an outstanding school because you need to ↑stay outstanding.*

Abigail (fifth year teaching, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

Like Zoe and Simon, Abigail self-positioned as having experience working in schools prior to her time at Daffodil. This experience enabled her to self-position as being able to make truth-claims, rather than to state opinions, about the difference between schools. Abigail drew on this experience to argue that working at Daffodil was 'not any different from any other school' despite its status as a primary academy. Abigail constructed the institutional culture of Daffodil School as being primarily focused on the maintenance of results. Abigail constructed the affective experience of working at Daffodil School – the 'pressure' – as being a result of this performative school culture, rather than academisation. As a consequence, Abigail did not identify or position herself as an academy teacher, even when the opportunity to do so arose in discourse.

Abigail introduced the topic of Ofsted rankings, taking interactional control and changing the topic of the conversation from one which differentiated between academy and maintained schools to one which differentiated between schools according to their Ofsted rating. In order to present a positive face as a teacher, Abigail changed the topic of the research conversation in order to enable her to draw on her affiliation with outstanding schools rather than academies, indicating that the status of schools as academies or maintained had little bearing on how Abigail constructed her professional identity as an ECT. Instead, one of the ways that Abigail constructed a positive face as a teacher was by positioning herself as a teacher who had experience of working at outstanding schools. It was therefore the Ofsted rankings of schools, rather than their legal status as academies or maintained, which Abigail used to tacitly position herself as a high-quality teacher.

Abigail, Zoe and Simon all drew on their professional experience to construct academisation as an insignificant issue for ECTs. In doing so, their discourse indicated that they did not consider working in an academy to afford them any particular status. Abigail's interview suggests that other factors, such as a school's Ofsted rankings, were considered to have more of an impact on a school's prestige or social standing. These constructions of academy schools as essentially being no different from maintained schools resists policy constructions of academies as being prestigious places to work, instead reflecting the efforts of some of the senior leaders who

participated in this study, who discursively worked to align their academies with the practices of local authorities.

7.1.3 Professional values and motivations

When asked to talk about why they chose to work in their academy schools, a number of ECTs emphasised professional values and motivations for choosing to work there, rather than emphasising its status as an academy. Indeed, participants only commented on the status of their schools as academies when probed directly on the matter. Instead, teachers highlighted their motives for teaching, or affective responses to their schools, when engaged in research conversations about their employment decisions.

Isabella positioned herself as a committed teacher who was dedicated to improving children's lives and educations and, as a result, not having a preference as to which school she worked in. When asked why she had chosen to work at Tarragon Academy, Isabella responded that it was not important for her where she worked, as long as she was able to 'make a difference':

> *Like, it wasn't anything it's just for me it was about you know working in a school, you've ↑got kids, I want to teach kids, that's why. I'm here like t- to make a difference t- to kids it doesn't matter (.) to me, really, which school they come from as long as I'm you know making a difference to children.* […] *Yeah so it wasn't about the Trust or the school or anything.*
>
> Isabella (NQT, Tarragon Academy, Rosemary MAT; roaming interview)

For Isabella, presenting a positive face as a teacher involved foregrounding intrinsic and personal motivations for teaching, and backgrounding her choices concerning school type. In order to emphasise her commitment to teaching, Isabella repeated the lexical bundle 'making a difference'. She also repeated the discourse marker 'you know', in an attempt to construct shared knowledge concerning the nature of teaching. These linguistic choices helped Isabella to construct teaching as a vocation, presenting a professional identity which was more concerned with commitment to her students than concerned with her own progression or the status of her employer.

Other participants claimed a match between their own values or pedagogical style and that of the academy they worked in. Grace constructed her school – Carnation – as having an alternative curriculum approach which matched her values as a teacher:

> *it seemed like a really good fit, I lo::ved just the who::le philosophy of Carna:tion I loved what it stood for I ↓thought during my interview and my trial day that Carnation felt more like an alternative ↑school*
> Grace (four years experience, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

Grace used verbal emphasis, including lengthening the words 'loved' and 'whole', to indicate her positive stance towards the values and curriculum at Carnation School. She constructed Carnation School as feeling 'more like an alternative school', tacitly positioning herself as a teacher committed to more informal and creative pedagogical approaches.

Zoe, who also worked at Carnation, equally emphasised how her pedagogical values had influenced her decision to teach at Carnation:

> *So I was really fascinated by* [Carnation] *but I was going looking round most schools, I even went to look round another school, and it was for a Reception role, and they do sit down lessons three times a ↓day.* […] *And, just when you'd walk into a class and there's like four year olds (.) just, I was like ↑'Awww!' I dunno, I just couldn't, I didn't like it and I walked into this school and everyone's like, it's crazy but everyone seems to be having fun as well just (.) yeah it kind of that's why I was like yeah, I'd like an interview here but the other places I was like °no:: I don't want one £ha.°*
> Zoe (NQT, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

Zoe compared her experience of looking round another school with her experience at Carnation, and in doing so she positioned herself as being committed to teaching in a less formal way. By comparing Carnation's approach to that of another school, Zoe constructed a division between formal and informal approaches to education, and self-positioned as an informal teacher. Like Grace, it was the educational values at Carnation that Zoe constructed herself as identifying with, rather than its academy status.

The capacity of Carnation to depart from the National Curriculum was made possible as a direct result of being an academy. However, neither Grace nor Zoe linked Carnation's status as an

academy to its alternative pedagogy and curriculum. In the focus group at Carnation, I explicitly raised this issue:

Researcher:	*And how about here, do you feel that you get that 'cause here is an academy in a MAT so do you feel you get flexibility ↑here that you wouldn't (.) it's quite a different school to a lot of schools*
Zoe:	*Mmm*
Grace:	*Mmhm*
Zoe:	*Maybe with how we ↑teach? The curriculum.*
Grace:	*Yeah I would agree with that I think we are flexible with (.) the way in which we present the ↑curriculum and the way that we teach it, and so I think that's why we've both probably said that most important is to be creative and imaginative because our school does put a lot of [emphasis on that*
Zoe:	*[Yeah that's really good as well.*
Grace:	*Yes. Which is nice and you can come up with original ↑ideas um but I don't know like any of those perks in terms of days off in lieu or flexible (.) working hours that's not something that [I've encountered here]*
Zoe:	*[No. No erm] But yeah every, every academy's just so different though=*
Grace:	*=[Hmmhm, it is.*
Zoe:	*[It's hard to (.) I think there's pros and cons to probably every way an [academy approaches it*
Grace:	*[Exactly. Yes*

(Carnation School, Dahlia MAT; focus group)

Although both Zoe and Grace agreed that Carnation's curriculum is alternative, they avoided associating this alternative curriculum with academy status. Zoe states that 'every academy's just so different' and Grace argued that Carnation did not offer the perks that other academies offer, such as 'time off in lieu or flexible working'. In this way, both Zoe and Grace distanced themselves from being constructed as teachers who have chosen to work at an academy specifically because of the advantages that working in an academy brings. The curriculum flexibility that was afforded to Zoe and Grace at Carnation was a direct result of Carnation having the legal status of an academy; however, it took sustained probing during research interviews to encourage Zoe and Grace to reflect on this issue. Although Zoe and Grace used the alternative curriculum on offer at Carnation as an opportunity to position themselves as teachers who valued creativity and alternative approaches to learning, they did not position themselves as teachers who benefitted from this freedom as a result of choosing to work in the academy sector. Both Zoe and Grace

worked to construct a match between their values and those of their school but resisted attributing these values to academy status.

The desire to construct a match between one's own professional values or pedagogical styles and those of one's employing school was not limited to teachers in Carnation School. Amelia, who worked at Daffodil School, described it as 'quite formal', and said that she was attracted to the sense of calm at the school:

> *I think it was just as you walked round you could just see that the kids are °doing what they are supposed to be doing°. They all just looked like they liked being here* […] *You can feel, you can feel an atmosphere I remember being taken round one when I was on my placement and it was just you felt the chaos, everywhere you went you could feel it*
>
> Amelia (fourth year teaching, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

Like Zoe, Amelia constructed a distinction between two schools – Daffodil, which she chose to work in, and another school she had experience of through a teaching placement – in order to justify her decision to work at Daffodil. The status of Daffodil as an academy was not spoken about by Amelia when discussing why she chose to work there. Instead, Amelia emphasised her professional values – she liked that the students were 'doing what they were supposed to be doing'. Amelia's drop in volume here indicated that she was reluctant to be overheard making this statement, which could reflect a belief that this view is a divisive or taboo subject, and that to voice such an opinion could result in a face-threatening act occurring. Amelia went on to emphasise her affective response to her placement school, saying that 'you just felt the chaos'. In doing so, Amelia identified as a teacher who liked formality and structure (despite believing this view to be perhaps unpopular or rarely voiced) and as a result found Carnation to suit her professional values when other schools did not.

Although Amelia differed from Zoe and Grace in her professional values, she aligned with their constructions of what was important when choosing a school to work in. The legal status of a school – as academy or maintained – was consistently constructed by all three participants as being unimportant. Instead, Amelia, Zoe and Grace all argued that it was important for them to

find a school which matched their professional values. Professional values and motivations therefore played a significant part in these ECTs' justifications for choosing to work at an academy. They did not identify as academy teachers, but instead as teachers with strong professional values and motivations who happened to find that academy schools offered them the environment in which they wanted to teach. These teachers constructed a positive face as an ECT by emphasising their professional and pedagogical values and motivations, rather than by identifying with academy status. Academy status *per se* was not constructed as important.

7.2 Work as an Early Career Teacher

7.2.1 Biographical narratives of progress

One of the most prominent strategies used by ECTs in this study to self-position as capable teachers was the use of the narrative mode of discourse to construct a biographical trajectory of progress. By constructing narratives of progress, ECTs were able to distance themselves temporally from the identity-position of the struggling new teacher and present themselves as capable teachers. By narrating tales about their progress during their first weeks, months or years in the profession, ECTs positioned their past self as struggling in some way, and then contrasted this past self against a present self who was now doing well. These biographical narratives were employed as a face-work strategy which enabled ECTs to navigate complex and conflicting discourses concerning the effectiveness or capability of teachers in the ECT phase.

During her roaming interview, Isabella worked to position herself within a narrative of progress, as she charted the difference between her initial 'anxiety' as a classroom teacher and now, where she felt 'almost the complete opposite':

Isabella: *I'm quite a resilient person anyway but erm I think in my first half term I had such bad anxiety my anxiety was crazy and I've never experienced anxiety because I'm quite=*
Researcher: *=[Right*
Isabella: *[I'm quite a chilled, £laid-back person.* […] *obviously first half term when everything's ↑new […] And I was really yeah I was quite physically bad but now it's almost the*

complete opposite 'cause I've just had to get out of that that (.) in my head and yeah (.) yeah not let that affect me

Isabella (NQT, Tarragon Academy, Rosemary MAT; roaming interview)

In this conversation, Isabella shared information which had the capacity to cause damage to her face, by admitting to having 'such bad anxiety' during her early days as a teacher. In order to construct a positive self-identity, she therefore constructed a 'real' self as existing prior to her anxious state, which she describes as 'resilient', 'chilled' and 'laid-back'. Her anxiety was consequently constructed as a temporary departure from a usually stable self. Isabella's first year as a teacher was portrayed as a narrative of progress, enabling her to self-position as someone who had been challenged by difficult circumstances, but had ultimately emerged victorious as a result of her innate and positive character.

For Nicole, who discussed her difficulties when she started teaching during a focus group with Isabella, this narrative of progress was primarily constructed through metaphor:

Nicole: *Look at me – my second year actually. First year was – first term, like yourself would've been last year*
Isabella: *Yeah*
Nicole: *And I got thrown in the deep end with a new class*
Isabella: *Ye::ah*
Nicole: *It's hard!*
[…]
Nicole: *it's stressful. And I think it's just not knowing what (.) to ex::pect (.) what's expected of you.*
Isabella: *Yeah. [Yeah.*
Nicole: *['Cause you don't really know. You're being led by everyone else and I know they keep saying ask ask ask but sometimes you don't feel comfortable to ask*
Isabella: *Yeah*
Nicole: *Everytime*
Isabella: *Or I would ask, and people would say 'Oh it's changed from last year, I've no idea'*
Nicole: *Mmhm*
Isabella: *So you're [kind of like*
Nicole: *[Mmm. Trying to find your feet. Yeah. (.) And now a year, a year in I'm pretty much I kind of know where I'm ↓going now.*
Isabella: *Yeah. You seem quite confident which is good, yeah.*
Nicole: *Yeah. Which is helpful because last year (.) that was my year at uni*

(Tarragon Academy, Rosemary MAT; focus group)

Nicole presents the clearest expression of the biographical narrative strategy in her metaphorical construction of learning to teach as a type of journey. She constructs the first year of teaching as the absolute beginning of a journey; no movement has yet been made, as the teacher needs to find their 'feet'. Her lack of agency (and therefore responsibility) is emphasised through the use of the metaphor 'thrown in the deep end'. Nicole's use of metaphor euphemistically constructs the difficulties of the first year in such a way as to avoid explicitly acknowledging any specific challenges, and therefore saves Nicole's face by preventing any need for Nicole to acknowledge any personal deficit. Also, the use of the generic 'you' in the phrase 'find your feet' further distances Nicole from any specific or personal difficulties, constructing these difficulties as a general concern of all new teachers. In contrast, Nicole constructs herself in her second year of teaching as knowing 'where I'm going now'; the shift of footing here to the personal pronoun 'I' is an attempt to self-position, emphasising her individual capacity to escape the difficulties which all new teachers face. Throughout this focus group conversation, Nicole and Isabella co-construct knowledge concerning the difficulties of being a new teacher and their progress in moving out of this difficult, early phase. Nicole and Isabella both self-position and other-position as teachers who have had a difficult beginning to teaching but have moved beyond this initial, challenging phase, using everyday speech acts to construct themselves and each other as capable, confident teachers in the present.

Simon also admitted to difficulties during his first year of training on the School Direct route, which he constructed as having resolved after moving to Dill Academy:

Simon:	*Personally, my personal life took a ↑hit, I, in my training year it was hard. Going into my NQT year I knew it'd be better, BUT (.) I think psychologically, mentally how you feel like your whole, your personal life what should be yours*
Researcher:	*Mmm*
Simon:	*Is being so consumed by (.) work.*
Researcher:	*Mmm. But you don't feel as [much that anymore*
Simon:	*[No. Not at all this year. Obviously early, early weeks getting everything used to a new school but no I've nev- I haven't yet felt anywhere near as stressed at my worst that I did ↓last year. And that is a lot of it down to the school. 'Cause they're an amazing bunch of people.*

Researcher: *Mmm*
Simon: *Erm and, for an NQT, I would say find a ↓good school.*

Simon (NQT, Dill Academy, Rosemary MAT; roaming interview)

Tacitly, Simon constructs his school context as having the most significant impact on his wellbeing, arguing that in his training school he felt 'stressed' and that it is important for an NQT to find a 'good school'. As such, Simon manages to save face by constructing the cause of his problems as being located within the school context, rather than being a result of his own inexperience. Like Isabella, he constructs a narrative of progress; his training year was stressful, but thanks to a new school his wellbeing was now improving. In this way, Simon navigated the discursive expectations of early career teachers as both struggling and performing. In his first school, Simon struggled, but thanks to a new school, he is able to position himself as having made progress and being in a better place.

Zoe's narrative of progress was interrupted by frequent hesitations, which suggests that her choice of vocabulary was not habitual or automatic, but instead that she was choosing her words carefully in order to construct a positive self-image:

> *I found this half term so much more (.) enjoyable (.) and I love it now* […] *for the first term, I was £very anti-social 'cause I think I was just (.) getting used to it and I was so ↑tired, I don't think I've ever been so tired all my ↑life, erm, but I am getting back into the routine now*
>
> Zoe (NQT, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

Zoe's claim that she was 'getting back into the routine' had the effect of constructing her time being a new teacher as an aberration; this was further supported by her claim that she had never been so tired as during her first term as a teacher. Like Isabella, Zoe managed the maintainance of a positive face by tacitly constructing difficulties during the first half term as being external to herself, caused by her new role rather than a character deficit. Zoe's narrative of progress was constructed as a return to normality; previous routines are reverted to and out of character anti-social behaviour comes to an end.

Isabella, Nicole, Simon and Zoe each constructed two opposing temporalities: a past temporality in which they presented themselves as a new teacher under pressure, and then an opposing temporality in the present, in which they have moved on from this past identity and present themselves as more confident, developing teachers. Words used by ECTs to construct their past lives as new teachers are negative – 'tired', 'stressed', 'physically bad'. Efforts are then made to linguistically contrast their current lives by drawing on spatial vocabulary – 'complete opposite', 'I've had to get out of that', 'I haven't yet felt anywhere near', 'I know where I'm going now'. The use of such spatial vocabulary has the effect of distancing the ECT from their past self, emphasising a significant change in their professional identity and a current self-positioning as a successful teacher.

The use of the discourse marker 'obviously' by both Isabella and Simon indicates the normative positioning of the new teacher stage as difficult. The temporal distinction between 'then' and 'now', which is used by Isabella, Simon, Nicole and Zoe, located the problems faced by new teachers as a consequence of being a new teacher in a new school, rather than as a character flaw. This enabled these ECTs to locate the cause of their difficulties in the particular experience of being a new teacher (or, in Simon's case, working as a new teacher in a problematic setting), allowing them to avoid admitting to any flaws which may damage their face. By constructing the reason for their past difficulties as a result of structural issues rather than individual failings, ECTs attempt to construct an identity for themselves which is coherent and stable. Although the structures around them change, they attempt to present an essential self which may be damaged by circumstance, but is never fundamentally compromised.

Although the initial stage of being a teacher was constructed by these ECTs as structurally problematic, they also discursively positioned themselves as taking responsibility for resolving this problem. Zoe stated she was 'getting back into the routine', and Isabella said she had to 'get out of that that (.) in my head'. Isabella constructed herself as a 'resilient person' who had 'never experienced anxiety' until she started teaching. By positioning themselves as making determined

efforts to return to their stable sense of self, Isabella and Zoe emphasise their agency and construct themselves as responsible for the improvement in their attitude towards teaching. By emphasising their agency, these ECTs manage to maintain their presentation of a positive professional face, despite admitting to initial difficulties in adjusting to their teaching roles.

These narratives of progress are a face-work strategy which allow new teachers to positively position themselves as good teachers, despite having had an initial period of difficulty. The use of this strategy indicates that ECTs believe it is socially acceptable – perhaps even expected – that they would struggle during the initial stage of teaching. ECTs do not appear to lose face by admitting to these initial difficulties. However, in order to maintain face, once this initial difficulty has been admitted, they must also construct current selves who have moved beyond this initial period of difficulty and are now enjoying teaching, or at least coping with the demands made of them. The past self experiencing difficulty further acts as a contrast, emphasising the capable and confident nature of the teacher in the present. Underpinning this narrative is the requirement to discursively produce a stable identity, an identity which might be challenged by new situations, but which is able to eventually return to a state of normality.

Biographical narratives of progress were constructed by teachers across both MATs, and occurred in both interviews and focus groups. The prevalence of this discursive strategy suggests that constructing a biographical narrative of progress is an effective face-work strategy, which is socially acceptable, and which allows ECTs to successfully navigate complex and competing discourses about the nature of ECT capability and effectiveness. The emphasis placed by these ECTs on moving on from an initial period of difficulty indicates that new teachers feel the need to position themselves as quickly developing and improving, finding ways to manage the demands made of them. This need to construct narratives of progress might act as a response to government positionings of new teachers as particularly exceptional, and to situated expectations of ECTs to aspire to leadership within schools. That the capable individual is constructed as the norm indicates the pressure placed on ECTs at an early stage in their career to perform and improve. Although

ECTs appear to be aware of discourses which construct the entry into teaching as difficult, they present identities which distance themselves from this subject-position in order to save face.

7.2.2 Workload/Hard Work

Teacher workload was introduced frequently as a topic by ECTs throughout the data-collection process. In total, thematic coding indicated 122 references to workload across data-collection activities with ECTs, second only in frequency to references to autonomy and fidelity to school culture (with 144 references) (Appendix O, p. 352). References to workload indicated the multiple and contradictory discourses surrounding teacher workload, with ECTs constructing their workload in different ways. Isabella, for example, intentionally constructed her workload as problematic:

> *I love my job but the workload is h- that's the only thing. The workload is horrendous*
> Isabella (NQT, Tarragon Academy, Rosemary Trust; roaming interview)

Grace, who grew up and trained abroad, offered a less explicit interpretation:

> *It seems very different* [in England] *to: the* [home country's] *curriculum and the* [home country's] *education system I think* […] *I think ↑maybe the work life balance isn't as: (..) exciting here*? […] *some people feel like the: workload doesn't equate with the ↑salary or vice versa*
> Grace (fourth year teaching, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

For Abigail, discussions about workload offered an opportunity to tacitly position her school leadership in a negative fashion, claiming that for her leadership and management workload concerns were simply a 'buzzword':

> *the buzzword is, you know, 'we're trying to reduce your workload, we're trying to reduce your workload.'*
> Abigail (fifth year teaching, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

These three examples illustrate the multiplicity of discourse surrounding teacher workload amongst ECT participants. Isabella constructed teacher workload as entirely negative. The

modality she employed when describing teacher workload was extremely certain and direct: 'The workload is horrendous.' Isabella's use of 'the' as a determiner ('the workload' rather than 'my workload') generalises her statement to the entirety of teaching, rather than constructing workload as a unique problem caused by her school or her status as an NQT. Grace, in comparison, took a more indirect approach, using a number of hedging devices to soften her construction of workload: 'It seems very different', 'I think maybe', 'some people feel like'. Grace therefore avoided a clear construction of teacher workload, opening up space for teacher workload to be interpreted as either a structural problem as a result of the English education system, or an opinion of individual teachers. In doing so, Grace avoids direct criticism or exploration of teacher workload as a problem. Abigail identified workload as a 'buzzword' employed by the management of her school. Her discussion of the term 'workload' is therefore used to construct an impression of the school management, rather than to explore teacher workload itself. In all, although workload was a topic of high priority for ECT participants, the discourse surrounding workload was multiple and complex. The varied nature of the ECT discourse surrounding teacher workload suggests that discourses concerning teacher workload are multiple and dynamic, allowing ECTs many different possible subject-positionings to take up when discussing issues of workload. The diversity of discourse identified within the ECT sample regarding workload reflects the complex and multiple constructions of teacher workload evident in both ministerial discourse and the discourse of senior school leaders.

Uniquely across the schools included within the sample, teachers at Daffodil School consistently occupied the discursive position of the hard-working teacher. This suggests that for teachers at Daffodil School, it was important to position as a hard-working teacher in order to maintain face. Teachers at Daffodil School positioned themselves as hard-working teachers using a range of linguistic strategies: Jemima intentionally self-positioned as a hard-working teacher, Emily tacitly so, and Logan and Amelia constructed discursive divisions between teachers according to their work ethic, positioning themselves as hard-working teachers in the process.

Jemima intentionally positioned herself as a hard-working teacher:

↑*I actually don't mind the workload. I think I'm always gonna make it harder than it needs to be. £haha*
Jemima, (fifth year teaching, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

The use of the adverb 'actually' by Jemima serves to emphasise her statement, but also acts as a polite way of expressing an opinion which the speaker presumes the receiver will find unexpected. Jemima therefore implicitly acknowledges the negative discourse surrounding workload by positioning herself against it.

Emily tacitly positioned herself as hard-working, by claiming that she worked late at school planning:

I would <u>much</u> rather plan in my own classroom, which is why I stay there very lo:ng at the end of the day.
Emily (second year teaching, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

Emily constructed planning in her classroom as the justification for working late in school. As indicated in the transcription, Emily placed an emphasis on 'much' and lengthened the time she took to say 'lo:ng' in order to stress how committed she is to working long hours. In doing so, Emily tacitly positioned herself as a hard-working teacher, willing to work very long hours in school.

Logan and Amelia both constructed a discursive division between trainee teachers who were prepared to work hard and those who found the teaching workload difficult, positioning themselves as being in the former category by virtue of the fact that they had successfully progressed to working as classroom teachers. When discussing his School Direct teacher training programme, Logan constructed the difference between successful and unsuccessful trainee teachers as being located in their capacity to undertake hard work:

Logan: [Primary teaching is] *much harder than you think it is. (..) I think given the fact of the numbers of people that didn't quite get throu:gh (.) last year (.) of th- the people that were on my programme (.)*
Researcher: *[Right]*

Logan: *[I think] the biggest thing was (..) they w- they weren't quite aware of (.) how much time (.) it takes.*
[…]
I would say by and large the- it was (..) i- the (.) and this is only my own opinion but the people that didn't quite make it through they (.) they didn't realise <how hard you have to work.

Researcher: *Mmhm*

Logan: *I think they thought that, 'oh it's primary school.'*
[…]
I just well (..) I dunno, I'd question why they chose primary f- teaching really.

Logan (NQT, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

Similarly, when Amelia was discussing mentoring a trainee teacher in her classroom, she criticised his capacity to work hard:

Amelia: *I've got a student in my class as well! Do you know what I think he struggled with what I would say is (.) find out first. So be aware of what you're coming into. I think people are very, they think this is ↑teaching, it's ↑easy, they just come in they don't necessarily, if you haven't been in a school, you don't kno::w what school involves. And it's a lot more (.) work than you realise.*

Researcher: *Mmmhmmm*

Amelia: *And I think that has been a shock. When you come from a completely different background and you come in here and then you suddenly realise there's a lot of school life you don't ˙hhh understand. Then yeah, to come in cold is °quite, quite tough° you need to be prepared for what £you're coming into! £hahaha That is it, I know I kind of came in quite gradually*

Amelia (fourth year teaching, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

Logan and Amelia both negatively position entrants to the profession who think that teaching is going to be easy. The use of the third-person plural pronoun 'they' by both Logan and Amelia indicates a division between two groups, the successful (or 'prepared') and the unsuccessful. Logan and Amelia implicitly construct themselves as being members of the successful group of teacher entrants, who were aware of the hard work involved in teaching and have therefore thrived. However, 'they' – the other teachers who thought that teaching was easy – were positioned as failing. In creating this distinction and positioning themselves in the successful category, Logan and Amelia constructed a positive self-identity for themselves as hard-working teachers.

Logan and Amelia's discourse presupposed that the intrinsic nature of primary school teaching requires hard work from its teachers. Logan stated that he would question why these trainees chose primary teaching, and Amelia advised those thinking of primary teaching to

experience working in a school, to enable them to gain a better understanding of the demands of primary teaching before committing to training. Neither questioned whether the nature of teaching should change, or whether it is sustainable or wise to demand so much of trainees that many find the induction process into teaching so challenging that they choose to leave. As such, the problem of teacher workload was constructed by Logan and Amelia as a result of the individual deficit of teachers, rather than a structural problem within teaching.

The consistent self-positioning of teachers at Daffodil School as hard-working suggests that ECTs within some school settings are required to construct identities as hard-working teachers in order to sustain a positive professional identity. By positioning themselves as hard-working teachers, Jemima, Emily, Logan and Amelia claimed agency and individuality, stressing the difference between themselves and other teachers or trainee teachers. In Daffodil School, positioning oneself as a hard-working teacher appeared to be a necessary strategy for successful face-work. This finding indicates that prominent policy discourse can be mediated, challenged and resisted within schools. In such cases, therefore, ECTs are exposed to conflicting and multiple discourses about key issues of their working lives, which they are required to negotiate successfully in order to maintain a coherent and acceptable professional self-identity. In the case of Daffodil School, it was clear that ECTs were required to identify as hard-working in order to present an acceptable professional identity, despite the increasing positioning of teacher workload as problematic within policy discourse.

7.2.3 Autonomy

It was evident from a number of research conversations with ECTs that constructing themselves as having autonomy was an important factor in their presentation of a positive self-identity. However, discourses of teacher autonomy at both policy level and in situated school contexts were multiple and contradictory, opening up various subject-positions to the ECT. It was clear from research interviews that ECTs sought to position themselves as autonomous, agential individuals,

but that these constructions often conflicted with ECTs' representations of their working lives. ECTs frequently recounted the working demands made of them, including highly directive school policies on aspects of teachers' work such as displays, curriculum, and marking.

Simon stated that promises made to him by his school concerning his autonomy were one of the reasons he decided to apply for a position at Dill Academy:

> *And that's <u>one</u> thing that I can be <u>deadly</u> honest about in this school (.) they first, from day one when they first when I first ever came and spoke to:: before I even <u>interviewed</u> for the school they said 'we believe in <u>your</u> judgement.* […] *And for <u>me</u> that was, that was a big point that I really (.) <u>latched</u> on to in a way (.) 'cause [it's <u>important</u>*
>
> Simon (NQT, Dill Academy, Rosemary MAT; roaming interview)

Simon emphasised the importance of his autonomy by stressing certain words throughout his conversation. The words Simon emphasised included pronouns ('your', 'me') which had the effect of stressing his autonomy as an individual, and intensifiers including the honesty phrase 'deadly honest', which framed his statement as intended to be received as a positive evaluative description of his school. During this statement, Simon therefore self-positioned as autonomous and agential, and also positioned his school positively by emphasising their support for his autonomy.

In a similar fashion, when asked why she had chosen to take a position at Carnation School, Grace constructed the significant autonomy afforded to her by the school as an important factor in her decision:

> *I liked that we (.) had a lot of creative (.) umm ↑flexibility and ↑autonomy in the classroom to teach how we like, so <u>yes</u> the curriculum is the curriculum and the objectives are the ↑objectives ˙hh but we:: are not teaching in a structured way that says you need to do your times tables (.) <u>this</u> often or maths needs to be taught every morning between nine and ten or so it's very: flexible to each class teacher it's up to them.*
>
> Grace (fourth year teaching, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

Grace constructed Carnation School as allowing her '↑flexibility and ↑autonomy', her upward inflections signalling that she considered these to be important factors. Her use of the personal pronoun 'I' had the effect of constructing Grace as a teacher to whom autonomy, flexibility and

creativity were particularly important. Grace's positive construction of Carnation as allowing her autonomy therefore also served as a self-positioning device which allowed her to identify as having significant agency and as being creative and flexible in her teaching approach. For Simon and Grace, therefore, intentionally positioning as autonomous and agential was an important part of their professional self-identity. Such positioning aligns with politeness theory, which holds that all individuals desire to present as autonomous.[54]

Although some ECTs intentionally self-positioned as autonomous (as exemplified in Simon and Grace's excerpts discussed above), research conversations – particularly during roaming interviews – indicated that the agency of ECTs was repeatedly threatened by school policies. Roaming interviews provided significant and unique opportunities to discuss the demands made on ECTs' time, prompted by discussions about displays and aspects of classroom organisation. The discussions that arose seemed to counter claims by ECTs that they had a lot of agency or control over their professional practice. Across all settings, ECTs discussed aspects of their working lives in which their pedagogical autonomy was restricted by school policies; however, they worked to construct these restrictions in a positive manner, thereby limiting the damage that such restrictions caused to their professional self-identity as a teacher.

At Dill Academy, Simon explained that I had visited during 'spooky sagas week', which involved delivering set planning across the week which was differentiated according to year group:

Simon:	*and at the moment we've we've got spooky sagas week (..) so it's all about spooky ↑writing, spooky ↑music spooky ↑art*
Researcher:	*Ahh! That sounds really exciting.*
	[…]
	So is that like the who::le the whole school are doing [(..) spooky writ-
Simon:	*[Spooky week, yeah*
Researcher:	*Spooky week throughout the who::le school?*
Simon:	*Yep. [So then] that work obviously differentiates for year groups*
Researcher:	*[Nice!] Yeah yeah*

[54] Negative face involves the desire to maintain 'freedom of action and freedom from imposition' (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 61).

Simon: *And we've got set set set planning for (..) the week, but then it's differentiated throughout the years groups and then by the end of it it's like a competition. The best pieces of writing get submitted and win (.) prizes*

Researcher: *Ahhh*

Simon: *Which is great. Because the kids are like 'Yeah I'm gonna win I'm gonna win!'*

Simon (NQT, Dill Academy, Rosemary MAT; roaming interview)

At Tarragon Academy, Isabella described the demands made of teachers to ensure that displays were completed and presented on a regular basis:

> *we change our corridor displays* […] *you have to have the theme display every t- and also a book display* […] *When it's done it's nice, now we don't have to worry about it this half term but when they're like 'Ooh you need to get your displays up <get it up <get it up <get it up' and you know you're back into the term and then you're trying to find time and trying to do all these other things it can (.) be a £nuisance to get it up but it's done for this half term so ˙hh yeah and it does look nice.*
>
> Isabella (NQT, Tarragon Academy, Rosemary MAT; roaming interview)

There were also strict requirements regarding displays at Carnation School. Zoe described how display boards and classroom doors had to be decorated to align with their term's topic:

Zoe: *Erm I think one thing that really stood out to me with this school when I was applying for jobs wa:s our ↑display boards in the ↑corridors=*

Researcher: *=[Ok*

Zoe: *[So every half term we pick a ↓topic*

Researcher: *Right*

Zoe: *And then all our learning's based on that topic and then we do this display board with the ↑children all ↑together, it has to change every half ↑term, it's obviously really hard work because it's every half ↓term*

Researcher: *£hehe*

Zoe: *£bu:t it is actually quite ni:ce and you do kind of get proud you get really proud of it when (.) it's ↑done.*

Researcher: *Oh lovely=*

Zoe: *=[So yeah like*

Researcher: *[So this term it's the Arctic*

Zoe: *Yep. This term I'm doing the Arctic and then so the children sort of helped me like kind of make all the penguins and it has to be 3D: to like make it stand out and it's j- yeah. I do quite li:ke it and it's nice to see all the other ss- like years that do it and also our doors erm we have to decorate (.) we have to decorate our doors*

Researcher: *Oh lovely*

Zoe: *Which the children absolutely adore ['cause] it feels like they're just stepping through=*

Researcher: *[Yeah!]*

Zoe: *=[to their ↑topic, so obviously we done an igloo:*

Zoe (NQT, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

At Daffodil School, a new marking scheme had been introduced, and much of the conversation with research participants focused on adherence to this new school policy, which had been introduced by senior leadership with the explicit aim of reducing teacher workload. Jemima's explanation of the new marking policy detailed the extent to which teachers at the school were limited as to how they could approach and respond to their pupils' work. It is notable that both the previous marking policy and the revised version appeared to be extremely prescriptive in the demands they made on teacher autonomy, and as a result both presented as face-threatening acts:

Jemima: *The marking scheme's just changed, so before we would just use a red pen*

Researcher: *Mm*

Jemima: *And we did lots of kind of next steps at the bottom of work and all of that kind of stuff and they've changed this now (.) I think <well I know to reduce our workload so we're meant to try and get round class and do this during the lesson umm and not leave a next step or anything like that and then umm the kids can kind of umm*

Researcher: *So during a lesson you go round and do you ↑talk to them about this [or*

Jemima: *[exactly. Yeah so I would go 'Oh my goodness wonderful fronted adverbial! Let's highlight that pink. ↑Oh and an adjectival phrase oh so good!'*

Researcher: *Mmm*

Jemima: *And then I'd go 'Urrrr. I'm gonna highlight that green and you're gonna need to think about what you need to do to improve that. Problem there.' Umm, and they have to work out the problem. For some of them, who I think they're never gonna work out if it's spelling, punctuation, grammar then I give them a little note that says* […] *I used to give them, I spent hours marking and I used to give them all the ↑answers, like I would, I wouldn't just write Sp – oh I have done it there – I'd write the spelling as well you know and I'd basically correct all their mistakes and then they didn't learn anything*

Researcher: *Mmm*

Jemima: *So now there's much more focus on them (.) going and doing it. I – in my opinion they're still really rubbish (.) at (.) looking at their spelling mistakes and using a dictionary to correct them. They'll still just um they'll – this might be a good one – they'll guess the spelling - oh no this person's not that – they'll guess the spelling rather than going and getting a dictionary so it's all I guess I just have to teach it*

Jemima (fifth year teaching, Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

In their conversations about planning, displays, and marking, ECTs spoke about demands made of them which had the potential to damage their negative face. Successful face-work involves positioning oneself as having agency, and as a result, the workload demands made of teachers present as face-threatening acts, positioning ECTs as having limited agency to make decisions. In

order to construct and present a positive self-identity, ECTs therefore needed to construct discursive strategies to minimise the negative impact that admitting to these workload demands had to their face. Two different strategies were deployed by ECTs to limit the damage to their face. Some ECTs oriented their discourse on the practicalities of the demands made of them, and others ECTs emphasised the positive effects of their compliance. These strategies can be identified in the extracts of research conversation with Simon, Isabella, Zoe and Jemima above.

In focusing their discourse on the practicalities of the demands made of them, Jemima and Zoe positioned themselves as agential rather than passive, therefore managing to mitigate any damage to their face as a result of losing their autonomy. Jemima, for example, gave a lengthy account of how exactly she implemented the new marking strategy at Daffodil School. In this account, Jemima frequently used the personal pronoun 'I' to emphasise her agency and used direct speech to construct an image of her classroom practice as confident, capable and assured. Jemima also emphasised her agency and autonomy by detailing how she departed from recommended practice, stating that she adapted the marking strategy to scaffold children who she had identified as needing additional support. In detailing the practicalities of the marking strategy, Jemima therefore created a space to position her practice as autonomous and flexible, rather than compliant, in turn positioning her as agential. This strategy can also be seen to a lesser extent in Zoe's discourse, as she foregrounded her agency in choosing a topic before detailing how she was required, each half term, to construct elaborate 3D displays (which included decorating the door to her classroom).

The other strategy used by ECTs to lessen damage to their negative face was to emphasise the positive outcomes of the work they had undertaken. This strategy effectively positioned ECTs as altruistic. While they acknowledged the demands made of them by school policy (and therefore accepted that their autonomy had been in some way limited), they constructed the positive effects of this policy as outweighing any negative (tacit or implicit) limiting effects on their agency. In each of the conversations above, ECTs used this strategy to orient the conversation towards the positive

outcomes of school policies, rather than the effects of these policies on their autonomy and agency. Simon described spooky sagas week as 'great' because the writing competition at the end of the week encouraged children to be more enthusiastic about writing. Isabella, despite describing requirements about displays as a 'nuisance', nevertheless repeatedly referred to them as 'nice'; similarly Zoe claimed that the children in her class 'adore' the door decoration. Jemima constructed the new marking policy as enabling her to give 'much more focus' to the children in her class. In the case of Simon, Zoe and Jemima, the positive effects of school policies are specifically constructed as supporting the learning of children. As such, in these conversations, positive outcomes for children were tacitly associated with compliance to school policy and acted as a face-saving strategy for the teachers who employed them. By emphasising the positive outcomes of adhering to school policy – particularly when these positive outcomes were associated with high-quality learning experiences for children – teachers positioned themselves as actively engaged in creating positive environments for students, rather than as being passively oppressed by school policies.

Teachers who participated in the present research study therefore made efforts to position themselves as agential and altruistic; this positioning worked as a set of face-saving acts which limited the amount of damage done to their face by the frequent demands made of them as teachers. In emphasising their agency within the limits of school demands, and the positive outcomes of their compliance, ECTs were able to negotiate the dual discourses made available to them, of being both autonomous and compliant.

7.3 Negotiating leadership: private and public ambition

7.3.1 Constructions of leadership in private discourse

Ministerial discourse constructed the present generation of ECTs as particularly capable and valuable teachers, which supported senior leaders' discourses of rapid career progression and ECT leadership. However, research with senior leaders showed that discourses of ECT excellence and

rapid career progression were disputed in situated contexts. A number of ECTs identified as ambitious leaders during private roaming interviews, but chose not to identify as such in more public focus group activities. By constructing different faces in different contexts, ECTs were able to negotiate the contrasting subject-positions made available to them at different levels of discourse.

Roaming interviews offered the opportunity to gain access to ECTs' self-positioning in private spaces. During most of these interviews, talk was conducted in empty corridors and classrooms. Without other teachers or members of staff around, ECT participants did not, on the whole, have to concern themselves with maintaining the face of other teachers they were engaged in conversations with. For this reason, data collected in roaming interviews represents a more private discourse than that collected in focus groups, where teacher talk was constrained by the desire to limit damage to other teachers' face as well as their own. During roaming interviews, the majority of ECT participants identified in some way as being potential leaders.

Simon intentionally self-positioned as a young teacher and potential leader. Aligning himself with political discourses which valued the young teacher, Simon argued that his youth was a causal factor in his leadership ambition:

> *for me, being a young teacher and wanting to progress as soon as ↑possible, it just shows that erm I'm in a school where they will acknowledge that and they will appreciate that.*
>
> Simon (NQT, Dill Academy, Rosemary MAT; roaming interview)

The use of the co-ordinating conjunction 'and' in Simon's statement creates a discursive knot between youth and career progression. Simon's emphasis of the personal pronoun 'me' indicates that he is working to position himself specifically in this statement, and he does so by emphasising his youth and his ambition, stating that he wants to 'progress as soon as ↑possible', with the upward inflection on '↑possible' having the effect of emphasising Simon's positioning as ambitious. The term 'young' here is key, as Simon uses this adjective to explain his desire to progress quickly. He could have emphasised his commitment, passion, qualifications, or a range of other skills, but

rather he chooses to emphasise his youth as the explanatory factor in why he wants to progress quickly. The choice of youth as an explanatory feature for his leadership ambition suggests that Simon considers youth to be a privileged characteristic, which provides him with a form of social capital which supports his self-positioning as a potential leader. Such positioning aligns with the serious speech acts of government ministers identified in the DFEMS corpus. Simon also positively positions his school, Dill Academy, as a school which supports his ambitions to progress to leadership, indicating that he evaluates schools according to the support they provide for young teachers to quickly progress to leadership positions.

Participants who had changed careers into teaching also identified as potential leaders. Logan and Abigail had both had careers before moving into teaching, and for both, their face-work involved not only positioning themselves as career changers, but also as on a rapid trajectory towards leadership:

> *I'm biding my time in the classroom I don't see myself in the classroom forever.* […] *So I'll, in the space of five years my ambition is to be Senior Leader, Headteacher.*
> Logan (NQT, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

> *Yeah I wanna get into Senior Leadership. Definitely. Erm, because of my age I kind of, you know, this is my fifth year of teaching and some people do it around now, I think it's a natural time to start thinking about moving like how long are you a class teacher before you wanna move on? Because I'm older, as a career changer I was kinda like I need to move on, <quickly.* […] *You know, I've had a career, I don't wanna be, you know, just a class teacher forever. So I'm kinda trying to move it on quite quickly*
> Abigail (fifth year teaching, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

Both Logan and Abigail constructed the position of the classroom teacher in a derogatory fashion. The term 'biding my time' constructed Logan's time as a classroom teacher negatively, as a time of waiting for a better opportunity to arise. In a similar fashion, Abigail says 'I don't wanna be, you know, just a class teacher forever'. The use of the depreciatory 'just' in this statement constructs the position of classroom teacher negatively, as being less valuable or worthwhile than positions of leadership. Her employment of the discourse marker 'you know' further signals to the discourse-receiver that this negative construction of classroom teaching should not be understood as an

evaluative stance only possessed by Abigail as an individual, but should be understood as reflecting a shared knowledge about the construction of classroom teaching in wider discourse. Both Logan and Abigail construct five years as a point at which teachers start to move into leadership. This five-year period is therefore constructed as a sort of grace period, in which is it considered socially acceptable to be a classroom teacher, but after which point teachers should have started to climb into leadership positions.

Like Simon, Abigail used her age to position herself as particularly capable and ready for leadership. However, unlike Simon, Abigail positioned her relative experience – rather than her relative youth – as providing the reason why she was particularly ambitious for leadership. She argued that 'Because I'm older, as a career changer I was kinda like I need to move on, <quickly.' The use of the semi-modal verb 'need' constructs career progression for career-changers and older entrants to the profession not as a choice, but as a requirement in order to project a positive professional face as an ECT. Abigail's justification for wanting to progress to leadership also appears to suggest, once again, that there is a social expectation of rapid promotion to leadership. Abigail's claim that she needs to move 'quickly' presupposes that her relative age could be somehow damaging to her career progression, and steps need to be taken to remedy this damage.

Isabella also positioned herself as a future leader during her roaming interview. When asked about her commitment to her school and MAT, Isabella introduced the topic of career progression, positioning herself as someone who was willing to move in order to gain leadership opportunities:

> *if erm, if like an opportunity does come up like lead of ↑Science I feel ready in a different school and they're not offering it ↑here then I'm more than happy to go where the opportunity takes me.*
>
> Isabella (NQT, Tarragon Academy, Rosemary MAT; roaming interview*)*

When asked directly about her career trajectory later in the interview, and whether she would be interested in progressing to headship, Isabella appeared to interpret the question as a face-threatening act:

Isabella:	*Erm, so possibly I erm °I don't wanna say I'd go supply° because then you don't I love the idea of having the ownership of your own classroom ˙hhh but maybe doing things like (.) erm you know a SENCo or being erm (.) a Primary education ↑consultant erm:: or being an examiner something that's still to do with education=*
Researcher:	*=[Mmhm*
Isabella:	*[but not a class teacher or SLT. 'Cause that also £seems stressful!*
Researcher:	*Right*
Isabella:	*£hahaha*
Researcher:	*So no like (.) clear ambitions to get up to Headship or [anything like that?*
Isabella:	*[No, no no. Even though everyone £haha like that's all I hear 'I could see you being the Head. Definitely.' All the time but (.) no. 'Cause that seems very (.) stressful as well*

Isabella (NQT, Tarragon Academy, Rosemary MAT; roaming interview)

When specifically prompted on whether she had ambitions to become a headteacher, Isabella argued that although she herself had no such ambition, she was frequently positioned by others as a potential head. The possibility of being constructed as someone who might not progress to leadership and instead stay in the classroom appears, therefore, to be an identity-positioning which Isabella wished to avoid. Isabella was also keen to distance herself from the role of the supply teacher, lowering the volume of her voice when talking about this role. Isabella sought to maintain and project an image of herself as a potential leader rather than a classroom teacher by positioning herself as the type of ECT who would be 'talent-spotted' to progress to leadership. By constructing the role of headteacher as stressful, Isabella was able to construct the role as problematic, rather than positioning herself as lacking the character or skills necessary to become a head. It therefore seemed important to Isabella that she was recognised as having the talent to progress to leadership, even if she herself did not self-position as wanting to progress to the position of headteacher.

A desire to be positioned by others as a potential leader was also apparent during Jemima's roaming interview, when Jemima spoke about how she had been appointed to a middle leadership role. Jemima's face was evidently damaged when her leadership team chose not to ask her to take on a middle leadership role which had unexpectedly become vacant:

> *I heard that the person who was meant to be head of Year Four dropped out.* […] *So I was like, 'Ooh, I'll let them know that I could do that too: (.) if they would li:ke!' So I went and said to Olivia after parents evening and I was like 'You know, if you're looking for someone, something I could be open to*

doing' she was like 'oh, we'd need you for a year' I said 'I could commit for a year, for this role.' So she said 'ok!' and then the next day the called me in. So yeah, I mean, it was really cool I'm really lucky but I'm trying to think about, you know (.) whether they should've approached ↑me to say you know, would you be interested in this? Rather than me being the one <but I think you have to show people, don't you? [...] *like I've wanted to get into leadership for a really long time, ˙hh but it's err for me coming from where I trained, it-you have to work like fifteen years till you get a position like this so I was like, it's unachievable!* [...] *And, and something that I don't think they promote enough. You know, there's not enough you know ˙hh you can work for a year or two:: as an NQT and then move into a £leadership position that's insane, you know?*

Jemima (fifth year teaching, Carnation School, Dahlia MAT; roaming interview)

Jemima explained how she had decided to go to her senior leadership team and offer to take on the job when she found out it was available, but having to ask for the position – rather than being asked to step up – had threatened her sense of self-identity as a teacher. Jemima's discursive effort to explain why she wasn't talent-spotted for this position – saying 'I think you have to show people, don't you?' – had a restorative function, emphasising the need for all teachers to make their leadership ambitions known, rather than dwelling on how she had not been initially chosen for the post. The damage to Jemima's face as a result of not being chosen to take on this role by her leadership team indicates that being recognised as a potential leader was an important aspect of her professional identity as an ECT.

During roaming interviews, ECTs therefore made significant efforts to position themselves as having leadership potential. This was achieved by a number of strategies: by explicitly positioning themselves as leaders, by reporting on how others positioned them as potential leaders, and, in Jemima's case, by tacitly disclosing how her self-identity was damaged as a result of not being identified as a leader. Each of these strategies suggests that wider discursive positionings of ECTs as potential leaders have an impact on the way that ECTs are able to construct their identities, with ECTs engaging in a variety of discursive strategies to ensure that they are recognised by others as having the potential to become a teacher leader.

7.3.2 Constructions of leadership in public discussions

In roaming interviews, as discussed previously, the majority of ECTs were keen to position themselves as future leaders. Even Isabella, who rejected headship, stated that others considered her worthy of becoming a head. Self-positioning and being recognised by others as a potential leader therefore appeared to be highly important to ECTs, with lengthy spells in the role of classroom teacher even being positioned in a derogatory fashion by the career changers Logan and Amelia. In focus groups, however, a rapid ascent to leadership was not positioned by ECTs as being important.

When asked to rank different roles or features of teachers in terms of importance, teachers working together in focus groups generally constructed quickly climbing up the career ladder as an unimportant aspect of teaching. This can be seen, for example, in the discussion between Zoe and Grace:

Zoe: *What do you think about that one, then? [Climb up the career ladder quickly?]*
Grace: *[Ye:ah, I noticed that] So ˙hh*
Zoe: *Where would you put it?*
Grace: *Phhhh. I would sa::y (..) fffh ck ck, in my opinion (.) I don't find it that important.*
Zoe: *No*
Grace: *To me like I'm happy where I ↑am=*

(Carnation School, Dahlia MAT; focus group)

In this conversation, both Zoe and Grace agreed that quickly climbing up the career ladder was not an important feature or characteristic of being an ECT. Grace self-positioned as being happy in the classroom role, rejecting rather than aligning with the identity of a rapid career climber. However, both Zoe and Grace display a lack of commitment or insecurity regarding this particular topic of conversation. Grace's speech included a number of filled and unfilled pauses. Grace also employed hedging devices to minimise the certainty of her claims, including 'I would say' and 'in my opinion'. These hedges position her claims as subjective opinion rather than statements of truth, having the effect of opening up spaces for dissent or disagreement, and lessening the impact

of her utterances. Although Zoe agreed with Grace, she was reticent to make her stance on the matter clear before first finding out Grace's opinion. It is Zoe who chooses and introduces the topic of career progression from a number of possible alternatives; however, rather than take an immediate stance on the issue, she first invites Grace to evaluate the issue, only claiming her own positionality once she is aware of Grace's. Zoe is therefore reluctant to position herself with regard to the issue of ECT leadership without first having access to her colleague's stance – Zoe essentially 'tests the waters' before making her self -positioning with regard to leadership clear. The use of pauses and hedges by Grace, and the non-committal introduction of the topic by Zoe, suggests that the subject of rapid career progression is a complex topic that ECTs can find challenging to successfully navigate when attempting to maintain a positive face amongst other teachers.

A similar conversational pattern was also observed during the focus group at Daffodil School. In this case, it was Logan who introduced the topic of career progression:

Logan:	*How about the career ladder?*
Amelia:	*Hhh Nah*
Logan:	*Nah*
Bethany:	*No*
Researcher:	*That was pretty [clear you] think it's not important*
Emily:	*[£hahahaha]*
Amelia:	*Ok.*

(Daffodil School, Dahlia MAT; focus group)

Logan introduced the topic of career progression in the same manner as Zoe, as a question directed to other participants: 'How about the career ladder?' Once Amelia made her stance clear – constructing a quick ascent up the career ladder as unimportant – Logan then agreed with her. Like Zoe, Logan identified the stance of his colleagues before committing himself. Logan's efforts to claim common ground with other teachers was particularly interesting considering his efforts during his individual roaming interview to position himself as a potential leader. In private, Logan was keen to self-identify as a potential leader and construct leadership as important; in public, Logan avoids such self-promotion, in order to save his own face or that of his colleagues.

Isabella's response to career progression in the focus group also indicated the complexity of discourse concerning ECT leadership. Isabella introduced the topic of career progression, but unlike Zoe and Logan she immediately positioned herself as rejecting the importance of rapidly taking on a leadership role:

Isabella: *£ha Climb up the career ladder quickly:. £hahaha no! It depends=*
Nicole: *=[on the individual*
Isabella: *[on why you went into teaching but for me personally it's not important*
Nicole: *No*
Isabella: *It's not why I got into teaching*
Nicole: *No me neither.*
Isabella: *No not very important at all.*

(Tarragon Academy, Rosemary MAT; focus group)

Isabella emphasised her stance by laughing, which when intentional rather than spontaneous has a communicative function. Isabella's laughter had the effect of emphasising her disregard for and disagreement with the importance of leadership as a teacher characteristic, displaying contempt for the proposition that rapidly ascending to leadership could be considered important. Isabella further self-positioned regarding the topic of career progression by stating 'It's not why I got into teaching'. Her statement here has a very certain modality, constructing her resistance to the importance of leadership progression as a matter of fact, rather than an opinion. Isabella therefore positioned herself as strongly critical of rapid career progression as an indicator of success or expertise in teaching during the ECT phase. There was quite a significant difference, therefore, between the self-positioning undertaken by Isabella in her roaming interview and that undertaken during the focus group. This difference illuminates the multiplicity and complexity of discourses concerning career progression in the ECT phase.

This pattern of private identification but public distancing from the figure of the ECT leader was also apparent in research conversations with Simon. During his roaming interview Simon intentionally self-positioned as a potential leader. However, during his focus group with

Julia, he distanced himself from this positioning, and instead chose to criticise schools who appointed people to leadership positions at an early stage in their career:

Julia: *This one, climbs up the career ladder quickly I completely disagree with*
Simon: *Yeah, I think that's (.) I genuinely think that's out there.*
Julia: *'Cause, I think in a lot of schools you are forced (.) the minute you're not an ↑NQT: (.) you need to be a subject ↑leader, [which] isn't necessarily right*
Simon: *[it is]*
Researcher: *Right*
Julia: *Because maybe, ↑I've just qualified, now I want a year off working in a class (.) just doing it before I start going up the ladder*
Simon: *Yeah*
Researcher: *[Right]*
Julia: *[And a] lot of schools feel like (.) you're not an NQT: (.) now you need to be subject ↓leader.*
Researcher: *Oh that's interesting. So*
Julia: *That would put me off completely.*
Researcher: *Right so if you went to a school and that was the kind of feeling you just wouldn't*
Julia: *<If I was told, after my NQT year I needed to be a subject leader °I'd say no.°*
Researcher: *Ok.*
Simon: *[And]*
Julia: *['Cause] I don't think I'm ready, I would like a year of just (.) knowing what I am doing, and being able to do it*
Simon: *Yeah*
Julia: *Before I have to take on something else.*
Researcher: *Mmhm*
Julia: *So I'd walk away, say no.*
Simon: *An:d, in addition to that, they might say 'Oh yeah, be a subject leader, now you've got your NQT' but you know full well you're (.) tripling your responsibility then next year and if you had a tough year in your NQT (.) and then you go into your RQT or whatever it's called and you've all of a sudden picked up a specialist subject and you're now a year leader because someone's decided to leave (..) that's (.) putting your stress putting the pressure back on top of you more so than what it was in your NQT because you can fail your NQT year but if you have a bad year as just a ↑teacher (.) there's nothing stopping the management and leadership saying 'Right, ˙hh this isn't working, you've got to step down' But you put me in that position anyway.'*
Researcher: *Right*
Simon: *Obviously not talking about spec- I'm just talking about from experience from chatting different people that I know in schools (.) I know people who have been rushed into their subject leaders 'Ah you're not an NQT any more, you've gotta take a subject, you've gotta specialise in a subject' No=*
Researcher: *=[Ok*
Simon: *'Wh wh- why? What do I need to specialise?' 'Ah yeah, it'll be good for your development.' No, it'll be good for your numbers (.) as a ↓school*

(Dill Academy, Rosemary Trust; focus group)

For Simon to position himself as a potential leader in the face of Julia's strong opposition would make him vulnerable to face-threatening acts. If Simon were to identify as a potential leader and make public any ambitions to leadership, this may invite a negative evaluation of his identity or character by Julia, who has unambiguously stated her opposition to ECT leadership. As a result, Simon agreed with Julia by constructing a negative stance with regards to the importance of ECT leadership. However, whereas Julia used the personal pronoun 'I' to position herself as opposed to ECT leadership, Simon used the indefinite 'you' form. In this way, Simon constructed ECT leadership as a generic or normative problem affecting a number of ECTs, without specifically positioning himself as being opposed to taking on a leadership role. Simon is therefore able to draw on discourses which construct ECT leadership negatively in order to save face during his conversation with Julia, while at the same time avoiding a complete rejection of leadership which would result in an implicit self-positioning as a long-term classroom teacher.

Julia[55] discursively positioned herself as being opposed to taking on a leadership role during the ECT phase. Whereas Simon constructed the leadership opportunities available in his academy as being positive, Julia constructed institutional pressure to take on leadership opportunities during the ECT stage as problematic. She intentionally self-positioned by using the personal pronoun 'I' to indicate her affective stance. During her statements of self-positioning, Julia emphatically resisted discourses of ECT leadership, repeatedly placing a vocal emphasis on particular words (for example, '<u>knowing</u>', '<u>completely</u>'). This emphasis had the effect of turning the topic of early career progression into an emotional or divisive topic, which increase the possibility of face-threatening acts occurring in conversation. Simon's discursive efforts to align with Julia during this conversation indicate that Simon wanted to limit the risk of a face-threatening act being directed towards himself or Julia.

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[55] As Julia did not participate in a roaming interview, it was not possible to compare her public and private discourse.

Although Julia's emotional response to the topic of rapid career progression was high, her self-positioning in terms of her own career progression was ambiguous. Although Julia emphatically rejected subject leadership in the year immediately following the NQT year, she did not talk about career ambitions beyond this point. Julia therefore constructed ECT leadership as problematic if it occured in the year directly after the NQT year (which, for most teachers, is the second year of teaching). Julia repeatedly constructed ECT leadership in this limited way, stating '↑I've just qualified, now I want a year off working in a class' and 'If I was told, after my NQT year I needed to be a subject leader °I'd say no°'. In doing so, Julia navigated contradictory discourses concerning ECT leadership by rejecting ECT leadership in the year directly following the NQT year, but remained guarded about revealing her leadership intentions in the following years. Indeed, Julia almost seemed to construct her own path to leadership as an inevitability – 'I want a year off working in a class (.) just doing it before I start going up the ladder.' Julia's relationship with future leadership was not, therefore, constructed around *whether* she should become a leader, but *when* she should become a leader. Her progress to eventual leadership was presupposed, and, as such, despite her apparent resistance to leadership, Julia still tacitly positioned herself as a future leader.

Logan, Isabella and Simon all constructed leadership as being unimportant in public conversations with their teaching peers, while at the same time identifying as potential leaders in more private research interviews. This reluctance to identify as a potential leader when talking with other teachers, whilst at the same time positioning as ambitious for leadership opportunities when privately talking to a researcher, suggests that there are multiple and conflicting discourses concerning ECT leadership which ECTs are required to navigate. Julia's discourse, which was resistant to ECT leadership and yet constructed her own career trajectory towards leadership as inevitable, was also indicative of these multiple and conflicting discourses. Competing discourses about the desirability and suitability of ECTs as teacher leaders were clearly challenging for ECTs to negotiate; this was reflected in the differences between public and private talk and the hesitant ways in which such subjects were introduced and discussed by ECTs. In order to maintain a

positive face, ECT participants in this research project adopted the strategy of presenting a different face in private conversations than in public discussions with peers.

7.4 Summary

This chapter has identified some of the discursive means through which ECTs working in primary academies construct a positive face or professional self-identity. The strategies which ECTs use to negotiate the discursive expectations made of them are an indication of the normative discourses which inform their professional identities. Strategies which were used by ECTs to emphasise their autonomy and competence indicate that ministerial discourse which positioned ECTs as agential, high value members of the teaching profession have to some extent impacted upon ECTs, encouraging them to foreground their capabilities within discursive conversations and background challenges they have faced and demands made of them.

ECTs' presentations of themselves were, however, complex and shifting. Constructions of leadership by ECT participants in this study were particularly indicative of the way that ECTs were required to negotiate multiple, conflicting discourses. While ECTs constructed themselves in private as potential leaders, aligning themselves with the positive positionings of new entrants to the profession by government ministers and with expectations of some senior leaders, in public conversations they avoided intentionally self-positioning as leaders and instead constructed leadership progression as unimportant or problematic. These shifting presentations of the self reflect the different positionings of ECT leadership apparent within primary academies, with MAT executive leaders often being far more positive about the possibilities of leadership than headteachers. Indeed, discourse at school level appears to have a significant impact on how ECTs are able to self-position as teachers. The consistency with which ECTs at Daffodil School constructed themselves as hard-working teachers indicates that the situated discourse within individual schools has a significant effect on how ECTs are able to structure their identities.

This findings chapter, and the previous two findings chapters, have been highly descriptive, attempting to indicate the ways in which politicians and senior leaders other-position ECTs, and the strategies used by ECTs to navigate these positionings and build a positive professional self-identity. The chapters analysing interviews with senior leaders and ECTs have relied heavily on the notions of face and politeness, taking a bottom-up approach to discourse. The next chapter takes a top-down approach. Findings will be discussed in relation to the theoretical framework, showing how the ways in which ECTs were positioned contributed to a specific governmentality deployed by post-2010 Conservative-led administrations, which was oriented around whole-scale system reform in education.

8. DISCUSSION

This study aimed to explore the professional identities of the first generation of primary teachers to be socialised into primary schooling within the academy system. The policy to extend academy status to primary schools should be understood as part of a wider political and fundamentally economic attempt to 'achieve fundamental restructuring in an established welfare state' (Taylor-Gooby, 2012, p. 61). The aim of this chapter is to emphasise the significance of early career teachers (ECTs), and their developing professional identities, within a post-2010 governmentality which was directed towards the facilitation of a significant restructure of the school system in England (Rayner, Courtney & Gunter, 2018; West & Wolfe, 2019).

I first discuss the normalisation of the academies programme as it expanded into the primary sector. I argue that through their everyday speech acts which position academies as 'no different' from maintained schools, ECTs who participated in this research project constructed academies as unproblematic, thereby indirectly supporting the policy of academy expansion. In their identity-positionings as 'teachers' rather than 'academy teachers', these ECTs positioned themselves as accepting of academisation. I then move on to the *assujettissements* offered to ECTs concerning leadership and excellence. The serious speech acts which positively position ECTs are critically appraised as a form of governmentality, which seeks to mould the conduct, behaviours and beliefs of ECTs in order to benefit the efficient working of the state. However, the *assujettissements* made available to ECTs were not dominated entirely by policy discourse, reflecting technologies working on individuals which were 'diffuse, rarely formulated in continuous, systematic discourse' (Foucault, 1977, p. 26). Policy positionings overlapped and contrasted with those of schools, which were informed by discourses beyond those of the immediate policy moment.

I conclude this chapter by arguing that the strategies used by ECTs to navigate the multiple discourses and *assujettissements* they are exposed to as new entrants to the profession result in the construction of complex and shifting identities, which are highly responsive to context. Previous research on ECT identity has stressed the importance of maintaining a stable sense of professional self in order to build resilience and commitment to the profession (Nias, 1989; Day, Elliot & Kington, 2005; Flores & Day, 2006; Kelchtermans, 2009; Weiner & Torres, 2016; Johnson et al., 2014; Johnson et al., 2016). It is therefore concerning that ECTs who participated in this research study constructed professional identities which appeared to be fragmented and dynamic; the fragmented nature of ECT identity could be an explanatory factor in the increasing rate of ECT attrition during the post-2010 period.

8.1 Academisation

8.1.1 Serious speech acts and academisation

The corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (CDA) undertaken as part of this research study suggests that post-2010, government ministers were keen to maintain a construction of academy schools as distinct from maintained schools. Ministers repeatedly constructed academy schools as having the 'best' teachers on their staff, maintaining hierarchical divisions between academy teachers and teachers who worked in local authority-maintained settings. The dividing practices which post-2010 government ministers endeavoured to maintain between academy and maintained schools can be interpreted as serious speech acts, intended to have a performative effect on the beliefs and practices of teachers regarding academy schools. These serious speech acts continued despite the privileged identity and status of academies being effectively diluted in the wake of the 2010 Academies Act, as increasing numbers of schools became academies.

These serious speech acts which distinguished academy schools, uttered by government ministers during post-2010 governments, align with the findings of previous research into academy schools. Previous findings indicate that academy schools sought to distinguish themselves from

local authority schools in both discursive and material ways. Ethnographic studies undertaken at some of the early secondary academies (Kulz, 2017; Salokangas & Ainscow, 2018) showed that through offering different pay and working conditions to teachers, or by developing a distinctive school ethos or culture, academies differentiated themselves from other local schools within the education 'market.' In these previous research studies, the alignment between policy discourse and the everyday speech acts of school leaders and, in some cases, classroom teachers, suggested that the effect of the serious speech act was felicitous, or happy (Austin, 1975). Politicians constructed academies as distinct and superior, and this positionality of distinctiveness and superiority encouraged teachers and school leaders to identify their schools as such. The intention of government ministers to socially construct academies as distinguished from their maintained counterparts had material impact to this effect within academy schools.

However, within the present research study, the political effort expended on constructing a privileged academy identity appeared to have had little effect. Identification with academy status was not prominent in the academy schools visited as part of the current research study, suggesting that these serious speech acts should be interpreted as a 'misfire' (Austin, 1975, p. 18). As Butler explains:

> *A politician may claim that 'a new day has arrived' but that new day only has a chance of arriving if people take up the utterance and endeavour to make that happen. The utterance alone does not bring about the day, and yet it can set into motion a set of actions that can, under certain felicitous circumstances, bring the day around.* (Butler, 2010, pp. 147-8)

In the case of this study, politicians have claimed that academies are distinct from maintained schools. However, on the ground, primary teachers and leaders appear to have resisted taking up these positionings and making them happen. Instead, they chose to resist, by constructing primary academies as similar to primary schools in the maintained sector. As such, the findings of this study depart from those of Kulz (2017) and Salokangas and Ainscow (2018), both of which were based in secondary academies. This departure may suggest that the language of policymakers concerning

academisation was less attractive to primary schools, as identified in previous research on the expansion of academisation to the primary sector (Keddie, 2016; Greany & Higham, 2018).

The findings of the current research did not indicate that ECTs were persuaded to become teachers because of the special status of academy schools. The decision to become a teacher, for many ECTs, was constructed as being primarily influenced by personal or biographical reasons. Isabella, for example, positioned herself as driven by a desire to make a difference to children, and Zoe and Grace self-positioned as being creative and imaginative teachers. As such, this research supports the findings of previous research (Flores & Day, 2006; Day & Gu, 2010; Perryman & Calvert, 2020), which found that individuals were drawn to teaching for intrinsic reasons, often informed by personal experience, rather than extrinsic rewards. Academisation does not appear to have changed long-standing expectations that teachers will enter the profession primarily to work with and improve the lives of children, as ECTs continue to build positive professional identities by claiming a desire to work with children rather than a desire to work in an academy. Policy promises of the rewards of working in academies – additional pay and improved career prospects – were not presented as the main motivating factors for the majority of ECTs in this research study.

ECTs within this study constructed academy status as the new normal in education, consistently arguing that academies and maintained schools were more similar than different. ECTs who participated in this study showed little resistance to academisation of the sort which was identified in some areas of the teaching community pre-2010 (Hatcher & Jones, 2006), but they did not idealise or venerate academy status either, unlike the charter school teachers in Weiner and Torres's (2016) study. ECTs explained that they worked at academy schools for pragmatic reasons, rather than because they identified with the prestige of academy status, or any special affordances they would be provided with as employees of Multi-Academy Trusts (MATs). Julia and Isabella constructed their employment in a MAT primary academy as almost accidental, and certainly not carefully chosen; Simon, Grace, Zoe and Amelia constructed a match between their

values or priorities as teachers and those of their employing school, but did not link these values or priorities to their school's academy status. ECTs did not construct academy status as a significant factor when discussing how they had chosen where to work. Furthermore, once working at academies, ECTs constructed their places of work as no different from local authority-maintained schools.

It is therefore clear that, for the ECTs who participated in this research study, building a positive face as a primary ECT working in an academy school did not require a particular commitment to working in the academy sector or within a MAT *per se*. When choosing which school to work in, ECTs in this study most often reported a desire to achieve a 'match' between themselves and their school. Such findings support previous research which has identified match fit between teachers and schools as one of the primary motivating factors for teachers (Kirabo Jackson, 2013; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2017). This is perhaps unsurprising considering the impact that a school context can have on a new teacher's developing professional identity (Williams, Prestage & Bedward, 2001; Day et al., 2007; Peters & Pearce, 2012). For Amelia, who worked at Daffodil School in the Dahlia Trust, the sense of calm and purpose was what attracted her to apply for a job at Daffodil School. The opposite was true of Grace and Zoe, who were attracted to the alternative pedagogy offered by Carnation School. For Simon, it was the promise of being trusted and being granted autonomy by the leadership team which encouraged him to apply to Dill Academy. Each of these ECTs stated that they applied to work at their academy schools because they felt like there was a match between their developing professional identity as ECTs and the values of their school. The ECTs who participated in this study were therefore similar to those in previous studies based within the independent state-funded school sector, who claimed a match between their values and those of their school (Lefebvre & Thomas, 2017; Weiner & Torres, 2016). However, these values were not necessarily the entrepreneurial values which previous researchers have associated specifically with academy schools (see, for example, Woods, Woods & Gunter, 2007; Green, 2009; Daniels, 2011).

The status of Carnation School and Dill Academy as academy schools may, however, have contributed to this match between teacher and school values. Carnation's 'alternative' philosophy and Dill's promise of autonomy for classroom teachers may, to some extent, have been dependent on academy status, which allows for a departure from the National Curriculum. Consistently, though, ECTs failed to make this link explicit, and avoided attributing the characteristics of their schools to academy status. In this way, the ECTs who participated in the present research study differed from those who took part in Weiner and Torres's (2016) study, who specifically applied to work in charter schools as they felt these schools matched their teaching identities as 'competitive, high performing and committed to ending educational inequality' (p. 76). For the teachers who participated in this study, academy status was constructed as making little difference to whether the teacher judged their school to be a good match for their pedagogical and professional ambitions. Instead, ECTs claimed it was the specific school ethos or environment which had the most impact on their decision, not the status of their school as an academy.

The current research has also highlighted how academy leaders constructed academy schools as similar to maintained schools, aligning their practices with those of local authorities. In doing so, several of the school leaders who participated in the study distanced themselves from other academies. The discursive actions of school leaders who participated in this study indicate the complexity of policy enactment, as recognised in previous research (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012). Although these leaders (as academy executive leaders and headteachers) were well-positioned inside the academy project, they made discursive efforts to self-position as outsiders, resistant to many of the practices associated with academisation. As such, these primary heads enacted policy in a very different fashion to the secondary headteachers profiled in previous studies on academisation (Coldron et al., 2014; Gunter & McGinity, 2014; Kulz, 2015), who constructed academisation as a positive opportunity to increase their social prestige and power within local and national networks. The primary school leaders interviewed as part of the present research project constructed themselves as sceptical about some aspects of academisation, reflecting long-standing

concerns about academisation within the teaching community (NUT, 2007; Hatcher & Jones, 2006; Hatcher, 2009). Their self-positionings were similar to those employed by the primary heads interviewed by Keddie (2016), who accepted academisation as inevitable but were concerned about its effects. However, unlike Keddie's sample, who were located outside the academisation project, the heads involved in the present research project were insiders, having chosen to work for MATs and to convert their schools to academies. The voices of senior leaders who participated in this study support research which theorises post-2010 academisation as a complex systemic change (Rayner, Courtney & Gunter, 2018; West & Wolfe, 2019). Senior leaders who participated in this study emphasised how the entire system of schooling was changing around them, backgrounding their decisions to convert to academy status and therefore their role in facilitating this systemic reform. Senior leaders who participated in this study presented their schools as both resisting and challenging systemic changes associated with academisation, although they led academy schools.

The discourse of senior leaders within the MATs sampled as part of this study may explain why ECTs resisted being positioned as 'academy teachers' and instead emphasised similarities between their academy schools and maintained schools, resulting in the 'misfire' of ministers' serious speech acts. Although ECTs will have been subject to political discourse which positioned academies as distinct and exceptional, the discourse available to them within their situated contexts as teachers is likely to have emphasised the continuities between their academy schools and the local authority schools which preceded them. In line with much previous research into teacher identity, the current research has therefore indicated the impact that situated context has on teachers' understandings and constructions of their professional identity (Flores & Day, 2006; Day et al., 2007; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2017; Woodhouse & Pedder, 2017). The present research contributes to knowledge by providing some insight into academy schools and MATs where the identity of the school as an academy has been discursively backgrounded by senior leaders, and the effect that such backgrounding has on the professional identities of ECTs. Whereas in previous studies, researchers have often emphasised the significant impact that

academy status has on the vision and practices within schools (Green, 2009; Keddie, 2019; Kulz, 2017; Salokangas & Ainscow, 2018), the present research study suggests that in some primary academies, academy status is downplayed – almost made invisible – through the discursive actions of senior leaders. Although previous studies have emphasised that the radical changes involved in academisation were recognised by leaders within academy schools (Coldron et al., 2014; Keddie, 2016), the present research project illuminates how these changes were discreetly hidden from the view of ECTs as a result of the discourse of senior leaders in MATs.

Findings regarding ECTs' resistance to being positioned as academy teachers makes a further contribution to wider research on the identities of teachers working within different types of independent state-funded schools. Previous research has found that teachers working within charter schools in the US strongly identified as 'charter school teachers', aligning their values, beliefs and pedagogies with those of the charter school movement (Weiner & Torres, 2016); this was particularly true of ECTs (Lefebvre & Thomas, 2017). Based on the findings of this study, it does not appear that this pattern of identification has been replicated in the primary academy sector in England. Instead, the ECTs and senior leaders who participated in the present research project discursively *distanced* themselves from being positioned as academy teachers. The difference in findings could be explained by the social status afforded to charter schools in comparison with primary academies. As academisation has increasingly expanded to include many different school types, the unique status of academy schools in England has been lost, leading teachers who participated in the current research study to construct teaching in an academy as 'barely anything different' (in Simon's words) from teaching in a maintained school. With academisation becoming increasingly normalised, the unique status and institutional identity of the academy school in England has become difficult to maintain, as has been recognised in previous research (Gorard, 2014; Rayner, Courtney & Gunter, 2018).

The present research therefore contributes to growing understandings about the enactment of the post-2010 academisation policy within the primary sector specifically, supporting

previous findings which identified responses to academisation by primary heads as being more reticent than the responses of their secondary counterparts. The more reserved response to the possibilities of academisation within the primary sector has been attributed to the more positive relationships which had existed between primary leaders and their local authorities prior to Coalition reforms (Greany & Higham, 2018). The self-positionings of the executive leaders who participated in the present research study – each of whom aligned themselves with local authority practices – would support previous research and suggest that even primary leaders who willingly move into the academy sector resist identifying as 'academy' heads.

The findings of the current research indicate that widespread academisation post-2010 has resulted in the loss of the special status afforded to academies, as increasing numbers of schools have converted to academy status. Academy schools are increasingly positioned by teachers and leaders as similar to local authority schools. This loss of status is indicated in the way that both ECTs and senior leaders who participated in this study used everyday speech acts to position their academy schools as similar to local authority-maintained schools. Such positionings indicate that ministerial constructions of academies as hierarchically superior to maintained schools have misfired, in that their intended social effect has failed to be brought about. In the case of academy schools, the corpus-assisted CDA undertaken in the present research indicates that ministers frequently claimed that academies were superior to and distinct from maintained schools, in that academy schools were able to employ and develop superior teaching staff. However, by speaking to ECTs and school leaders, it is clear that these utterances have not been taken up by teachers on the ground in primary academies. ECTs and school leaders in primary academies appear to have resisted calls by policymakers to position themselves or their schools as superior on account of the status of academy schools, leading to the serious speech acts of government ministers, in this respect, having misfired.

8.1.2 Power, governmentality and academisation

Despite the serious speech acts of ministers regarding the superior status of academy schools having misfired within the primary schools sampled as part of the current research project, the findings nevertheless indicate that the government's overall aim to achieve widespread academisation was supported through the everyday speech acts of ECTs and senior leaders working in primary academy schools. By identifying as teachers rather than academy teachers, and by backgrounding the significance of academisation, teachers and teacher leaders who participated in the present research project contributed to the normalisation of academy status within the primary academy sector. This normalisation indicates a specific governmentality at work, which aimed towards the acceptance of academy status within the teaching community.

The governmentality deployed post-2010 through the process of academisation indicates a significant change in the way that power was exercised within education. Under pre-2010 governments, the dominant type of power was disciplinary (Perryman, 2007; Perryman et al., 2017), in which individual teachers and schools were subjected to techniques of observation and measurement in order to bring about 'a correction, a therapy, a normalization' (Foucault, 1998, p. 227). The focus was on introducing disciplinary measures which would correct the individual who did not meet the normative standard. Academisation pre-2010 was indicative of this dominant, disciplinary regime of power, with the process of academisation acting as the final disciplinary technology imposed upon schools who failed to meet normative standards.

Post-2010, this disciplinary regime of power continued with the forced academisation of schools considered underperforming; however, the dominant regime of power employed by the government shifted away from the management of individual schools and teachers, to focus on the management of schools as an entire population. The political aim post-2010 was to make academy status 'the norm for all state schools' (DfE, 2010, p. 52). Post-2010, education policy was therefore oriented towards an effort to restructure the entire population of schools, a restructure which was explicitly justified as 'allow[ing] every child the chance to take their full and equal share

in citizenship, shaping their own destiny' (DfE, 2010, p. 6), but that also indirectly supported Conservative commitments to austerity (Taylor-Gooby, 2012; Granoulhac, 2017).

Policy initiatives in education can, and do, have an impact on teachers' identities, the effects of which are frequently constructed by education researchers as negatively impacting on teacher identity, autonomy or commitment (Ball, 2003; Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006; Perryman, 2007; Brown & Manktelow, 2016). Academisation is an interesting policy in that it does not necessarily involve direct intervention upon individual teachers, particularly in its post-2010 form. It therefore differs from interventionist strategies to raise achievement such as the imposition of targets (Ball, 2003; Brown & Manktelow, 2016), Ofsted inspections (Perryman, 2007; Clapham, 2015) and high-stakes testing (Au, 2007; Bradbury 2018). Research has consistently shown that interventionist strategies to improve teaching quality have an effect on teacher identity, with some teachers feeling conflicted (Woods & Jeffrey, 2002; Ball, 2003) and others eventually embodying the dual effects of policy demand and policy discourse (Bates, 2016; Byrne Bausell & Glazier, 2018). For many of the ECT participants in this study, however, academisation did not involve any immediate or noticeable change in terms of their day-to-day experience of working in a school.

The vast majority of ECT participants in this study did not construct working in an academy school as a significant factor in their experience of teaching. They constructed academy schools as being similar to maintained schools, rather than highlighting their differences. Although they worked in academies, they did not identify as 'academy teachers', and did not emphasise academy status as a reason why they had chosen to work in their schools or to enter teaching. Academisation was a policy initiative that was generally, within this sampled group of ECTs, constructed as unimportant. The silence of the participating ECTs on the significance of academy status and academisation was a key finding of this research project, indicating that academy status is becoming normalised amongst new entrants to the teaching profession. This finding suggests that the special status of academy schools is being lost, despite ministerial positionings of academy schools as hierarchically superior to maintained schools. As academisation becomes more

widespread in England, therefore, the differences between academy schools and other independent state-funded schools begin to grow wider. Whereas charter schools in America have managed to maintain a social position as more prestigious places to work than public schools (Weiner & Torres, 2006; Lefebvre & Thomas, 2017), this does not appear to have been achieved by primary academy schools.

The 'silence' concerning academy status should not be considered insignificant, but instead as 'an element that functions alongside the things said' (Foucault, 1998, p. 27). The silence of ECTs regarding academy status suggests that the post-2010 policy aim to normalise academies was highly effective. ECTs' constructions of academisation as unimportant are a factor in supporting and extending the reach of the policy of academisation in England. In normalising academy schools, ECTs indirectly normalise the unique 'freedoms' that academy schools have as independent state-funded schools. Most notably, in terms of teachers' working lives and careers, academy schools are able to divert from nationally agreed terms and conditions for teachers. Leaders working within both of the academy chains sampled in this study made a point of stating that they offered nationally-agreed pay and conditions to their staff; however, academy leaders were aware that academies had the option to change their offer to teachers. One headteacher, Margaret, spoke about academy chains where new teachers become 'siphoned into one route or another' because they are not granted maternity pay or other benefits at the rate which would be offered within the maintained sector. The concerns of primary senior leaders about the effects of academisation have been attended to in previous studies (Keddie, 2016; Greany & Higham, 2018); this study appears to indicate that such concerns are not mirrored by ECTs.

Key to understanding the normalisation of academisation identified within the discourse of ECTs is Foucault's claim that disciplinary power, when most efficiently exercised, works with what feels natural to the person being disciplined:

> *The body, required to be docile in its minutest operations, opposes and shows the conditions of functioning proper to an organism. Disciplinary power has as its correlative an individuality that is not only analytical and 'cellular', but also natural and 'organic'.* (Foucault, 1977, p. 156)

Tasks which make people feel as though they are working against the natural impulses of their body, which feel restrictive or unnatural, constantly bring awareness to the person under discipline that they are being required to function in a way which differs from how they would autonomously choose to behave. Such requirements lead to the disciplined feeling oppressed, engendering resistance. Opportunities for resistance are therefore minimised when the person is being required to function in a way which feels natural and organic, when the disciplinary technology works with the natural movements of the body. Such discipline is intended to obtain 'maximum speed and maximum efficiency' (Foucault, 1977, p. 154). The 'strategies of power' (Foucault, 1998, p. 73) which are most effective are those which are productive, rather than repressive. In order to be at their most productive, these strategies must work *with*, rather than against, those they are intending to discipline. The ECTs in this study constructed academies as the same as maintained schools because the practices of the academies they worked in felt natural to them. Academy schools mirrored the practices of maintained schools, and aligned with the values of the ECTs who worked within them, with this alignment in values encouraging ECTs to apply and commit to working at the school (Kirabo Jackson, 2013; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2011; 2017). In this way, the conversion of maintained schools to academies is more acceptable and efficient, as it works with what feels natural to teachers.

Prior to 2010, schools with academy status were clearly divided from those without academy status. With only 203 academies existing prior to the formation of the Coalition government in 2010, teachers who were opposed to the principles of academisation could generally avoid working at an academy school. With the post-2010 policy aim to expand academy status to all schools, and the increase in forced academisation for underperforming schools, the number of academy schools has now risen to 9200, accounting for 43 per cent of the state-funded education

sector (DfE, 2020a). The process of becoming an academy can now be limited to a simple legal change of status (rather than a purge of leadership and a rebranding, as was more common within pre-2010 academy projects), particularly for schools who have chosen to covert to academy status. This change of status is highly significant, as it allows schools to change the terms and conditions they offer to teachers and the curriculum they offer to students. However, the difference between academy status and maintained status is constructed as unimportant by ECTs.

Academisation is a technology of power which seeks to limit democratic participation in public education and extend private interests (Ball, 2005; Wrigley, 2009). Pre-2010, this policy was highly visible, but post-2010, this division has become increasingly distorted. It is no longer easy for teachers – especially those with limited experience – to determine what distinguishes an academy from a maintained school. As the data from this research study illustrates, academy schools are understood by ECTs as just another 'type' of school, within an increasingly fragmented education system which ECTs have to navigate when they become teachers. The apparent lack of significant difference between academy and maintained schools, coupled with the increase in schools with academy status, has normalised academy status to the extent that ECTs generally do not consider the status of a school (as academy or maintained) when choosing where to work. The present research project indicates that ECTs currently entering teaching show little resistance to academisation. When choosing a school in which to work, teachers who participated in this study chose to work in a school which they constructed as a natural 'match' for them, regardless of academy status. The expansion of academy status to nearly half of the school population means that, for many ECTs, what feels like a natural place to work will – post-2010 – have academy status. The normalisation of academy status has therefore increased the efficiency of the academies programme, by decreasing the resistance of teachers to working in academy schools.

Academisation post-2010 has therefore not only been a process of expansion, but a process of normalisation. Academies are constructed as 'the new normal' by ECTs, who understand working in an academy to be the same as working in a maintained school. For the

ECTs in this research study, who were enjoying the same pay and conditions as their peers in the maintained sector, the difference between working in an academy and a maintained school may appear negligible; as such, academisation as a policy may seem unimportant. However, post-2010 academisation has involved a significant structural change to the education system in England (Hargreaves, 2011; Wilkins, 2017; Rayner, Courtney & Gunter, 2018; Ehren & Perryman, 2018; West & Wolfe, 2019), inviting the participation of more private actors in the governance and management of public services. Although the ECTs in this study consider working in an academy to be no 'different' to working in a maintained school, in terms of their working conditions they are not protected to the same extent as teachers working at maintained schools. Maintained schools follow national pay and conditions because they are obliged to; academy trusts follow national pay and conditions if they *choose* to. It is important to note that this distinction was never raised by ECTs in this study.

By constructing academies and maintained schools as the same, ECTs indirectly facilitate the process of academisation. As academy schools feel, naturally, like 'normal' schools to ECTs, they show little resistance to academy status, either in principle or practice. Acceptance and normalisation of academy status by new entrants to the teaching profession may look like indifference, but this indifference provides crucial support for the policy of academisation. The indifferent attitude of ECTs to academy status, their discursive negation of any difference between academies and maintained schools, and their willingness to work in a school which feels natural for them regardless of its legal status, all contribute to the effective expansion of the academy programme. What feels natural for ECTs is actually the effective workings of a technology of power that ultimately aims to increase private sector control of public assets and, in doing so, to reduce teachers' rights and employment benefits. The reduction of teachers' rights and employment benefits ultimately contributes to the teleological aim of post-2010 governing administrations to implement stringent austerity measures across public services, albeit indirectly rather than directly.

When asked about how they came to work in academies, a number of ECT participants within the study used their response as an opportunity to 'transform themselves' (Foucault, 1988b, p. 18) into 'good' teachers. Isabella emphasised her desire to work anywhere where she could have a positive impact on children; Amelia emphasised how the sense of calm in the school matched her calm and organised teaching style; Grace and Zoe spoke about how their school's creative approach to the curriculum aligned with their imaginative and creative approach as teachers. In this way, discursively navigating the policy of academisation becomes a way in which teachers are able to 'work on themselves' (Perryman et al., 2017, p. 745), providing an opportunity for ECTs to position themselves as having desirable characteristics, such as Isabella's commitment to teaching or Zoe and Grace's creativity. As such, working in an academy, although constructed as unimportant, provided an opportunity for these teachers to construct a positive face or self-identity as a teacher, deploying an element of pleasure. This use of pleasure to facilitate the workings of power is indicative of how power is not only inseparable from knowledge, but also from pleasure (Dean, 2012).

ECTs have enabled the functioning of academy schools since the first academies were opened under Labour (O'Hear, 2008; Adonis, 2012; Kulz, 2017; Salokangas & Ainscow, 2018). Difficulties recruiting and retaining staff meant many of the early academies employed high numbers of inexperienced teachers or unqualified trainees, while also experiencing a high turnover of staff; the success of the early academies therefore rested on ECTs being willing to work in academy schools. The willingness of post-2010 ECTs to embrace academies continues to provide support to the policy of academisation. By constructing academies as no different from maintained schools, ECTs discursively justify their choice to work in academy schools by identifying with the act of teaching and the specific environment of their school, rather than as academy teachers, committed to the principles and values of academisation. By refusing to engage with the principles underlying academisation, and by constructing academies as the same as other schools, the professional identities of ECTs indirectly enable the continued policy of academisation. This is not

because ECTs are, on the whole, overwhelmingly positive about academisation or are particularly committed or dedicated to working in academy schools, but because working in an academy school feels natural and normal – almost, to use Foucault's term, 'organic' (Foucault, 1977, p. 156). Academisation, for new entrants to the profession, is something that is worked with, rather than against. Resistance is minimised and efficiency maximised as inexperienced and therefore generally inexpensive ECTs prop up the expansion of academies through their construction of privately owned and controlled academies as 'no different' from publicly managed maintained schools.

The present research study suggests that for ECTs, the type of school they work in is constructed as unimportant; ECTs do not identify as 'better' or 'more effective' teachers because they work in an academy school. ECTs identify as teachers, who happen to work in an academy school. This identity-positioning is significant, as it enables the continued expansion of the academy programme. ECTs' positioning of academy schools as 'no different' from maintained schools distorts the very real differences between the two forms of employment. This 'silence itself – the things one declines to say, or is forbidden to name' (Foucault, 1978, p. 27) enables further academisation, and through it further privatisation of the school system in England, and a reduction in teacher's rights and negotiated conditions of employment. The identification of ECTs with the act of teaching, rather than the status of their school as academies, therefore supports rather than prevents further academisation. In this way, the professional identities of ECTs support the post-2010 project to extend academisation throughout the school population.

8.2 Leadership and excellence

8.2.1 Leadership, identity, and governmentality

A dominant theme in post-2010 policy discourse was the positioning of young teachers and new entrants to the profession as particularly capable and valuable. In policy speeches, new teachers are described as 'brilliant', 'idealistic', 'outstanding' and 'truly excellent'. These positionings go some way to explaining why flagship academies have been particularly eager to employ young staff

(Duoblys, 2017; Kulz, 2017; Salokangas & Ainscow, 2018), as the serious speech acts of policymakers position young teachers as having a high value within the education marketplace. Such positionings may also align with the self-efficacy beliefs of millennial entrants to the workplace, who have been found to have higher self-esteem and assertiveness than workers from previous generations (Deal, Altman & Rogelberg, 2010); that said, previous research has identified how novice teachers often self-position as idealistic change agents, regardless of their generation (Lacey, 1977; Ball, 1987; Achinstein & Ogawa, 2006; Gallant & Riley, 2014). This study has identified how in schools, policy positionings of new teachers as particularly valuable were supported, strengthened and extended through expectations that new teachers would want to quickly take on leadership opportunities, tacitly undermining the value of extended classroom practice. This indirect positioning of the classroom teacher role as less valuable than leadership roles is a serious speech act which encourages ECTs to position themselves as aspirant leaders in order to construct a positive face.

Policy discourse effectively worked as a type of 'dividing practice' (Foucault, 1982, p. 777), differentiating between young entrants to the profession and experienced teachers. Whereas young teachers were positioned positively, the contribution of experienced teachers to education was minimised and, as a consequence, experienced teachers were discursively positioned in post-2010 policy in a more negative fashion than ECTs. In schools, senior leaders' expectations that new teachers would aspire to leadership positions acted as a further dividing practice, separating teachers who were considered worthy of promotion from those who were considered only capable of classroom teaching. Such dividing practices construct and reinscribe norms, and also define what is abject. The present research identified how the role of the experienced classroom teacher was consistently (albeit tacitly) positioned as less valuable than that of the aspirant young entrant to the profession in ministerial discourse. Such discursive positionings were also identified in research conversations with senior leaders, although there was less consistency at this level of discursive practice. The dividing practices evident in the discourse of both government ministers

and senior leaders support the findings of previous research which has indicated the instrumental value attached to different groups of teachers during times of policy reform (Riseborough, 1981; Reay, 1998).

Although the impact of these ministerial and situated discourses cannot be directly discerned from research conversations undertaken in this study, there is evidence from this study to support the claim that ECTs feel the need to position themselves as potential leaders in order to construct a positive self-image, and that holding the position of the classroom teacher for an extended period of time was considered abject. To a certain extent, the findings from this study indicate a shift in the identity-positionings of ECTs since the research conducted by Smethem (2007), who found that new entrants to the teaching profession tended towards identifying as either 'classroom', 'portfolio', or 'career' teachers. Whereas a significant number of teachers in Smethem's (2007) sample identified as classroom or portfolio teachers, in this study the vast majority of the participants positioned themselves as aspiring to leadership. These ECTs in this study – notably Logan, Simon, and Abigail – identified with their future selves as leaders, rather than with their current role as classroom teachers; they positively positioned themselves as teachers by constructing themselves as ambitious or worthy of promotion. This desire to position as potential leaders is informed by policy positionings of ECTs as particularly valuable, and by situated expectations that young teachers should aspire to leadership.

For some ECTs interviewed, it appeared that the capacity to present a positive face as a teacher was in some way dependent on being recognised as a leader by others. Although Isabella resisted being identified as a potential head, it remained important for her to position herself as someone whom *others* feel would make a good headteacher. Isabella wished to make it clear that her decision not to aim for senior leadership was a decision derived from her desire to avoid extreme stress, rather than a lack of capability on her part. Being identified as a potential leader by others was therefore important to Isabella; constructing and maintaining a positive face for herself as a teacher rested on her being able to position herself as a potential leader, even if she was not

committed to taking on such a role. Similarly, Jemima appeared to be hurt when she was not asked to take on a Head of Year post, and her reaction to not being asked to take on a leadership role appeared to have damaged her positive face as a teacher, indicating that she had a desire to be acknowledged or recognised as a potential leader by others. Research conversations with both Isabella and Jemima reveal how the construction of a positive identity as an ECT depends, to some extent, on being positioned as a potential leader by others. This explains why Simon, Abigail and Logan took steps to explicitly self-position as potential leaders during their research interviews; being recognised by others as potential leaders is an important aspect of constructing a positive identity as a teacher.

Previous research has suggested that taking on leadership responsibilities can have an impact on teachers' self-identity. 31 per cent of the teachers studied by Day et al. (2007) during the second phase of their career (four to seven years) 'particularly stressed the importance of promotion to their growing professional identity' (p. 75). It is therefore unsurprising that teachers who do not manage to advance to leadership positions as quickly as they would like can feel as though they have failed. Sikes (1985) found that all the young teachers she spoke to as part of her research aimed to become head of a subject department, and that teachers who did not progress within six or seven years were considered to have something 'wrong' with them (p. 43). Such research demonstrates that there has - for a long time - been some level of pressure on young teachers to gain promotion. This study indicates that this pressure to move up to leadership has remained consistent, although the age or stage at which teachers are considered ready for leadership might have lowered. The increase in advancement opportunities available to ECTs since 2010 (DfE, 2018b) might have contributed to the normalisation of rapid career advancement for ECTs, placing further expectations on new entrants to teaching to progress as soon as possible.

Sikes (1985) also noted that opportunities for career progression are limited by external factors and are not always a reflection of the intrinsic ambition or capability of the teacher. Making an important point about the social and political context in which leadership opportunities for

teachers were made possible, Sikes noted that in the 'expansionist phase of the 1960s and early 1970s regular and frequent promotion came to be expected' (Sikes, 1985, p. 43). Demographic and economic factors, which are external to the school environment, nevertheless limit the number of leadership posts which are available in schools. School context also makes a difference to the leadership opportunities made available to ECTs. In Muijs, Chapman and Armstrong's (2013) research exploring leadership in the Teach First programme, it was reported that some Teach First teachers felt frustrated by a lack of support in their schools when they attempted to take on leadership roles, whereas others felt like they had a 'big influence' within their schools (p. 778). Opportunities to take on leadership roles in teaching have never, therefore, been determined by the innate talent of individual teachers. Leadership opportunities are made available or scarce according to social, political and contextual factors which are outside the control of individual teachers. For this reason, it is notable that the ECTs in this study appeared to feel it necessary to position themselves as potential leaders in order to construct a positive face as a teacher.

Despite research which suggests that progression to leadership depends on social, economic and contextual factors, teachers in this study constructed their leadership potential as a reflection of their own characteristics and capabilities. For Simon, his ambitions for leadership were based on his being 'young'; Isabella's interest in Science provided her with the confidence to self-position as a potential head of Science; Logan's past experience in a previous career enabled him to effectively position as having the potential to become a headteacher within the next five years. These ECTs positioned themselves as potential leaders as a result of intrinsic qualities which they held as individuals. This construction of leadership as an essential characteristic runs counter to research which shows that ECT leadership is dependent on context, primarily a supportive school leadership (Muijs, Chapman & Armstrong, 2013; Woodhouse & Pedder, 2017). ECTs recognised that contexts can be supportive or unsupportive – Simon positioned his school as supportive of leadership ambition, and Isabella spoke of moving elsewhere if her ambitions were not met in her current school. However, this recognition of contextual limitations to leadership

ambition did not mitigate ECTs' self-positioning as ambitious potential leaders. Unfortunately, in constructing leadership as a direct consequence of ambition and excellence, ECTs who are not offered leadership opportunities may interpret this as a face-threatening act, damaging their self-image by positioning them as underperforming teachers. This could be seen in Jemima's worries about why she wasn't explicitly asked to take on a leadership role, and instead had to go and request that she was considered for the role by senior leadership. Although Jemima gained the role she wanted, it was clear from the research conversation undertaken with her that her self-image had been damaged as a result of not being recognised as a potential leader by others.

The importance that ECTs place on presenting (and being recognised) as potential leaders might have problematic consequences in terms of teacher retention. The danger for the profession is that, as Kirkpatrick (2007) found, teachers who feel their investment in the profession has not been recognised can decide as a consequence to 'coast' or 'idle'. The teachers in Woodhouse and Pedder's (2017) study were quick to move schools when they felt their leadership ambitions were not enabled in their own settings, in the same way that Isabella claimed she would be happy to move settings in order to obtain leadership opportunities. Unfortunately, the impact on schools could be a high turnover of staff as teachers move between schools rapidly in order to quickly ascend to leadership; investment in staff is therefore lost as schools lose ambitious and committed teachers because they cannot offer leadership posts. This essentialist understanding of leadership potential can, therefore, have damaging consequences for individual schools and perhaps for the school system as a whole. When leadership ambition becomes necessary in order to maintain a positive self-identity as a teacher, problems seem likely to occur when teachers do not want to progress to leadership or when career opportunities do not arise.

Policy positionings which idealise new entrants to the teaching profession are performative speech acts, having an effect on the thoughts and beliefs of ECTs and impacting the way they position their teacher identities. Such positionings, alongside situated discourses which foreground the importance of leadership aspiration, work together to encourage ECTs to identify as potential

leaders rather than classroom teachers. For ECTs who are in the process of constructing and presenting a positive self-identity (Huberman, 1993; Day et al., 2007; Britzman, 2003), these performative speech acts restrict the types of teachers they can viably claim to be. ECTs feel the need to position themselves as potential leaders in order to preserve a positive face in conversations. To construct an identity as a life-long classroom teacher would not simply resist ministerial positionings of ECTs as particularly capable or valuable, but would also potentially position the teacher as having little confidence in their abilities to teach, or being uncommitted to the profession. It is therefore unsurprising that the majority of ECTs in this research project constructed themselves as willing and able to take on leadership roles at some point in the near future, during the ECT phase. Much less apparent were teachers who constructed their identities around a commitment to stay in the classroom, or to improve their classroom practice, indicating that within the post-2010 discourse of academisation, ECTs can feel unable or unwilling to identify as committed classroom teachers.

Rapid acceleration to leadership for ECTs was encouraged by early academies (O'Hear, 2008). The possibilities of leadership during the ECT phase were opened up by the first academy schools, whose problems recruiting and retaining teachers led leaders to innovate in terms of staffing, and by the introduction of Teach First, which encourages its trainees to aim for leadership in the early stages of their career (Wigdortz, 2012; Muijs, Chapman & Armstrong, 2013; Bailey, 2013; 2015). The current research has indicated that in the post-2010 climate of academisation, the potential to rapidly rise to leadership has become an important factor in how ECTs position themselves and their career expectations as teachers. Pre-2010 academy schools presented ECT leadership as a possibility; post-2010 academisation discourse made aspirations to leadership a necessity when presenting a positive face as an ECT. This discourse of ECT leadership, the serious speech acts which persuade ECTs to present themselves as aspirational leaders rather than classroom teachers, should be understood as a 'technology of the self', which:

> *permit[s] individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality.* (Foucault, 1988a, p. 18)

The operations which ECTs effect on themselves are the identity constructions they build as potential leaders. Through their everyday speech acts, in the way they position themselves in conversations and present themselves as teachers, ECTs in this study 'transformed' themselves from classroom teachers into potential leaders. In this way, they constructed identities aligned with the ideal teachers demanded by the serious speech acts of policy discourse, in order to be positioned and understood as happy, pure, wise and perfect teachers.

It is possible that the success of Teach First, which has always had a close relationship to the academy sector, has facilitated this particular positioning of ECTs as future leaders. Teach First has, since its initial development, been positioned by policymakers as the teacher training route *par excellence* (Elliott, 2018). Studies into Teach First have, for several years, recognised the demands placed on Teach First trainees to identify as teacher leaders (Muijs, Chapman & Armstrong, 2013; Bailey, 2015). The present research study complements the findings of these studies, showing that ECTs are increasingly being positioned as – and subsequently identifying as – potential leaders. However, the findings from the present research study further extend the findings from these studies, away from a narrow focus on Teach First to include the professional identities of ECTs trained via more traditional routes. The finding that ECTs feel compelled to identify as teacher leaders even when they have not undertaken the Teach First route should be of concern:

> *We have obviously to be cautious in generalizing from TF teachers to NQTs more generally. TF is a highly selective programme, able to select participants from a large pool of applicants. TF teachers are all strong graduates from leading universities, are highly motivated and have a history of academic success.* (Muijs, Chapman & Armstrong, 2013, p. 779)

Teach First teachers are exceptional, in the sense that they account for a small percentage of trainee teachers overall. Despite the expansion of the Teach First programme since 2010, in the 2017/18

academic year Teach First only accounted for six per cent of trainees (DfE, 2019c). Positioning such a small cohort of trainees as potential leaders may have a limited or even positive effect on teacher retention and recruitment; a small group of teachers will be encouraged to aim for leadership, and as teaching remains a flat profession in which more classroom teachers are required than senior leaders (Lortie, 1975; DfE, 2018b), this small supply of potential leaders may lead to an appropriate match of supply to demand. However, findings from the current research suggest that this discourse of rapid career ascension is not limited to exceptional trainees through the Teach First scheme, but also impacts upon new entrants to the career who have trained through other, more traditional routes. A small cohort of teachers identifying with rapid leadership advancement does not necessarily pose a problem for the system as a whole. However, when the majority of entrants to a profession identify good teaching with rapid leadership progression, this may cause problems as more ECTs inevitably face disappointment in terms of their career advancement and, as a consequence, will have to re-position their identities as teachers in order to present a positive face.

This is not to say, however, that the emphasis on rapid career progression in policy discourse is somehow a mistake, or a failure of successive post-2010 governments to position ECTs effectively. The positioning of ECTs as potential leaders through serious speech acts governs the conduct of new entrants to the profession, shaping their beliefs and behaviours, encouraging them to speak and act in specific ways. The governmentality deployed in this case encouraged ECTs to aim for leadership roles on account of their particular generational superiority, and also encouraged leaders within schools to have confidence in appointing young teachers to these roles. The promotion of inexperienced teachers to leadership roles facilitates system change, as older teachers with longer institutional memories, who might be or might appear to be resistant to change, are removed and replaced with more compliant younger staff (Goodson, 2014; Courtney & Gunter, 2015). Austerity goals are also met, as promoting inexperienced teachers to leadership roles is often less expensive than employing more experienced teachers who have

worked up the pay scale to these roles. Furthermore, as Salokangas and Ainscow (2018) identified during their research at Parkside School, leadership roles can often be offered to relatively inexperienced teachers with fewer benefits than the same role within a maintained school, as a result of academy freedoms; such employment offers a stepping stone for young and inexperienced but ambitious teachers to gain experience before moving on to a better remunerated position elsewhere.

Processes of 'staff renewal' (Keddie, 2019, p. 9), at both classroom teacher and leadership level, have frequently been associated with academy takeovers. By employing younger and more inexperienced staff, academy leaders have more control over the pedagogical styles employed by staff within their setting, as the first schools in which teachers are employed have a tendency to influence their pedagogical styles and routines as they progress in their careers (Buchanan, 2015). By employing teachers who have little experience of working elsewhere, academy leaders are therefore able to have significant control over the pedagogical routines and practices used within classrooms, increasing the chance of coherence across classes and conformity with school culture and policy (Courtney & Gunter, 2015). Teachers who have more experience are considered more likely to be resistant to pedagogies which challenge their preferred pedagogical style or values (Goodson, 2014; Buchanan, 2015), as well as being more expensive to employ. The rapid promotion of inexperienced teachers to leadership roles facilitates system reform as new leaders, in a similar fashion to new teachers, can be more compliant with the demands of those in more senior leadership roles. As Keddie (2018; 2019) found, the headteachers in the CONNECT chain were often young and relatively inexperienced, but were willing to implement the demands of their academy chain in order to improve results within their schools. Max Haimendorf was specifically headhunted to lead the ARK King Solomon Academy with fewer than five years of classroom experience, on account of his commitment to the values of the ARK MAT (Wigdortz, 2012).

Discourse which encourages the rapid promotion of inexperienced teachers therefore indicates a form of governmentality at work. The conduct of both new teachers and leaders is

shaped by the state in order to contribute towards the efficient attainment of a goal which the state considers valuable or necessary; in this case, system reform and austerity. As in previous periods of educational reform (Ball, 1987; Riseborough, 1981; 1993), new teachers become indispensable members of staff as school leaders attempt to swiftly enact policy changes at school level. The findings of the corpus-assisted CDA conducted as part of this study indicate that politicians facilitate such practices through their deployment of serious speech acts which justify the appointment of ECTs and background the capabilities of experienced staff.

8.2.2 Pleasure, austerity and the deployment of Early Career Teacher identity

ECTs in this study worked, through various discursive means, to position themselves as excellent teachers. Logan and Amelia, for example, constructed a divide between successful and unsuccessful teachers, emphasising their own capability to work hard as evidence of their success. Zoe, Isabella, Simon and Nicole constructed narratives of progress, in which they were able to position themselves as capable teachers who had overcome the difficulties of their initial entry into the teaching profession. As such, the self-positionings of these ECTs contrast with the findings of previous research which has highlighted the vulnerability of ECTs and their focus on the difficulties of the transition from student teacher to teacher (Fuller & Bown, 1975; McCormack, Gore & Thomas, 2006; Britzman, 2003). ECTs' positioning of themselves as capable in these very early stages of their career suggests that ministerial positionings of ECTs as particularly valuable have an impact on the way that ECTs feel they are able to position themselves as novices.

From a Foucauldian perspective, such discursive practices are evidence of power working through the deployment of pleasure, rather than oppression. Positive mechanisms, Foucault argued, 'produce knowledge, multiply discourse, induce pleasure, and generate power' (Foucault, 1978, p. 73). The distribution of pleasure as a technology of power is, nevertheless, a means of 'social control and political subjugation' (Foucault, 1998, p. 123), albeit one which feels pleasurable rather than oppressive. To be other-positioned and to be enabled to self-position as part of a

special generation of talented, ambitious teachers brings pleasure to ECTs rather than oppressing them, involving an emotional or affective element in the construction of their identities as teachers (Zembylas, 2003). Research which constructs ECTs as 'struggling' or 'surviving' in their first years in the profession (Veenman, 1984; Fuller & Bown, 1975; Lacey, 1977; Cherubini, 2009) might recognise the difficulties of socialising into a school community as a new teacher, but fails to recognise that it is not pleasurable for individuals to identify as incapable or failing. There is far more pleasure to be gained in identifying as a successful, capable teacher, implicitly positioned as equal to, or perhaps superior than, more experienced colleagues.

The role of the excellent, ambitious young teacher was privileged in post-2010 political discourse, particularly during Michael Gove's time as Education Secretary. ECTs in this study responded to this policy construction of the ECT subject through various discursive means, including both alignment (in the case of Simon, for example, who self-positioned as a young ambitious teacher) and resistance (as with Julia, for example, who resisted discourses of ECT leadership). This is 'power asserting itself in the pleasure of showing off' (Foucault, 1998, p. 45). What is important to note, however, is how this image of the ECT contributes to the policy aims of the post-2010 government. ECT self-identification as both excellent teachers and as potential leaders supports a policy construction of new entrants to the profession as being somehow more valuable than experienced teachers from previous generations of teaching. This policy construction of novice teachers as equally – or even more – valuable than experienced teachers facilitated the austerity project, albeit indirectly. If all teachers are considered as being of equal value regardless of experience, or if novice teachers are understood to be particularly valuable, then schools are justified in appointments of high numbers of unqualified or novice staff. Indeed, Noah's claim that even beginning teachers can 'hit the ground running' aligns with policy positionings of teaching experience as an insignificant factor in teacher quality; such constructions of teaching experience position new entrants to the profession as more capable and of a higher quality than teachers with many years' experience. Courtney and Gunter (2015) identified how experienced

teachers have been 'eliminated' from schools in favour of younger staff (p. 414). In this study, I have explored this phenomenon from the other side, looking at the policy positionings which have enabled young teachers to position and be positioned as more valuable than their experienced counterparts, thereby enabling the type of eliminations which Courtney and Gunter identified.

In term of findings, the corpus-assisted CDA used in the present research study highlighted how young teachers were privileged within post-2010 discourse and constructed as agential, whereas experienced teachers were backgrounded and constructed as passive. I theorised these policy positionings as serious speech acts, which impact on the way that teachers are able to think and act. The performative effects of these policy positionings contribute to a specific governmentality which was deployed in order to encourage staff renewal, thereby facilitating acceptance of the systemic changes which were being introduced under post-2010 Conservative-led governments. This study therefore contributed to the findings of past research that has highlighted the specific governmentality deployed by post-2010 governments, a governmentality that works on the subject of the teacher to engender system change (Olmedo, Bailey & Ball, 2013; Bailey, 2015; Perryman et al., 2017).

The dividing practices deployed in ministerial discourse also included hierarchical differentiations between academy teachers and those working in maintained schools, and between experienced teachers and new entrants to the profession. These dividing practices acted as serious speech acts, which opened up different subject-positionings to teachers and leaders. The privileged positioning granted to ECTs indicates a attempt to engender staff renewal, enabling school leaders to privilege the appointments of younger and more inexperienced staff over their more experienced counterparts. As such, the findings of the corpus-assisted CDA undertaken as part of the current research project provides some wider context for the research which Courtney and Gunter (2015) conducted with school leaders, which identified a preference within school leadership for replacing experienced staff with younger ECTs who were more likely to be 'on the bus' (p. 395) in terms of their pedagogies and values. The dividing practices identified in Coalition

ministerial discourse, which hierarchically differentiated between experienced teachers and young entrants, opened up subject-positions to school leaders as well as classroom teachers. It was notable that Mason and Natalie – both of whom were relatively inexperienced school leaders, having only worked as teachers post-2010 – worked to self-position in their research conversations as talent-spotters, whose role was to identify potential within new teachers and facilitate their career progression. Such self-positioning relies upon discourses which position new entrants to the profession as capable and valuable, and indicates how the language of education policy informs the development of, and tacitly justifies, school practices and teacher identities.

School workforce statistics indicate that there has been a significant change in the age profile of teachers since 2011. In 2011, 12 per cent of teachers (n=52,000) were over fifty-five years of age. By 2018, this figure had fallen to eight per cent of teachers (n=35,500) (DfE, 2018a). The reduction in the average age of teaching staff has resulted in 'an opportunity for some teachers to advance to leadership positions sooner in their careers than their older peers' (DfE, 2018b, p. 3). It is, of course, impossible to determine a direct causality between the discursive positioning of teachers in education policy and the direct impact on school workforce demographics. Factors such as retirement age play an important role in determining how age demographics in the workforce effect retention and progression. However, it is important to note that during a period in which the age of school teachers has become significantly younger, policy discourse has supported and enabled this trend in its subjectivisation of new entrants to the profession as particularly capable, excellent and ambitious for leadership. The replacement of experienced staff on high salaries (as a result of many years' commitment to the profession) with younger staff on lower salaries indirectly supports an austerity programme of the type put in place by post-2010 Conservative-led governments. Furthermore, the introduction of performance-related pay for teachers in 2013 has also made it easier for schools, particularly academies, to restrict pay allowances to teachers (DfE, 2013), and the hierarchical discursive positioning of ECTs as more valuable than experienced teachers could provide tacit justification for such practices.

Arguments that high teacher turnover is detrimental to student learning (Dolton & Newson, 2003; Brill & McCartney, 2008; Ronfeldt, Loeb & Wyckoff, 2013) have recently been challenged by research conducted by Allen and Allnutt (2017) and Greaves, Belfield and Allen (2019), both of which indicate that student attainment in high-stakes tests is not detrimentally affected when teachers with limited classroom experience are responsible for delivering teaching and test preparation. If student attainment is not negatively impacted as a result of teaching by novice staff, then other differentials might be taken into consideration, and one such consideration may be economic. The average cost to the state of training a teacher varies greatly, from £15,200 for a primary trainee completing a university-led undergraduate qualification including QTS, to the £38,200 average cost of training a Teach First trainee (Allen et al., 2016). Whereas an unqualified teacher can reasonably expect to earn £17,682 during the year 2019-2020, a teacher with six years' experience could expect to earn £35,971 (NASUWT, 2019). The economic savings made by employing new teachers might, therefore, outweigh the costs of employing an experienced teacher, even once the cost of initial teacher training (ITT) is accounted for. The government aim of austerity can, therefore, be indirectly and partially achieved by encouraging an employment preference for new teachers. By positioning novice teachers as hierarchically superior to experienced teachers, school leaders are encouraged to appoint inexperienced and less expensive teachers over experienced and more expensive ones. The discursive positioning of young teachers and new entrants to the profession as better than the previous generation of teachers might, therefore, offer financial benefits and contribute to the austerity programme.

ECTs should not, however, be considered passive recipients of policy positionings. The professional identities which ECTs are encouraged to construct are a key factor in enabling this governmentality to function effectively. It is necessary for ECTs to identify as excellent, as better than previous generations of teachers, in order that they feel able to perform as capable teachers rather than as struggling novices. ECT participants in this study constructed biographical narratives for themselves in which their increasing capabilities as teachers were highlighted. These ECTs did

not identify as struggling teachers, suffering from 'reality shock' (Veenman, 1984, p. 143) or in the middle of a process of survival (Fuller & Bown, 1975; Huberman, 1993). They constructed identities for themselves as capable teachers, who were on a clear upward trajectory, past the point at which they were concerned with the difficulties of being a new teacher. In order to construct a positive face as a new teacher, these participants used biographical narratives of progress in order to acknowledge their past difficulties but, more importantly, to draw attention to their current capabilities as teachers. These narratives are everyday speech acts which position ECTs as excellent teachers, who have successfully navigated the difficulties inherent in being a novice and, as a result, should now be considered as succeeding in their chosen profession. In identifying as capable teachers rather than struggling novices, ECTs willingly take on leadership roles and responsibilities that previously may have been reserved for more experienced – and more expensive – teachers, indirectly enabling both austerity and system renewal.

The narratives of progress employed by ECTs who took part in this research study are important to note, as they reflect the 'technologies of the self' working on new entrants to the profession. Evidently, it is becoming less acceptable for ECTs to self-position as a struggling teacher, even at the beginning of a career when their concerns are likely to be focused on classroom control (Kington, 2012), building relationships with pupils (Kington, Reed & Sammons, 2014) and becoming socialised into the school environment (Lacey, 1977; Cherubini, 2009). Instead, even new teachers feel the requirement to present as excellent teachers and future leaders in order to obtain 'a certain state of happiness […] wisdom, perfection' (Foucault, 1988b, p. 18). ECTs align their identities with the policy image of the excellent, ambitious new teacher through discursive strategies including self-positioning as potential leaders. This image is indirectly exclusionary, hierarchically differentiating between high-performing teachers with leadership potential and mere 'classroom' teachers, informed by situated discourses promoted at school level which foreground the importance of ECTs positioning as aspirational and ambitious for leadership. In working to distance themselves from the classroom teacher role by using conversational strategies which

position themselves as confident, capable and aspiring to leadership, ECTs indirectly provide support for systems of staff renewal which facilitate system reform in education and wider austerity policies.

In a political climate which leans towards austerity, the positioning of ECTs as equal to experienced teachers can be read as a project in governmentality. The aim of this project is to indirectly cut the high costs of spending on education staffing, by changing the conduct, beliefs and behaviours of teachers and school leaders rather than directly cutting budgets. ECTs are positioned as being equally or more capable than experienced teachers, and are encouraged to construct their identities as resilient, capable teachers. ECTs respond to these subject-positions using discursive strategies such as constructing narratives of progress, emphasising their agency when faced with school demands that limit their autonomy, and self-positioning as potential leaders. In doing so, ECTs come to embody the subject-position which is offered to them by policy discourse: the position of the capable and high-performing ECT. The subject-position offered by government ministers of the capable, high-performing ECT is a far more pleasurable subject-position to embody than that of the struggling, vulnerable ECT which is constructed by many academic texts about the ECT phase.

The subject-position of the high-value ECT is not only attractive to ECTs, but also to senior leaders in schools who can benefit from positioning their young staff in this manner. This could be seen in Noah's description of new entrants who had 'hit the ground running' and were therefore more worthy of promotion than more experienced staff. Senior leaders in schools are enabled, both through policy discourse and its effects on the self-positioning of ECTs, to legitimately participate in practices which devalue the experience of older teachers by idealising the capacities of new entrants to the profession. 'Teachers in effect become policy' (Perryman et al., 2017, p. 754) as their beliefs about their value and capabilities, and those of their colleagues, support and extend government objectives. The positive construction of ECT identity, and its acceptance by both ECTs and school leaders, is a key enabling factor in the process of post-2010

governmentality which sought both to reform schools and implement indirect austerity measures. The positive positioning of ECTs by government ministers is therefore embedded within a wider 'logic of a great strategy' (Foucault, 1998, p. 97).

This is not to say that there was not resistance to policy positionings of the ECT as particularly valuable and high-performing. Charlotte and Rachel's concerns about recruiting new teachers of sufficient quality indicates a resistance to discourses which position ECTs as hierarchically superior to previous generations of teachers, as does Julia's resistance to taking on a leadership role at an early stage in her teaching career. However, these acts of resistance are not outside or beyond political discourses, but are part of the 'process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens or reverses them' (Foucault, 1998, p. 92). These strategies of resistance could be read as evidence of the power of such serious speech acts, and the felicity of their performative effects.

8.3 Discourse and Identity

8.3.1 Policy enactment and resistance

The *New Faces and Changing Places* research study used a corpus of ministerial speeches to analyse how post-2010 governments positioned teachers – and specifically ECTs – working in academy schools. In theorising the speeches of government ministers as serious speech acts, which have a performative effect on the identities of teachers, this research project shared many commonalities with work conducted within the field of critical policy sociology in education, which is primarily concerned with 'examining the effect of neoliberal forces on education policies and practices' (Regmi, 2017, p. 8), although the methodology of this study was specifically oriented towards textual analysis.

By analysing speeches delivered by government ministers, this study illuminated some of the more tacit ways that teachers were positioned in policy discourse. These repeated *assujettissements*, made visible through the use of concordance software, showed the significant

'dividing practices' (Foucault, 1982, p. 777) at work in ministerial discourse. The findings of the corpus-assisted CDA presented in this thesis make a significant contribution to our understanding of post-2010 education policy discourse, providing access to a dataset which had not been systematically analysed by education researchers, and identifying lexical and grammatical patterns present in the discursive constructions of different groups of teachers. Previously, corpus-assisted CDA had been employed by education researchers to analyse how teachers were positioned in media discourse (Hansen, 2009; Mockler, 2018), but these methods had rarely been employed to analyse political discourse.

The subject-positions offered to ECTs by ministerial discourse were complicated by two factors. First, ministerial discourse itself was multiple, contradictory and shifting over time. The identification of such shifts was facilitated by the use of concordance software. The example of hard work/workload is an indication of how ministerial discourse shifted over time. Under Michael Gove as Education Secretary, hard work was privileged, and repeatedly positioned as a causal, explanatory factor in educational success. However, from the appointment of his successor, Nicky Morgan, the discourse of teacher workload gained more traction. Within this later discourse, teacher work was constructed as negative, causing attrition and frustration amongst the teaching community.[56] Second, policy enactment within schools is a 'jumbled, sometimes ambiguous, messy process' (Maguire, Braun & Ball, 2015, p. 485). This could be observed in the discourse of Charlotte and Rachel, both of whom reflected the multiple and contradictory nature of discourse concerning teacher workload in their research interviews. Both school leaders self-positioned as wanting to reduce teacher workload, while at the same time positioning successful teachers as those who were prepared to work hard. Discourse concerning teacher work was therefore complex and fragmented, both in its iteration at policy level, and also when reiterated in school settings.

[56] This study has focused on the effects of ministerial discourse, rather than speculating on its intention. However, it is likely that this shift in discourse concerning teacher workload was a response to heightened concerns about teacher supply towards the end of the Coalition government, as indicated with the launch of a parliamentary enquiry into teacher recruitment and retention in 2015 (House of Commons Education Committee, 2017).

Discourses and expectations encountered in school settings can, therefore, often contradict or challenge policy discourses, as social actors such as school leaders and teachers engage in a process of 'sense-making' concerning policy, with some teachers and leaders being more resistant to policy than others (Maguire, Braun & Ball, 2015). These findings were echoed in the research interviews undertaken with senior leaders as part of the present research project; some more closely aligned with policy discourse than others. Noah seemed to align with policy positionings of ECTs as being particularly valuable (for example, by drawing attention to ECTs who had 'hit the ground running' within the Dahlia MAT and had been rewarded with swift promotion). However, Charlotte and Margaret – both of whom were also employed in the Dahlia MAT – resisted policy positionings of new teachers as particularly valuable. Instead, Charlotte and Margaret troubled these discourses of ECT excellence, and resisted opportunities to position ECTs as potential leaders. The multiplicity of discourse evident both within and between school settings can be explained by Butler's theory that action, rather than being fully intentional, is 'psychically regulated by a desire to conform to a set of pre-existing ideas that govern what is valued', but that these sets of pre-existing ideas are 'not the same for everyone' (Gowlett et al., 2015, p. 152) leading to multiple and fluid discursive enactments of policy. Research with senior leaders undertaken as part of the current research study would support a view of policy enactment as informed by Butler (Gowlett et al., 2015), maintaining that 'performative breakdown' is possible, when 'the effects of a performative operation fail to work' (Butler, 2010, p. 150); essentially, when a misfire occurs. School leaders were able to resist and reject the serious speech acts of government ministers on account of their pre-existing ideas. It was notable that the professional identities of Mason and Natalie, both school leaders who only had experience of teaching post-2010, were far more closely aligned with ministerial discourse than those of school leaders who had more years of experience. Charlotte, Margaret, Noah and Rachel had pre-existing ideas which were informed by serious speech acts prior to the post-2010 period.

The present research project therefore supports the findings of previous research into policy enactment, which has identified the 'tensions, struggles and resources' (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012, p. 73) employed by individuals when interpreting and enacting policy. Participants who took part in this study were not entirely determined by policy, as Hatcher and Troyna (1994) would suggest. Strategies which ECTs used to navigate policy drew from their personal biography (Flores & Day, 2006) and school context (Day et al., 2007), rather than being directly and entirely formed by the language of policy. These findings provide a counterpoint to research by Bates (2016) and Byrne Bausell and Glazier (2016), which – mirroring Hatcher and Troyna (1994) – appears to imply that teachers cannot escape the serious speech acts of policymakers. Instead, ECTs, and also school leaders, were able to resist and negotiate the policy positionings made available to them, using various linguistic strategies as resources. This resistance should not be considered as originating beyond or outside the discourse, but is intimately connected with the effect of serious speech acts on individuals' values, beliefs and behaviours (Foucault, 1998). Resistance, rather than being an indication of a power vacuum, instead attests to the significant workings of power on the individual. The linguistic strategies used by individuals to negotiate the tensions inherent in constructing an acceptable professional identity can indicate the 'mobile and transitory points of resistance' (Foucault, 1998, p. 96) used by individuals to navigate multiple and often complex identity-positionings.

The findings presented in this thesis suggest that there are common discursive strategies employed by ECTs in their attempts to navigate complex subject-positionings and to present a coherent and stable face. Such findings support those of Vásquez and Urzúa (2009) and Alsup (2006; 2019), both of whom identified linguistic and discursive patterns in the language of novice teachers attempting to build a professional identity. The patterns identified in this study are specifically attentive to the language of ECTs working in primary academies in England, making a contribution to this previous work which had focused on novice language teachers (Vásquez and Urzúa, 2009) and novice secondary teachers working in the USA (Alsup, 2006; 2019). The sample

involved in this study illuminated some of the specific discursive strategies used by primary academy teachers – for example, constructing academisation as unimportant, using narratives of progress to emphasise their capability, and stressing their agency in the face of demands which limited their autonomy. In line with work by Vásquez and Urzúa (2009) and Alsup (2006; 2019), this study therefore increases meta-discursive awareness of the strategies used by new teachers to present themselves in a positive manner.

Previous research on policy enactment in academies has been heavily focused on how academy leaders enact their identities (Kulz, 2015; Keddie, 2019; Greany & Higham, 2018). This study has extended our knowledge of policy enactment in academies by focusing specifically on how ECTs respond to policy positionings of new teachers. Such policy positionings often reflect instrumental goals of politicians, as this discussion has argued – some obvious, such as making a justification for changes to ITT provision, and some more tacit, such as engendering staff renewal within schools. The present research has indicated that ECTs engage in processes of face-work in order to align with or resist the ways they are positioned by policymakers and senior leaders within their schools in order to construct a socially acceptable professional identity. Although these processes of face-work are complex, the findings of this study indicate that there are a number of discrete strategies which can be employed by ECTs to present a positive face. These strategies can be isolated to gain an insight into how ECTs, usually considered the most vulnerable and least agential members of a school community, are nevertheless able to construct themselves as 'policy actors' rather than 'policy subjects' (Ball, 2015, p. 467).

8.3.2 Identity, face-work and stability

In post-2010 education policy, differing and contradictory constructions of teacher identity were presented to ECTs. The present research project has extended previous research which has identified the type of ideal teacher entrants constructed in Coalition education policy (Stanfield & Cremin, 2013), by showing how young teachers were positioned as particularly valuable,

particularly during the years of the Coalition government. Michael Gove's time as Education Secretary was marked by a clear positioning of ECTs as high-performing and superior to previous generations, but Justine Greening and Damian Hinds would later place more emphasis on the need to support ECTs in the first years of their careers. Over the space of seven years, this indicated a significant shift in the discourse, as ECTs were initially constructed under Conservative-led governments as highly capable and efficient, then later as deficient and requiring additional support. The analysis of ministerial discourse presented in this thesis makes a significant contribution to our understanding of how policy discourse concerning new teachers was deployed during the 2010-18 period, in order to support structural reform of the school system and of ITT.

Research conversations with Simon, Logan and Isabella suggest that ECTs' constructions of their identity fluctuated and changed according to context, supporting Maclure's (1993) proposal that teacher identity acts more as a justification for certain beliefs and practices than a reflection of a core, stable self. Simon, Logan and Isabella each identified as potential leaders during roaming interviews, but distanced themselves from identifying as such in more public focus groups. What was considered socially acceptable therefore varied according to the interaction the ECT was engaged in. This suggests that when conversing with colleagues, it is polite to avoid or reject identifying as an aspirant teacher, either in order to save the face of other teachers or perhaps to preserve one's own face. Such findings show that the identifications which ECTs present to others are dynamic and fluctuating according to context. The findings of the *New Faces and Changing Places* research therefore supports research which indicates that teacher identity is both a dynamic (Kelchtermans, 2009) and a relational process (Johnson, 2003). However, where it departs from such research is its focus on the discursive nature of identity construction. The theoretical framework of this research study holds that the multiple and sometimes contradictory discourses of policymakers and senior leaders have an impact on the identity positionings which are made available to ECTs. In terms of the contradictions found in ECTs' constructions of themselves as leadership material, some explanation can be found in the multiple and contradictory discourses

and interrelated identity-positionings which surround the concept of ECT leadership. ECTs are not subject to one, unitary discourse which subjectivises them completely. Instead, they are subject to a number of multiple and conflicting discourses from different sources. The discursive technologies working on the ECT are 'diffuse, rarely formulated in continuous, systematic discourse' (Foucault, 1977, p. 26). There is not one, oppressive ideology which subjugates ECTs and demands that they behave in a particular way. Instead, ECTs are compelled to navigate multiple discourses, from multiple points of origin, which position ECTs in different and contradictory ways.

The research findings presented in the present thesis, to a certain extent, support the research of Alsup (2019), who found that millennial teachers were able to successfully navigate opposing expectations and discourses, using 'discursive acts' to present themselves as 'nimble, agile, and ready to adjust to the situation at hand' (p. 101). For example, Simon's self-positioning as a potential leader in his roaming interview contrasted vividly with his criticism, maintained during his focus group, of schools who expect new teachers to take on too many responsibilities too quickly; similar discursive acts could be identified in research conversations with Logan and Isabella. In this study, it was clear that ECTs such as Logan, Isabella and Simon shifted their identities as ECTs depending on context. However, contrary to Alsup's (2019) findings that millennial teachers were more comfortable with these shifting identities than their predecessors, there was little indication that ECTs in this study were comfortable with the dynamic and shifting discursive positionings which impacted upon them. Indeed, there is some evidence that the requirement to constantly negotiate shifting discourses concerning the nature of the ECT phase can be an exhausting process for new teachers. Jemima, for example, appeared to have suffered damage to her face when her self-positioning as an aspirant leader was not recognised by her senior leadership team. Jemima's response was not the accepting, agile and flexible response of the millennial teacher as shape-shifter, but instead the response of someone whose face had been damaged when an attempt to position herself had been unsuccessful. Jemima was 'injured by

speech', giving her a sense of feeling 'out of control' (Butler, 1997, p. 4). Similarly, Isabella's attempts to simultaneously embrace and reject leadership opportunities highlights the difficulties that ECTs face when attempting to negotiate the discursive positionings which, in positioning them, both enable and restrict the type of teachers they could become. These ECTs had dynamic and shifting identities which were doubtless shaped by the political and situated contexts in which they taught; however, they both sought some sense of stability or coherence when constructing a professional identity for themselves and portraying this identity to others.

Previous research has identified how teachers work to 'fabricate' their practices and professional identities, particularly in response to systems of accountability (Ball, 2003; Perryman, 2009). Such research presumes that teachers have access to an idealised archetype of the teacher, to which they can align their professional identities in order to fabricate themselves as the ideal. However, the present research project has indicated that the multiple, complex and dynamic positionings of ECTs within professional and situated contexts negates the possibility of the ideal teacher archetype, preventing access to a stable and coherent image of the good teacher which ECTs can use to position their professional identity. Butler's theoretical insights into the nature of identity are useful here. As a theorist usually located within the poststructuralist field, Butler's work – following Foucault – rejects any notion of a core, fixed or essential identity. However, Butler emphasises the repeated and ritual nature of performative speech acts and their effects, arguing that:

> *performativity must be understood not as a singular or deliberate "act," but, rather, as the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names.* (Butler, 2011, p. xii)

It is through discursive repetition that individuals come to understand and construct themselves as subjects; it is this repetition and ritual which provides individuals with a sense of coherence and stability. The concern raised by the findings of this study is this *lack* of consistent repetition with regards to the construction of ECT identity. Frequent changes in policy direction, combined with

contradictory discourse evidenced in school settings, mean that ECTs are subject to a myriad of contradictory and multiple performative speech acts which impact on their beliefs, identities and behaviours in multiple ways.

These multiple discourses surrounding the role and identities of ECTs were contradictory and difficult for ECTs to negotiate, resulting in unstable and fluctuating identity constructions. The constant shifts and contradictions in the serious speech acts which discursively position ECTs resulted in there being no '*process of materialization that stabilizes over time to produce the effect of boundary, fixity, and surface*' (Butler, 2011, p. xviii, emphasis original); there was no consistent repetition in the discursive field which performatively constituted the affective state of a stable, core ECT identity. In the post-2010 environment of academisation, the multiple and conflicting positionings which positioned ECTs therefore made it challenging for these teachers to develop and present a stable or coherent sense of self. The face-work undertaken by ECTs to preserve their self-identity was dynamic, fragmented and multiple, as they engaged in a constant state of becoming (Britzman, 2003) in order to present an acceptable professional identity to others.

The lack of coherent repetition concerning the role and expectations of ECTs means that it was difficult for ECTs to secure a sense of what being an ECT is, or what being an ECT required – they were unable to anchor on to a consistent discourse which would allow them to gain some sense of stable, essential or inherent identity or function as an ECT. The priority for the new teacher in such circumstances becomes the struggle to constantly reinvent him or herself in the context of constantly fluctuating expectations and discursive positionings, attempting to find ways to improve in order to be accepted in an unstable landscape (Bailey, 2015; Holloway & Brass, 2018). It is the effort ECTs put into the struggle to construct a satisfying teacher identity under such conditions that Johnson et al. (2016, p. 104) suggest 'may affect their capacity to be resilient'. Such findings extend those of Perryman and Calvert (2020), who found (specifically with regard to teacher workload) that for many teacher entrants the 'reality of teaching' was 'worse than expected' (p. 4). The multiple and contradictory nature of the discourses which construct teacher

role and identity *prevent* new teachers from accessing any knowledge concerning the teaching profession which corresponds to a tangible reality, and as such, teachers enter the profession with unrealistic expectations, both of the demands of the job, and of their capacities to meet those expectations. The 'discourse of disappointment' which Perryman and Calvert (2020, p. 4) identify is not simply a disappointment with the reality of teaching, but of the difficulty of being able to position oneself positively as a new teacher within the complex, multiple and often shifting demands of professional discourse within education.

The current research highlights the multiple and contradictory discourses which impact on the subject-positionings made available to ECTs, and how ECTs negotiate these other-positionings in order to present a stable and coherent face. Findings suggest that ECTs are able to negotiate these multiple subject-positionings, constructing identities for themselves which dynamically shifted according to context. ECTs dynamically engage in face-work (Goffman, 1967; Brown & Levinson, 1987) in order to present a positive professional identity to others, which aligns with socially acceptable norms informed by political and situated discourse. As a result of the multiple and fractured subject-positionings made available to ECTs through the serious and everyday speech acts of others, this face-work undertaken by ECTs is highly dynamic and responsive. In view of previous research which has emphasised the importance of developing a stable and coherent sense of identity in the ECT phase, these findings are concerning, suggesting that ECTs are unable to access repeated discourses which will enable them to gain a feeling of stability, coherence or fixity. Without this feeling of permanence, it is hardly surprising that 'early career teachers generally [make] the decision to leave the profession much more swiftly than experienced teachers' (DfE, 2018c, p. 28).

8.4 Summary

Following the descriptive presentation of findings in the previous three chapters, this discussion chapter has returned to the literature review and the theoretical framework of the study in order to situate the findings within the wider literature and to analyse them at a critical level.

I have argued that the silence which ECTs construct regarding academy status points to an increasing normalisation of academisation and its acceptance within the teaching community. Academisation since the formation of the Coalition government has been an attempt to systematically reform schooling in England, and the widespread silence on the nature and importance of academisation by ECTs indicates an efficient deployment of a governmentality which facilitated system reform.

With regard to ECT identity, I have shown that multiple discourses at both policy and situated level impact on the subject-positionings which ECTs are able to occupy. ECTs use various discursive strategies to negotiate these subject-positionings, and I have stressed the agency of ECTs as policy actors, as this study has suggested ECTs use various different discursive strategies to navigate the multiple, shifting and contradictory nature of the *assujettissements* made available to them at different levels of discursive practice. However, I have also argued that the multiple and contradictory nature of the discourse which positions ECTs, prevents new teachers from accessing a repetitive construction of the nature of ECT identity, which would enable them to develop a stable or coherent sense of self. The uncompromisingly dynamic nature of ECT identity in the post-2010 education landscape could explain why the retention of teachers beyond the ECT phase has been difficult; this is further explored in the following chapter, which details some implications of the research findings for policy and practice.

9. CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter, I begin by discussing the implications of the study's findings for policy and practice. I argue that post-2010 political discourse has contributed to a fragmentation of the professional identities of early career teachers (ECTs), a fragmentation which mirrors the increasingly academised school landscape in the post-2010 era. I suggest that a lack of stability and coherence in discourse at both policy and situated levels could be a significant causal factor in teacher attrition; in order to remedy these issues, more attention needs to be paid to the contradictory and conflicting expectations which are placed upon new teachers through political and situated discourse, and the discursive strategies which ECTs use to navigate these expectations. I then address the limitations of the research, before concluding with directions for future research.

9.1 Implications for policy and practice

The present research project was conducted during a time in which teacher recruitment and retention came to be problematised. In particular, the commitment and resilience of new entrants to the profession was a particular focus of the media (Weale, 2018) and of politicians (House of Commons Education Committee, 2017). It was always intended that the findings of this research study might contribute to a fuller understanding of this particular recruitment 'crisis' in education, and as a result have implications for policy and practice.

Even from this small-scale, exploratory research study it has been possible to discern how policy discourse (particularly during the period of the Coalition government when Michael Gove was Education Secretary) positioned new entrants to the profession as hierarchically superior to previous generations of teachers. Generational divides between teachers have been noted in past educational research (Riseborough, 1981; Sikes, 1985; Ball, 1987; Menter et al., 1997), and the present research provides evidence of how this dividing practice between inexperienced and experienced teachers was deployed in post-2010 policy discourse. Divisory language of this type results in the subject being 'either divided inside himself or divided from others' (Foucault, 1982,

p. 777). Dividing practices are both technologies of power and technologies of the self, determining the conduct of individuals and also permitting them to work towards a state of perfection. The distinction between the excellent new teacher and the teachers of previous generations was one of the most powerful dividing practices constructed in policy discourse post-2010, enabling discourses which promoted the rapid rise to leadership during the ECT phase.

The dominant discursive positioning of new teachers post-2010, particularly during the years 2010-14, was therefore as an outstanding and ambitious member of staff. The effects of such discursive positioning can be recognised in the research data gathered during this study. ECTs were keen to position themselves as potential leaders; such positioning appeared to be necessary in order to present a positive self-identity as a teacher. School leaders were engaged in various activities which supported these ambitions, such as running leadership development courses or creating roles as middle leaders. However, as Charlotte, the Executive Head of Daffodil School stated, 'sometimes you can only have so many deputy heads'. This research study has suggested that the discourse around ECT leadership could be damaging. There were indications within the data of ECTs constructing the role of the classroom teacher as somehow abject. Being recognised as a leader appeared to be necessary for ECTs to construct a positive self-identity as a teacher, although this merits further investigation. It follows that if this progression does not arise, or teachers decide against such progression, attrition is likely to follow. As such, I would argue that it is necessary to discursively re-position the classroom teacher within policy discourse, in order to reinstate pride and ownership of the classroom teacher role within the teaching community. Only when experienced classroom teachers are valued in discourse – at both policy and school level – will new entrants to the profession aspire to stay in the classroom. While classroom teachers continue to be positioned through a 'discourse of derision' (Ball, 1990), it may remain challenging to retain teachers in the profession, as they are limited in terms of the positive identity-positionings made available to them.

Policymakers should reconsider the language they use to construct the role and character of the experienced classroom teacher, as well as identifying and advertising rewards in teaching which can be gained from the classroom teacher role. Policymakers should also consider the informal ways in which ECTs progress to leadership roles, which are encouraged through discourses of 'identifying talent' amongst the workforce. A system of staged progression, similar to the progression stages which are required of medical doctors, may provide a valuable alternative framework for career progression in teaching (NHS, 2018). In such a system, new teachers would be required to complete a certain number of years in the classroom before gaining a specialism and eventually moving on to a leadership role, which would help to re-position experience as a valuable commodity in education. School leaders could manage the leadership expectations of their ECTs by constructing movements between year groups and key stages as progression opportunities, so that progression in teaching begins to be positioned as horizontal as well as vertical. The findings of this research study indicate that until the role of the experienced classroom teacher is more highly valued and respected, ECT attrition could remain a problem, as ECTs experience damage to their professional identity if they have been unable to progress to leadership.

Initiatives to encourage teachers to remain in the profession should also consider the multiple, and often conflicting, discourses which impact on the possible identity-positions available to new teachers. Research into teacher identity consistently indicates that having a stable and coherent sense of professional identity is important in enabling teachers to remain committed and resilient in the face of difficulty or change (Day, Elliot & Kington, 2005); this appears to be particularly true of those in the early career phase (Flores & Day, 2006; Johnson et al., 2016). Expecting new teachers to be responsive to multiple conflicting expectations around the nature of their work may result in the kind of dynamic identity shifts that were perceptible within this study, in which teachers constructed identities which diverged according to context, indicating a lack of a stable, coherent professional identity. Although such strategies may be effective as a means of ECTs presenting a positive face in differing professional contexts, I would speculate – based on

the wider literature on teacher identity – that the fractured nature of ECT identity construction during the time of post-2010 academisation is likely to have more negative than positive effects on the profession. Leaders, both at policy and school level, should therefore be aware of how their language positions new teachers. Staff training which encourages meta-discursive discussion of the contradictory and multiple positionings opened up to beginning teachers could help those new to the profession to more confidently secure the feeling of having a stable and coherent professional identity, which could anchor them more solidly within teaching.

9.2 Limitations of the research study

Phase one of the study, which was primarily driven by a corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach, was a novel way of examining policy discourse. However, its execution in this study was limited because the corpus was relatively small, including only speeches delivered (external to parliamentary discourse) by education ministers between 2010-18. Although this allowed some simple comparison of discursive shifts between Education Secretaries, the relatively small and homogenous nature of the data meant that it was difficult to indicate the unique aspects of discourse during this policy moment. A comparative project would better indicate what was particularly notable or specific to post-2010 policy discourse concerning education. For example, the DFEMS corpus could be compared against a standard English corpus (such as the Brown Corpus or the LOB corpus), in order to give an indication of the type of words, collocations or grammatical features which make the DFEMS corpus distinct from colloquial or standard English. Other comparisons would also achieve similar ends, such as comparing the DFEMS corpus against a wider corpus of political speeches from the 2010-18 period in order to indicate what was unique about the language of education policy, or a more diachronically oriented project comparing the DFEMS corpus with a corpus of similar speeches made during the period of the previous Labour government. As it stands, the DFEMS corpus can indicate the type of linguistic patterns which are prevalent within the speech of government ministers between 2010-18, but it is quite limited in

being able to claim the extent to which these linguistic patterns are innovative or unique. The essentially arbitrary cut-off date of March 2018 for phase one data is also problematic, being three months into Damian Hinds's term as the new Secretary of State for Education. In 2019, Hinds would launch several measures and publications aimed at supporting ECTs which were extremely relevant to this project (DfE, 2019b), but were unfortunately published too late to be included.

A further major limitation to this research study concerned the sampling procedure for phase two of the study, which limited the generalisability of the study's findings. As phase two was a small-scale study conducted by a single researcher as a PhD project, it would not have been feasible to conduct research in more than two multi-academy trusts (MATs). However, the culture of MATs varies not only between MATs, but also within MATs. Different schools within the same Trust can display very different features and policies; this was evident in the pedagogical differences between Carnation and Daffodil school, despite both schools being part of the Dahlia Trust. Furthermore, because of the small-scale nature of the project, it was only possible to research two individual primary schools within each participating MAT. The status of these schools was also significant, as three of the participating primary schools were classed as converter academies, and one as a free school.[57] None of the participating schools had therefore been forced to become a 'sponsored' academy. If sponsored academies had been included in the sample, it is possible that both senior leaders and ECTs might have displayed different attitudes towards academisation and have positioned themselves in a different manner. The research findings presented in this study should not, therefore, be understood as representative of all MATs or of academy schools.

The recruitment of individual teachers to the study also limited the generalisations which can be drawn from the research findings. Access to individual teachers was mediated by senior leaders who acted as gatekeepers. Also, recruitment involved a process of volunteer involvement

[57] Free schools are 'entirely new state schools' opened after 2010, which 'operate as academies' (Roberts & Danechi, 2019, p. 6).

rather than a system of representative sampling. It is therefore possible that the teachers who participated had a particular interest in the project or in exploring their own identities as teachers, which impacted on the results. If all teachers within a MAT had been compelled to participate, it is possible that different discourses could have been accessed. Furthermore, the majority of participants were located in The Dahlia Trust (n=13), and within this Trust the majority of participants were recruited from within Daffodil Primary School (n=9), which is a clear disparity in terms of participation between the two Trusts. There were more ECT participants (n=12) than participants in senior or executive leadership positions (n=6). A number of participants had qualified abroad, rather than in England (n=4), which meant they were less able to comment on issues such as changes to ITT in England. The sample included five newly qualified teachers (NQTs) and one unqualified teacher. The findings presented here therefore present a snapshot of the experiences of a particular group of teachers working in individual schools. In order to increase the generalisability of these findings, further research would need to be conducted in a wider range of schools and with a wider range of participants. It would also be valuable, although difficult and possibly ethically unviable, to conduct research with institutions and participants who did not wish to engage with the research process. Such research would likely reveal alternative and less dominant discourses concerning academisation and the early career phase.

9.3 Directions for future research

Academisation since 2010 has significantly changed the school system in England, and it looks unlikely that these changes will be reversed in the immediate future. In 2019, the incoming Conservative administration – under Boris Johnson as Prime Minister and Gavin Williamson as Education Secretary – were reported to be planning a 'fresh push to convert local authority maintained schools to academy status' (Chakrabortty, Adams & Weale, 2019, n. p.). Considering the Conservative Party's long-standing commitment to the concept of the independent state-

funded school, it seems probable that academisation will continue to expand, at least while the Conservatives remain the governing party.

Considering the probable continuation of academisation, more research needs to be conducted into the effects of academisation on teachers who are in the middle stages of their careers, or nearing retirement from the profession. This study has indicated that particular identity positionings of ECTs have been used to support the academisation and austerity project. It is equally the case that positionings of experienced teachers have contributed to these policy aims, but this project did not have the scope to fully investigate the effect of academisation on teachers at later stages in their career. More research is required to provide a better understanding of how policy changes post-2010 have changed the way that experienced teachers construct and present themselves, particularly as the present research study has indicated that the post-2010 policy climate may have been a particularly hostile one for experienced teachers. The social status and discursive expectations placed upon teachers, regardless of their career stage, impacts on their retention and recruitment intentions. In order to resolve the problems with teacher recruitment and retention that have worsened since 2010, a more thorough understanding of the relationship between academisation and teacher identity throughout all stages of the teaching career is necessary.

In terms of methodology, the *New Faces and Changing Places* study was a highly qualitative project, relying heavily on data gathered from the analysis of policy texts and qualitative interviews. Such qualitative research can be dismissed by policymakers who prefer more positivist findings based on quantitative data (Torrance, 2008). There may, therefore, be a case for extending this research project into a mixed-methods study involving a greater sample of participants, the findings of which might have more impact on policymakers. This study has provided some significant insights into the ways in which teachers attempt to navigate the multiple and contradictory expectations that are placed upon them during their early years in the profession. There is certainly scope to expand the methodologies used in this project in future research.

9.4 Summary

This research project has made a number of novel contributions to the field of critical research on academies which has been growing since the first academies opened in 2002 (Gorard, 2005; 2009; 2014; Ball, 2005; Hatcher, 2009; Miller, 2011; Gunter & McGinity, 2014; Keddie, 2015; Kulz, 2015; 2017). The field of research on primary academies accounts for a small proportion of such research on account of primary schools only being able to academise as a result of the 2010 Academies Act (Keddie, 2016; 2019; Greany & Higham, 2018), and the present research has therefore made a significant contribution to the growing field of research on primary academisation.

The study has also contributed to our understanding of ECT professional identity more widely. By taking an approach which sought to identify the discursive strategies employed by ECTs, the project has differed from much research on ECTs, which instead attempts to identify their motivations or concerns (Flores, 2006; Hulme & Menter, 2014; Schuck et al., 2017; Perryman & Calvert, 2020). The findings of this research therefore extend previous research into ECT identity, providing an alternative reading of ECT identity, and using novel methods to explore ECT identity.

I hope the findings presented in this thesis resonate with teachers working in primary academy schools, and that my interpretation of the data prompts those working within education to reflect on the performative effects of language and its impact.

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GLOSSARY

This glossary is intended to provide a brief explanation of many of the linguistic terms used throughout the thesis, many of which derive from discourse analysis, and are particularly prevalent in the findings chapters.

Adjective – comparative
Used to describe the difference between two nouns. Examples include *bigger*, *smaller*, *taller* etc.

Adjective – evaluative
Used to indicate the speaker's opinion. Examples include *horrible, lovely, awful* etc.

Adjective – superlative
Used to indicate the extreme of a quality. Examples include *biggest*, *smallest*, *tallest* etc.

Adverbial intensifier
Adverbs which strengthen emphasis and indicate the commitment of the speaker. Examples include *very*, *really*, *so* etc.

Attitudinal stance
Any language which conveys 'the speaker's attitudes, feelings, or value judgements' (Conrad & Biber, 2000, p. 57).

Background(ed)
To make an important or significant aspect of an issue less prominent, for example by making it absent within a text (Fairclough, 2003).

Cohesion
In CDA, paying attention to 'how clauses and sentences are connected together in the text'; this often reveals something about argumentation (Fairclough, 1992, p. 235).

Collocation
Two words which occur together at a frequency greater than chance. Examples in colloquial English include, for example, *dry land*, *true love*, *loud bang*.

Connectives
Words which are used to connect clauses, for example *and, but, because.*

Connotative meaning
The meaning suggested by, but not explicitly expressed by a statement. In corpus linguistics, connotative meaning is identified through an analysis of collocations. As Sinclair argued, 'a word or phrase carries with it an aura of meaning that is subliminal, in that we only become aware of it when we see a large number of typical instances all together' (Sinclair, 2004, p.18). The example Sinclair (2004) then gives is the verb *to happen*, which is most often associated with 'something nasty' (p. 18).

Cruce
A contradiction within the discourse which provides 'evidence that things are going wrong: a misunderstanding which requires participants to repair' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 230). In education texts, a cruce often causes pedagogical implications which 'appear to be at odds or problematic' (Rogers, 2011, p. xx).

Denotational meaning
The literal meaning of a word, in contrast to its implicit or connotational meaning.

Depreciatory just
The word 'just' has several different meanings (or semantic functions). The depreciatory just is used to 'minimise the significance of some process' (Lee, 1987, p. 378).

Direct speech
A representation of speech as actually spoken, for example, 'he said "let's go to the park."' The use of direct speech adds drama and vividness to speech. Also referred to as **reported speech** or **directly reported speech.**

Disclaimer
Disclaimers are 'semantic moves with a positive part about Us, and a negative part about Them' (van Dijk, 2002, p. 150); they are an attempt by the discourse-producer to positively self-position.

Discourse marker
Discourse markers have an organising function, used by speakers to indicate something – often at a meta-discursive level – to the discourse receiver. Examples include *oh, well, y'know,* and *I mean* (Schiffrin, 1987).

Discursive knot
'A statement where several discourses are entangled' (Jäger & Maier, 2009, p. 47). The example given by Jäger & Maier is *integrating immigrants into our society costs a lot of money,* which intertwines discursive strands about migration and about the economy.

Discourse strand
A discourse strand refers to the discursive themes evident in concrete utterances, as opposed to discourse, which is understood at a more abstract and holistic level (Jäger & Maier, 2009).

Dispreferred response
A response to an invitation, request, question, assessment etc. which requires more conversational effort than a preferred response, because it is not the expected response. Dispreferred responses are 'typically indirect, structurally elaborated, and delayed' (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 38).

Ethos
In CDA, the culmination of a process of bringing 'together the diverse features that go towards constructing "selves", or social identities' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 235).

Face
The 'positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes – albeit an image that others may share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself' (Goffman, 1967, p. 5).

Face [negative]
The 'basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition' (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61).

Face [positive]
The 'positive consistent self-image or "personality" (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants' in conversations (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61).

Face saving act
Speech acts which lessen discomfort or embarrassment during or following a face-threatening act. Strategies such as humour or deference can be used as ways of saving face.

Face threatening act
Speech acts which 'by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker' (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p, 65). For example, orders are face threatening acts, as they threaten the negative face of individuals by restricting their complete freedom to action.

Filled pause
Use of a hesitation device such as 'um' or 'err' (Maclay & Osgood, 1959).

Foreground(ed)
To use language in order to emphasise or draw attention to something. This is achieved by 'backgrounding' other elements. Foregrounding can be achieved, for example, through grammar (by attributing agency) or sentence structure (by placing the focus of attention at the beginning of the sentence) (Fairclough, 2003).

Hedging
A hedge is a 'deintensifier': whereas intensifiers increase the certainty with which the speaker commits to a statement, a hedge decreases the certainty (Lakoff, 1973). Examples include *sort of, a bit like.*

Hesitation
Pauses and false starts during spoken communication which indicate that the speaker is negotiating 'complex variables in spontaneous speech' (Maclay & Osgood, 1959).

Honesty phrase
Phrases such as *to be honest* or *honest to God,* which are used by speakers as a way of 'asserting sincerity and independence as the basis of what they are saying on occasions when something functional, normative, or otherwise motivated is expectable' (Edwards & Fasulo, 2006, p. 343).

Idiomatic
Colloquial expressions associated with native speakers of a language.

Interactional control
Features of turn-taking or organisation within a conversation. Assessments of interactional control will evaluate the roles different conversation members take on (whether they evaluate utterances or introduce topics, for example).

Intertextuality
Intertextuality is concerned with the influences on a text, and what is used to produce a text. Manifest intertextuality is the explicit use of one text within another (Fairclough, 1992).

Lexeme
Refers to a word with a specific meaning, and all of its related forms. The lexeme for *teaching*, *teacher*, *teaches* is TEACH.

Lexical Bundle/Lexical Cluster
Three words or more which repeatedly occur together, at a frequency higher than chance. A lexical bundle can be understood as a longer collocation (Biber, Conrad & Cortes, 2004). Examples in colloquial English include *can I have a*, *as a result of.*

Lexicon
The vocabulary specific to a certain language, subject discipline or institution.

Logical subject
The item to which agency is attributed in a clause – the 'doer of the action' (Halliday & Mattiensen, 2019, p. 80).

Metaphor
A figure of speech in which a term or a phrase is applied to an item in order to suggest a resemblance, even though this description would not be literally possible. For example, *her hair is a long flowing river.* In this thesis, Lakoff and Johnson's (2003) argument that 'our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature' (p. 3).

Metonymy
The use of 'one entity to refer to another that is related to it' (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 35); when metonymy is deployed, the part comes to represent the whole. For example, *the ham sandwich is waiting for his check* (p. 35).

Modality
In CDA, paying attention to the affinity which the discourse-producer claims with their utterances; essentially, the degree of certainty which the speaker claims. Strategies such as hedging, and the use of modal verbs such as *should* and *ought*, indicate modality (Fairclough, 1992).

Modal Verb
An auxiliary verb, used with another verb in order to modify its certainty, indicating a degree of necessity or probability. Examples include *can, may, should.* **Semi-modal verbs** sometimes behave like modal verbs. Examples include *need, dare.*

Mode of Discourse/Discourse Mode
Different styles of presentation which have an impact on the way that text is received. Modes of discourse include 'Narrative, Description, Report, Information and Argument' (Smith, 2003, p. 7). These different discourse modes are used to achieve different ends.

Object of discourse
Categories and knowledges about individuals (amongst other things) which are brought into being through discourse. Fairclough, following Foucault, argues that the 'objects' of discourse 'are constituted and transformed in discourse according to the rules of some particular discursive formation, rather than existing independently and simply being referred to or talked about in a particular discourse' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 41).

Oppositional categories
Oppositional categories tacitly indicate meanings to discourse-receivers through the use of words which have commonly recognised opposites, also known as antonyms or binaries. There appears to be 'some kind of tacit agreement between members of speech communities that certain words are formally opposite to each other' (Jeffries, 2010, p. 2), for example, *hot* is opposite to *cold*, *best* to *worst*. In this way, use of one half of an opposite pair primes the discourse-receiver to also construct the opposite.

Other-positioning
The act of positioning another person through discourse, which positions both the discourse-producer and the discourse-recipient. If the person who is other-positioned is present, they may either accept or resist this positioning (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999).

Politeness strategies
Strategies used by members of conversations to preserve their face and the face of other conversation participants.

Rhetorical redescription
A process which runs alongside positioning within conversations, which involves 'the discursive construction of stories about institutions and microsocial events that make them intelligible as societal icons' (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 15).

Self-positioning
The expression of personal identity, achieved through the emphasis of agency, by referring to one's unique point of view, or by referring to events in one's biography. Self-positioning can be deliberate (self-initiated) or forced (a reaction to being positioned by another member of the conversation) (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999).

Self-repair
Instances in conversation when the speaker self-corrects. Self-repair is preferable to other-initiated repair. Self-repair usually involves the speaker repeating what they have previously stated with an amendment, for example, *I saw a really big – sorry, small train* (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977).

Shift of footing
A change in the way that a speaker positions him/herself during a conversation. An example given by Goffman (1981) is a paediatrician switching from 'motherease' when speaking with a child to more formal conversation with the child's mother or a colleague. Halkier (2010, p. 77) notes that shifts from 'I' to 'generalized you' make interaction 'more clearly normative'.

Spatial deixis
Concerning the spatial locations which are relevant to the utterance. Examples include *here* and *there*.

Suffix
An addition to the stem or root form of a word, for example *-ly* or *-ish*.

Transitivity
The attention paid to where agency is attributed in a text, to identify whether particular processes, individuals or organisations are favoured or blamed, and whether individuals are rendered agential or passive (Fairclough, 1992).

Trouble source
During a conversation, any item which requires a repair, either self- or other- initiated (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977).

Truth-intensifier
Words or phrases which mark 'the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition' (Lenker, 2007, p. 82). Examples include *truly* or *certainly*.

Unfilled pause
A type of hesitation, which takes two forms: 'silence of unusual length' and 'non-phonemic lengthening of phonemes' (Maclay & Osgood, 1959, p. 24).

APPENDICES

Appendix A: CDA analysis sheet for policy texts

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS SHEET

TEXT Michael Gove to the Education World Forum

GENRE Political Speech (DfE ministerial) PRODUCER(S) Michael Gove | DfE

INTENDED RECEIVER(S)? global policymakers

IDENT: MG-CC-11.1.2011

Type: Speech Number: 3 Date: 11.1.2011

Date of analysis: 8.5.2018

EXPERIENTIAL VALUES- Contents *What systems of knowledge/belief are represented?*	RELATIONAL VALUES – Relations *What social relationships are enacted through the text?*	EXPRESSIVE VALUES - Subjects *What subjects/social identities are being developed?*
(1) Human capital theory (57) strong/weak schools (48) FACTS → (45) RCTs (15) "accidents" of birth – class and geography. Social mobility as solution – no structural change/revolution.	(54) Transactional relationship between pupil and teacher – must "yield results" (55-58) teacher hierarchies elite entrants.	(20) teachers as part of a "transforming" system >hierarchy (ethos) (68) "low expectations" (55) Classroom about practical skills – before that intellectual accomplishment – entrants to profession

Discourse Strands/Knots?	global competition	= (1) recruitment of better teachers	(2) autonomy (academies)	(3) Accountability	

Ambiguity/Coherence?	(104) improve teacher quality – have more autonomous system. WHY GIVE AUTONOMY IF TEACHERS NOT ALREADY OF HIGH QUALITY?

POSITIONING	RHETORICAL REDESCRIPTION
(20) 'I am pleased' – positions himself as caring, interested in education. Also in (20) non-partisan as praises previous governments. (18/19) we, our – position audience – shared interests – solidarity	Past progress → continual improvement into the future. Narrative of PROGRESS, global and national.

MANIFEST INTERTEXTUALITY?:

(6) Gramsci (31) Marx → apolitical, across political spectrum.

(68) "soft bigotry of low expectations" Michael Gerson - USA Neo-Con

(29) PISA OECD – Andreas Schleicher & Michael Barber – Tony Blair McKinsey

WORD REPETITIONS:

best opportunity
challenge free*

TEXT STRUCTURE	INTERACTIONAL CONTROL *How are topics introduced?* *How are agendas set?*	(8-10) logical connector: global/economic problems solved by knowledge rhetorical/political argumentation (55) major resolution = recruitment (incl teaching schools) THEN leadership LEADERSHIP SECONDARY TO RECRUITMENT?
COHESION	CONNECTIVES *Coordination or subordination?*	(6) best [and] fastest
	ARGUMENTATION *Any presuppositions? References within/outside text?*	(55) intellectual accomplishment built on for practical classroom skills – presupposition about types of teachers needed? → education practical, not intellectual endeavour (57) schools centre of leadership, not universities – education as school led
GRAMMAR	TRANSITIVITY – *agency, causality Nominalizations (process converted into noun?) Pronouns – we, you?*	(55-58) lots of we, our – to build solidarity with receiver (63,64) – schools becoming academies obfuscates agency. 'schools are taking up our offer' – assumes all agents in school positive about move?
	THEME – *pattern? 'givens'?*	global competition throughout keeps returning to focus of quality of teaching ⇌ recruitment
	MODALITY – *degree of certainty?*	(11) single most effective (48) these are facts } strong, certain modality. Facts = uncontestable!
VOCABULARY	WORD MEANING – *ideologically contested?*	(55) 'craft' of teaching (62-65) freedom, autonomy, choice
	WORDING – *rewording? Borrowed words? Euphemisms?*	(83) 'revamping' performance tables – not changing: plays down changes to system!
	METAPHOR – *why this metaphor?* (76) taken under the wing – caring, maternal – not hostile	(45) RCTs – education as 'cure' metaphor – used to pejoratively position lack of education. disease – dangerous. Cure: simple, possible, requires 'medical' approach.
POLITENESS	Hierarchies (basically): *Who are the participants?* *What are the differences between participants?* *What are the social relations between participants?*	(55-58) Hierarchy of graduates entering profession 'better qualified' 'elite route' 'top graduates' (57) 'strong' and 'weak' schools/academies (55) modelled on teaching hospitals – teaching as lesser profession?
ETHOS	*"Interpersonal metafunction" – particularly connected with identity construction* *How do all the above [particularly] combine to construct social identities*	>need for further improvement → push for greater improvement >hierarchy of teacher entrants >improved entrants = improved education } need to identify as top of hierarchy?

Appendix B: Themes identified as points of departure for phase two of the project

Value (Fairclough, 1992)	Code	Theme identified in phase one analysis	ECT go-along interviews – springboard questions	ECT Focus Group – ranking activity	SLT Interview – springboard questions
EXPERIENTIAL (Construct knowledges and beliefs)	E1	Academisation	→What attracted you to work at this school/MAT? →Talk about MAT/School logos on display →Talk about MAT/School policies on display	→Work in an academy/MAT	→Vision of MAT/school →How MAT is unique →How has primary landscape changed post-2010
	E2	Primary failure	→Why did you choose to become a primary teacher?	→Do what works to get results →Work to improve their teaching	→Vision of MAT/school →Pedagogical approach of MAT/school → How has primary landscape changed post-2010
	E3	Futurity		→Prepare students for the future	→Vision of MAT/school →Characteristics of ECTs
	E4	School-led ITT and teacher development	→Tell me about your teacher training. →Where do you have staff training? What does it cover?	→Trained 'on the job' – school-led ITT	→Recruitment and retention policies →Training route and qualifications of ECTs →Reflect on own route into teaching and compare
	E5	'Banking' model of education/Knowledge Based Curriculum (KBC)		→Deliver knowledge to students →Do what works to get results	→Pedagogical approach of MAT/school
	E6	Competition		→Competitive	→Training route and qualifications of ECTs

					→Characteristics of ECTs →Vision and pedagogical approach of MAT/school
	E7	Apolitical approach to education	*Do not explicitly raise – sensitive topic*		
	E8	Pragmatic 'what works' pedagogies	→Talk about organisation of classroom	→Do what works to get results	→Vision and pedagogical approach of MAT →Characteristics of ECTs
	E9	City/Rural divide	→Why did you choose to teach here, particularly?		
RELATIONAL (Construct social relationships)	R1	School culture	→Talk about displays/policies on view/classroom arrangement	→Work in an academy/MAT	→Vision and pedagogical approach of MAT/school
	R2	Care/Pupil relationships	→Vision/ethos of school and MAT		→Vision and pedagogical approach of MAT/school
	R3	Monitoring/Surveillance	→Talk about SLT offices		→How are ECTs supported/developed →Characteristics of ECTs
	R4	Behaviour management	→Talk about displays linked to behaviour management →Vision/ethos of school/MAT	→Do what works to get results	→Characteristics of ECTs
	R5	Social mobility	→Why did you choose to work here, particularly →Talk about personal values and pedagogical approach		

EXPRESSIVE (Construct subjects)	S1	Creativity/Imagination	→Vision/ethos of school/MAT →Individual pedagogical approach →Arrangement of classroom →Talk about personal values and pedagogical approach	→Creative/imaginative	→Characteristics of ECTs →Pedagogical approach of MAT/school
	S2	Affective rewards	→Rewards of being a teacher →Why did you choose to become a primary teacher?		→ Reflect on own route into teaching and compare
	S3	Intensification/workload	→What do you do outside teaching? →Talk me through a normal day →What do you come here (to the staffroom) for?		→Characteristics of ECTs → Reflect on own route into teaching and compare
	S4	Leadership ambition	→How do you see your future?	→Climb up the career ladder quickly	→Characteristics of ECTs
	S5	Career changers	→Why did you choose to become a primary teacher?		
	S6	Subject specialism		→Subject specialist	
	S7	Research-led	→What resources do you use when planning?	→Use research and evidence	→Characteristics of ECTs- →Pedagogical approach of MAT/school
	S8	Efficiency	→Talk me through a		→Characteristics of ECTs

			normal class/day		
	S9	Self-improvement	→What do you do outside teaching? →What resources do you use when planning? →Talk about organisation of classroom →Talk about training	→Use research and evidence →Climb up the career ladder quickly →Subject specialist	→Characteristics of ECTs →How are ECTs supported/developed
	S10	The 'new teacher'	→What tips would you give to new teachers entering the profession? →Tell me about your teacher training.		→Characteristics of ECTs →Talk about different training routes

Appendix C: Pre-interview information sheets sent to ECTs and SLT participants, outlining areas that would be covered during interview

GO-ALONG [WALKING] INTERVIEWS WITH EARLY CAREER TEACHERS

Thank you for agreeing to take part in the research project *New Faces and Changing Places*.

I have booked an hour of time for each interview, however, I understand how busy teachers are and please do not feel that you need to give the full hour. I expect most interviews will last about 30 minutes. Any time that you can spare is much appreciated.

The go-along interview mainly involves the researcher being led on a tour of the school by the teacher being interviewed. You are in control! You might want to think about the tour or plan your route in advance – it depends on the person. Some people like to plan in advance, and some people like to go with the flow on the day. It is up to you. If you would like to have a think in advance, I have provided some ideas for places to visit and questions I might ask below, but these are just a guide and I might ask other questions depending on where I am taken.

Please be aware that as go-along interviews take place in busy public spaces, these interviews cannot be kept confidential in the same way as traditional interviews. I suggest that interviews conclude in a private classroom so there is an opportunity to discuss some topics in confidence.

PERSONAL RESPONSES/COMPARISONS

- Aspects of the school environment that attracted you to work at this particular school
- Aspects of the school environment that you think are different from other schools, either outside the MAT or within the MAT

DISPLAYS

- School or MAT mottos or slogans – how do they make you feel?
- Displays which encapsulate school or MAT values – how do they help you and the pupils?
- Displays which indicate the pedagogical approach of the school – are these helpful for the classroom too?
- Displays which you have been responsible for – how did you choose what to put up?

CLASSROOMS

- Explain why you chosen to organise your classroom furniture/displays this way.
- Where do you spend most of your time in the classroom and why?
- Do you share your classroom with other teachers? Do teachers move between classrooms to observe and share ideas?

STAFFROOM

- Is there a staffroom? Is it well used?
- What is the staffroom used for? Informal and/or formal events?
- Does training take place here? If so, what sort of training takes place here and what elsewhere?
- What sort of conversations happen here, what do you talk about?

OFFICES

- What kind of work happens in the offices and how does it help you in the classroom?

COMMUNAL SCHOOL SPACES (Playground, lunch hall, library etc.)

- How are these spaces different from the classroom? Do the students behave differently? Do the teachers behave differently?
- How do these spaces support the vision or ethos of the school?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR SENIOR LEADERS

Thank you for agreeing to take part in the research project *New Faces and Changing Places*.

Your interview will be focused around the six topics below. For each topic I have detailed the main questions/things to think about so that you can consider the discussion in advance if you would like to. Don't feel that you have to do this – it depends on the person. Some people feel more comfortable having an idea of the discussion in advance, others prefer to let questions unfold on the day.

I might ask additional questions, further to those detailed here, depending on your answers.

I have booked an hour of time for each interview, however, I understand how busy teachers are and please do not feel that you need to give the full hour. I expect most interviews will last about 30 minutes. Any time that you can spare is much appreciated. If you would like to conduct this interview by telephone rather than at school, that can be arranged.

1. YOUR SCHOOL AND MAT

Tell me about your School and your MAT. You could talk about:

- Vision
- Pedagogical approach
- Your school's relationship with your MAT

And there might be other things you think are interesting to talk about.
Why did you choose to work here? What is special about your school? Tell me what you like about it!

2. NEW/EARLY CAREER TEACHERS IN YOUR SCHOOL AND MAT

How does your school support and develop NQTs and teachers in the early stages of their career (up to 5 years approximately).
How does your MAT support and develop NQTs and teachers in the early stages of their career (up to 5 years approximately).

3. CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW/EARLY CAREER TEACHERS

Imagine you are hiring a new teacher or a teacher in the early stages of their career.
What sort of qualities would you look for?
You might like to think about:

- Knowledge
- Skills
- Beliefs
- Qualifications
- Training route
- Attitude

There may be other attributes you can add to this list!

4. ACADEMISATION POLICY

How do you feel the primary school landscape has changed since primaries have been allowed to become academies?
Do you think this policy has affected new teachers or teachers in the early stages of their career? If so, how?

5. YOUR EXPERIENCES AS AN NEW/EARLY CAREER TEACHER

Think back to your own time as a new and early career stage teacher.
Can you tell me a little about your experiences?

How do you think the NQT/Early career experience is different now for teachers entering the profession?
Do you think NQTs/Early career teachers as a group are different now than in the past?

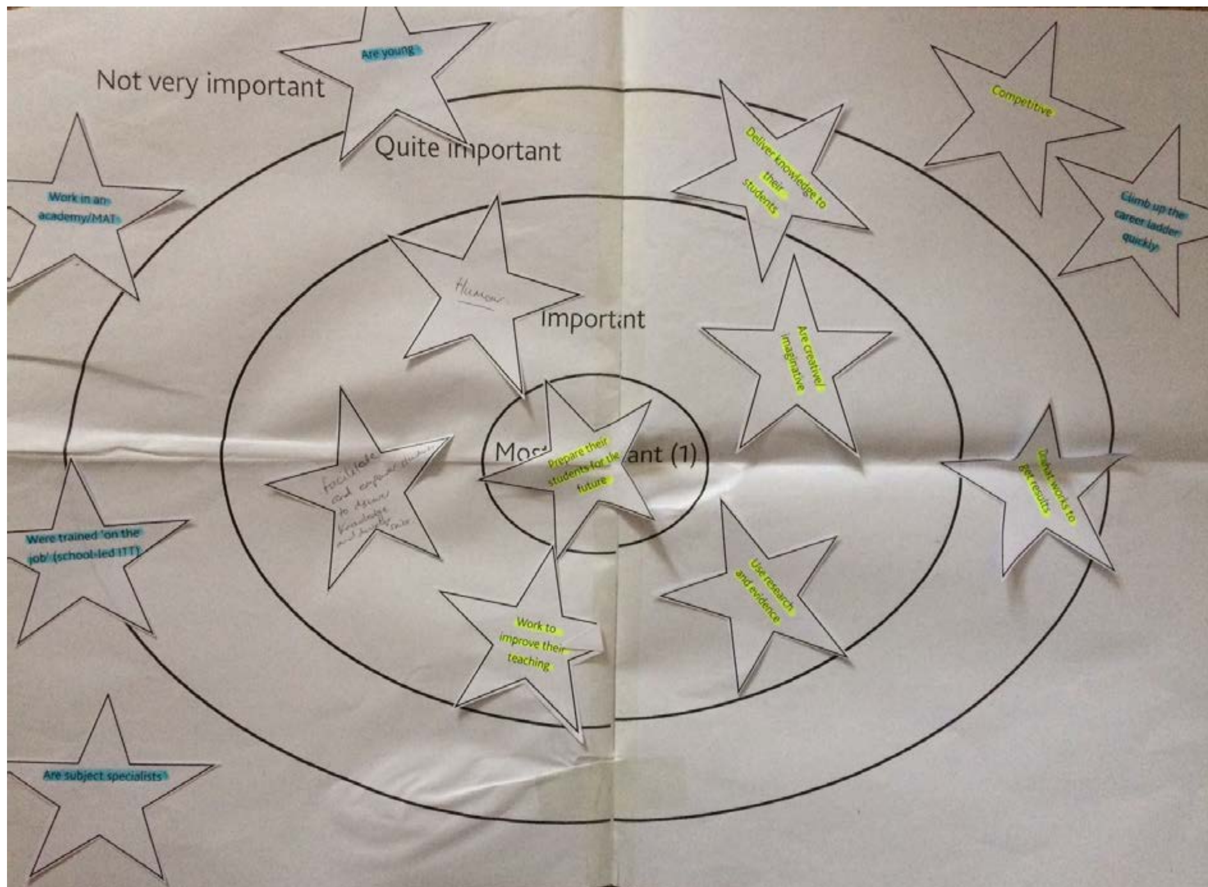
6. RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION

Consider the current well-publicised problems with teacher recruitment and retention.
What do you think could be done to retain new teachers in the profession? You might consider:

- Strategies that work in this school or MAT
- Government policy

You might also be able to suggest possible improvements.

Appendix D: Example of completed focus group ranking activity



Participants were asked, as a group, to rank how important they considered the following characteristics of teachers, and to particularly consider how important they were for ECTs. Only one of the characteristics was allowed to be placed in the centre of the page as 'most important.'

- Work in an academy/MAT
- Trained 'on the job' through a school-led ITT route
- Subject specialist
- Young
- Competitive
- Climb up the career ladder quickly
- Work to improve their teaching
- Use research and evidence
- Creative/imaginative
- Deliver knowledge to their students
- Do what works to get results
- Prepare their students for the future

Participants were also provided with blank stars so they could add their own ideas. Following the pilot, these characteristics were divided into two categories. Blue characteristics were more fixed (being young, having done school-led ITT etc.) and yellow characteristics were more dynamic or changeable (competitive, deliver knowledge to students etc.) These categories were simply intended to give groups a starting point, as those who took part in the pilot said the amount of items to rank was slightly off-putting at first, so these categories were intended to help the group determine which items to start with.

Appendix E: Member checking information, detailing modified Jefferson transcription

TRANSCRIBING SYMBOLS

You will notice when you read the transcription of our interview that I have added in several transcription symbols. The aim of this is to try and replicate on paper the different accents that are made in fluid speech to provide a more accurate representation of the conversation. For your information this sheet supplies details of the transcription symbols used.

When member checking your transcript, please pay particular attention to transcriptions highlighted in yellow or blue (further information below).

Symbol	Meaning
(0.02)	Transcriber cannot hear well enough to transcribe, unable to get what was said. Number indicate how long the gap is.
(.) (…)	Pause. Longer number of full stops indicates longer pause.
£	Laughter, talking while laughing
°xx°	Speech quieter than surrounding speech
CAPS	Speech louder than surrounding speech
<	Hurried start to speech
hh	Outbreath
°hh	Inbreath
We::ll	Preceding sound lengthened. Number of colons indicates how long the sound is lengthened for.
↑	Upward inflection
↓	Downward inflection
U/line	Word emphasised in speech somehow
[[]	Speech overlap
=	Speech continued
*	Non-speech sound (e.g., banging on table)
((loud))	Transcriber's description/interpretation (I have indicated these with yellow highlighter in the first draft transcription so the reader can identify and comment if they choose to)
NP	Indicates non-participant spoken about
~~NP~~	Strikethrough indicates non-participant's contribution transcribed: *this will be removed from final transcript/publication but is included here so participant can check for sense*
Red	Indicates name that will be anonymised in final transcript
Blue h/l	Indicates that the transcriber feels the inclusion of this word *may* reduce the anonymity of the participant and suggests the participant thinks about whether they would like to change to something else (e.g., topic Victorians changed to Cars to lessen likelihood of connections being made by readers)

Transcribing symbols developed from Jefferson, G. (2004) 'Glossary of Transcript Symbols' taken from Gene H. Lerner (Ed.) *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation,* pp. 24-31.

Appendix F: Application for ethical approval, phase one (Granted: 14 December 2017)

Application for Ethical Approval (PGR Student)

To be completed by staff and associate researchers proposing to undertake ANY research involving humans [that is research with living human beings; human beings who have died (cadavers, human remains and body parts); embryos and fetuses, human tissue, DNA and bodily fluids; data and records relating to humans; human burial sites] or animals.

Section A: Researcher and Project Details

PGR Student:	Kathryn Spicksley
Director of Studies:	Alison Kington
Email:	k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk
Institute/Department:	Education
Project Title:	New Faces and Changing Places: The impact of academisation on the professional identity of early career primary teachers
Is project externally funded or been submitted to an external funder?	No
Name of Funder:	n/a
UW bid reference number:	n/a

Section B: Checklist

		Yes	No
1.	Does your proposed research involve the collection of data from living humans?	☐	☒
2.	Does your proposed research require access to secondary data or documentary material of a sensitive or confidential nature from other organisations?	☐	☒
3.	Does your proposed research involve the use of data or documentary material which (a) is not anonymised **and** (b) is of a sensitive or confidential nature **and** (c) relates to the living or recently deceased?	☐	☒
4.	Does your proposed research involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent?	☐	☒
5.	Will your proposed research require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited?	☐	☒
6.	Will financial inducements be offered to participants in your proposed research beyond reasonable expenses and/or compensation for time?	☐	☒
7.	Will your proposed research involve collection of data relating to sensitive topics?	☐	☒
8.	Will your proposed research involve collection of security-sensitive materials?	☐	☒
9.	Is pain or discomfort likely to result from your proposed research?	☐	☒
10.	Could your proposed research induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?	☐	☒
11.	Will it be necessary for participants to take part in your proposed research without their knowledge and consent at the time?	☐	☒
12.	Does your proposed research involve deception?	☐	☒
13.	Will your proposed research require the gathering of information about unlawful activity?	☐	☒
14.	Will invasive procedures be part of your proposed research?	☐	☒
15.	Will your proposed research involve prolonged, high intensity or repetitive testing?	☐	☒
16.	Does your proposed research involve the testing or observation of animals?	☐	☒
17.	Does your proposed research involve the significant destruction of invertebrates?	☐	☒
18.	Does your proposed research involve collection of DNA, cells, tissues or other samples from humans or animals?	☐	☒
19.	Does your proposed research involve human remains?	☐	☒
20.	Does your proposed research involve human burial sites?	☐	☒
21.	Will the proposed data collection in part or in whole be undertaken outside the UK?	☐	☒

22. Does your proposed research involve NHS patients or premises? ☐ ☒

23. Does your proposed research involve NHS staff? ☐ ☒

If the answers to any of these questions change during the course of your research, you should discuss this with your supervisor immediately

Signatures

By signing below I declare that I have answered the questions above honestly and to the best of my knowledge:

PGR Student: -- **Date:** ----------------------

By signing below I declare that I am satisfied with the student's answers to these questions:

Director of Studies: -- **Date:** ----------------------

(**Please note** that the Lead Researcher is, where applicable, signing on behalf of all researchers involved with the research)

If you have answered NO to all questions you should now submit this form to ethics@worc.ac.uk .

If you have answered YES to one or more questions you must now complete **Section C** (below) and submit the completed form to ethics@worc.ac.uk identifying the Research Ethics Committee you wish to review your application in the subject line.

Section C: Full Application

Please tick one of the boxes below. Please consult the relevant guidance before doing so.

I wish to submit for Full Review	☐
I wish to submit for Proportionate Review	☒

Details of the research Outline the context and rationale for the research, the aims and objectives of the research and the methods of data collection
In 2010, the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition government expanded the academy schools programme, a scheme originally introduced under the previous Labour administration to improve 'failing' secondary schools. The process of expansion, referred to as 'academisation', brought high-performing secondary and primary schools into the academy sector. Academy schools differ from other state schools as they report directly to, and are funded directly by, the Department for Education. Academy schools have the legal status of an independent school. As a result of their funding situation and legal status, Academy schools hold more autonomy over staffing and curriculum issues than state schools managed within their Local Authorities. Currently, 22% of all primary schools hold academy status (3,707 schools). The most rapid expansion of academy status is currently in the primary sector (DfE, 2017). Recently, schools have been encouraged to convert to academy status by becoming part of a 'Multi-Academy Trust' (MAT), a group of schools managed by one unitary executive leadership team. One of the features of high-performing MATs is their commitment to rapid progress to leadership for high-performing Early Career Teachers (ECTs) (House of Commons, 2017). MATs are also having an impact on workforce movement, as teachers are increasingly recruited to contracts under the MAT rather than an individual school, and can therefore be contractually obliged to move between schools within the same MAT (Worth, 2017). This research is timely in exploring the changes to ECT role and identity which are taking place as a result of the academisation process within the primary state education sector. Previous research on career identity in academies has generally focused on senior leaders or executive management roles. This research project aims to extend the body of research on academisation in England by focusing on its effects as perceived by ECTs - teachers who have been teaching between 5 and 7 years. Academic research on teacher identity has frequently portrayed ECTs as particularly vulnerable to attrition (Gallant & Riley, 2014). There has recently been a high media interest in the attrition rate of ECTs in England, with four in ten new teachers reportedly leaving the teaching profession within a year of qualifying (The Guardian, 31 March 2015). It is hoped that this research will contribute to an understanding of why ECTs choose to start their careers in academies, and whether the ethos and culture of academy schools is particularly supportive, attractive or detrimental to ECTs. The research aims to explore and critically analyse: - Representations of ECTs in government policy documents and MAT literature; - Structural aspects of academy primary schools which affect ECTs; - Personal responses of ECTs to aspects of working in a MAT and the expectations of their role. The research project has been designed to develop over three distinct, but interrelated phases: PHASE 1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of policy texts (Taylor, 2013); PHASE 2. Qualitative case studies in MAT schools; PHASE 3. Quantitative survey to extend qualitative findings.

This application for ethical approval relates ONLY to PHASE 1 of the research. I will submit separate applications for Phase 2 and 3 once the first phase is completed, because the findings of the CDA (Phase 1) will determine the design of the later qualitative and quantitative phases.

The conceptual framework for the research is primarily Foucauldian. Foucault theorized that power and knowledge worked symbiotically, producing systems which worked on the identity formations of individuals (Foucault, 1982). For this reason, a CDA of 'prescriptive texts' (Foucault, 1978) is required in order to analyse the ways that those in positions of educational power are currently acting on the subjectivities of ECTs, by developing particular 'knowledges' about what constitutes a 'good' or 'poor' ECT. Prescriptive texts are texts which are intended to govern the conduct of individuals or institutions. The prescriptive texts I will analyse in Phase 1 of my research include:

- Government recruitment website pages (Get Into Teaching)
- Government White and Green Papers
- Reports commissioned by the government (e.g., the Carter Review of Initial Teacher Training)
- Department for Education Academies Annual Reports
- House of Commons Education Committee Reports
- Documents produced by policy think-tanks sympathetic to the academy programme (for example, CentreForum/The Education Policy Institute, Reform).
- Public documents about the academy programme or teacher training produced by individuals in privileged positions of educational power (for example, public statements made by the OfSTED Lead Inspector, or the Secretary of State for Education).
- OfSTED reports of MAT schools

All of these documents are public documents, and the majority are freely available online. None of the documents are defined as sensitive under the Data Protection Act 1998. I am not intending to undertake any interviews or other forms of interaction at this phase in the research, only a CDA on publicly available documents. For this reason I am submitting for proportionate review at this stage.

Following Phase 1 of the research, I intend to undertake a qualitative research phase in MAT schools which intends to explore the extent to which ECTs are conforming to or resisting representations of their identity and role as displayed in the prescriptive policy texts researched in Phase 1. As the research design of Phase 2 will depend heavily on the findings of Phase 1, a further application for ethical approval will be submitted at this later stage. Phase 2 and Phase 3 of the research will involve interaction with human subjects and will, therefore, be submitted for full review.

Alongside this form I have included a visual representation of my research design with the phases clearly indicated. The research design is based on a Mixed Methods design produced by Creswell and Plano Clark (2007).

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Who are your participants/subjects? (if applicable)

The focus of Phase 1 of the research is textual analysis using a CDA methodology. The objects of research will therefore be policy texts and not human subjects.
Case studies of individuals/schools may appear in policy texts and therefore may be analysed as part of the CDA. For example, Mossbourne Academy frequently appears in policy texts as an example of a high-performing academy school. Although these institutions/individuals will not have provided explicit consent to participate in my research study, consent will have been given to be featured as a case study as part of a public-facing document in the majority of cases.
It is also important to note that although institutions and individuals may appear in the texts I will be using as part of the Phase 1 CDA, the object of analysis is the text itself, rather than the behaviour or actions of an institution or individual mentioned within the text.

How do you intend to recruit your participants? (if applicable)
This should explain the means by which participants in the research will be recruited. If any incentives and/or compensation (financial or other) is to be offered to participants, this should be clearly explained and justified.

The objects of analysis during Phase 1 of the research will be texts rather than participants. All the texts which I will analyse as part of the CDA will be freely accessible to the public, either available online or to purchase through standard booksellers (Amazon, Waterstones, Blackwells). As I will be investigating texts which are intended to have an impact on the conduct of schools and teachers, it is important that the texts chosen as part of the Phase 1 CDA analysis are texts which are freely available to institutions and teachers. I will therefore limit my analysis to texts which are easily accessible to the general public.
This phase of the research does not involve working with human participants. Further applications will be submitted for later phases of the research which involve human participants.

How will you gain informed consent/assent? (if applicable)
Where you will provide an information sheet and/or consent form, please append this. If you are undertaking a deception study or covert research please outline how you will debrief participants below

This phase of the research does not involve working with human participants. Further applications will be submitted for later phases of the research which involve human participants. Consent from participants will not be required as all the texts used as part of the CDA will be available in the public domain.
However, I will draw a distinction between two different types of text used in the CDA with regard to consent. Some schools and individuals may be named in policy texts as examples of high-performing academies, and will be named in case studies. These schools and individuals will have provided their consent to be used as an example of a high-performing

school in a policy document, and therefore it would be unnecessary to anonymise these schools or inidividuals in the reporting of the Phase 1 analysis.
However, although OfSTED reports are freely available online, schools are required to publish these and therefore do not 'opt-in' or explicitly consent to their publication. The use of OfSTED reports in my CDA phase of the research project therefore presents an ethical grey area. It is possible that some academies would not want their OfSTED reports to be used in research. In order to minimise the risk of institutions or individuals feeling uncomfortable that OfSTED reports have been used without their explicit consent, I will anonymise the names of all institutions and individuals in OfSTED reports used as part of the CDA.

Confidentiality, anonymity, data storage and disposal (if applicable)
Provide explanation of any measures to preserve confidentiality and anonymity of data, including specific explanation of data storage and disposal plans.

The documents I intend to use in the CDA are all available in the public domain and therefore stringent measures do not need to be put into place in order to ensure confidentiality/anonymity. As stated previous, I will take additional care to anonymise any OfSTED reports used in the CDA phase of the research.
It is possible that by linking findings from Phase 1 of the research with participants in Phase 2 and 3 of the research, the confidentiality or anonymity of participants could be compromised. For this reason, care will be taken to ensure that no links are made between the institutions referred to in documents analysed in Phase 1 of the research, and schools taking part in Phases 2 and 3 of the research (see below for further information on this).
A data collection and storage plan, intended for all phases of the research project, is included with the application. The YELLOW areas on the data collection plan refer to Phase 1 of the project, and are therefore the only areas relevant to this ethics application. The data collection plan indicates that:
- Data for the CDA phase will be collected through online or library research;
- Data for the CDA phase is available in the public domain;
- Data for the CDA phase will be stored on a password protected laptop and USB back-up drive;
- Any hard copies of data used during the CDA phase will NOT be stored in double locked storage (as these texts are freely accessible to the general public);
- The CDA will be facilitated through an NVivo analysis. This NVivo analysis will only be accessible through a password protected laptop and USB back-up drive and will not be stored on hard copy. In order for others to gain access to this analysis, it would be necessary to make an email request to myself as the researcher;
- The documents used as part of the CDA analysis, and the NVivo analysis of this phase will be kept electronically for 10 years after the project conclusion and then destroyed;
- Any documents used as part of the CDA analysis which exist in hard copy will not be destroyed, as they are available in the public domain.

It is intended that this data collection and storage plan will be revised and resubmitted during ethical applications for Phase 2 (blue areas of the plan) and Phase 3 (pink areas of the plan) of the research project.

Potential risks to participants/subjects (if applicable)
Identify any risks for participants/subjects that may arise from the research and how you intend to mitigate these risks.

In some of the documents analysed as part of the CDA specific schools or individuals may be named. For example, a case study of a successful school in an Academy Annual Report may name the headteacher, and would explicitly state the name of the school. It is possible that these institutions of individuals may participate in Phase 2 and/or Phase 3 of the research project. In this case, it will be necessary to ensure that the final research does not make links between different phases of the research which could compromise the confidentiality or anonymity of any research participants or institutions. For example, it would be inappropriate to state that 'School B was described in the Academies Report 2014 as a school which successfully provides for its students', as this would allow the reader to discover the name of the school. Care will need to be taken to ensure that the findings of the CDA in Phase 1 of the study will not compromise the confidentiality or anonymity of the research participants in Phase 2 or 3.

Any OfSTED reports used as part of the CDA analysis will be anonymised, and in order to prevent any links between schools used in Phase 1 and Phase 2 and/or 3 of the research, different names will be used for the purposes of anonymisation across the phases. So, for example, School B would be referred to as 'Sixhills' when reporting on Phase 1 of the research, whereas the same school would be referred to as 'Goose Academy' in Phase 2/3 of the research. This will limit the possibility of schools being identified, and also minimise the risks of highlighting poor OfSTED results of schools which have not explicitly consented to participating in Phase 1 of the research.

Other ethical issues

Identify any other ethical issues (not addressed in the sections above) that may arise from your research and how you intend to address them.

It is possible that the findings of the CDA phase of the research could affect the way that I approach schools which participate in Phases 2 and 3. For example, if a school appears as a case study in a policy document as particularly supportive of ECTs, and I then research within this particular school in Phases 2 and/or 3, this could affect the way that I interpret and analyse qualitative and/or quantitative research findings gathered in Phases 2 and 3. This could compromise the integrity of the research.

In order to mitigate this risk I intend to verify my analysis at Phases 1, 2 and 3 with my supervisory team. It may be necessary to avoid researching in schools during Phases 2 and 3 which I have previously analysed as part of the Phase 1 CDA. If a school were to participate in Phase 2 or 3 of the study which had also been part of the Phase 1 CDA, a small pilot study would be employed within the school in order to explore the extent to which this may compromise the integrity of the research. A pilot study would determine whether it would be appropriate to move on to a full study, after discussion of the findings with my supervisory team. This research project is exploratory with each phase depending on the findings of the previous; submitting an ethics application at each phase of the research provides an opportunity to review my ethical practice throughout the research study, allowing for an appreciation of ethical research as an ongoing practice rather than a fixed and completed point in the research project.

OfSTED reports present an ethical grey area, as previously discussed, as unlike case studies in government reports the schools do not consent to them being published; it is a requirement that OfSTED reports are published. A poor OfSTED report can have a damaging effect on the reputation of a school and the professional standing of people who work within them. OfSTED reports are freely available on school websites and on the OfSTED website, so my research would only be drawing attention to these schools if OfSTED information was published without anonymity being granted to the school, rather than bringing this information into the public domain for the first time. However, even though I would not be making the OfSTED data public for the first time, I feel it would be appropriate to grant anonymity to schools when reporting on their OfSTED results as part of Phase 1 of the research project. Although some schools may be happy for their successes to be

analysed, other schools with poorer OfSTED results may feel uncomfortable that their reports were being used without their consent. I wish to minimise the risk of reputational harm or discomfort that might be caused to these institutions by highlighting their OfSTED reports in my research. I therefore intend to mitigate this risk by anonymising OfSTED reports at the reporting stage (in the final thesis and any publications). As all OfSTED reports are freely available online, it will be impossible to entirely negate the possibility that schools researched in the CDA phase of my analysis could be identified, but anonymising OfSTED reports will minimise this risk and provide additional anonymity to schools.
Published ethical guidelines to be followed Identify the professional code(s) of practice and/or ethical guidelines relevant to the subject domain of the research.
University of Worcester Ethics Policy. Available online at: https://www.worcester.ac.uk/researchworcester/documents/Ethics_Policy_version_2.0_June_2017.pdf British Educational Research Association (BERA) Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (2011)

Declaration of PGR Student
I have read the University Ethics Policy and any relevant codes of practice or guidelines and I have identified and addressed the ethical issues in my research honestly and to the best of my knowledge

Signature: **Date:** 5-12-2017

Declaration of Director of Studies
I am satisfied that the student has identified and addressed the ethical issues in their research

Signature: **Date:** 5-12-2017

Document Checklist

Please tick boxes below to identify which documents are sent with this application:

Consent Form	☐
Participant Information Sheet	☐
Data Collection Tool	☐
Other documents (please specify): **Research Design indicating phases of research** **Data Collection and Storage Plan**	☒

Appendix G: Application for ethical approval, phase two (Granted: 20 March 2018)

Application for Ethical Approval (PGR Student)

To be completed by staff and associate researchers proposing to undertake ANY research involving humans [that is research with living human beings; human beings who have died (cadavers, human remains and body parts); embryos and fetuses, human tissue, DNA and bodily fluids; data and records relating to humans; human burial sites] or animals.

Section A: Researcher and Project Details

PGR Student:	Kathryn Spicksley
Director of Studies:	Alison Kington
Email:	k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk
Institute/ Department:	Education
Project Title:	New Faces and Changing Places: The impact of academisation on the professional identity of early career primary teachers.
Is project externally funded or been submitted to an external funder?	No
Name of Funder:	n/a
UW Bid Reference Number:	n/a

Section B: Checklist

		Yes	No
1.	Does your proposed research involve the collection of data from living humans?	☒	☐
2.	Does your proposed research require access to secondary data or documentary material of a sensitive or confidential nature from other organisations?	☐	☒
3.	Does your proposed research involve the use of data or documentary material which (a) is not anonymised **and** (b) is of a sensitive or confidential nature **and** (c) relates to the living or recently deceased?	☐	☒
4.	**Does your proposed research involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent? [1]**	☐	☒
5.	Will your proposed research require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited?	☒	☐
6.	Will financial inducements be offered to participants in your proposed research beyond reasonable expenses and/or compensation for time?	☐	☒
7.	**Will your proposed research involve collection of data relating to sensitive topics? [2]**	☐	☒
8.	Will your proposed research involve collection of security-sensitive materials?	☐	☒
9.	Is pain or discomfort likely to result from your proposed research?	☐	☒
10.	Could your proposed research induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?	☐	☒
11.	Will it be necessary for participants to take part in your proposed research without their knowledge and consent at the time?	☐	☒
12.	Does your proposed research involve deception?	☐	☒
13.	Will your proposed research require the gathering of information about unlawful activity?	☐	☒
14.	Will invasive procedures be part of your proposed research?	☐	☒
15.	Will your proposed research involve prolonged, high intensity or repetitive testing?	☐	☒
16.	Does your proposed research involve the testing or observation of animals?	☐	☒
17.	Does your proposed research involve the significant destruction of invertebrates?	☐	☒
18.	Does your proposed research involve collection of DNA, cells, tissues or other samples from humans or animals?	☐	☒
19.	Does your proposed research involve human remains?	☐	☒
20.	Does your proposed research involve human burial sites?	☐	☒
21.	Will the proposed data collection in part or in whole be undertaken outside the UK?	☐	☒
22.	Does your proposed research involve NHS staff or premises?	☐	☒
23.	Does your proposed research involve NHS patients?	☐	☒

If the answers to any of these questions change during the course of your research, you should discuss this with your supervisor immediately

Signatures

By signing below I declare that I have answered the questions above honestly and to the best of my knowledge:

PGR Student:		**Date:**	01/03/2018

By signing below I declare that I am satisfied with the student's answers to these questions:

Director of Studies:		**Date:**	05/03/2018

(**Please note** that the Lead Researcher is, where applicable, signing on behalf of all researchers involved with the research)

If you have answered NO to all questions you should now submit this form to ethics@worc.ac.uk .

If you have answered YES to one or more questions you must now complete **Section C** (below) and submit the completed form to ethics@worc.ac.uk identifying the Research Ethics Committee you wish to review your application in the subject line.

Section C: Full Application

Please tick one of the boxes below. Please consult the relevant guidance before doing so.

I wish to submit for Full Review	☐
I wish to submit for Proportionate Review	☒

Details of the research Outline the context and rationale for the research, the aims and objectives of the research and the methods of data collection
Since 2010, successive Conservative-led governments have rapidly expanded the academy school programme, a programme originally introduced under the previous Labour administration as a way to transform 'failing' secondary schools. Following the 2010 Academies Act, it became possible for primary schools to convert to academy status. Primary schools converting to academy status have since been encouraged to join 'Multi-Academy Trusts' (MATs), umbrella organisations responsible for the management of groups of academy schools. Academy status provides schools with more autonomy than maintained schools over staffing, pay and conditions. Legally academy schools have the status of independent schools. There is evidence to suggest that MATs are changing the working conditions of teachers. Worth (2017) recently found that MATs were employing teachers directly, rather than at a school level. These employment conditions make it easier for MATs to move teachers between different schools within the same MAT group, which may be impacting on expected career trajectories and commitment to individual schools. Furthermore, Conservative-led governments since 2010 have reformed Initial Teacher Training (ITT), increasing the amount of school-led ITT delivery. Some high-profile MATs now provide school-based teacher training, including ARK, Harris Federation, Oasis and Outwood Grange. School-based teacher training blurs the traditional boundaries between teacher training and the Newly-Qualified Teacher (NQT) year. Also, rapid promotion to middle and senior leadership roles is a recognised feature of some high-performing MATs (HC 204, 2017). It is clear, therefore, that the MAT structure has the capacity to significantly impact on the working lives, career expectations and identities of the teachers who choose to work within them. Research into the academy sector is a developing field. Much research on the academy system is quantitative, and aims to determine the impact of academy status on student outcomes (for example, Hutchings & Francis, 2017; Gorard, 2014). Very little research has been specifically directed towards academy primary schools. Research into the identities of teachers who work in academy schools has generally been limited to those on the senior leadership teams (SLT) of academy schools, or those in executive roles. This research therefore aims to extend the current body of research on academies by looking at the impact of academisation on Early Career Teachers (ECTs) working in primary settings. Previous research on the career development of teachers has distinguished the first 7/8 years of teaching as the Early Career Phase (Huberman, 1993; Day et al., 2007). During this phase, inexperienced teachers are understood to move through a process of stabilizing their teacher identity and consolidating their classroom pedagogies, before looking towards promotion during the next phase of their career. The rapid promotion experienced by some ECTs when working in MATs therefore troubles previous research into teacher identity and career development. There is also evidence to suggest that some MATs determine very prescriptive schemes of work for their teaching staff, to ensure consistency across the MAT. Harris Federation, for example, uses a form of mathematics teaching called *Effective Maths* which is delivered through a series of powerpoint

slides. Outwood Grange claim to plan for an 80/20 ratio of prescription/autonomy, where MAT academies follow centrally prescribed policies and curriculum 80 per cent of the time and have discretion over the remaining 20 per cent. The emphasis on prescribed schemes of work limits the amount of time neophyte teachers need to determine their own pedagogical style, and supports opportunities for promotion at an early stage in the career. This research will work with teachers who have 0-8 years experience, providing a comparison with previous longitudinal research into the ECT phase in order to determine the extent to which MAT policies are disrupting previous research findings on the ECT phase.

It is also important to note that, because of the timing of this particular study, all ECTs who will be eligible to participate in the study will have spent the majority of the training and teaching careers working within education policy determined by post-2010 Conservative-led governments. The first phase of my research, currently ongoing, is looking at education policy directed at ECTs under Conservative-led governments since 2010. Preliminary findings indicate that a particular construction of the ECT plays an important role in Conservative education policy. The 'ideal ECT' in current education policy is constructed as research-focused, committed to a knowledge-based curriculum and teacher-led pedagogical delivery, and dedicated to social mobility. Examples of 'ideal ECTs' within policy documents indicate a discursive link between the 'ideal ECT' and academy schools, and also school-led routes into teaching. This research will therefore explore how ECTs working in academy primary schools position themselves in relation to the 'ideal ECT' represented in policy. This is a particularly important issue for primary and early years teachers, as Conservative-led policy has consistently argued that subject specialism within a knowledge (rather than a skills-based) curriculum, leads to improved school outcomes. With the majority of primary and early years teachers training as generalists rather than subject specialists, this policy may also be impacting on the developing identities of ECTs.

Research on the developing identity of ECTs is particularly necessary in the current climate, as there is currently a high attrition rate from the teaching profession during the ECT phase (Weale, 2015). This is a particular issue for teachers with less than 5 years experience of teaching. Findings from the New Faces and Changing Places research project may provide an insight into current recruitment and retention problems, and be of interest to policy makers.

The research aims to explore and critically analyse:
- Representations of ECTs in government policy documents and MAT literature;
- Structural aspects of academy primary schools which have an impact on ECT identity;
- Personal responses of ECTs to aspects of working in a MAT and the expectations of their role.

The research will take place in three phases. PHASE 1 involves a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of policy texts, for which (proportionate) ethical review has already been provided (HASSREC Code HCA17180022, approved 14 December 2017). PHASE 2 will be a case study/case studies in schools belonging to a MAT (Yin, 2009). A final phase, PHASE 3, will involve the collection of quantitative data following the exploratory CDA and case study. A separate ethics application will be submitted for Phase 3 at a later date.

This ethics application relates to PHASE 2 ONLY of the research project. In this phase, I will undertake either a single-site case study or a comparative case study of two MATs. I would prefer to undertake a comparative case study of two MATs with differing profiles, in order to increase the validity of the research findings. However, the project may be limited to one MAT if there are limited responses to my request for participation. There is significant difference between the

number of academy schools different MATs are responsible for. However, I hope to visit 3-5 schools within each participating MAT in order to gain an understanding of how different academies within the MAT function. This could mean a total of up to 10 schools would be visited as part of this research project. It is difficult to project the exact numbers of participants at this stage, however, if 10 schools were to be involved this would involve interviewing c. 20-30 ECTs and c. 10 Senior Leaders.

The ontological framework of the research project is primarily Foucauldian (Foucault, 1978). This ontology will have a significant impact on the questions that I will ask as a researcher and the type of information I am attempting to elicit from participants. I will be avoiding questions of a very personal nature and focusing specifically on professional behaviours and attitudes. I am not aiming to 'dig out' hidden information or private beliefs from the participants, but will instead be taking their language and behaviour at face value, assessing the extent to which the identity of teacher subjects matches that projected by education policy at a structural and institutionsal level. This will allow me to assess areas in which policy has been 'interpellated' (Althusser, 1971) by ECTs and SLT members, and also whether there are areas of clear conflict, resistance or struggle against policy.

The case study will involve:

- GO-ALONG INTERVIEWS[58] with ECTs (Appendix #7). Go-along interviews, also known as walking interviews, are participant-led and aim to break down traditional hierarchies of researcher/researched by placing control of the interview with the participant. The participant leads the researcher around the school site, pointing out areas of interest. The participant will be in control of where to visit, and I as researcher will mainly be trying to gain a sense of the daily life of the participant on an ordinary school day. As the focus of the go-along interview is to gain an idea of the participant's daily life in their workplace, any participants with accessibility issues would only be required to lead the researcher around areas of the schools that they usually access on a normal school day, so the go-along type of interview should not raise any additional accessibility issues for disabled participants.
  The spatial nature of the interview helps to focus the participant on their professional, rather than their personal life (Evans & Jones, 2011). The participant-led nature of the interviews helps to build trust with the participant and helps them to feel comfortable during the interview; the go-along interview is generally less formal than a sit-down interview and feels less claustrophobic for the participant because they are in an open space rather than a confined interview setting. However, the open nature of the interview can be more risky than a traditional interview, as it is easier for the interview to be overheard or for interruptions to happen. In order to mitigate this risk I will: ensure that the questions I ask during the go-along interview are not likely to elicit confidential responses; I will remind the participants that we could be interrupted or overheard during the go-along interview; and I will complete the walking interview with a short follow-up interview in which I ask the participant some questions using a semi-structured approach. These short, follow-up interviews will take place in a quiet classroom where it is less likely that participants will be overheard or interrupted, giving an opportunity for participants to raise any confidential issues in a safer space at the end of the interview. These interviews will also allow me the opportunity to ask any questions that were not covered during the go-along interviews.

[58] I initially called the roaming interviews 'go-along interviews,' as I was avoiding the term 'walking interviews' as some participants may be differently abled and might not walk, and I did not want to make them feel excluded from the interview process. However, the participants generally found this term confusing, and I tended to refer to them as walking or roaming interviews, eventually choosing the term roaming interviews when writing up the final thesis.

In addition, I will also offer all participants the opportunity to participate in a further follow-up interview in a private office space at the University of Worcester or via phone, providing a safe space for participants to talk about the institutions where they work in case they feel uncomfortable disclosing such information on school premises. I will conduct any phone interviews from the meeting room in the Graduate office at Jenny Lind. I will not be conducting any interviews in the homes of participants (or, for that matter, in my own home).

I will ask for these go-along interviews to take place after school hours, when there are no children on the school premises. This is partly because it will allow participants to concentrate on the go-along interview, and mitigate the risk of interruption. However, it is also because there will be less opportunity for me as a researcher to observe and make judgements about the participant's teaching style. This makes it easier for me as a researcher to take what participants say about their teaching style and relationships with students at face value. I think holding the go-along interviews outside school hours will also help the participants to feel more at ease, because they will not feel as if they are being observed in their capacity as teachers.

It is expected the go-along interviews and short follow-up interviews will last no longer than 30-40 minutes each. Sample interview questions and the 'shopping list' (Robson, 2011, p. 285) of topics I hope to address in these go-along interviews is attached.

- FOCUS GROUPS with Early Career Teachers (Appendices #5 and #8). Focus groups are a good way to explore institutional consensus and diversity (Kreuger, 1994). The focus group will involve two short activities in which the participants are encouraged to reflect on their identities as ECTs and about working in a MAT. Senior leaders will not be able to participate in these activities or to observe them, providing a safer space for ECT participants to comment about aspects of working in a MAT or problems they have encountered in the classroom should they wish to do so. Focus groups are a more risky way of collecting data than 1:1 interviews because comments made during the focus group are shared among a wider group of people. For this reason, I will remind all participants at the beginning of the focus group that it is good research behaviour to ensure the confidentiality of comments spoken during the focus group. At the beginning of the focus group I will also state that if there are interruptions during the focus group, for example by senior leaders at the school, I will turn off any audio recording equipment during the interruption and ask that participants turn over any visual data that they are working on. This will reinforce the confidential nature of the focus group and mitigate the risk of any data being shared during an unexpected interruption.

  The first activity will be a quite structured activity where ECTs have to rank comments about ECT behaviours and beliefs on a continuum from most to least important. An example of this activity, which partly acts as a short 'warm up' activity, is attached. It is hoped that the structured nature of this activity will provide additional security and protection to participants taking part in the focus group, as rather than discussing their own ideas about teacher identity they will be reflecting on ideas which have been presented to them by the researcher. During this activity, I may interject by clarifying or drawing out additional responses from participants, and would answer any questions they might have.

  The second activity will be unstructured, drawing from a Deleuzean framework, and involves asking the group to draw maps of their teaching practice in order to visualise the process of becoming a teacher (Martin & Kamberelis, 2013; Cristancho & Fenwick, 2015). Several pieces of paper will be arranged around the room, labelled with typical stages of

development in the Early Career Phase – deciding to become a teacher, training, first school placement, first day in the classroom, first observation etc. The participants will be asked to draw and write comments about how they felt during these development points – blank sheets of paper will also be provided so that participants can add additional development stages if they want to. During the drawing audio recording will be turned off so that participants can relax a little into the activity, ask questions if necessary, and have the opportunity to make comments that they might not make on a recording. Participants will be able to approach the drawing activity in any chronological order and using whatever visual or written techniques they prefer. My role during this activity will be to clarify and draw out responses. The focus group will conclude with a discussion of the visual images used by teachers during their 'mapping', which is intended to draw out areas of similarity and difference in the ECT phase. This plenary will be audio recorded. It is hoped that the activity will encourage participants to reflect on their practice as teachers and their career aspirations. It is expected that these focus groups will last about an hour in total, although they could be split into two half hour sessions to better fit with teacher's busy schedules.

It is important to note that during the set up for both the go-along interviews and the focus groups, I will explicitly state to participants that the main focus of the study is the impact of policy on early career teachers, and as a result there research does not involve a judgement on their effectiveness as teachers and does not constitute any type of performance observation. It is expected that the focus groups will last about an hour in total, with each activity taking between 20 and 30 minutes.

- SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS with senior leaders/executive leaders of MATs (Appendix #6). These interviews will be focused on finding out how the MAT structure can support ECTs in particular, and what MAT leaders expect of teachers in the Early Career Phase. It is expected that these interviews will last between 30 minutes to an hour, and take place in the office of the senior leader. Interview questions will be sent to senior leaders in advance, so that they are made aware of the type of questions that will be asked – it is hoped that this will put them at ease with the interview process. Participants will be made aware that if they take part in a semi-structured interview, additional questions may be asked by the interviewer in order to clarify or extend responses. Providing interview questions in advance gives busy senior leaders the option to respond to the questions with written answers if they feel they are too busy to commit to a full semi-structured interview, and the option will also be given to senior leaders to conduct the interview over the phone if they feel unable to commit to meeting in person. The process of determining how best to gain the information will be negotiated via email individually with participants. I believe a pragmatic approach needs to be taken when conducting interviews with senior leaders of schools as they often have extremely hectic timetables and their plans can change at the last minute. Showing an awareness of this and having options for senior leaders to provide their responses in different formats will, I believe, build trust with senior leaders and help to increase participation and retention in the research project. Providing interview questions in advance may also help to put senior leaders at lease with the research process. Some senior leaders of MATs may be reluctant to participate in research, particularly considering the negative press that some MATs have received. Providing questions in advance is partly intended to reassure senior leaders that the focus of the research project is primarily on the different enactments of policy across MATs, rather than a judgement on the effectiveness of MATs and individual institutions and leaders within MAT academies.

Any interviews conducted by phone will take place at a pre-arranged time. I will conduct the interview in the Jenny Lind graduate building (in the meeting room adjacent to the graduate hot-desking area). This room can be booked in advance and ensures that no interruptions will take place and the interview can take place confidentially. Participants will be made aware of where I will be conducting the interview in order to assure them that they will not be overheard. I will ask the participant to consent by reading out the consent form and asking the participant to verify their consent over the phone, or by asking the participant to send a completed consent form in advance. Any phone interviews will be audio-recorded.

- DOCUMENTARY DATA COLLECTION – school policies, websites and brochures will be collected during the case studies and critically analysed in order to determine whether a particular 'image' of the ECT phase is being promoted by the MAT. Most documentary data required is freely available on school or MAT websites, but any additional data will be requested in writing via email from the headteacher or CEO of the MAT, and consent explicitly requested. The collection of documentary data builds on the Critical Discourse Analysis of policy texts in Phase 1 of the study; the aim is to investigate the layers of political and institutional discourse that impact on the identities of Early Career Teachers.

A PILOT case study will be undertaken with members of University of Worcester staff and students (from the Institute of Education) in order to determine their effectiveness. If any significant changes are made to the data collection method outlined above following the pilot study, a further ethics application will be submitted detailing changes to this proposal, before the full study is conducted.

During fieldwork, my supervisory team will be informed about planned research visits to schools. My supervisory team will be given contact details for the schools I am visiting and also my mobile number. If any appointments are arranged with participants outside school premises, these will be arranged in a public place (for example, a coffee shop or at the University of Worcester) and my supervisory team will be made aware of these in advance. I will not conduct any interviews in the homes of participants. During fieldwork days, my supervisory team will be available to contact by mobile, in case there are any problems that I need support with.

Who are your participants/subjects? (if applicable)

- Early Career Teachers working in Multi-Academy Trust schools (c. 20-30).
- Senior Leaders/Executive Leaders working in Multi-Academy Trusts (c. 10).

During the Pilot stage, in which data collection tools are tested, University of Worcester staff and students may be involved in testing the data collection instruments, and a pilot may also take place in a school which is not a member of a Multi-Academy Trust.

How do you intend to recruit your participants? (if applicable)

This should explain the means by which participants in the research will be recruited. If any incentives and/or compensation (financial or other) is to be offered to participants, this should be clearly explained and justified.

In the first instance, I intend to contact CEOs of several MATs requesting access to their primary schools to research. Once permission has been granted by MAT CEOs, I intend to then contact the headteachers of individual schools within the MAT, to further negotiate access at a time which is convenient for them and their teachers.

When negotiating with the individual Headteachers of MAT schools, I intend to negotiate access to a staff meeting where I can explain the research in brief, provide information sheets and gather the email addresses of potential participants. Consent forms can then be emailed out in advance once potential participants have had appropriate time (at least 7 days) to consider whether they would like to participate in the research project. This will also provide an opportunity for potential participants to be briefed on ethical issues (for example, confidentiality, data protection) and to ask any questions or raise any concerns they may have in advance of consenting to their participation.

A copy of the 'gatekeeper' letter to CEOs is attached (Appendix #1). Each letter will vary slightly in its contents to reflect the individual MAT which has been contacted, in order to explain why they have been specifically contacted and to encourage them to participate in the research project.

How will you gain informed consent/assent? (if applicable)

Where you will provide an information sheet and/or consent form, please append this. If you are undertaking a deception study or covert research please outline how you will debrief participants below

I will provide an information sheet to participants (Appendix #2 for ECTS; Appendix #3 for SLT members). I will provide time before the data collection for participants to read over this information, and if possible will make it available to participants in advance.

I will verbally state information to participants on audio recording, confidentiality and anonymity, data storage and publication of results.

I will verbally remind participants that they can withdraw their participation from the research by emailing me at k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk, as long as this withdrawal request is received before the publication of results. The date provided to participants for withdrawal will be 31 July 2019; this should give participants up to sixth months to retract their data, if data collection is completed by 31 December 2018 as planned. No publications drawing on the data will be submitted to journals before this planned withdrawal date, in order to ensure that withdrawals can be made. If data collection continues beyond 31 December 2018 this deadline for withdrawal will be extended.

All participants will need to sign a consent form (Appendix #4), indicating that they have understood certain important factors about participation in the research (data collection, storage, confidentiality, anonymity, withdrawal). This consent form will be sent to all participants at least 24 hours in advance of the research activities taking place. As a single consent form will be used for ECT and SLT participants covering all aspects of the interview process (walking interview, focus group, and 1:1 interview). I will gain verbal assent to participate in each individual research activity by the participants before starting each individual research activity. This assent will be audio recorded.

Written consent will be explicitly requested from the headteacher if documentary data (which is not freely available in the public domain) is collected from participating schools.

Confidentiality, anonymity, data storage and disposal (if applicable)
Provide explanation of any measures to preserve confidentiality and anonymity of data, including specific explanation of data storage and disposal plans.

A data collection plan is attached (Appendix #9).
AUDIO RECORDINGS

- These will be taken during walking interviews and focus groups.
- Recordings will be transferred onto a password protected laptop and USB as soon as possible following the recording.
- Recordings will be deleted once transcriptions have been verified by participants.
- Only myself and my supervisory team will have access to the audio recordings.

TRANSCRIPTS

- Transcripts will be made of all audio recordings as soon as possible following the recording.
- Participants will be anonymised in transcripts.
- Electronic copies of transcripts will be stored on a password protected laptop and USB.
- Hard copies of transcripts will be double locked, stored in a locked filing cabinet in a locked building.
- Analysis of transcripts will be completed using either NVivo or Wordsmith software or a combination of the two. NVivo/Wordsmith analysis will be retained electronically for 10 years, and then destroyed.
- Hard copies of transcripts will be destroyed in confidential waste once computer analysis is complete.
- Only the myself and my supervisory team will have access to the transcripts.
- Anonymised data sets will be uploaded onto WRAP for future use once the thesis has been submitted and all publications using the data produced.

Potential risks to participants/subjects (if applicable)
Identify any risks for participants/subjects that may arise from the research and how you intend to mitigate these risks.

There is a risk that participants may be unfairly treated by other colleagues if they are found to have spoken negatively about their academy or MAT. This would be particularly problematic if it led to the participant being disciplined for their behavior as a result of participation in the research, or unfavourably looked on when promotion opportunities arose in their academy or MAT.

In order to mitigate this risk, I will:

- Ensure that all participant individuals and institutions are anonymised in publication of the research findings;
- Inform participants that all go-along interviews, semi-structured interviews and focus groups are confidential and I will not talk about any findings with other members of staff;
- Inform ECT participants before both interviews and focus groups that sensitive information in this case includes political beliefs, membership of a union, and information about their physical or mental health and that I will not be asking any questions concerning these issues, although participants may wish to raise these issues on their own. Explicitly stating this information might make participants aware of the sensitivity of the information and encourage them to provide me with this information 1:1 rather than on school premises;
- Remind participants that during walking interviews and focus groups on school premises we may be interrupted;
- Before both walking interviews and focus groups take place, offer all ECT participants the opportunity of a 1:1 interview in a neutral space (off school grounds) in order to disclose any details of their employment or mental health which they would not feel comfortable disclosing in front of other colleagues;
- Ensure that I do not ask any leading questions, and be sensitive during semi-structured interviews when asking participants to expand on their experiences or views;
- The ontological framework for the research project also slightly mitigates this risk, as it limits the interest that I have in researching the 'hidden' motivations, feelings or beliefs of the research participants.

There is a risk that questions during interviews, although not specifically focused on sensitive topics, may prompt participants to disclose information regarding past or current mental health issues. A debrief document (Appendix #10), which signposts access to mental health support, will be given to all participants after research activities have concluded in case participation in the research project prompts them to consider their own wellbeing or mental health following completion of the research activities.

If mental health issues are disclosed by any participants, I would state that participating in research on teacher identity can be quite a cathartic process for some participants. I would acknowledge that participants have the right to express their feelings, but remind them that I am not a mental health professional so I am not able to offer any support (and signpost them to people who can using the debriefing document App #10), and that 1:1 interviews are a more appropriate forum for personal conversations as they are more confidential than walking interviews or focus groups.

If, during a focus group or walking interview, a participant discloses information about their mental health, I would gauge my response based on the intensity of the disclosure:

- I would respond to one-off comments about past experiences with a reminder to the disclosing participant at the end of the group that support is available (providing a hard copy of the debriefing document App #10) and that they can talk in more detail

about their experiences, should they wish, in a follow-up 1:1 interview in a confidential and private space.

- However, should a participant make repeated references to a mental health issue or disclose a current mental health issue, I will pause the interview/focus group and offer 5 minutes time out to participants. During this time I will speak to the disclosing participant to gently remind them that the nature of walking interviews and focus groups is that they are not wholly confidential, so a 1:1 interview in a private space may be a more appropriate forum to discuss these particular issues. I would also provide a hard copy of the debriefing document (App #10) to the disclosing participant and indicate the signposting to further support which may be of value to them. I would conduct this conversation in a quiet room where interruptions would be limited.
- If the participant had become distressed during the walking interview or focus group when disclosing a mental health issue, I would terminate the research activity at this point and recommend (in a confidential, quiet space) that the participant consider withdrawing from the research and seeking support from a mental health professional. I would then signpost them to support as indicated on the debriefing document (App #10), which I would provide in hard copy.
- If any mental health issues are disclosed during walking interviews or focus groups, at any level of intensity, I will remind all participants that anything said to me remains confidential within my research team and that I will not pass on any concerns to others within the school (e.g., Head, SLT). If a disclosure takes place during a focus group I will additionally take the time to remind all participants that it is important to keep comments made within the focus group confidential within the group, after the focus group activity has finished. This will be reiterated at the end of the focus group.

Other ethical issues

Identify any other ethical issues (not addressed in the sections above) that may arise from your research and how you intend to address them.

SECURITY ISSUES WITH MEMBER CHECKING

- Participants will be asked to verify the transcripts of their audio-recordings before analysis takes place. This means that transcripts will need to be sent to participants via email or post, which means that complete security of the transcripts is not possible, as transcripts need to be supplied to the participants. Having working in a primary school, I understand that there can be issues with school email addresses (I have worked in schools where class teachers believe that it is possible for senior members of staff to access the school emails of class teachers, which would compromise confidentiality). I will therefore ask participants to supply a personal email or postal address so that transcripts can be sent securely, and will send a SAE with any transcripts sent by post so that they can be sent back to securely. Once any comments have been amended, any hard copies of these transcripts will be securely destroyed in confidential waste.

RESEARCHER REFLEXIVITY

- I have a personal connection to this research project, as I previously worked in an academy primary school as an Early Career Teacher. I would not describe my experience of working in an academy school as positive. This means that I need to be particularly vigilant when performing interviews and analyzing data, in order to ensure that my conclusions are valid. I am intending to keep a reflective journal after visiting schools – this will be stored on my password protected computer, anonymised and destroyed following analysis. I will return to this journal after analyzing transcripts in order to reflect on the ways in which my experiences when

collecting data may have impacted on my analysis. My personal interest in and connection to the research project will be explained in the final reporting of my thesis. As the piece has a critical ontology the aim is not to be neutral and objective in a positivistic sense, however, my personal connection to the project requires that I have a systematic and transparent approach to research which could, in theory, be replicated by other researchers.

I also reflected on my personal connection to the research project when designing the case study approach. I have not designed an ethnographic case study involving observations, because I feel my personal connection to academisation would compromise the validity of such observations. I am placing an emphasis on interviews as a data collection tool in order to distance myself from the subject I am researching. Arranging data collection activities outside school hours also provides me with some distance – I will not be able to make judgements about school policies, as I will not be able to observe these happening, and therefore will have to rely on the statements of my participants. Furthermore, I intend to share samples of my transcripts and analysis with my supervisory team, who will be able to question me on my analysis and highlight any problematic findings or conclusions. Triangulating the data analysis process with my supervisory team will hopefully further mitigate any issues caused by my personal involvement with the subject being researched.

CONSENT FORMS

- Consent forms will also involve confidential information and therefore need to be destroyed in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and the University of Worcester's data collection policy.
- Information forms will be sent to participants *at least* 7 days in advance.
- Consent forms will be sent to participants *at least* 24 hours in advance.
- Participants will be emailed/posted a copy of their consent form and the participant information form following their participation in data collection. This will help to keep the data provided on the consent form secure, and will also provide an opportunity to thank the participants directly following the research for their participation.

Published ethical guidelines to be followed

Identify the professional code(s) of practice and/or ethical guidelines relevant to the subject domain of the research.

University of Worcester Ethics Policy. Available online at:
https://www.worcester.ac.uk/researchworcester/documents/Ethics_Policy_version_2.0_June_2017.pdf

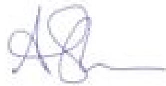
British Educational Research Association (BERA) Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (2011)

Declaration of PGR Student

I have read the University Ethics Policy and any relevant codes of practice or guidelines and I have identified and addressed the ethical issues in my research honestly and to the best of my knowledge and by signing this I confirm that I have a research data management plan in place in accordance with the policy for the effective management of research data.

Signature: **Date:** 23/02/2018

Declaration of Director of Studies
I am satisfied that the student has identified and addressed the ethical issues in their research.


Signature: **Date:** 05/03/2018

Document Checklist

Please tick boxes below to identify which documents are sent with this application:

Consent Form • Intended for all participants (Appendix #4)	☒
Participant Information Sheets • Gatekeeper letter (CEOs of MATS) (Appendix #1) • ECT Information Sheet (Appendix #2) • SLT Information Sheet (Appendix #3)	☒
Data Collection Tool (s) • ECT Focus Group drawings activity (Appendix #5) • Example interview questions for SLT interview (Appendix #6) • Example interview topics for ECT 'go-along' interview (Appendix #7) • ECT Focus Group ranking activity (Appendix #8)	☒
Other documents (please specify): • Data Collection and Storage Plan (Appendix #9)	☒

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Appendix H: Data collection and storage plan

DATA COLLECTION AND STORAGE PLAN

	Data to be collected	*Considerations **before** data collection*		*Considerations **during** data collection and analysis*				*Considerations **following** completion of project*		
		How will data be collected?	**Is data available in public domain?**	**Will data be anonymised during research process for reporting purposes?**	**Electronic storage** on password protected**	**Storage of hard/paper copy unlocked?**	**Storage of hard/paper copy double locked?**	**How could others gain access to data?**	**Destroyed once verified by participant and**	**Kept electronically for 10 years after project**
Texts for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)	**Policy documents***	Internet, library research	✓	× (✓ OfSTED)	✓	✓	×	In public domain	n/a	✓
	NVivo Analysis	Compiled by researcher	×	× (✓ OfSTED)	✓	×	×	Email researcher	n/a	✓
	Academy literature* e.g., prospectuses	From internet or provided by academies	✓ (but will be anonymised in reporting)	✓	✓	✓	×	No access	✓	✓
Qualitative data	**Audio recordings**	Case study by researcher	×	✓	✓	×	×	No access	✓	×
	Transcripts	Case study by researcher	×	✓	✓	×	✓	No access	✓	×
	Visual data	Case study by researcher	×	✓	✓	×	✓	No access	✓	×
	NVivo Analysis	Compiled by researcher	×	✓	✓	×	×	Email researcher	n/a	✓

* Policy or school documents that refer to schools participating in Phase 2/3 of the research will be anonymised for reporting purposes, so that there is coherence of anonymity within the text to ensure that participating schools cannot be identified. For example, if Westfield School is the pseudonym for Redhill School, any OfSTED reports referred to would state ‘Westfield School’ rather than ‘Redhill School’ for reporting purposes. This cannot ensure full anonymity as OfSTED reports can be found online, but can minimise the risk of schools being identified.

** Computer files will be stored with coded file names, which will ensure anonymity for participants. For example, names of electronic files will be ‘Transcript School A’ rather than ‘Transcript Redhill School’

Appendix I: Invitation to participate in research; letter mailed to MAT CEOs

University of Worcester
Research School
Jenny Lind Building
University of Worcester
Henwick Grove
Worcester
WR2 6AJ

[redacted]

3 May 2018

Dear [redacted],

NEW FACES AND CHANGING PLACES RESEARCH PROJECT

I am writing to you about a small-scale research project exploring the identities of new teachers working in Multi-Academy Trust (MAT) settings. The aim of the research is to explore the ways in which education policies on academisation and changes to teacher training provision, implemented since 2010, have impacted on the professional identities of teachers in the early stages of their career (those who have been teaching for between 0 and 5 years).

This research is being conducted by myself, a PhD research student at the University of Worcester Institute of Education, under the supervision of Professor Alison Kington. I am writing to you in your capacity as CEO of the [redacted], in order to request that you consider allowing me access to use institutions within the [redacted] as a case study for this research project. I have contacted you specifically because the [redacted] has been praised for developing effective practice in delivering a knowledge based curriculum by the DfE. This is of particular importance to the development of primary teacher identity, so I believe your Trust would be able to provide an excellent source of case-study material.

It is hoped that the research findings will be mutually beneficial, and that you as a MAT will gain information from the research project which will highlight your areas of strength in supporting new teachers, and possibly signpost some areas for future development. I would not need access to all academies within your MAT to complete the research. Two or three primary sites would be sufficient.

Institutions and individuals who participate in the research will be referred to as pseudonyms in any published research. Data collected will be anonymised and treated as strictly confidential, and destroyed in line with the University of Worcester's data security policy. It is hoped that the research findings will illuminate good practice in supporting teachers in the early stage of their careers. Findings may be of interest to school leaders and policy-makers, particularly considering the current issues surrounding teacher recruitment and retention.

I intend to conduct the following data collection exercises on location at participating schools, outside school hours, who give their informed consent to participating in the research project.

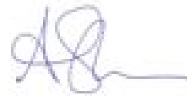
- **'Go-Along Interviews' with early career teachers**. Go-Along interviews, also called walking interviews, involve the participant giving the researcher a tour of their schools setting. The researcher may ask questions along the way, and may clarify aspects of the interview in a short plenary session at the end. These usually last between 30 and 40 minutes;
- **Focus groups** with early career teachers working in schools. The focus groups will consist of two short activities which will take between 20 and 30 minutes each, and will encourage participants to reflect on their development as a teacher;
- **Semi-structured face-to-face interviews** with Executive/Senior leaders. Questions for these interviews will be sent in advance and should last no longer than 30 minutes. These interviews will focus on the expectations that senior leaders in MATs have of early career teachers, possibilities for career advancement and promotion provided by the MAT, and preferred teacher training routes. Participation can also be arranged via phone or by written submission if requested;
- **Collection of documentary data.** I may collect examples of school policies and webpages which are available in the public domain for documentary analysis. I may request to analyse further documentary data which is not available in the public domain (for example, lesson plans), but in this case I will ask for the explicit written consent of the Headteacher and CEO of the MAT school for each documentary item.

I intend to conduct research activities outside of school hours, at a time which is convenient for participants and Headteachers. The research is not situated within an ethnographic framework, and data collection does not, therefore, involve any collection of observations by the researcher.

Participation in the study is voluntary. Individuals will also be asked to provide their informed consent and, if they agree to participate, may withdraw their participation or data at a later date if they change their mind by contacting me. This project has been reviewed by, and gained ethical clearance from, the University of Worcester Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HASSREC). The ethical clearance process involves the assessment of risk to participants and steps have been taken to minimise the risk and discomfort that this research project may post to participants. However, participants can contact my Director of Studies, Professor Alison Kington (using the email a.kington@worc.ac.uk) if you have any further questions or wish to make a complaint about the research process. Formal complaints can be directed to the University of Worcester HASSREC via the email ethics@worc.ac.uk.

If you would like to know more or have a concern about the *New Faces and Changing Places* research project, please do not hesitate to contact me by email (provided below). If you are willing to allow me access to the Inspiration Trust MAT in order to act as a case study for the *New Faces and Changing Places* project, I would be very grateful if you could reply to this letter by email at k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely,



Kathryn Spicksley

PhD Student
University of Worcester

k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk

Alison Kington

Professor in Psychology of Education
University of Worcester

a.kington@worc.ac.uk

Appendix J: Debriefing sheet for participants

New Faces and Changing Places Research Project

Debriefing Document for Participants

THANK YOU!

Thank you for participating in the New Faces and Changing Places research project. I know that your time is extremely valuable and I am very grateful for your participation. I hope that you have enjoyed participating in the research, and that it has provided some time for reflection on your teaching career to date.

WHAT HAPPENS NEXT?

Once the research project is completed, all participants will be sent a short summary of the research findings via email.

WITHDRAWAL OF DATA

You have the right to withdraw your data from the project if you change your mind about participating. Please email k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk to withdraw your data by 31 July 2019.

FURTHER SUPPORT

Sometimes participating in research, even projects considered a low risk to participants (such as this one) can be an emotional experience, or cause participants to re-evaluate or re-assess past experiences in a new light.

The Education Support Partnership provides mental health and wellbeing support specifically tailored to teachers and those working in education. Their free helpline is available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, and can be reached on 08000 562 561.

24/7 support for mental health issues is also available through the Samaritans, who can be reached free from any phone on 116 123, or via email at jo@samaritans.org.

Thank you for participating!

Please get in touch if you have any further questions or comments:

k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk

Katie Spicksley, PhD Student

Appendix K: Information sheets distributed to participants

University of Worcester

INFORMATION SHEET for EARLY CAREER TEACHERS

Participation in the PhD research project:

New Faces and Changing Places: The impact of academisation on the professional identity of early career primary teachers

Invitation

I would like to invite you to take part in a research project. Before you decide whether to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information sheet carefully and contact me if you have any questions (k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk). Talk to others about the research project if you like. You will have at least 7 days to decide if you want to take part.

What is the purpose of the research project?

Since 2010 the number of primary schools converting to academy status has increased dramatically. Over 3700 primary schools currently have academy status, which accounts for 22% of the primary sector. Very little research has focused on the effect that the policy of academisation is having on the careers and teaching identities of Early Career Teachers (teachers with 0-8 years experience of teaching). This research hopes to investigate a 'gap' in the research surrounding academies, by foregrounding the perspectives of Early Career Teachers who are working in academy schools within a Multi-Academy Trust (MAT).

What are the benefits of taking part in the research?

There are currently widely-reported concerns about recruitment and retention rates within teaching. Discussion is also increasing around the benefits and future expansion of Multi-Academy Trusts. The findings of this research project are intended to contribute to these discussions. The dissemination of research findings from this project may inform policymakers and senior leaders in education. Participating in this research project provides you with a forum to share your personal knowledge of working in a Multi-Academy Trust, and your views on the experiences of teachers in the current policy climate.

Furthermore, the research has been designed to be participant led, and aims to be an engaging and informative experience for participants. Participating in the research may also contribute to your ongoing reflective practice, and could provide a useful insight to any teachers who wish to develop their own research projects.

Who are the research team?

The research activities will be conducted myself, Kathryn Spicksley. I am undertaking a PhD in Education at the University of Worcester. Prior to commencing my PhD study I was employed as an early years/primary teacher. I am supported by my Director of Studies, Professor Alison Kington and my Supervisor, Dr Karen Blackmore, who both work in the Institute of Education at the University of Worcester. Only the three members of the research team will have access to the data collected.

What will the research involve?

Early Career Teachers who participate in the research will be asked to participate in two research sessions, which will take place in school, after the school day has finished, at a time suitable for the participant(s) and their school.

- **Go-Along Interviews:** The participating teacher will lead me, the researcher, on a tour of the school. I will ask questions and clarify school routines and policies during the tour (e.g., where do assemblies take place? Who leads them?). The go-along interview may conclude with a short interview in a classroom, if I have any further questions for the participant (e.g., why did you choose to become a teacher?). **The go-along interviews will take about 30-40 minutes**. These interviews will be audio recorded.
- **Focus Groups:** Teachers with less than eight years experience teaching will be gathered together to complete two collaborative activities. The first activity will involve ranking statements about being a teacher and about working in a MAT, and the second activity will involve reflecting on the early career teacher experience through drawings and jottings. **The focus group will take about an hour in total**. Focus groups will be audio recorded, although there will be a break from recording during the middle of the session (as sometimes it is nice to take a break from constant recording!).
- **Member checking:** Transcripts of interviews and the focus group will be sent to participants once transcribed. Participants will then have the opportunity to make any corrections, or withdraw some/all of their data if they wish.

<u>Are there any disadvantages or risks to taking part?</u>

This research project has been reviewed by, and received ethical clearance through the University of Worcester Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HASSREC). The procedure of gaining ethical approval for research involves a consideration of the risks involves in taking part in the proposed research project and the researcher is required to take steps to mitigate any risks. The major risk to participants in this research study is that participants could be overheard and seen participating in research during go-along interviews and focus groups. It is important, therefore, that participants are aware that their comments could be overheard and repeated by others. I will remind participants of these issues at certain points throughout the study and ask that members of focus groups keep comments made during the focus group sessions confidential. When the data is reported it will be fully anonymised and pseudonyms will be used, and only myself and the research team will have access to the data before it is anonymised. However, the nature of go-along interviews and focus groups means that I as researcher cannot guarantee the confidentiality of any data collected, as other members of the focus group or those who overhear go-along interviews may repeat comments made. Participants should be aware of this when they volunteer to participate in the study, and think about this risk when participating in the go-along interviews and focus groups.

<u>Will the information I give stay confidential?</u>

As indicated above, the nature of go-along interviews and focus groups means that it is impossible to ensure complete confidentiality in this particular research project. I will only share collected data with the research team, unless a participant tells me something which indicates that they or someone else is at risk of harm. In this case I would discuss this with the participant before telling anyone else. Electronic data will be stored securely on a password protected laptop and a password encrypted USB. Audio files will be destroyed once anonymised transcripts have been completed by the researcher. Hard copy documents containing personal information (e.g., contact details, consent forms) will be kept securely in a double-locked cabinet within the University of Worcester Research School. These will be destroyed securely once the project is completed, which will be no later than December 2021. The information participants give will be used in research reports, but it will not be possible to identify individual participants or institutions from my research reports or other dissemination activities.

Can I withdraw from the research project?
Participants have the right to withdraw their data from the research project if they change their mind about their participation. Participants who choose to withdraw their data should email k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk to indicate their withdrawal before 31 July 2019.

What happens next?
Please keep this information sheet. If you decide to take part, please contact me using the email provided below. I will then send through a consent form and start to arrange suitable times when the data collection activities can take place.

What will happen to the results of the research study?
The research will be presented as a PhD thesis which will be available in the University of Worcester Library (The Hive). The research may also be published in academic journals, newspapers, books and presented at academic conferences. In all presentations of the research, participants and participating institutions will remain anonymous. All participants and participating institutions will receive a short summary of the research findings and will be directed to any publications in circulation which discuss the findings in greater depth.

If you have any further questions, concerns or complaints about this study, please contact one of the research team using the details below:

Student Researcher	**Director of Studies**
Kathryn Spicksley k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk	Alison Kington a.kington@worc.ac.uk

If you would like to speak to an independent person who is not a member of the research team, please contact Louise Heath at the University of Worcester, using the following details:

Louise Heath
Secretary to Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HASSREC)
University of Worcester
Henwick Grove
Worcester WR2 6AJ
ethics@worc.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and for considering to participate in the research study. Please do not hesitate to contact me on k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk if you have any questions or comments.

University of Worcester

INFORMATION SHEET FOR EXECUTIVE/SENIOR LEADERS

Participation in the PhD research project:

New Faces and Changing Places: The impact of academisation on the professional identity of early career primary teachers

Invitation

I would like to invite you to take part in a research project. Before you decide whether to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information sheet carefully and contact me if you have any questions (k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk). Talk to others about the research project if you like. You will have at least 7 days to decide if you want to take part.

What is the purpose of the research project?

Since 2010 the number of primary schools converting to academy status has increased dramatically. Over 3700 primary schools currently have academy status, which accounts for 22% of the primary sector. Very little research has focused on the effect that the policy of academisation is having on the careers and teaching identities of Early Career Teachers (teachers with 0-8 years experience of teaching). This research hopes to investigate a 'gap' in the research surrounding academies, by foregrounding the perspectives of Early Career Teachers who are working in academy schools within a Multi-Academy Trust (MAT).

[11] What are the benefits of participating in the research?

There are currently widely-reported concerns about recruitment and retention rates within teaching. Discussion is also increasing around the benefits and future expansion of Multi-Academy Trusts. The findings of this research project are intended to contribute to these discussions. The dissemination of research findings from this project may inform policymakers and senior leaders in education. Participating in this research project provides you with a forum to share your personal knowledge of working in a Multi-Academy Trust, and your views on the experiences of teachers in the current policy climate.
Senior leaders who participate in this project will be provided with a summary of the research findings once the project is completed, which may be useful to their Trust when developing policies around the recruitment and retention of Early Career Teachers.

Who is the research team?

The research activities will be conducted myself, Kathryn Spicksley. I am undertaking a PhD in Education at the University of Worcester. Prior to commencing my PhD study I was employed as an early years/primary teacher. I am supported by my Director of Studies, Professor Alison Kington and my Supervisor, Dr Karen Blackmore, who both work in the Institute of Education at the University of Worcester. Only the three members of the research team will have access to the data collected.

What will the research involve?

Senior Leaders who choose to participate in the research project will be sent a list of between 5 – 10 questions in advance of a semi-structured interview. The interview will be arranged at a time which is suitable for the participant. Participants will be sent a list of questions a week in advance of the interview. The questions will focus on expectations of and support for Early Career Teachers working in the MAT. The questions sent in advance will guide the interview, but I might ask additional questions if I need clarification or if something which I had not anticipated is raised by the participant. These interviews will last between 30 minutes to an

hour. If preferred, participants could respond to the questions with written answers or complete the interview over the phone.

Are there any disadvantages or risks to taking part?
This research project has been reviewed by, and received ethical clearance through the University of Worcester Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HASSREC). The procedure of gaining ethical approval for research involves a consideration of the risks involves in taking part in the proposed research project and the researcher is required to take steps to mitigate any risks. The risks to senior leaders participating in this project are considered to be extremely low.

Will the information I give stay confidential?
Everything participants say in 1:1 semi-structured interviews is confidential, unless a participant reveals something which indicates they or someone else is at risk of harm. In this case, I would always discuss this disclosure with the participant before talking to anyone else. Electronic data will be stored securely on a password protected laptop and a password encrypted USB. Audio files will be destroyed once anonymised transcripts have been completed by the researcher. Hard copy documents containing personal information (e.g., contact details, consent forms) will be kept securely in a double-locked cabinet within the University of Worcester Research School. These will be destroyed securely once the project is completed, which will be no later than December 2021. The information participants give will be used in research reports, but it will not be possible to identify individual participants or institutions from my research reports or other dissemination activities.

Can I withdraw from the research project?
Participants have the right to withdraw their data from the research project if they change their mind about their participation. Participants who choose to withdraw their data should email k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk to indicate their withdrawal before 31 July 2019.

What happens next?
Please keep this information sheet. If you decide to take part, please contact me using the email provided below. I will then send through a consent form and start to arrange suitable times when the data collection activities can take place.

What will happen to the results of the research study?
The research will be presented as a PhD thesis which will be available in the University of Worcester Library (The Hive). The research may also be published in academic journals, newspapers, books and presented at academic conferences. In all presentations of the research, participants and participating institutions will remain anonymous. All participants and participating institutions will receive a short summary of the research findings and will be directed to any publications in circulation which discuss the findings in greater depth.

If you have any further questions, concerns or complaints about this study, please contact one of the research team using the details below:

Student Researcher	Director of Studies
Kathryn Spicksley k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk	Alison Kington a.kington@worc.ac.uk

If you would like to speak to an independent person who is not a member of the research team, please contact Louise Heath at the University of Worcester, using the following details:

Louise Heath
Secretary to Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HASSREC)
University of Worcester

Henwick Grove
Worcester WR2 6AJ
ethics@worc.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and for considering to participate in the research study. Please do not hesitate to contact me on k.spicksley@worc.ac.uk if you have any questions or comments.

Appendix L: Consent form

Participant Consent Form

Title of project: New Faces and Changing Places: the impact of academisation on the professional identity of early career primary teachers.

Participant Identification Number for this study:

Name of Researcher: Kathryn Spicksley

Please initial

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	☐
I confirm that I have had at least 7 days to consider whether I want to take part in this study	☐
I understand that I do not have to take part in this research and I can change my mind at any time. I understand that I may withdraw my data by contacting the researcher with my participant number before 31 July 2019.	☐
I agree to any research interviews or focus groups I participate in being audio recorded	☐
I agree to my research data being used in publications or reports	☐
I agree to take part in the study	☐
I agree to allow the researcher to use any visual data created during the research project to be used in publications or reports	☐
I know who to contact if I have any concerns about this research.	☐

Name of Participant --

Date: -- Signature --

[9] Email of Participant____

Name of Person taking Consent --

Date: -- Signature --

Appendix M: Summary of research findings provided to participants

NEW FACES

and

CHANGING PLACES

primary academisation and the early career teacher

The passing of the 2010 Academies Act under the Coalition government resulted in primary schools for the first time being eligible to become academies, removed from the control of local authorities. This was a time of great upheaval and change in education.

What did politicians expect of new teachers at this time? And how did teachers respond?

Politicians positioned academies as hierarchically superior to other schools, saying they employed the best teachers and provided the best employment conditions.

Early career teachers did not consider there to be a difference between academy and maintained schools, and were happy to work at any school which matched their values. Senior leaders raised some concerns about how some academy chains *could* use their freedom to take advantage of new teachers, although participating academies chose not to use their autonomy in this manner. The willingness of early career teachers to work within academy settings has been a contributing factor enabling the expansion of academisation post-2010.

From 2010-15, there was a political emphasis on how hard work leads to better outcomes for schools and students. From 2015, this emphasis shifted, and politicians instead spoke about the dangers of high workload.

Early career teachers felt their workload was, at times, all consuming. Workload had a negative impact on teachers' capacity to socialise, both in and out of school. For some new teachers, the workload appeared unsustainable in the long term and they planned to leave the profession after a few years. Senior leaders were planning a number of initiatives to reduce teacher workload. However, many leaders still associated good teaching with hard work, an attitude which could limit capacity for real change in schools.

The talent of young teachers and career changers was emphasised by politicians. Rapid progression to leadership was normalised in policy texts. Policy conflated talent as a classroom teacher with promotion to leadership.

Early career teachers seemed to feel under pressure to identify as potential leaders, even if they did not want to become senior leaders. This may be because policy texts conflated talent as a classroom teacher with leadership ambition and potential. Some teachers were disappointed when they were not offered leadership posts. Expectations of rapid career progression appeared to have negative consequences, with some teachers planning to leave teaching rather than feel forced to take on a leadership role.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- ITT providers should ensure trainee teachers are made aware of the differences between school types in England.
- School leaders should be aware of conflicting messaging and language regarding workload and working hard, and ensure initiatives to reduce workload are effective and are not tokenistic.
- Policymakers and school leaders should work on opportunities for staff development which differ from progression to leadership and recognise the value of the classroom teacher role. Opportunities to work in different year groups and key stages, or to develop personal projects, should be offered as an alternative to leadership.

University of Worcester

Appendix N: Example of deductive holistic coding of interview transcript

MC7-ect ABIGAIL

E1	P:	It was off the scale crazy. The Head –came in and basically prepped the children on what to say! In case he spoke to them! I've never known anything like it. ˙hh so that was the only time I kindof felt that the Dahlia Trust were part of a Trust
	KS:	Ri::ght
E1 R1	P:	Erm, but other than that there was no like 'we do this in the Dahlia Trust, it's all very Daffodil we do it in Daffodil not in the Trust, Trust whatever.
	KS:	Mmm
	P:	Yeah, so no, I don't think brand Dahlia is very strong in this school at all.
	KS:	Mmm (..) and
E1	P:	So, that's why, so really it's not any different from any other school, really
	KS:	Mmm
R1	P:	Apart from the only reason it's different (.) well, yeah it's more (.) they wanna maintain their excellent results so there's a lot of pressure, but then I've also worked in another school ˙hh another outsta::nding school in a very poor area <again that was outstanding that had a pressure to stay outstanding, and I think sometimes that's worse working in an outstanding school because you need to ↑stay outstanding.
	KS:	Mmm
R1	P:	Whereas a good school, you can (.) kindof, I didn't feel the pressure in my last school at all, like, this school where I [0.01] was the number one school
	KS:	Mm. So different, but a lot because of that outstanding
E1	P:	Not because of the Dahlia Trust, at all.
	KS:	That's interesting.
	P:	Well I personally don't feel it, I don't know if – but I've only been here for what like six, seven, eight weeks?
	KS:	That's ok because I'm only interested in you at the moment [£hahaha
	P:	[£hahaha
	KS:	Erm, and, finally, oh sorry there's two more things actually, sorry I'm whizzing through at the end=
	P:	=[No, that's ok
	KS:	[Erm, erm, where do you see your future. So obviously you just, you said you just got a leadership post so obviously [you've aimed for that sort of within the early phase of your career anyway
	P:	[Mmm, yeah, yeah, yeah
	KS:	But do you kind of see that going ↑on or?
S4	P:	Yeah I wanna get into Senior Leadership. Definitely. Erm, because of my age I kindof, you know, this is my fifth year of teaching and some people do it around now, I think it's a

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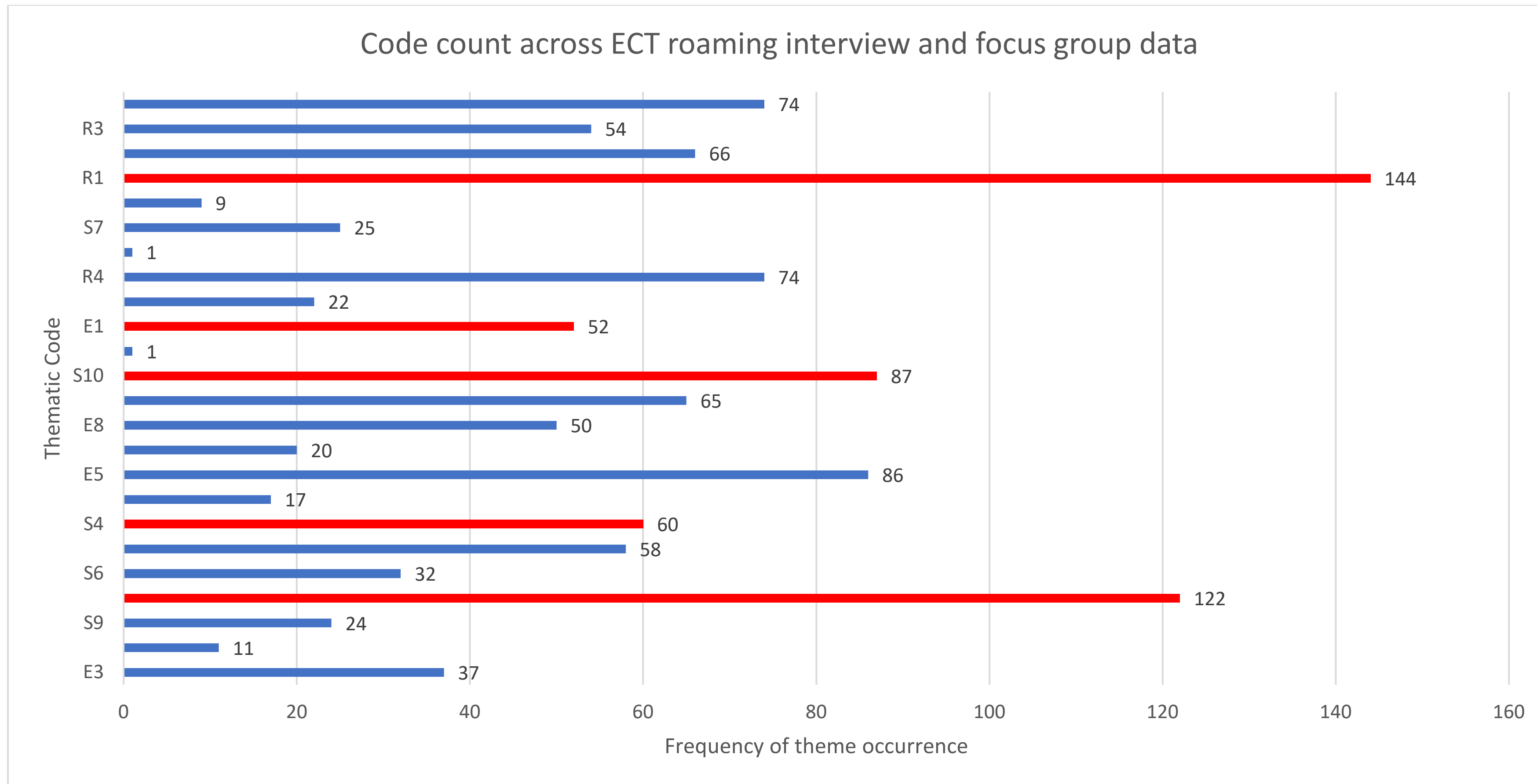
Appendix O: Example of bar chart, generated using Microsoft Excel, indicating frequency of code occurrences



The thematic codes indicated in red are the themes which were selected for further analysis.

Appendix P: Example of vignette

VIGNETTE

GTA1-ect SIMON   The Rosemary Trust, Dill Primary

Simon is completing his NQT year at The Rosemary Trust's school, Dill Primary. Prior to this he trained under the Schools Direct scheme, but he was not retained at his training school after the completion of his training year. He found his training year difficult and felt he was given too much responsibility too quickly. He also felt that the management at his training school were not supportive, and contrasts this against the management at Dill, who he paints in a positive light. Simon worked as a TA supporting children with challenging behaviour before he trained to be a teacher.

Simon does not consider himself to be a creative or imaginative teacher, although some of his lessons seem quite creative. He positions himself as building strong relationships with students, caring about their progress and home lives. Simon is keen to highlight the special relationships he builds with certain students, such as a selective mute who has only started talking since being in his class. Like Julia, Simon uses these examples as a way of positioning himself as an effective teacher – one who is able to understand children with SEND.

Simon thinks young teachers are able to relate better to students than older ones, and positions the young staff demographic of Dill school as a positive. Simon believes in strong and consistent discipline, and comments that he feels his schools' behaviour policy isn't strict enough. Simon constructs the adult world as a 'big bad world' that students need to be prepared for at school.

Although Simon stresses that his school allow him lots of autonomy, his comments in the focus group about planning, completing series of lessons and book checks suggest this autonomy may be limited by school requirements. On more than one occasion Simon confuses school policy demands with government legislation, once correcting himself.

Simon uses a lot of language relating to money (worth, pay) and business (efficient, headhunted). He believes teachers are underpaid and undervalued by government. Simon wants to climb up the career ladder and thinks that Dill and The Rosemary Trust will provide him with opportunities to do so. However, his discussions about climbing up to management are positioned differently in his individual walking interview and the focus group. He is more critical of the culture of rapidly taking on management responsibility in the focus group, suggesting that this discourse is contested or shifting.

Appendix Q: CDA analysis sheet used for phase two interviews

→ p3/4, p16/17
Workload/intensification

PARTICIPANT Rachel SL/EXEC CODE ODG4 MAT & SCHOOL Rosemary Trust (Exec)

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

INTERACTIONAL CONTROL	
Who controls interactions? Turn-taking rules? How are topics established? How are agendas set? How are utterances evaluated?	> Brings in topic of teacher workload spontaneously p16 indicates desire to show interest in topic
COHESION	
Rhetorical mode – argumentative, descriptive, expository, narrative? Markers – conjunction, reference, ellipsis, lexical?	> narrative of school improvement through imposed fidelity p3 > narrative of focus on workload p16 → justification through narratives
GRAMMAR	
Transitivity – passive/active, location of causality/responsibility Theme – what assumptions made e.g. about knowledge, practice Modality – subjective/objective, use of modal verbs	> leaders cause stress, especially new leaders p16 > responsibility on staff to work hard p16/17 – don't think you're gonna coast > pronoun I : biographical self-positioning 'I have to say no' p4 'I'm doing sessions' p16
LEXICALITY	
Key words – culturally significant words, ideological words Wording – new lexical items Metaphor – constructs meaning	> Language of business, sales – 'one size fits all' p3 'broker' p4 explicit 'the MAT is the business' p3 'offer' p8 > 'the dog bites the cat' p16 'kick the next person down' p16 } violence, primitive, animalistic hierarchical.
POLITENESS	
Direct/indirect statements Differences between participants – hierarchies and social status	→ 'we've done quite a lot on teacher workload' – p16 saves face by positioning as active, working to solve teacher workload problems. → new leaders cause of problem. Hierarchy teacher → leader → exec.
ETHOS	
How do all the above work to construct the self?	• Positions herself as focused on reducing workload • Distances herself from other (new) leaders who create/cause pressure → displaces responsibility from self to other (new) leaders • Constructs self as caring and active on workload, even though not to blame. • lots of hesitation etc. – unsure, uncertain

CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

Hesitation	• uh erm (.) wellbeing stuff (.) } hesitations, filled/unfilled pauses p16
Emphasis	mindful both you get p16 – lots of emphasis – positions as topic of importance
Discourse Markers	'you know' – information generally available p3 normalizing d/c 'obviously' p16 'do you know what I mean?' p16
Repairs	'we are th— I think we are' – reduces certainty (modality) 'I need to work um I'm doing sessions' – repairs to position as active
Hedging	p16 'I think' – lowers certainty.

Appendix R: Coalition and Conservative government ministers, 2010-18

Government ministers referred to within the thesis (Education Secretaries emboldened):

Minister	Political Party	Post (in DfE)	Dates in post	Government Administration
Nick Gibb	Conservative	Minister of State for Childcare, Education and School Reform Minister of State for School Standards	15 July 2014 - 12 May 2015 12 May 2015 (Incumbent)	Cameron-Clegg Coalition 2010 Cameron 2015, May 2015, May 2017
Michael Gove	Conservative	Secretary of State for Education	11 May 2010 – 15 July 2014	Cameron-Clegg Coalition 2010
Justine Greening	Conservative	Secretary of State for Education and Minister for Women and Equalities	14 July 2016 - 8 January 2018	May 2015, May 2017
Matt Hancock	Conservative	Minister of State for Skills and Enterprise	8 September 2013 – 15 July 2014	Cameron-Clegg Coalition 2010
Damian Hinds	Conservative	Secretary of State for Education	8 January 2018 - 24 July 2019	May 2017
David Laws	Liberal Democrat	Minister of State for Schools	4 September 2012 – 8 May 2015	Cameron-Clegg Coalition 2010
Nicky Morgan	Conservative	Secretary of State for Education and Minister for Women and Equalities	15 July 2014 – 14 July 2016	Cameron-Clegg Coalition 2010, Cameron 2015
Elizabeth Truss	Conservative	Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Childcare and Education	4 September 2012- 15 July 2014	Cameron-Clegg Coalition 2010

Appendix S: Concordance of collocation 'hard work' in DFEMS corpus (n=140)

Concordance (n=140)	Producer	Date	Discursive Positioning
They care more about hard work than innate ability.	Truss	3.1.14	Neutral
accessible only after hard work, but worth it because so	Gove	24.11.11	Positive
for aspiration, ambition, hard work and excellence - for	Gove	10.5.12	Positive
as far as their talent and hard work takes them. To achieve	Greening	14.12.17	Positive
believed in persistence and hard work, in the importance of education	Truss	6.6.14	Positive
as the good intentions and hard work of the previous governments	Teather	23.11.10	Positive
of your perseverance and hard work you have all reached a	Gyimah	28.4.16	Positive
because of your success and hard work that we have been able to	Hill	3.2.11	Positive
the value of study and hard work. Scotland was famous for	Gibb	27.1.16	Positive
tribute to the ability and hard work of the women concerned.	Morgan	25.9.14	Positive
it is that talent and hard work that matter, not where	Greening	19.1.17	Positive
by constant vigilance and hard work. In this connection, I	Johnson	24.2.17	Positive
it's your talent and hard work that matter, not where	May	9.9.16	Positive
require grit, application, hard work and perseverance	Gove	7.6.14	Positive
to repair the link between hard work these families put in	Greening	13.4.17	Negative
not innate ability, but hard work. Since then, they've	Truss	3.1.14	Positive
system. Yet despite hard work by dedicated professionals	Gibb	6.1.12	Negative
appreciation for the extremely hard work that so many of you put	Timpson	26.2.13	Positive
Services for the extremely hard work and amount of time that	Loughton	9.3.11	Positive
literate and have displayed a talent for hard work and application throughout	Gove	24.11.11	Positive
Eileen again for all her hard work. She rightly addressed	Loughton	8.11.11	Positive
sixteen groups and the immense hard work and commitment of a superb	Gove	6.9.10	Positive
thanks to the incredibly hard work of sponsors, 11 new studio	Hill	18.10.12	Positive
for all their incredibly hard work in setting up the exhibition	Loughton	13.1.11	Positive
turning them around. This is hard work. I know that having take	Agnew	31.10.17	Positive
Teaching is difficult. It is hard work. It is both challenging	Gibb	16.2.17	Positive
a winner. The nominees' hard work and commitment to their	Morgan	2.2.16	Positive
students and lots of hard work. But more than that I	Truss	7.5.14	Positive
and the importance of hard work? Are they on course to	Gove	27.6.12	Positive

Teaching Leaders. The 2 years of hard work and training you have do	Laws	12.12.14	Positive
after Jane's 3 years of hard work as headteacher to turn	Morgan	18.3.15	Positive
reward for a life of hard work. Now a manifesto shouldn't	Cameron	7.12.15	Positive
Thanks to a great deal of hard work by many in this room and	Gibb	10.7.12	Positive
And thanks to lots of hard work at a local level, the	Timpson	4.7.13	Positive
level. After years of hard work and training, it is only	Gibb	24.4.11	Positive
talent, and no amount of hard work can change that. I repeat	Truss	3.1.14	Negative
depends not on talent or hard work, but on where they live	Gibb	2.11.16	Negative
and of course their own hard work - 77% of students achieved	Laws	12.12.14	Positive
We all know that the real hard work, the effort that ultimately	Timpson	24.2.14	Positive
system needs to reward hard work and ambition, not just time	Gibb	26.1.16	Positive
possible without the sheer hard work and tenacity of the women	Morgan	6.10.14	Positive
commitment, care and sheer hard work this takes. It's why	Timpson	17.6.15	Positive
on time. About the sheer hard work of a sector that never sleeps	Hancock	19.11.13	Positive
vision, leadership and sheer hard work of people in local government	Gove	25.11.10	Positive
generation is dedication to study, hard work and restless curiosity	Gove	11.1.12	Positive
the evidence shows that hard work, application and properly	Gove	26.3.12	Positive
people who work there. That hard work and dedication means	Gyimah	21.10.14	Positive
As so, despite the hard work of teachers, it is still	Gibb	20.4.11	Negative
uncomfortable fact. Despite the hard work of teachers all over the	Gibb	6.1.12	Negative
need to succeed. Despite the hard work of teachers, the least	Gibb	24.4.11	Negative
pupils, as well as to the hard work of the governing bodies	Gibb	24.6.10	Positive
ablity to read. Despite the hard work of teachers there are still	Gibb	25.11.10	Negative
communities and thanks to the hard work of school leaders. But given	Gibb	25.11.10	Positive
They are a tribute to the hard work and dedication of primary	Gibb	5.12.17	Positive
list of 40. Thanks to the hard work of teachers and the government's	Gibb	23.1.18	Positive
Phonics Check. Thanks to the hard work of teachers and by twinning	Gibb	23.1.18	Positive
on - building on the hard work of my predecessors and	Zahawi	27.2.18	Positive
are a reflection of the hard work of early years and child	Goodwill	8.11.17	Positive
Today, thanks to the hard work of thousands of teachers	Morgan	9.7.15	Positive
been done without the hard work and dedication of heads,	Morgan	3.11.15	Positive
organisations together. The hard work of people like Corin,	Morgan	6.5.16	Positive
I - and I appreciate the hard work and dedication everyone	Gyimah	12.11.14	Positive
Goverment, and despite all the hard work that you, and frontline	Teather	25.11.10	Negative

is very much due to the hard work that you have been involved	Teather	25.11.10	Positive
inclusion. I thank you for the hard work you all you do with our	Teather	23.11.10	Positive
government today rely on the hard work, support and expertise	Loughton	11.2.11	Positive
thrive. I thank you for the hard work you have done so far.	Gyimah	3.12.15	Positive
employers and schools for the hard work that is transforming this	Morgan	11.5.16	Positive
reality on the ground by the hard work of school leaders and teachers	Morgan	17.3.16	Positive
thank Claudia for all the hard work she, and her team, have	Morgan	11.5.16	Positive
ability to read. Despite the hard work of teachers there are still	Gibb	7.1.11	Negative
in 2010, thanks to the hard work of teachers and the reforms	Gibb	9.3.16	Positive
inspired. Inspired by the hard work and dedication that they	Loughton	8.11.11	Positive
in no small measure to the hard work of teachers and school	Morgan	26.10.14	Positive
I believe much of the hard work that has been done on	Loughton	16.5.12	Positive
been possible without the hard work and endeavour of PE teachers	Loughton	16.7.12	Positive
equally open about the hard work needed to create that change.	Morgan	2.6.15	Positive
This increase is down to the hard work and dedication of teachers	Morgan	24.2.16	Positive
like FASNA and the hard work of teachers and headteachers	Gibb	2.11.17	Positive
Commission and the hard work that flows from it are	Truss	18.3.13	Positive
to thank you all for the hard work and dedication you put	Timpson	8.7.14	Positive
Jones too for all the hard work she did as president	Timpson	4.7.13	Positive
This is thanks to the hard work of the best generation	Truss	3.4.13	Positive
professionals, and the hard work of our children, the sad	Gove	23.11.11	Positive
transformation is a credit to the hard work and dedication of the	Gove	10.7.14	Positive
to improve, thanks to the hard work of school cooks	Laws	11.7.14	Positive
changing, thanks to the hard work and dedication of virtual	Timpson	27.3.13	Positive
And thank you all for the hard work you are doing in your	Laws	7.11.13	Positive
up against and the hard work and dedication it takes	Timpson	10.6.14	Positive
to thank you for all the hard work and commitment you've	Timpson	10.12.13	Positive
you, once again, for the hard work and commitment that all	Timpson	14.7.14	Positive
chief executives for the hard work they've done over the	Timpson	25.10.12	Positive
thank you enough for the hard work and dedication you've	Timpson	24.2.14	Positive
say that, thanks to the hard work and dedication of many	Timpson	15.10.13	Positive
Last year, thanks to the hard work of teachers and the	Gibb	11.9.17	Positive
have been so struck by the hard work, the care, the imagination	Hinds	10.3.18	Positive
ssessments. Thanks to the hard work of teachers and headteachers	Gibb	16.11.17	Positive

adding them to the hard work and quality that already	Hancock	28.1.14	Positive
By 2016, thanks to the hard work of teachers and the use	Gibb	11.4.17	Positive
teaching. Thanks to the hard work of pupils and schools,	Gibb	11.7.12	Positive
and governance, and the hard work of teachers and headteachers	Gibb	16.11.17	Positive
high expectations - and the hard work required to meet them -	Gove	26.3.12	Positive
This is testament to the hard work of the teachers and headteachers	Gibb	2.11.16	Positive
her team for all their hard work and the recommendations	Loughton	17.5.11	Positive
throughout the country. Their hard work, commitment and exceptional	Morgan	6.7.16	Positive
support staff, for all their hard work and professionalism. And	Gibb	26.5.12	Positive
also be rewarded for their hard work with a fair but affordable	Gibb	20.4.11	Positive
teachers here today for their hard work and application over the	Loughton	16.7.12	Positive
apprenticeships. Thanks to their hard work, we're now delivering	Gove	1.4.14	Positive
consortium for all their hard work, particularly YoungMinds	Timpson	6.11.13	Positive
Foundation for all their hard work to create this event	Gove	10.7.14	Positive
as their talent and their hard work can take them, where it	Greening	19.1.17	Positive
as their talent and their hard work will allow. I want us to	May	9.9.16	Positive
everyone involved for their hard work. Thank you to the whole,	Laws	11.7.14	Positive
have applied - for their hard work and dedication in making	Nash	27.12.13	Positive
familiar. And it was their hard work that brought the issue	Loughton	11.2.11	Positive
well-earned rest after all their hard work. It is always a pleasure	Gibb	28.6.11	Positive
effort - and without this hard work time itself becomes an	Gove	26.3.12	Positive
their own success through hard work and diligence. And in turn	Truss	3.1.14	Positive
we have succeeded through hard work at a task which as the	Gove	14.11.12	Positive
lifetimes. They rightly want hard work at university to be recognised	Johnson	7.9.17	Positive
in an environment where hard work is expected, where every	Gove	26.3.12	Positive
life can be overcome, with hard work and good teaching. And	Gove	10.5.12	Positive
you in person for all your hard work which you do and also	Laws	11.7.14	Positive
we cannot do this. Your hard work, your commitment and you	Milton	17.1.18	Positive
want to thank you for your hard work, dedication and commitment	Laws	12.12.14	Positive
in this room for all your hard work to make a reality of	Laws	11.7.14	Positive
and Fostering) for your hard work over the past few years	Loughton	31.8.11	Positive
important as your grades, your hard work and determination, the	Morgan	16.6.15	Positive
have happened without your hard work and dedication. You	Hill	3.2.11	Positive
to all of you, for your hard work, commitment, passion and	Hill	25.11.10	Positive

thank you again for all your hard work and I look forward to	Gibb	14.10.11	Positive
Hughes, for all your hard work over the last year, and	Hancock	27.6.13	Positive
you do. Thank you for your hard work. And thank you for making	Morgan	11.5.16	Positive
all of you again for your hard work and commitment to answer	Timpson	4.7.13	Positive
line workers - for your hard work and dedication. And to	Timpson	4.7.13	Positive
adopters. And thanks to your hard work and dedication - for	Timpson	13.5.14	Positive
to ensure that all of your hard work, all of your dedication	Morgan	30.10.14	Positive
you. Thank you for your hard work, your commitment and your	Morgan	30.5.16	Positive
Thank you for all your hard work in pursuing educational	Morgan	6.7.16	Positive

Positive discursive positioning n=129, Negative discursive positioning n=10, Neutral discursive positioning n=1

Appendix T: Concordance of 'workload' in DFEMS corpus (n=98)

Concordance	Producer	Date	Discursive Positioning
And later this spring, 3 workload review groups will be	Morgan	5.3.16	Negative
the results of the 3 workload review groups on marking,	Morgan	26.3.16	Neutral
seen. It created quite a workload challenge for us too. As	Morgan	21.3.15	Negative
an achieve accreditation. Workload review reports This	Morgan	30.5.16	Neutral
and bureaucracy and workload that distracts from their	Morgan	17.3.16	Negative
that these issues - around workload, training and standards -	Morgan	19.1.15	Negative
the next 2 years. But as workload burdens go, I hope that	Gibb	27.4.16	Positive
we know it both drives workload and because, and I'll	Morgan	17.3.16	Negative
professional can ease workload, saving headteachers up	Gibb	16.11.17	Negative
to be able to ease workload - which is a matter I	Hinds	22.1.18	Negative
content. They also ease workload for teachers, who no long	Gibb	11.6.15	Negative
describe the exceptional. Workload One of my priorities has	Morgan	21.3.15	Neutral
of assessment, expected workload, and contact hours - and	Johnson	7.9.17	Neutral
reducing extraneous workload burdens for teachers,	Gibb	27.4.16	Negative
certainly guaranteed a heavy workload for some people in my department	Morgan	26.10.14	Negative
leading to a reduction in workload and improvements in pupil	Hinds	10.3.18	Negative
pay freezes, an ever-increasing workload and continual inspection	Gove	5.9.13	Negative
addition, the independent workload reports which were published	Gibb	27.4.16	Negative
that opportunity to do it. Workload Now, the next few years a	Morgan	29.7.15	Neutral
strategy will cover areas like workload, professional development	Hinds	10.3.18	Negative
afield - challenges like workload, bureaucracy and tougher	Loughton	25.11.10	Negative
as we do on things like workload. The teacher workload review	Morgan	30.5.16	Neutral
to get a grip on managing workload, we've got to have an	Greening	24.10.17	Negative
teachers responded to my 'workload challenge' last year	Morgan	29.7.15	Neutral
on, the launch of our new Workload Challenge for teachers.	Clegg	22.10.14	Neutral
reason why I launched a new Workload Challenge last week: asking	Morgan	26.10.14	Negative
of principles and a new workload protocol to ensure we	Morgan	26.3.16	Negative
to tackle the issue of workload across the teaching profession	Clegg	22.10.14	Negative
how often the subject of workload can come up in conversation	Hinds	10.3.18	Neutral
are many other drivers of workload and I will be announcing	Morgan	21.1.15	Neutral

ASCL general secretary) says - on workload. Too many of our teachers	Hinds	10.3.18	Negative
and retention, but also on workload - challenges that we all	Greening	17.2.17	Negative
unions to create an online workload reduction toolkit. This	Hinds	10.3.18	Negative
young people. Shortly our workload review groups will report	Morgan	17.3.16	Neutral
what underpinned our workload challenge, which generated	Morgan	21.3.15	Negative
cher workload. My recent 'workload challenge' initiative	Morgan	21.1.15	Neutral
their school and reduce workload. Teachers dedicate their	Gibb	16.11.17	Negative
in schools and to reduce workload for the long-term. As I	Hinds	10.3.18	Negative
well-structured textbooks reduce workload and the perpetual ritual	Gibb	20.11.14	Negative
tools. And tools reduce workload. In the most commonly use	Gibb	17.11.15	Negative
government can do to reduce workload and that the real battle	Morgan	29.7.15	Negative
improve attainment and reduce workload. The data management group	Morgan	29.7.15	Negative
you work, because reducing workload is not about one single policy	Morgan	30.5.16	Negative
teaching unions, on reducing workload - including relentlessly	Greening	17.2.17	Negative
is placing a significant workload on teachers for the next	Gibb	27.4.16	Positive
the Secretary of State's 'workload challenge' in 2014, a	Gibb	27.1.16	Neutral
we want to really tackle workload, then we also need to look	Hinds	10.3.18	Negative
support for schools to tackle workload where it is most needed.	Greening	17.2.17	Negative
course. We're tackling workload so teachers and school	Morgan	6.7.16	Negative
ambitious. We're tackling workload, encouraging recruitment	Morgan	6.7.16	Negative
united approach on tackling workload. And our key message is	Hinds	10.3.18	Negative
better CPD, and tackling workload issues. From that work I	Greening	10.3.17	Negative
I'm sure you know, tackling workload requires much more than	Morgan	26.3.16	Negative
go beyond simply tackling workload. I want government to play	Morgan	29.7.15	Negative
groups looking at tackling workload related to marking, planning	Morgan	6.7.16	Negative
of key drivers of teacher workload. Two of the most prominent	Morgan	21.1.15	Neutral
tackling unnecessary teacher workload. More than 44,000 teachers	Morgan	29.7.15	Negative
continue tracking teacher workload by carrying out a large	Morgan	29.7.15	Negative
why I launched the teacher workload challenge, to ask teachers	Morgan	27.11.14	Negative
like workload. The teacher workload reviews carried out by 3	Morgan	30.5.16	Negative
enough to tackle is teacher workload. As I said in my very first	Morgan	26.3.16	Negative
emerged to explain why teacher workload is so severe in this country	Gibb	17.11.15	Negative
priority of reducing teacher workload. Teachers should be freed	Gibb	23.3.18	Negative
response to the teacher 'workload challenge', which	Gibb	17.11.15	Negative

findings of the DfE's teacher workload survey, and an action plan	Greening	17.2.17	Negative
further. The issue of teacher workload is not new. It is one of	Hinds	10.3.18	Negative
contributor to excess teacher workload, reported by some 56% of	Gibb	25.2.15	Negative
tackle excessive teacher workload. The OECD's TALIS survey	Gibb	9.3.16	Negative
reduce unnecessary teacher workload, following a consultation	Morgan	19.1.15	Negative
orities: reducing teacher workload. My recent 'workload challenge'	Morgan	21.1.15	Negative
plans has added to teacher workload, detracted from coherence	Gibb	30.11.17	Negative
Technology should reduce teacher workload. It should be another way	Milton	24.1.18	Negative
to reduce their teachers workload. Because all of us want	Morgan	27.11.14	Negative
concerns that teachers raised in the workload challenge - marking, plan	Morgan	29.7.15	Negative
send us your ideas via the Workload Challenge page available	Clegg	22.10.14	Negative
realise that until we crack the workload nut that's much, much	Greening	24.10.17	Negative
collective ownership of the workload burden on schools. Now I	Hinds	10.3.18	Negative
that actually reduce the workload burden, while supporting	Hinds	10.3.18	Negative
teaching; strip away the workload that doesn't add value	Hinds	10.3.18	Negative
positive, not least due to the workload savings that a well-designed	Gibb	12.7.16	Positive
at's why I launched the workload challenge, which received	Morgan	26.3.16	Negative
October 2014, we launched the workload challenge. More than 44,000	Gibb	12.9.16	Negative
stop it. As a result of the workload challenge, we committed	Gibb	12.9.16	Negative
announcing a full response to the 'workload challenge' shortly, but	Morgan	21.1.15	Neutral
determined centrally. The workload survey we conducted recently	Gibb	25.2.15	Negative
governent has made tackling the workload of teachers a priority.	Gibb	12.9.16	Negative
support teachers to make their workload more manageable and provide	Gibb	16.11.17	Negative
we could cut down on their workload. Off the back of that challenge	Morgan	26.3.16	Negative
those things that add to workload but don't actually help	Hinds	10.3.18	Negative
it can drive unnecessary workload. I know that the current	Hinds	10.3.18	Negative
can result in unnecessary workload in schools. These reforms	Gibb	12.9.16	Negative
without generating unnecessary workload, with a focus on the	Morgan	29.7.15	Negative
part in limiting unnecessary workload. These measures included:	Morgan	29.7.15	Negative
use to tackle unnecessary workload, whilst also maintaining	Clegg	22.10.14	Negative
how to minimise unnecessary workload. Continuous professional	Morgan	29.7.15	Negative
to combat the unnecessary workload which for too long has we	Gibb	27.1.16	Negative
debilitating effect of unnecessary workload. The 3 biggest concerns	Gibb	27.1.16	Negative
modern, progressive workplaces. Workload Challenge for teachers Firstly	Clegg	22.10.14	Neutral

Positive discursive positioning n=3, Negative discursive positioning n=79, Neutral discursive positioning n=16

Appendix U: Acknowledgement of publications derived from the thesis

This appendix has been included to meet the requirement as stated in the University of Worcester's Handbook for Research Students 2019-20:

> *4. 125 To cover against charges of 'self-plagiarism' the student must acknowledge which parts of the work have been published previously and where. If an article has multiple authors then the student must add a clear statement about which part of the work is theirs.*

Spicksley, K. (2021) 'The very best generation of teachers ever': teachers in post-2010 ministerial speeches.' Submitted to *Journal of Education Policy* [Forthcoming: accepted 15.12.2020] DOI: 10.1080/02680939.2020.1866216
Uses material from chapters 2, 3, 4, 5 and 8.

Spicksley, K. (2021) 'The promise of leadership: Policy, new teachers and leadership ambition in primary multi-academy trusts.' *Impact: The Journal of the Chartered College of Teaching.* [Forthcoming: February 2021].
Uses material from chapters 2, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9.

Spicksley, K. (2020) ''A less unpalatable alternative': Executive leaders strategically redefining their work in primary MATs.' *Management in Education.* Published online first: https://doi.org/10.1177/0892020620959730
Uses material from chapters 1, 2, 4, 6, 8 and 9.

Spicksley, K. & Watkins, M. (2020) 'Early career teacher relationships with peers and mentors: Exploring policy and practice.' In A. Kington & K. Blackmore (Eds.) *Developing Social and Learning Relationships in Primary Schools.* London: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 93-116.
Uses material from chapter 1 (early career teacher identity) in the literature review and chapter 4 (methodology of critical discourse analysis) in the methodology. Both the literature review and the CDA methodology section were written entirely by myself, with Maxine Watkins contributing a methodology on grounded theory and findings sections to the chapter.

Spicksley, K. (2020) 'The Centre Cannot Hold: Exploring primary teachers' constructions of the future in education.' *FORUM for promoting 3-19 comprehensive education,* 62 (3), 379-392.
Uses material from chapter 4.

Spicksley, K. (2020) 'Education, children's futures and Covid-19.' *BERA Blog*. Available online at: https://www.bera.ac.uk/blog/education-childrens-futures-and-covid-19
Uses material from chapter 4.

Spicksley, K. (2019) 'Teach First – What is it doing?' *PRACTICE: Contemporary Issues in Practitioner Learning*, 1(1), 9-20.
Uses material from chapter 1, 2, 3 and 8.

Spicksley, K. (2018) 'The Value of Inexperience: Early Career Teachers in Recent Education Reform.' ***FORUM for promoting 3-19 comprehensive education*****, 60 (3), 375-386.**
Uses material from chapters 1, 2, 8 and 9.

Spicksley, K. (2018) 'Walking interviews: a participatory research tool with legs?', ***BERA Blog*****. Available online at: https://www.bera.ac.uk/blog/walking-interviews-a-participatory-research-tool-with-legs**
Uses material from chapter 4.