Testing times in English primary schools 1992-2012:

The effects of a performative culture on

teachers' and pupils' relations and identities

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Book Collection

This book draws upon research by the author and colleagues over the past twenty years into how primary schools, teachers and pupils manage their educational lives in a performative culture, exemplified by a continuous increase in inspections, testing and target setting. It is a collection of articles published by the author from 2004 to 2013 which identify the day to day life of teachers and pupils engaged in managing performative imperatives. (We also researched the intricacies of creative teaching and learning and the effect of performativity on this form of pedagogy but that material is published elsewhere). Through our ethnographic methodology we bring out the ways in which performativity affects teachers and pupils management of their educational practice and the effects on their educational identities. We include analysis of the way performativity shapes curriculum practice and learning experiences; the effect on careers, professsionality and relations; school policy and self-identities.

The collection shows that after twenty years since the first Ofsted inspections and annual national Standard Assessment Tasks in the early 1990s performativity imperatives have been unrelenting. However, the collection is also able to chart the ways in which schools and teachers have adapted the situation to suit themselves but also how hegemony works to reproduce this particular power. The problematic nature of agency is also seen through this twenty year collection of continuous research.

It includes details on how Foucault's governmentality works, the kinds of educational identities developed, the story of one four day inspection from researcher fieldnotes and the way schools today manage and embrace policy to ensure success. This collection will be useful as a way to review and interpret a major new educational curriculum and policy approach commencing in schools in 2014.

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Introduction

Context

The European Commission put an end to the debate on whose educational principles should be prominent in 1995 when it stated that education policy was in the service of economic imperatives (Ball 1998a). Local Authorities (LA) in conjunction with professional experience and expertise, which crossed institutional and regional boundaries, largely determined educational values and policy prior to the 1990s. From 1990 the English government took a more centralised micro management approach and lately the emphasis has shifted to schools to deliver basic education and performance but with some limited freedom to respond to market preferences.

Since the 1990s there has been an epidemic of educational policy of which the common global themes are economic, increasing criticism of schools, reduced funding, changes in governance, increased use of market approaches and an emphasis on standards and achievement (Levin 1998). In the 1990s the UK government adopted a centralist approach: introducing a National Curriculum; institutionalising Ofsted inspections (see Ch.3) with public reports on achievement, progress and standards of achievement; setting LA targets (see Glossary); producing tightly constituted literacy and numeracy programmes and established a national testing programme with the data available enabling comparison of school performance. This centralisation of policy prescription focused on an effective school approach based on the ideology of good schools defying disadvantage, which now appears to have failed and the discourse of diversity and choice that ran alongside the centralised programmes is now being extended (Harris and Ranson 2005). Raising standards is now the responsibility of schools (Woods 2004b) and pragmatism and compliance are the enforced strategies (Alexander in Woods, 2004).

There has therefore been a shift from government to governance – of a unitary state to governance of and by networks – new architecture or regulation based on interlocking relationships between disparate sites, in and beyond the state, controlled decontrol, the use of contracts eg: such as those with independent School Improvement Partners (SIPs) targets and performance monitoring, to steer from a distance rather than use bureaucratic systems to deliver policy and as Ball (2008) notes a ‘polycentric state’ and ‘a shift in the centre of gravity around which policy cycles move (Jessop 1998 in Ball 2008, p.32) (see Ch.1)

Central government educational policy texts have dominated schools in recent times from the National Curriculum, national assessment testing, inspection reports, QCA guidelines, national reports and the publication of school standards. These texts are written documents but they also contain values perpetuated through specific discourses mediated by language and beliefs about the role of education in society and the economy. These discourses bring objects into being, they form the object of which they speak (Ball 1993) such as policy texts and they construct particular types of social relation through the relative strength of the practices they determine. The recognition of policy texts as discourses opens up greater possibilities of interpretation and action than a more prescriptive approach to policy analysis allows.

Policy texts such as the 2005 White paper on education (DfEE 2005) make it clear that choice and diversity is the new mantra on which to base an education policy. The transparent ideology behind the economic and educational models that now seem enjoined is a public market (Woods 1998) in which there is choice of school, diversity of provision based on demand driven funding and school self-determination. These policies of choice and competition encourage schools to market themselves more effectively to target parents as consumers and competition and rivalry intensifies (Bagley 2006).

Theoretical frame

Schools, in this framework are non-discursive arenas (institutions) where discursive statements are monitored and controlled, vetoed or allowed by those with power, including the practitioners themselves (see Ch. 4+5). We follow Foucault's methodology in analysing discourse in relation to social structure and focus on the effects of power. We are interested in institutional analysis and how technologies of power – performative practices such as testing and targets (see Ch. 2) - isolate the mechanisms by which power operates and to document how polices and their cultural antecedents attempt to normalize individuals (see Ch. 6) through increasingly rationalized means by constituting normality (see Ch.7), turning them into meaningful subjects and in some cases docile objects (See Ch.8). Following Foucault we wish to show not how political practice has determined the meaning and form of educational discourse, but how and in what form it takes part in its conditions of emergence, insertion and functioning. The recognition of non-discoursive material practice by Foucault correlates with his shift in method from archeology to geneology. In focusing on archeology Foucault emphasizes the structure of the discursive, whereas in focusing on geneology he gives greater weight to practices and institutions.

Foucault is concerned with how discourse is shaped and how discourse shapes everyday existence. For Derrida there is no escaping from the text. All is text. However, like Gramsci, Foucault focuses on the importance placed on language as its role as a carrier of political and philosophical presuppositions. They both see languages as hegemonic instruments that can reinforce the values of common sense and potentially transmit new ones (Olssen 2006).

Performativity

One of the main vehicles for the governance turn (Ball 1998) has been the use of performativity (see Ch.1+2+3). It is underpinned by a major policy to improve economic status and social well-being, a market based approach that encourages performance-based activity - the generation of a culture of performativity (see Ch.8) (Lyotard 1979; Ball 1998b; Ball 2000). The performativity of Lyotard is a technology, a culture and mode of regulation that employs judgements and comparisons and displays the performances of individual subjects or organisations to serve as measures of productivity. In the educational field the performativity culture is being used by government to raise standards in schools through national inspections in England (see Ch. 3) (Jeffrey and Woods 1998; Perryman 2006) and to raise the achievement of the mass of the population through target setting and testing (see Ch.2). In setting targets for Local Authorities (LA) and schools, government hopes to develop a highly skilled workforce that can compete in a new global industry – the knowledge economy. The higher the skills base and the higher levels of excellence achieved in knowledge acquisition and the best use of that knowledge, the higher the economic return for the UK.

The rise of a performativity discourse in education in England emanates from the importation of an economic 'market' structure for schools in order to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the outputs of learning and to increase the opportunity of choice for the 'consumers' of education (see Ch.1) (Ball, 1998). Institutions focus their policies and practice, on improving performance and survival to maintain and develop their market share. This is due to the competitive nature of a market structure. The performativity criterion of efficiency and effectiveness is an optimisation of the relationship between input and output (Lyotard, 1979). In the case of education this means both ensuring a favourable qualitative award from a national inspection service and raising the achievement levels of pupils in national tests to ensure a high position in published tables of educational performance. High ratings on these two performativity indicators improve a school's attraction to parents and students in the educational market place. This results in improved resources, increasing the opportunity for the

school to be more selective about the students it accepts and the quality of the teachers it employs.

Other benefits of a performativity process for the education system are seen to be: the closure of the policy 'implementation gap' (Fullan and Hargreaves 1992); a challenge to 'provider capture' by teachers (Lawton 1992); simplified national measures of school achievement; and a reduction of the multiple goals for teachers (Menter et al. 1997) that produced an intensification of their work leading to 'over conscientiousness'(Campbell and Neill 1994). An improvement in achievement levels of children (see Ch.7), in particular those from poor environments, is considered to be the main prize for government policies intended to benefit both the individual and future societal needs.

The performativity discourse began to be developed in primary schools after the introduction of the National Curriculum in England and Wales in 1989. Children's competencies were assessed in a wide range of skills, knowledge and understanding of each curriculum subject and then they were allocated overall level age related grades. The introduction of national Standardised Assessment Tasks (SATs) in which children aged seven and eleven were assessed in English, Maths and Science soon followed. Individual results were passed on to parents but the overall school results were published in the form of league tables comparing schools and Local Education Authorities (LEAs) in local and national newspapers. Schools and LEAs feel it is important to maintain their league position and some operate internal testing in the other years of a child's school career and instituting revision periods prior to the SATs taken in the early part of the summer term.

Ofsted inspections established a national set of criteria by which schools and teachers were assessed. Inspectors are privately employed by Ofsted and are generally unknown to the school. They examine documentation, observe school practices for three or four days (see Ch.3), or spot inspections latterly with notice of just a few days, analysed their findings according to nationally devised criteria and reported back to the school governors, the LEA and the national Ofsted office within six weeks of the inspection. The reports are then published and made available on web sites. Schools are concerned to ensure a positive and improving report and spent a good deal of time and money on preparation to ensure that the Ofsted team recognise the school's strengths and achievements (Jeffrey, 1998).

Performance indicators act mainly as a form of accountability (see Ch. 5), particularly related to a systems approach that incorporates an input-output model. However it is also a discourse because it is a practice that incorporates values, establishes behaviours and affects relations. Discourses are, 'about what can be said and thought, but also about who can speak and with what authority. Discourses embody meaning and social relations, they constitute both subjectivity and power relations' (Ball 1990, p. 2).

Primary teachers' subjective and power relations have been significantly affected by the introduction of a performativity discourse (see Ch. 4). Prior to this development an influential discourse was a humanist one based on a 'set of values centred around holism, person-centredness, and warm and caring relationships' (see Ch. 6) (Woods and Jeffrey 2002). These values were central to the construction of learning theories, collegial practices and the implementation and maintenance of accountability. The performativity discourse prioritised the pursuit of excellence and accountability by focusing on the satisfaction to be gained from the achievement of goals and improvements in performance. It has required primary teachers to face up to radical changes in practice (Osborn, McNess, and Broadfoot 2000) and in some cases to engage in profound self-inquiry engendered by perceived changes in the identity of the teacher's working self (see Ch. 6) (Woods, 2002). It has also affected the key area of teacher relations, in particular, teacher's relations with children, colleagues and local advisors/inspectors (see Ch. 4).

Performativity differs from modernist approaches to knowledge not only in terms of enlightenment values but

also from other educational systems of assessment and grading in which the pupil was held responsible for 'performance' and systems which used 'performance' for stratification. In Lyotard's performative cultures the emphasis is on continual performativity by individual, institution, regional government and state, to continually compete to improve 'performance' and to be assessed according, not only to the outcomes but to the increase in performativity. These assessments of the rate of improvement are again continual and create a never ending imperative to maintain improvement by individual, institution, regional government and the State.

Performativity therefore influences the identities of both individuals and organisations who become committed to improvement in outputs measured against competing peers and institutions, a major characteristic of markets which encourages continual improvement to maintain market position.

Methodology

Our theory of knowledge is a sociological approach that derives from empirical studies related to social theories and personal realities. We try to get to know the sub-culture of the classroom and school and take the view that people's personal realities and beliefs (Walford 2007) are embodied in speech and behaviours. The observations and analysis of the micro, we believe, is linked to macro discourses, policies and structures. We saw ethnography is a relevant and appropriate methodology to support our Foucauldian theoretical frame.

Policies are contested, interpreted and enacted in a variety of arenas of practice and the rhetorics, texts, meanings of policy makers do not always translate directly and obviously into institutional practices. They are inflected, mediated, resisted and misunderstood, or in some cases simply prove unworkable – messy, contradictory, confused and unclear (Ball 2008).

Our research over the last 20 years upon which this book draws has analysed the thick policy environments, permeated by the discourse of performativity and creativity, through our ethnographic methodology which is predominantly qualitative. Our symbolic interactionist approach enabled us to gather the perspectives of teachers and learners as to the way in which these discourses were affecting their practice and the coping strategies used to manage them as well as the differences. In this way we unpacked the nature of discourse processes and the possibilities for local situational restructuring.

We follow an interactionist sociology in which we ask: What problems do people face? How are they experienced? What meanings are given to them? What feelings are generated? Ethnography respects the empirical world, penetrates layers of meaning and facilitates taking the role of the other by the researcher, an empathetic understanding, defining situations, and grasping the sense of process (Woods 1996). The research took cognisance of the structural influences of situations and the dilemmas, tensions and constraints under which people worked and lived and the way they managed and coped with their situations. To understand the complexities of what is happening we needed to employ a qualitative approach, which 'captures and records the voices of lived experience…contextualises experience…goes beyond mere fact and surface appearances…presents details, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another' (Denzin 1989, p. 83). Data needed to be collected within the school context, since experiences, perspectives and identities are strongly shaped by their context (Rosenholtz 1989). Our ethnographic approach consisted of spending time in the field using three different time modes - compressed, selective intermittent and recurrent (Jeffrey and Troman 2004; Jeffrey 1999). - ensured that we took into account the broad experience of teaching, learning and obtained a complex, rich analysis of how the creativity and performativity discourse interacted with the lives of those in schools.

Our ethnographic approach assisted the process of examining policy discourses through research into how

primary teachers experienced performativity by using:

- life/career histories;
- as full a range of relevant personnel as possible from our research sites, eg: managers, teachers, teaching assistants, learners;
- immersing ourselves in the research sites over time to record and examine these policy trajectories and the way in which people respond to them in different temporal phases and different situations through interviews, conversations, fieldwork observations and team analysis.

Our analysis proceeded in the sequence: data collection – analysis - data collection – analysis. The process provided 'spiralling insights' (Lacey 1976) as it sought to generate theory from the data using the method of 'constant comparisons' (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

Chapter 3 is the earliest example of our research from the mid 1990s where we researched Ofsted inspections using an ESRC grant (R000236406) and portrays teacher life during the week of an inspection. The main research sample included six primary schools representing urban, suburban and rural areas (Jeffrey and Woods 1998). Chapters 5-7 were written a little later using the same research material (Jeffrey, 1999 Woods, 2002) (Jeffrey 2002) (see Table 1+2). Chapters 1, 2 and 7-9 were written on research, again funded by the ESRC (RES-000-23-1281 and RES-000-23-0748) and carried out in the early and mid 2000s, focused firstly on teacher careers and secondly on primary schools management of performativity and creative policies and discourses (see Table 3). The samples for the two separate projects overlapped but also included differing schools. However, the sample again represented urban, suburban, rural schools. (Full details are included in the tables at the end of the book).

Book Overview

Chapter One, from the most recent research, describes how schools have become infected by governmentality and the second shows more detail of the performativity to which primary schools have had to adhere and some examples of how teachers have adapted their teaching to succumb to it and in some cases to merge creative teaching and performativity in what they called 'smart teaching'. Chapter three, as indicated earlier, gives a researchers perspective of the life of the primary teachers during one particular inspection. Chapter Four looks back to our earlier research in this area of inspections by focusing on the effects of performativity on teacher relations with pupils, local inspectors and colleagues. Chapter Five, located in the same era, delves deeper into the subjective experiences of primary teachers and the change from a significant amount of professional autonomy to enhanced accountability through an examination of the 'substantial self'. Chapter Six follows this theme with an examination of the change to teacher identities. Chapter Seven jumps back to the recent research but following the same theme with details of how performativity has affected the construction of primary pupils' identities. Chapter Eight based on the recent research, pan out again to show how governmentalism 'embraces' its inhabitants in its pursuit of the performative school. The epilogue suggests that the major reconstruction planned for 2015 of the primary school curriculum and performative priorities may still provide spaces for primary teachers and schools to maintain a challenge to the latter.

Chapter One - Governmentality in Primary Schools in England

Bob Jeffrey and Geoff Troman

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The research upon which this book is based explores the way in which governmentality (Foucault, 1979) works at the micro level though examining local discourses, the kinds of power relations established and the emergence of agency through the strategic practices that Foucault maintains dominate local situations as Thrift (Thrift 2000) notes, 'To govern human beings is not to crush their capacity to act, but to acknowledge it and to utilise it for one's own objectives' (Rose 1999) p.4).

Foucault's description of the complex processes of governmentalisation (Foucault, 1979), which involves the emergence and development of new technologies of power on individuals and populations, accounts for the construction of different forms of social beliefs and values, and hence furthers our understanding of hegemony. Governmentality thus refers to the coordination of power at the level of the state. It refers to discourses concerned with the 'arts of government' by which the State politically coordinates power to effect particular constructions of the subject, the conduct of conduct (Bragg 2010). For Foucault, the liberal art of government is not an ideology or philosophy but a prescription for rule. According to Olssen (2006) an explanation of how new forms of power shape and govern the individual, involves supplementing, in Barry Smart's (1983) words,

> the state/civil society dichotomy by an analytic focus upon the governmentalisation of power relations, that is the development of individualising techniques and practices which are reducible neither to force nor to consent techniques and practices which is transformed by political conflict and struggle through the constitution of new forms of social cohesion (Smart 1986, p.162)

Gillies (2009) finds that Foucault refers to government differently in different places, for example Foucault adopts a working definition of government as the disposition of things arranged as to lead to a convenient end and in another place as techniques and procedures for directing human behaviour and yet another as the 'conduct of conduct' meaning that to govern is to structure the possible field of action of others. Gillies goes onto show that this last phrase is a play on two French verbs – 'conduire' meaning to lead, direct or drive and 'se conduire' meaning to behave or conduct oneself (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982). He also notes, helpfully, that Foucault, especially in his later work, is very interested in the concept of government at an individual level and not just at the political.

Governmentality thus refers to the global coordination of power at the level of the state as opposed to the microphysics of power. It refers to discourses concerned with the 'arts of government' by which the State politically coordinates power to effect particular constructions of the subject. For Foucault, the liberal art of government is not an ideology or philosophy but a prescription for rule. In as much as liberalism is a discourse of liberty and of economy it is also for Foucault concerned with the security of the population as an end of government. In that it is concerned with techniques of security, liberalism constitutes a discourse of power that seeks to construct notions of law, seeks to maintain and strengthen the partitions of civil society evolving around the 'public' and 'private' arenas, seeks to define the role functioning of the market, and of market and state relations, as well as provide metaphysical constructs of our notions of progress, democracy, and personal autonomy.

This research explores the way in which governmentality Foucault, (1979) works to transform schools and teachers.

The Governance Turn

Four sets of related changes characterise Ball's (2009) 'governance turn': forms of government (structures and agencies); the form and nature of the participants in the processes of governance; the prevailing discourses within governance and a change in the governing of and production of new kinds of 'willing' subjects, 'panoptic performativity (Perryman, 2006). Our research found examples of all four:

1. the change to a market approach for schools;
2. the change to institutional professional identities;
3. the institutionalisation of a performative discourse
4. the development of new willing aspirational subjects

Marketisation

The first of Ball's characteristics of the governance turn – changes in the form of structures and agencies - encapsulated the way in which schools have had to respond to the market approach of government policy.

The six primary schools, in our study, had an openness to the local community through their websites, publication of test results, community interests and willingness to engage,

> 'You just wander around, the teachers are used to people coming in and out, they won't mind' (Assistant Head – repeated on several occasions) 'Yes, the children don't mind adults coming in, they are used to it. There's always someone walking around the school, they are happy with that' (Head). On each of my visits, there were parents being shown around (FN-I-2/2/07)

The school invited parents and the community in more often and visitors, including parents, saw more of the school's work and the way teachers teach as the classrooms were more open.

> Some parents come in and look at the work in progress. This was announced this morning in assembly. Some Yr.6 pupils are in charge of welcoming the parents, meeting them at the entrance and taking them to the room where their child is working. The parents have not been met by or talked to a teacher yet, it's all been led by the Y.6 pupils (FN-H-23/2/07)

Teaching had become a public affair. Even the private reports to parents were now virtually open with every parent knowing the school statistics on its SATs performance and Ofsted inspections and children and parents talked openly with each other about the child's 'level', (see Glossary), both in and outside the staffroom, the classroom and the school grounds,

> We had an afternoon where we invited parents to look at SATs papers to encourage them to help their children' (Carole-C-Yr.5).

Meetings often took place in public, not in the head's office but, for example, in the school café where we noted one with a government DfES person and another with six local headteachers.

Schools were not just willing to share information, but positively eager to share it.

> On my second and third visits, I am left alone in the Head's office so that I can browse the curriculum and school policy folders. The Head welcomes the policy aspect of our research project. They have many visits from other schools, who are sceptical that this school's curriculum flow approach could work for them. She hopes that our project will serve to convince other schools of the viability of the curriculum flow approach, eg: Beacon Role – Leading Practice**,** networking and sharing of good practice (FN-H-8/1/07)

Internally professional psychologists, welfare workers and inspectors, advisors and even researchers often sat at the back of a class making notes about what was going on. There has been a sharp rise in the number of teaching assistants working in schools, many of whom were parents, who carry out supervised teaching roles and work in the classroom all day, another adult in the classroom (Garland and Garland 2012). Senior staff regularly observed some aspect of the teacher's work and in some schools teachers observed each other in a form of professional reciprocity.

> As Key Stage 1 Coordinator my job is to check on teachers, I say to my Key Stage 1 staff 'let's have a chat about how people are reaching their targets, how we are getting on and how many people in your class are meeting expectations, where they should be'. We'll discuss that and one may say 'no I'm really struggling with my middle group. We are constantly looking to see how people are getting on with our 'flying high' group – those who are near the class level and need extra help to get to it. I target them as soon as they came in and decide on my overall list as to where they should be by the end of the term (Carolyn-C-Yr.2).

There was more collaboration between teachers who often worked together planning a term's work for the same age group and joint activities often took place with two teachers working in the same room or the whole school worked on one project for anything from one week to six in which teaching ideas and strategies were shared and displayed. This open culture made hierarchical power less visible and appeared to show how horizontal power (Bernstein 1996) operated by focusing on the institution and less on hierarchical positions, a major aspect of this form of governmentalisation

Institutional membership

The development of institutional identities rather than the broader teaching and learning theories upon which professional identities of the pre 1990s were based (Woods 1996) exemplified Ball's (2009) second characteristic of the governance turn – changes to the form and nature of the participants in the processes of governance. Resentment, in the 1990s of centralisation and deprofessionalism (Jeffrey 1998) had turned towards ensuring the success and fate of the marketised institution and impacted more heavily on professional status, well being and self interests. The result was an emergent team impression (Goffman 1959) of conformity: actors sustaining a collective belief in both the institutional rhetoric and their voluntary adherence to it, making resistance seem unnecessary. A Reinventive Institution (RI), (Scott 2010) which aims to provide a space for reinventing identities, applied to these schools. The RI inmate is both an actor who performs and a subject position defined by the sum of these performances. S/he is both agentically performative and constrained by the discipline of interaction (ibid.) and the development of a team approach was crucial to the operation of governmentalism.

Belonging to a team, the opposite of the lone professional of Lortie's (1975) study or those in Jennifer Nias's study (1989), is the major way in which a primary teacher's identity is now constructed (Jeffrey 2002). Today's primary school teacher is a team player belonging to a team that is in open competition with other local school teams but also part of a team that needs to present itself as a unified, creative, inclusive and effective managerial organisation, 'doing member' (Garfinkel 1967).

> Also being part of a team, getting to know adults as well is rewarding. It was very lonely when previously I was with just children all the time. I've got a bit of a responsibility now for myself as an individual as well. I've got my own job. I like that. I like my own responsibility. I also like the people that I've met and I'm getting to know even more. It's like a community here. I know, as you are aware, that it is in the middle of an estate, but you know that is actually quite good. It is part of the community and that's what I've enjoyed. (Wanda-W-Yr.6)

Teachers in our research involved having more of a team role in the organisation of the school and using their creativity to develop the institution. In dealing with technologies of the self, Foucault talks about how the self is governed, how we seek to control our own conduct so as to 'transform' ourselves (Foucault 2000.). Professional cohesion and good professional relations were essential to the development of the team approach.

> I find, in the staffroom, a display board entitled 'Staff Achievement Board', with some displayed certificates on which some members of staff have been commended for certain actions or for just starting a new role. All staff are encouraged to download a copy and to fill it in for someone they think worthy. It's all part of the team approach used in the school. The head has indicated that this is crucial and that staff are encouraged to do kind things for one another, such as get them a cup of tea, and not to make it that obvious. Written in large letters above the main notice board, and outside at least one classroom is the TEAM approach 'Together Everyone Achieves More' (FN-C-26/02/07)

A dynamism existed in all our schools irrespective of SES status and often the low SES schools were the most dynamic and innovative attempting to make a difference (Troman 2008).

> Everything, children, background, curriculum, the way it's taught, the sort of input from teachers here, there's much more of a cohesive team in this school than in any I've known. That's a big part, that's what we're all striving for, the same thing in this school, for the welfare and the education of the children, everybody from the people who serve the dinners, to the cleaners who sweep the floors and sort out the leaks in the boilers to the office staff, to the teachers. It doesn't seem that there is a big hierarchy here of being a superior because you're the Head teacher or inferiority because you're a dinner-lady (Christopher-C-Yr.3)

The team approach was manifest in the usual portrayal of photographs of all the school staff including support staff, kitchen and cleaning staff. These corporate teams reflect the modern commercial organisation in which everyone plays a part in the development and promotion of the cultural institution (Peters and Waterman 1982).

The team approach enabled class teachers to assist other teacher's professional practice, specifically in performative practices,

> I sit with the Yr. 5 teacher and we look at areas where there is a dip and we look at different strategies, with writing for example, looking at how the children can set their own manageable writing targets so that they understand in 'children speak', So we are constantly looking at how you can help those children and giving them more support in those areas (Harriet-H-Yr.6)

Performative regulation (Scott 2010) occurs where groups of people submit themselves to the authority of an institution, internalise its values and enact through them mutual surveillance in an inmate culture. Power operates horizontally as well as vertically, as members monitor each other's conduct, sanction deviance and evaluate their own progress in relative terms. The disciplinary gaze is not merely transmitted but reticulated: dispersed and refracted through an agentic network. Power is not only discursively constitutive but also interactively productive of new identities. The rituals of peer group interaction are central to this process and can be as important as the formal instruction they receive in motivating people to commit to an institution (Scott 2010) instead of going it alone.

Performativity and creative discourses

The third of Ball's (2009) characteristics of the 'governance turn' focuses on the change to the prevailing discourses, which in the case of schools initially involved the introduction of performativity in the 1990s and

marginalising creative teaching and learning (Woods et al. 1997; Pollard et al. 1994). The constraints we identified in the mid 1990s were concerned with central imposition of a National Curriculum, specific pedagogies examined by Ofsted, a prescriptive literacy and numeracy programme and the beginning of the influence of SATs. The current research shows a continuation of some of those constraints, for example, tightly focused curriculum guidelines with detailed assessment criteria attached, the continuation of Ofsted inspections, albeit more frequent but less exacting and the extension of the influence on teaching and learning of SATs testing. We have noted a loosening of the constraints on the literacy and numeracy programmes, a more welcoming or tolerance of Ofsted inspections as a useful check on a school's accountability and progress, an acceptance by teachers of a progression narrative for assessment contained in the curriculum guidelines which assisted teachers in knowing what to do and where to go next (Jeffrey 2009). The annual or twice annual testing, as a form of check on learner progress and indicating priorities for school and teacher targeting, is now generally accepted,

> There was external pressure to test the whole school every year to ensure they got higher in the league tables, 'it's not something that the head or I, or anyone particularly wants but unfortunately it's the way it has to be' (Stephanie-W-DH),

constructing organisational professionals (professionalism from above) as opposed to occupational professionals (from within the profession) (Evetts 2008).

Teachers internalised failures, marginalising the more public expression of heavy duty accountability (Jeffrey and Woods 1998) of the 1990s,

> The 75% target for us is a measure of how much progression the children in my class have made this year and I'm not going to get that. 75% of them haven't got the national average, so I haven't got them there. It's not that we look at it in the staff meetings and say 'Oh these teachers didn't get them to this target so you must be a rubbish teacher'. But I do feel personally responsible for it. However, I think it helps to feel personally responsible for the progression, and it focuses you more on the children that could do with a lot of help (Celina-C-Yr2),

The internalisation of responsibility for achievement is exactly how governmentalism works, to transfer responsibility from central government to institutions and individuals. Perversely, the support of the team culture appeared to protect them from this personal criticism but the responsibility was nevertheless felt acutely. They accepted the situation and sought to manage the tension,

> Obviously we have targets for all children in the school that's how it is, not that I always agree with these things but you do have targets and children are assessed to a certain level of a target and at the start of the year you have the previous year's targets and you are expected to move them up. I have to bear in mind that you are not going to get every single child up to those targets and I have to know that as a teacher that that's not a failing. I have to accept that because I'm quite hard on myself. I have to accept that I'm not going to move every single child to that level and you have to know their limitations as well as your own. I think you need to know that performance is being assessed because we have performance and appraisals and we have to reflect it in our practice and we need to know that what we are doing is working (Harriet-H-Yr.6)

They embraced (Jeffrey and Troman 2012) the imperatives of the performativity culture to ensure the continuing success of their institution in the local market place. We saw how testing and targets alongside external auditing was accepted by teachers as part of their role, more of a craft role ensuring everything was effective and striving for improvement.

People seem to find a way to deal with things, you've just got to find a way haven't you? Because you have to work with the system, there are certain things that are in a system. You work with government, you've got power within a system, you have to work the system or you have to make the system work for you too, otherwise you end up banging your head against a brick wall (Wei-W-Yr.2).

However, the discourse of performativity also contained satisfiers (Herzberg 1971) for testing and targeted teaching and learning sometimes brought instantaneous satisfaction,

> I go from thinking I don't think I want to do Year Six again, for it is too much like hard work and too much stress and you have got too much responsibility on your shoulders, to thinking 'I like this, I like this responsibility'. It sounds a bit selfish really, but people look up to you if you are in Year Six, you are at the top of the school. The children respect you because you are at the top of the school, you are a Year Six teacher and the staff see you as a bit of unknown territory. I quite like that feeling it gives me, which, is a daft reason to want to stay in Year Six but that is a genuine feeling that I have. But then when days are really hard you feel you are not getting anywhere and you think 'do I really need this and let's get back to Year Five and have a nice creative year (Carole-C-Yr.6)

Performative satisfaction is a powerful reward for maintaining and developing progress and has always played a part in primary school policies to a greater or lesser extent, for example the regular testing of reading proficiency. However, governmentalism is the process of ensuring that schools and teachers prioritise government policy rather than professional values and policies. Performative satisfaction is both a product of its constitution and agency (Foucault, 1979) for it is a possibility at the point that disciplinary power is being enacted that gives members the chance to shrug off the description of being a 'docile member' (Olssen, 2006, p.14) and bringing their commitment to engage with the situation.

Aspiring cultures

The fourth vital element of Ball's 'governance turn' (2009) is the development of new willing subjects and in this case it was characterised by the development of an aspirational culture.

> The schools demonstrated an aspiring culture in which members held personal aspirations for career, for learners, for their school and community and the values underpinning these aspirations were at the same time meritocratic, egalitarian and humanist. Cultural and educational homilies littered our schools, exhorting members to think and act positively, to see learning as a comfortable but challenging journey made easier through self assessment and through co-operation with others, identifying mistakes as learning points and generally celebrating the joy of learning and education and downplaying authoritative power relations. These homilies targeted adults as well, some of them placed in staff toilets. An aspirational culture was prominent throughout with a celebration of continual improvement as each member arrived at a station on the never ending journey through professional and personal life (FN-C-14/03/2007)

Professional life was hard but the new aspirational culture had its satisfiers (Herzberg 1970),

> I don't want to paint a false picture and say we're always happy because that's not true. There are days when I'm quite tired, especially towards the end of the term and you think 'oh goodness' but the majority of the time I think we are very positive and I think we're always willing to try new things and I think that's the key. We are a fairly young staff who have that energy and we feel comfortable with change. If you haven't been teaching as long then maybe you're willing to change (Carolyn-C-Yr.2)

Promotion and challenges were daunting but welcome in this new 'can do' culture.

> It is a big job and it is a responsible thing to do. There are downsides to it but I think quite positive. Perhaps it's my innocence or my ignorance, I don't know. It's a big responsibility but I think it's one that I'm quite happy to take on. And I think I would do it very well (Vicky-V-DH).

Challenges were a central part of the aspiring school cultures,

> I think targets for the school give people a bit of ambition, it does for me anyway, just to say you need to achieve this in this time, it's a bit more of business psychology I think….The moment it feels like you're on a treadmill it's time to change and to set yourself some targets to know where you want to get to and if you're ambitious enough, targets for head-teacher or advanced skills teacher or a SENCO', (Christopher-C-Yr.3)

Continuous improvement and a belief in the possibility of success was an example of how the conduct of conduct (Gillies 2009) pervaded the school culture.

> The fact that Ofsted could drop in anytime means you have to always have it in place and always have to be motivated and keep things going and if you started some new initiative you need them to know that you can continue with it and if you've said on your school development plan and your school improvement plan that you're going to do it then it needs to be monitored and needs to be checked that we are doing it. I think those things are all good really. I think it's good to have the thought that Ofsted could be round the corner or could be checking up on you. I don't particularly like it when they're in (laughs) but no it doesn't worry me. I don't think it worries the school either personally because I think we know what we're doing and I think we know where we want to get to, we know what we want to achieve and we've got our school improvement plan and we know what's on it, so I think its fine (Cloe-C-Yr.2)

Working in schools in deprived areas was also portrayed as a challenge,

> I think there's a real buzz working in these schools, you know you're up against the edge, much more than if I worked in more affluent areas where I live, because it makes them quite a lot more interesting (Camile-C-HT)

A commitment to social justice strengthened the power of the institution and those individuals who embraced these principles. Their commitment was not just to maintain their league table position but to improve children's opportunities,

> Actually I want the test results improved as well so a child going on to secondary school can read and write. Actually we're genuinely worried about test results not because I care about where I am on the league table. If I can get my kids reading and writing, fantastic so I do all the old stuff. If I want to break this cycle of deprivation, one of the ways is to teach them to read and write so they can engage with other kids, so I worry about that (Victor-V-HT).

Added this we identified an educational entrepreneurialism (Woods 2007), an energy to be innovative, to drive along new initiatives and to develop original strategies and activities particularly in areas of deprivation. Acting as commissioners of services schools focused on a variety of funding streams to develop their institutions, to engage in local partnerships, to raise the quality of training for everyone to develop skills and enterprise.

> I prepared a programme that was short and hard hitting, but it was about our chance to seize education to re-look at what is education, why do we have schools, to start looking at that. It worked through modelling in the Excellence in Cities programme. It's given us the freedom now, we've got much more freedom around workforce than when I first became a Head. Now we've got much more free-

> dom, we can do anything now with funding or I believe we can, or I choose to believe I can. I was saying to our governors the other day, if we want an Educational Social Worker then we buy one in, you don't have to be given your staffing or told what it is. If I feel I want a blacksmith in my school I can have one (Camille-C-HT).

A culture of openness underpinned by a market discourse of aspiration and a discourse that promoted the possibility of universal improvement and success through aspiration forged governmentality in these primary schools.

Conclusion

Our research shows clearly how governmentality tied to performativity and a market context worked. Institutions and their members needed to be seen as successful in the market place but they also wanted to be successful in terms of their professional practices and they worked to ensure that this was so, both for the school to whom they were now more closely bound, and for their own psychic rewards (Lortie 1975, Troman, 2008). Schools and teachers reproduce government policies and at the same time attempt to gain satisfaction from ensuring their success while attempting to assert their own values and creativity as in 'smart teaching'. There is clearly a strong affinity between market approaches, performativity and governmentalism which ensures greater success for the latter in the way schools and teachers incorporate the process and technologies into their professional competencies. Nevertheless there are some resistances as well as accommodations. The nationwide boycotting of SATs annual exams by roughly a third of schools in 2010 has led to a review of SATs, which appears to be recommending more inclusion of teacher assessment in the Year 6, end of primary school assessment, but it does not seem to indicate any reduction in the SATs exercise itself.

The development of free schools announced by the coalition government in the UK in 2010 and the dramatic increase in the rise of Academies (see Glossary) in England is another structural change in the development of a governmentality in which schools take responsibility for educational progress tied to performative guidelines. Up to 200 failing primary schools will be turned into academies and taken outside of Local Authority supervision to improve performance through greater exposure to a market discourse and process (Shepherd 2011). At the same time a narrower basic curriculum is to be introduced in 2013 (Education 2011) in England apparently allowing schools more freedom to prioritise and organise the rest of the curriculum including opportunities to specialise and compete in an educational market. In order to maintain success schools, their teachers and pupils will need to strive to construct a climate and culture that meet these basic requirements and then to compete in the market place for new recruits. The marketised school with its institutionalised teachers, government led performative dominant discourses contributes significantly to the development of willing subjects so completing the governmental turn.

Chapter Two – Performativity in primary schools: Primary teacher management and incorporation

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Central to our research into governmentalism is the influence of performativity which according to Lyotard (1979) our pursuit of knowledge has altered in our current market economy to one in which its use value is paramount rather than a value in itself – a postmodern condition.

> The transmission of knowledge is no longer designed to train an elite capable of guiding the nation towards its emancipation but to supply the system with players capable of acceptably fulfilling their roles at the pragmatic posts required by its institutions (op.cit. p.48).

A consequence of this change in our engagement with knowledge and the ends of learning become functional then the student changes. In the context of the

> mercantilisation of knowledge, more often than not this question is equivalent to 'Is it saleable?' and in the context of power growth 'It is efficient?'……What no longer makes the grade is competence as defined by other criteria true/false, just/unjust, and of course low performativity in general. This creates the prospect for a vast market for competence in operational skills' (op.cit. p.51)

Performativity works in at least three ways according to Ball (1998). First it works as a disciplinary system of judgements, classifications and targets towards which schools and teachers must strive and against and through which they are evaluated. We identified this as performative performance, underpinned by a status narrative. Lyotard (1977) suggested that grand narratives were being replaced by underground narratives but the establishment of a status narrative through school performance in league tables drawn up by newspapers to show the comparative performance of schools in nationally administered tests shows that these new narratives are clearly not very deep. Performative performance is at present, manifested through the way the surface level league table achievements signify status. Secondly, as a part of the transformation of education and schooling performativity provides sign systems which represent education as self-referential and reified for consumption. We called this progression performativity, underpinned by a progression narrative that teachers and learners celebrate as they travel from one symbolic grade or level to the next. Both these aspects of educational performativity are linked to and valorised within the market form in education. Teachers are inscribed in these exercises in performativity, through the diligence with which they attempt to fulfil competing imperatives and inhabit irreconcilable subjectivities, (Ball 1998, p. 190).

The linguistic discourse used to describe learning in these terms by teachers and learners alike became the norm and therefore exemplified the third way in which, Ball (ibid.) argues, performativity works. An utterance is performative in so far as 'its effect upon the referent coincides with its enunciation (Lyotard, 1979, p.9), in other words the extent to which the language of the discourse becomes dominant in practive. We focus on the last factor first – discursive language.

The schools and teachers in this research were subject to governmentality but the implementation was complex, variable and differentiated by individual teachers as well as between teachers. Nevertheless, we can see clearly a governmental turn (Ball 2009), which has taken some time to embed itself in schools. In the early 1990s teacher autonomy had more of a hold and the predominate reaction to the National Curriculum and allied reforms, such as performativity, amongst primary teachers was incorporation (Osborn, 2000), which accepted the imposed changes, but incorporated them into existing modes of working. Existing methods were

adapted rather than changed and the effect of change was considerably different from that intended. The situation in the mid 2000s is, to some considerable extent, the reverse in that the predominate model of pedagogy is a performative one and any new initiatives, such as a revitalised creativity discourse (Jeffrey, 2009) is having to force its way into a performative culture. Whereas compliance with government policy in the early 1990s was not common (Osborn etal 2000), performative discourses now permeate school practices. This research describes in detail how performativity has become pervasive.

Performative discourse

Linguistic discourse is the third way that performativity is embedded. Primary teachers found themselves incorporating the language of performativity into their practices and it became the discourse of the school, the staff room and the classroom, the professional covenant being replaced by a contractual approach to policy, a life of calculation (Ball 2003),

> I think it's fair just to let them get used to writing tests, to get them in the mood, and used to the format and what it is to do a test, not telling them the answers but just giving them an idea of what's expected and what they need to do to write that kind of thing, to give them as good a chance as anybody else (Wynn-W-Yr.6)

They reproduced the language of professional practice such as Preparation, Planning and Assessment (PPA) time and the language of a target and assessment culture,

> Like last week, somebody was coming in to see us about the targets so we just stuck together doing our PPA time and decided who we thought was going to get a level 4 or whatever and we got our percentages sorted. (Wanda-W-Yr.6)

Performative language became one manifestation of their professional identity,

> The moment it feels like you're on a treadmill it's time to change and to set yourself some targets to know where you want to get to and if you're ambitious enough, targets for head-teacher or advanced skills teacher or a SENCO, (Christopher-C-Yr.3)

The performativity discourse was reprocessed in the classroom,

> Over each table hangs a yellow laminated card about the size of a birthday card. They slowly rotate as they hang from blue wool. Each card has the title 'our writing target' as a heading but different targets for each table so children are grouped by writing/literacy ability (FN-C-Yr.2-23/5/07)

Parents like teachers found it difficult to resist the discourse through which performativity was relayed,

> We got one of these companies to do a questionnaire for parents and the responses came back that their major concerns were for the children and the expected ones were first, the happiness and well-being and friendships in schools and caring teachers and low, low down was the use of SATs and testing. But when you ask them on parent's evening they all want to know what level their child is and how much progress they've made, are they a 2A or 3B, they know a lot. It's a generalisation, but on the one hand they say they are not concerned about it, but lots of our children go to extra lessons, the poor little things are slave-driven enough in school, they have to go off to so and so for extra help (Vera-V-Yr.4).

Standard Assessment Tests (SATs) are annual tests that all Year 2 (Age 6-7) and year 6 (age 10-11) take across all English primary schools. The Year 2 tests are marked by teachers in each school whereas those taken by Year 6 are sent to external markers and the results for each school are available to the general public. News-

papers then make up annual league tables of the results in each Local Authority.

Teachers also relayed (Bernstein 1996) the market discourse's political objectives of education, such as the creation of a flexible market labour,

> We went to a conference, and someone said something like 80% of the jobs for the children who are in nursery currently, haven't yet been created. I think if you're going to equip children to be life long learners and feel valued, you need to give them these skills because we don't know what their future's going to be. You need to give them a good sense of grounding, build their self esteem and self confidence, so that when things happen in their lives, they've got the skills to be able to deal with them (Cloe-C-Yr.1).

Performativity is a principle of governance which establishes strictly functional relations between an institution and its inside and outside environs (Ball 1998) and the functionalism of education policy for government is exemplified in the way the discoursive language of performativity determines practice.

The Status Narrative – performative performance

The first way in which performativity works, according to Ball (1998), is through a disciplinary set of judgements. In this hard form of performative performance, the technologies of power were the public league tables, targets and inspection reports that regulated their practice, perceived by teachers to be high stakes due to the potential for judgments to be made about the quality of teaching and whether a school was successful or not (Scott 2007). They were devices for changing the meaning of practice and of social relationships, to provide a new language, a new set of incentives and disciplines, and a new set of roles, positions and identities within which, what it means to be a teacher, student and parent were all changed (Ball 2008). Performative performance promoted a competitive discourse in the local market (Troman, Jeffrey and Raggl, 2007),

> I get a lot of pressure from the head saying we must get 88% at the relevant level and there should be no possibility that we get less. However, we'll be lucky to get 50-60% but there's no option below 88% and it starts affecting us because the other school on the estate has raised its SATs results and now we're in competition with them and they're actually getting as many people applying to go to them as we are and so there's a competition. We've been seen as the best school on the estate but now we've got competition, so there's pressure from what the other schools are doing (Wendy-W-DH)

The status of the school was paramount amongst teachers as well as management, who act as a major relay (Bernstein, 1996) of performativity, whether willingly or not,

> Everything is going towards the SATs at the end of the day and that's what the school will be judged on unfortunately, but in my day there was not this pressure. We had tests but I don't remember it being as much as now, everything is geared much more towards results and that is what the school gets judged on. However, having said that, if I'm choosing a school for my son the first thing I'd go to would be the SATs results even though I know the SATs don't give the full picture (Wynn-W-Yr.5)

The explosion of managerialism (Menter, 1997) means teachers have to manage performativity,

> I quite enjoy the management side of things and looking at the school to ask 'Where do we want the school to go to? What do we have to put in place to go that way?' However, at the management level how you are always being bombarded by people above you from the Borough that the attainment of your children should be higher and being asked what you are going to do about it. How are you going to make sure your SATs results always improve? Or if they don't improve, what reasons have you got for it? Are they going to be like that again? And what are you going to put in place to make sure

that they don't fall again the following year? It's these sorts of pressures that often dominate our lives (Vicky-V-DH)

Trying your best is not always good enough in the performativity game yet teachers feel obliged, at some cost to, play it,

> You become constantly frustrated because you know there's the pressure of SATs and if it's not going well they might cause you to lose your temper and call out 'for crying out loud come on we need to be able to do this'. I don't think I should be having those kind of conversations with ten or eleven year olds who are just at the start of their learning career. You can't help it but you slip into comments like 'you know what will happen if you don't get the level you deserve in SATs. You start off your secondary school in the wrong class because you have the wrong level for your capability. That means you're going to have to spend the whole of year seven improving yourself to get into the class you want to be in for year 8 and then it affects your year nine SATs' (Calvin-C-DH).

However, performativity has the capacity to reshape in their own image the organisations they monitor (Shore and Wright 1999).

> They see such a snap-shot when they're only here for a day or whatever and you think, 'we're so proud of what this school does' and we want to show you these things (Hester-H-DH)

and performative performance can be exhilarating, adding status to performance.

> I go from thinking I don't think I want to do Year Six again, for it is too much like hard work and too much stress and you have got too much responsibility on your shoulders, to thinking 'I like this, I like this responsibility'. It sounds a bit selfish really, but people look up to you if you are in Year Six, you are at the top of the school. The children respect you because you are at the top of the school, you are a Year Six teacher and the staff see you as a bit of unknown territory. I quite like that feeling it gives me, which, is a daft reason to want to stay in Year Six but that is a genuine feeling that I have. But then when days are really hard you feel you are not getting anywhere and you think 'do I really need this and let's get back to Year Five and have a nice creative year (Carole-C-Yr.6)

Remaking can be enhancing and empowering for some but this has to be, Ball argues, (2003), set over and against the potential for inauthenticity.

Performativity creates performers and performances (Clarke 2004)

> It's the County Council type, Local Authority audit that they just pick one school at random. But actually, on reflection I found that a really positive thing because although there is a volume of work to be done it felt satisfying at the end of the year that we'd got to that point and I knew we'd got there and I had the evidence to show and I quite liked working thoroughly like that (Chantelle-C-Yr2)

Inspections are now referred to as audits rather than inspections, a technical exercise indicating that good book-keeping can ensure success, and it can appeal to teachers keen to develop a professional identity within the discourse by rejecting the policy but accepting the practice, acting as a technocratic teacher, (Brain, 2006)

> We were using the SATs papers to back up all our assessments. And I actually found it a high point because I like working really methodically and I kind of worry if I'm not doing things properly. Assessment was something that always used to worry me that I perhaps wasn't really spot on with my judgments. And because the Year 2 assessments are rigorous and there were models upon which to base my assessments I actually really enjoyed learning more about assessment and actually thinking I made that judgment and look, it's fine (Chantelle-C-Yr.2)

Ball (2008) employs Willmott (1993) and Lyotard (1984) to show how performativity connects to self interest. Within such areas of competition Willmott (1993, p.522) suggests 'employees are simultaneously required, individually and collectively to recognise and take responsibility for the relationship between their employment security and contribution to the competitiveness of the goods and services they produce'.

> I don't see it as an imposition, it has to be done and we do it because all the children in the country do it. Actually some of the children, no lots of the children, enjoy the challenge, feel self satisfied with their results and I think it can be a good learning experience as well. Although this morning's lesson was quite dry and very, very much teaching to the test, there was speaking and listening in it, there were thinking skills in it. I read the story aloud and the children enjoyed listening to the story and they all engaged fully in the story, really, they were able to deduce information from it. These are all powerful skills to have and I think they are all important. The SATs aren't necessarily a bad thing, for as I say some of the children enjoy it, they feel quite motivated by it. You can see that this morning that they all want to do well, and they want to do their best and to work hard towards them (Indra-I-Yr.6)

New administrative procedures are generated that 'make individuals 'want' what the system needs to perform well' (Lyotard 1984, p.62) and teachers were encouraged to see our own development as linked to and provided for by the growth of the institution. Advocates of the market tend to approach the issues of values in one of two ways: either as value neutral, as a mechanism for the delivery of education that is more efficient or responsive or more effective; or they present the market as possessing a set of positive moral values in its own right – effort, thrift, self-reliance, independence and risk taking what is called 'virtuous self interest' (Willmott 1993).

Teachers made clear to learners the consequences of failure in performative performance situations such as SATs,

> I say 'you need to get good results to get where you want to go', so you sort of keep them motivated that way and then I keep them motivated by telling them what sort of work we will be doing when the SATs are over (Witney-W-Yr.6)

Performative performance, can be seen as specifically concerned with a status narrative but its practice and pervasiveness becomes an organisation of power in which definitive forms of time-space become less important, such as the SATs annual testing for Year 2 and 6. It can become, not so much a structure of surveillance and control, but a flow of performativities both continous and eventful (Ball 2000).

Teachers then gave children their targets,

> I guess it's the challenge and sense of achievement saying right at end of the year at least 75% of you will be where you need to be irrespective of where you came in. I think they like the fact that potentially some of them have never had that challenge put upon them or nobody ever really thought of themselves as achievers. I think no matter whether they leave with a level four or they don't leave with a level four they can all see how much progress they've made because their levels are made very explicit to them by me so they know what level they are on and they know what they're trying to achieve and they get to track that with me throughout the year so they really are on a numerical level to get to see they've achieved quite a lot in some cases (Claire-C-Yr.6)

It's a requirement now to know your level, 'I talk to Calvin, the DH who tells me that Ofsted complained that the Yr. 6 children did not know their levels and their targets for the next move. Those I interviewed knew them all' (FN-C-21/3/07),

The status narrative necessitates preparation for a performative event or act just as any performance requires,

> We do the set in February for us and for the children and the parents. We mark the papers and send them home so the parents can see the sorts of things the children have to do for it would be unfair to the children if they'd never seen a paper and didn't know how to answer it. They are not going to perform as well as they could do if they don't realise which way round and what sort of things are right for the different answers. We have got to prepare them for optional tests in Yr. 7 and in Yr.8 and SATs in Yr. 9 so we're not preparing them for that if we don't do them (Hannah-H-HT)

It's a way of life, 'We head the assessment week, but the teachers and the children know it's something that has to happen, no big deal. They just keep learning afterwards. It's not terribly relevant to the stuff we're doing, but you know it's just how things have to be. They are okay with it' (Hannah-H-HT).

That relay (Bernstein 1996) is powerful and influential.

> Researcher - You worked very hard at that science paper this morning.
>
> L. I got 24 questions right.
>
> D. There was 33 and I got them all right.
>
> L. I'm not really good at Maths, I'm a 4A I think.
>
> D. In spelling I'm probably a Level 5, I got all of them right.
>
> L. I think I got 15 right.
>
> D. I got 24, I beat you.

However, the tension identified earlier as being resolved in the performance arena is in the pedagogic arena unresolved as teacher's struggle to make sense of the clash between the strong status narrative and the softer, more understandable, progression narrative,

> I collect the figures up at the end of the year and think 'phew what a relief', or 'oh my god so and so didn't make it'. But when I look at sheets of figures parts of my head just goes dizzy and I can't read them. It's an element but it's not the thing that drives me. The thing that drives me is firmly based in the classroom and is what the children learn and where they are at and what I can do to help them to move forward and it's not the national league table or where the school's standard is, the thing I find important is the progress, the value added bit, you know, are they making progress (Mary-MM-Yr.2)

The progression narrative - progression performance

A progression narrative conforms to the second characteristic identified by Ball (1998) as a part of the transformation of education and schooling, sign systems and discourses which represent education as self-referential and reified for consumption. Progression performativity is a soft performative practice concerned with the progress of the individual as well as the class and the school. It is a continuous and daily aspect of educational life unlike the status narrative which is mainly manifested at particular times of the year, such as a Standard Assessment Task (SAT) event or an Ofsted inspection result and has more flexibility.

The progression narrative was a continual assessment of achievements located in the curriculum and it determined boundaries of pedagogy, for example, the geography of the local environment was over laid by the specific assessment criteria that were used to assess a child's progress and the results determined the path for student learning. These assessments also defined an individual position on a continuous ladder of progress.

During this research project Key Stages 1 and 2 related to age 5-7 and 7-11 respectively and contained the main body of the curriculum to be experienced. Levels, equating to 2 years of education 1-5 were then overlaid

onto the primary curriculum and there are 3 further sub levels applied A,B,C for each level and each subject (see Table 4).

Learners are assigned to these levels and the three sub categories of A,B,C, which are organised hierarchically with A being the highest stage; for example,

- a learner aged 7-9 on Level 3c is working toward Level 3a,
- a learner aged 7-9 on Level 2a is below their ideal level for their age range,
- a learner aged 7-9 on Level 2b is at their expected level,
- a learner aged 7-9 on Level 4c is above their expected level,
- a learner aged 9-11 on Level 5c is well above their expected level.

All children were 'levelled', at the end of the year on their reports and the progress from one level to another, or within a level, were used to assess both teacher and pupil subject performance. There were over 200 progression aspects that could be used to level a learner across all the subjects averaging approximately 15 per subject for Key Stage 2 – Years 3-6 - averaging again about 3-4 per assessments per year per child for each of 15 subjects. So each class teacher had to carry out an evaluation of each child's level via the 50-60 progression aspects in 15 subjects each year.

Teachers are professional assessors who have to provide the appropriate evidence and self assessment strategies across the age range. However, they also applied a system of signals for learners to indicate their understanding of a learning target or competence, for example; children coloured in traffic signals next to their work activity – red amber, green – to indicate their own level of understanding and improvement. These symbolic assessments applied to competence, understanding and improvement indicate a continuous flow of performativity in teaching and learning practices (Ball 2000)

Teachers then set their own targets for specific children, particularly those that they felt could make speedy progress,

> We look at our class at the beginning of the year and we look at where they are, where they've come into us and from our own assessments of them we'll target a group or we'll look at the class and we'll say right I'm going to get that ten who came in at 2c to a 2b by the end of the year because I know that with that extra push and with some support from my TA by doing extra handwriting sessions and doing more group reading I'm going to be able to push them up (Carolyn-C-Yr.20)

Satisfaction was gained in assisting teams to enhance progress through targeting, and more normalisation,

> As Key Stage 1 Coordinator my job is to check and I say to my Key Stage 1 staff 'let's have a chat through how people are reaching their targets, how are we getting on and how many people in your class are meeting expectations, where they should be'. We'll discuss that and one may say 'no I'm really struggling with my middle group. We are constantly looking to see how people are getting on with our 'flying high' group – those who are near the class level and need extra help to get to it. I target them as soon as they came in and decide on my overall list as to where they should be by the end of the term (Carolyn-C-Yr.2).

Teachers saw their professional role to monitor progression and to use the assessment criteria to decide what next to do with each child.

It was also regarded as 'good to have information about levels because, in a spirit of openness, parent and learner knew what was expected; they could show teachers their improvement which ensured further support

and they were then not left feeling they had let themselves down' (Wanda-W-Yr.6). Tracking one's progress and travelling to new levels of achievement were considered self motivating, and learners and teachers and readily took up the challenge.

R. Why do you want a higher grade?

C. So you can move forward and then do harder stuff and then you don't have to do stuff that's too easy.

R. Do you want harder work?

C. I want harder work.

I. I want a higher grade because then people will think you are getting better at things and people will think better of you (C-Yr.5).

The operation of this technology of power (performativity) used rationalised means to normalise individuals showing how assessing one's own teaching quality through performativity testing brought new confidence, even to new entrants. Working harder and the satisfaction of a job well done gained achievements,

> My colleague in Yr. 5 was saying that those sentence structure and punctuation scores were much higher because we've been focussing on it as a whole school and the children are really good, for if you tell them you need to do more of this and you make it explicit they'll do it. On the whole they want to please, they want to do the right thing and they want to get good grades and prove themselves to the teacher and get attention for the positive things they achieve (Mary-M-Yr.2).

The text of the performativity discourse revealed one way in which practitioners validated the system through searching for successes within their practice.

> I went through my results yesterday and although on the face of it they don't look great when you compare with October they've all achieved, they've all moved up and that's made me happy because although the results aren't fantastic when you compare with other schools, everybody has gone up and that was good, so we must be making a difference. When you go through it with a tooth comb, you can see something positive and that's good (Wheatley-W-Yr.3).

Teacher's used the discourse and were used by it, for example by parents,

> Some of them are very, very SAT score orientated, they want to know where their child is in relation to the rest of the children in their class. What also makes it very demanding is that sometimes they want their child to be level 5 but they're not going to be. And it's trying to get them to understand and see that. That makes them quite demanding. They have quite high expectations of the types of things that go on in the school and they come in if they feel that that expectation is not being met by the class teacher and verbally question him or her. If they feel that they've got as far as they can with them then they will often come to see my deputy or me. They want to know all the time where their child is and how much they're progressing. And if they haven't progressed, how far they think they should, why haven't they done that and what are we going to do about it. So it's that type of pressure that they put on really (Caroline-V-DH)

The technology of performativity used its power to create normalisation through a capillary affect (Ball, 2000).

The operation became quite sophisticated, from database to bookbag,

> Myself, Lucy and Sonia spend a lot of time tracking the records that we've got from the children and writing out different programmes of work for those children so we can put them on to their PLP's or

their lap-tops or give class teachers a list of children who are causing concern and when I say causing concern I mean these children have moved two thirds of a level so you're going to have to look at those, because they do need to move more than two thirds. In Key Stage 1 we use a system of stickers and they know from their stickers exactly how they have achieved in their work, different things that they've done, 'cos it's very verbal there. So you'll sit down with the children and say 'what do you need to achieve in Literacy', they can then put it into their writing. If they haven't quite got it, I'll put it in their book bags to take home and they'll have another go with their parents (Hannah-H-HT)

Teachers use of national assessments to audit their own assessments (Webb 2007) showed how they integrate standardised tests with their teacher assessment so combining the two major technologies of performativity - performative performance and progression technologies,

> If they have done a test, you can test your own judgement to ensure then that you're levelling accurately. So it gives you some guidance as well, because sometimes, especially if you've been in the same year for a long time, you might think you know what you're doing but you might be slightly under with your target assessment, when you're assessing it. Sometimes if I haven't been sure if a child is a 2b reader, then I've given them the test, and it may be validated. So sometimes it can be quite useful for your own assessment (Cloe-C-Yr.1).

Continual improvement was a major feature of current testing (Rose, 1999, Scott 2007) and a major teleological element of a performativity text that helped sustain its power and force. Targets were met with celebrations of a job well done, but all target completion met with another exhortation for continual improvement from the learner, teacher, class and school performance. Schools even provided the evidence for their own exhortation.

> Well apparently there's 117 boxes that we have to tick for our children. We have to do it and it's a developmental record to show how they're progressing. And at the end of the year those figures are fed back to the LEA and they do these wonderful graphs for the school and then they come back and say, 'why haven't you got such and such at this level or another'. So it's a double edged sword, it really is. Everything is used to come back at you (Valerie-V-Yr.2)

There are (at least) three pressures evident here:

- To show progression from one level or sub level, eg: from Level 2c to 2a in English – progression performativity
- To show progression of the individual to the appropriate level for their age – progression performance
- To show progression of the cohort to the appropriate level for their age – performative performance

Progression performance was embedded in these primary school policies. The original Task Group on Assessment and Testing (TGAT), set up in 1987, designed an assessment system to match the National Curriculum promoted by a government organisation, the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA). Scott (2007) notes that assessment was to be 'the servant, not the master, of the curriculum' (Education 1987)(p.7). Teacher's professional practice in this research had a central requirement to carry out continual assessment for all subjects but it was not always possible in the teaching situation given the range of information needed to make assessments,

> I used to find it quite hard actually; I don't feel like I really know what a 2c or what a 3b looks like, I still have to go back and think 'Oh, have they done that, have they done that?' I don't know it instinctively, the SATs levels. The difficulty of doing this means we have to rely on testing, (Celina-C-Yr.3).

However, progression performativity has more flexibility for teachers thus far in that they are able to

produce assessments at times to suit themselves and in ways to suit themselves (Garland, 2012). With the re-introduction of the creativity discourse schools have an opportunity to reconstruct the performativity text and to challenge its power.

A few teachers and schools are reconstructing the curriculum and pedagogic texts and the discourses attached to them, working innovatively to accept the policy but reject the practice (Brain, 2006) within the spaces provided by seemingly contradictory policies and discourses, one of which was 'smart' teaching,

I think it's both really. I think it helps to have some structure. I mean I really like the numeracy strategy, I think the resources are really well prepared, and I use them **smartly**, I don't use it word for word. I take the bits that I think are good and then I add in other resources and ideas I have and the same with the literacy. I use the structure of it and then I take the bits that I think are useful to me and research other resources to try and keep it creative and varied. In terms of hindering you, yes it does, you can't be 100 per cent be creative because it's a structured programme but yes, somewhere in the middle really (Indra-I-Yr.6)

Smart Teaching

Smart teaching is a creative merging of both discourses for the benefit of their learners, their school policies and teacher professionality, in a situation in which there appear to be two centrally supported apparently contradictory discourses. This situation opens up, to the teacher or school, the opportunity to engage agency and the development of the capacity for freedom and decision making (Olssen, 2006). These integrated project approaches countered the subject centred organisation of the National Curriculum. Teachers' argued that they were able to incorporate multiple aims of learning, socialisation, co-operations and emotional development in more holistic integrated project approaches. There was more of a recursive, non linear approach to learning, in which different groups investigated different aspects of a project, reporting back to others (Woods and Jeffrey 1996). Schools that had not maintained a creativity discourse during the 1990s have begun to take small steps to reintroduce creative teaching and learning pedagogies alongside performativity practices.

> We are introducing the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) tests twice a year so that children are tested at the beginning of the year and then half way through the year just to ensure their progress and using a new analysis system to analyse class's progress. So I think these things are working alongside the creativity. We had a creativity day and maths problem solving skills last term. So that's linking in the curricular targets and creativity. Problem solving skills in itself I think is creative start to inviting children to think outside their usual kind of maths (Indra-I-Yr.6)

These 'smart' teachers became quite sophisticated at integrating subjects and assessment, acting as a policy creator, creative mediator and creative teacher (Brain 2006),

> The topic was Vikings and we did everything through Vikings. There was an inter-active website on the BBC where they had to choose a long boat and basically they were attacking Lindisfarne. So we did a bit of map work for geography and we did tacking, drawing zig-zag lines across to Lindisfarne. I do quite a bit of sailing so I could show them the principles of sailing, tacking against the wind and so forth and we actually worked out the bearings, the angles. We were doing angles that week so I introduced them to what angles were for and the purpose of them finding out the angles to see how their ship would sail. The more able ones could work out the bigger angles so they crossed from Norway to England and the ones who could only work on smaller number worked back the other way so it was differentiated (Imogen-I-Yr.5).

Setting a problem but making it an active one involved some of the elements of creative learning (Jeffrey and

Woods 2009) and brought added value to the curriculum objective in that it engaged the learners.

> We've got a plot where we're going to plant a Physic herb garden as part of the school Environmental Theme measuring six slabs across and six slabs down like a chess board and we need to know down how many slabs we need. We worked out the area and the perimeter of the site and how much they were going to cost if we get 10% discount and what would be the cost if we've got five plants in each plot. We calculated the cost of the plants and the total outgoing? They find that really difficult actually but that was the sort of maths we linked into it (Carole-C-Yr.5).

Cross subject project work was more efficient in meeting subject targets and when employed creatively there was a successful integration of the two policies, 'This term we're doing pirates, and they're really enjoying that as well, so we're singing lots of sea shanties, pirates stories, which links in with their writing, and our Science again is about boats, pushing and pulling, sinking and floating' (Cloe-C-Yr1)

Where schools were thriving in merging assessment, curriculum and pedagogy they developed whole new packages,

> In the curriculum flows folder there are ready-made resources - for example PowerPoint presentations which seem to be weekly introductions to the week's topic and historical pictures of the time. It says that Charles 1st liked wars and that Parliament did not like this and that he was executed in 1649. Then there is a Powerpoint presentation on the Interregnum, again with dates, and an explanation about Oliver Cromwell taking the title of Lord Protector etc. There is also a presentation on the river Thames and its bridges, down to the Victorians, the Great Stink etc. In that week, the task is to design a new bridge for the Thames: 'We will fair test the bridge to see which one is the strongest by placing cars along its path.' There is a presentation on Wren, one on Guy Fawkes, on the Great Fire of Northampton in 1675, with some historical notes on Northampton. There is a 'Who wants to be a Millionaire - Fire of London Edition'. There is a play linked to this flow: 'Pepys' Show: A Restoration Musical'. There are also several books linked to the theme of Fire (How Rabbit Stole the Fire, How to Train Your Dragon, The Fire Race…. (FN-H-10/11/06)

However, teachers still needed to be very familiar with the curriculum objectives and level descriptors to integrate assessments and creative work. Smart teaching was a combination of not being too constrained by the targets, but knowing them well and allowing for spontaneous and creative investigations,

> They give you the objectives and you work out what to do, sometimes I take their ideas but sometimes they might be quite limiting. Their ideas on how to teach something and experiment might be quite limiting whereas when you're linking that piece of knowledge to another part of the curriculum you can work out how you can adapt that to a different investigation. I just use them to get my objectives, to get the skill that I need to begin teaching. They just give you the skeleton and then your ideas build the body (Harriet-H-Yr.6)

This, might be seen as pedagogy coming full circle back to pre-reform creative teaching but that is not the case, for creative teaching and learning is now closely related to an objectives led curriculum (Webb and Vulliamy, 2007). This is creative teaching used as a vehicle or a tool to deliver successfully the established National Curriculum objectives in skills, knowledge and understanding. This is what the NACCCE report (Education 1999) identified as teaching creatively and appears to be the dominant model at present (Dobbins 2009) but the report's preferred option of 'teaching for creativity' has a more difficult path to tread through an entrenched and influential performativity discourse.

Teachers and schools have been unable to resist the performance form of performativity (Maguire and Pratt-Adams 2009) with some achieving normalisation of it, some achieving creative teaching and learning alongside it. However, smart teaching integrated both progression performativity and creative teaching and learning. As the discourse develops and gains more ground the development of 'smart teaching' suggests the possibility of some coherence across the discourses.

The attention paid to assessment of the attainment targets complicates the loosening of the curriculum framework to allow more flexibility for schools and teachers. Although teachers relish the opportunity to provide more holistic and theme based curriculum plans they still, for the present, have to reflect the targets for each subject at the appropriate levels and assessment underpins all teaching strategies. Teachers have to provide clear evidence of regular pupil assessment and easy reporting procedures are therefore highly valued. Each learner's annual report states clearly the levels each learner attains in each subject and sub category and personalised learning (DCSF 2009) is focused on improving these levels and progressing to the next level. This is almost mandatory as teachers cannot fail to improve a learner's level. Both performative performance and progression performativity is assessment *of* learning as opposed to the other applauded movement assessment *for* learning (Harlen 2008), in which teacher and learner engage in a dialogue concerning different learning strategies. However, the latter has proved to be difficult to institutionalise because teachers need to be given considerable autonomy to choose the manner in which it is implemented (Webb and Jones 2009)and the influence of the performativity discourse constrains that autonomy.

Conclusion

Teachers and schools have been unable to resist the governance turn and in particular the performance form of performativity (Maguire, 2009). Their incorporation of it has affected their professional values, career possibilities, pedagogies, practices and discourses. To the extent that relations of power are open or fluid, there is a degree of instability permitting the possibility or reversal or modification. Research into Ofsted inspections during the 1990s noted how, 'all strategies of control call forth counter-strategies on the part of subordinates' (Giddens 1985), 'and teachers are very resilient' {Jeffrey, 1998, p. 141). However, schools and teachers start now from a different base, due to the gradual governance turn which has now become embedded in them. There have been recent resistances such as the boycott of SATs by National Union of Teachers in which up to 20% of primary schools took part, however, the new coalition government is continuing with SATs and the resistance appears to be dying out as fewer schools took part in 2011.

The revival of a creativity discourse recently, which was defended in the early 1990s, is now having to battle for space within a performativity based school culture and is itself now being incorporated into the current culture whereas in the 1990s it was the sitting tenant where it was supported. There have been some notable exceptions that have managed to develop a 'smart' approach to merging creative teaching and learning into performative progression (Jeffrey, 2009, Jeffrey, 2003) and more strategic attempts such as creativity weeks (Troman, 2008) but again these are being incorporated into a situation in which governmentalism and performativity is very influential.

A third initiative from the Primary Curriculum Review (Alexander, 2010) is attempting to use research evidence to construct a whole new approach to the primary curriculum. However, the new coalition government appear to be supporting a slimmed down National Curriculum of basic subjects although allowing more flexibility for schools to organise their curriculum in the fringe subjects.

Performativity will be a central aspect of a new core subject curriculum introduced by the English coalition

government in 2013 and schools may have more flexibility to organise the other subjects. However, it is assumed that teachers will have to continue to provide clear evidence of regular pupil assessment in the core subjects and easy reporting procedures will be highly valued as they are at present. Currently each learner's annual report states clearly the levels each learner attains in each subject and sub category and personalised learning (DCSF 2009) is focused on improving these levels and progressing to the next level. This is almost mandatory as teachers cannot fail to improve a learner's level. The dominant discourse of performativity will therefore still be pervasive for the core subjects and if progress is required for the other non core subjects this discourse will be difficult to resist.

Any dispersal of the performativity trio of disciplines, signs, symbols and linguistic discourses as applied in primary schools seems remote at this time with both performativity in the soft form and probably in the hard form destined to remain but contradictory policy initiatives and a thriving alternative discourse arena provide opportunities for primary schools to colonise any discursive spaces created just as governmentalism colonised the disparate autonomy of the primary school system in the 1990s (Alexander, Rose, and Woodhead 1992). Nevertheless performativity and governmentalism will resist its removal although tacit support of incorporation will probably exist so long as the former remain dominant.

Chapter Three - The story of an inspection

Bob Jeffrey

To be found in Jeffrey, B. and Woods, P., (1998) Testing teachers London, Falmer Press

Inspection week at Lowstate.

Weekend Calm

The place is Lowstate school. It's 10.10 on Saturday morning. I've been allowed into the school to research the effects of Ofsted inspections on primary teachers. I'm sitting in the infant hall with my back to the windows facing the display boards. It is very quiet and a contrast to the normal buzz and chatter of a school. I can hear a blackbird singing in the garden. The light, albeit filtered through tall pot plants climbing up the large window frames, shows up the highly polished floor. Every display board has a uniform three centimetre border made from black sugar paper - one was removed because it didn't conform. The contents of the displays are all mounted and uniform computer printed labels explain the contents or challenge the reader to respond mutely. There are few teacher written labels.

The lower school corridor has all its display boards backed with hessian and on them are mounted photographs of pupils and school events together with prints of classic pictures. One display records the achievements of women in history and a large window is covered with a display depicting a Victorian street. The PE and dining hall are devoid of displays except for functional notices relating to PE equipment. One of the two staircases to the upper school have framed glass fronted pictures on the walls, (the last of these put up on the Sunday morning by the Premises Officer). The other staircase, rarely used and known as 'the back staircase', has a photographic display of some site building works with artefacts such as bricks and pipes displayed on the window sill. The headteacher and husband mounted these on a previous weekend. The main hall in the upper school is totally covered with a school journey display that spills out onto the corridor. Every piece of wall is covered with over four hundred treble mounted pieces of work and photographs representing this year's journey to Kent. The window sills are used to display artefacts and folders of children's work.

The hall is set up for assembly on Monday. There is a newish lectern bought by the head after she first heard about the Ofsted visit and in keeping with the school's developing emphasis on religious assemblies. (She hoped that the lectern would bring 'a sense of awe'. Some teachers would have preferred the money spent on books.) There are two matching chairs on either side of the lectern and two tall pot plants further back flanking the lectern and the chairs. A music stand is set to one side awaiting a child playing some music. Large printed numbers have appeared on the walls in recent days to indicate where each class should sit. I thought at first they were hymn numbers. As I slide quietly along the corridors poking my head in the classrooms I'm struck by how the teachers' desks have magically grown spaces and how items are neatly placed upon them. A large plastic bag is spread over one desk as if to remind the teacher to finally fill it with any extraneous and unwanted material.

As I contemplate the school's quiet confidence it is punctuated from time to time with sounds from a classroom, the moving of furniture, the playing of some music, the hammering of a staple gun, the sudden whistling of a teacher briskly leaping down the stairs or more unusually the burst of laughter from two or three teachers gathered in a corridor or a particular room. The silence is again disturbed by the low hum of two petrol lawn mowers as they circle the lone willow tree cutting the grass of the main green play area. This is Saturday morning and one wonders if the workers are getting overtime. The Premises Officer is playing his full part in the preparation. The staff have already commented on the surprise of having new locks on the loo doors.

The school is at peace for a while, proud of its self and awaiting the inspection event with a quiet self assurance. It is a calmness which has grown from exacting preparation and a feeling of inevitability that they can't do any more and they have done their best.

As I leave, early in the afternoon, I hear some teachers making arrangements to meet in the nearest shopping centre for coffee and a late lunch. They seem to have it under control.

All is nearly ready for the inspection event.

It's 10.10 again on Sunday morning. As I enter the upper school building I can hear the drip of water in the toilet cisterns. There is a strong gale force wind and the beautiful Montana clematis is being blown vigorously on a playground trellis. This contrasts with the calmness inside the school. I can hear quiet voices in the smoking room.

One classroom is a mess and contrasts dramatically with the rest of the school. It is a large, unused, newly decorated classroom full of musical instruments. Different sized folders and children's trays full of work have been dumped on the floor, the piano top, on shelves, unit tops and tables. Some of the trays have soft red folders in them, pupils' school folders with records and work samples from their entry into school. Some are full to the brim with topic folders, books and models such as kites, windmills, fans, constructed vehicles and coloured spinners. There is great variety in both the abundance and quality of material presented, reflecting possibly the differences in teaching styles and of the teachers as people. The trays are offerings to the inspection team, evidence of three levels of children's work - above average, average and below average.

The headteacher and the deputy headteacher sit next to one another in the latter's room writing quietly. Aileen talks to herself in the music room as she still shuffles through the trays. Larry is on his knees cutting up paper and mounting pictures with paper strewn all over the floor. His wife drifts in and out assisting him. Amy cuts up more labels and attempts to make them uniform. Lional writes up some sums on a large piece of paper and his wife mounts fabric pictures and we three listen to the last 10 minutes of a dramatic episode of the Archers. The Premises Officer is seen fixing doors, putting up the last of the cased pictures on the staircase. Aileen sits on her carpet sewing up large cushion covers.

All is nearly ready for the inspection event.

At last Aileen says, 'I can leave that. I can finish it in the morning before school' and she packs up to go home for a late lunch. In Evelyn's room Monday's date is on the blackboard and the chairs are neatly set out. Her desk is immaculate with four piles of papers placed neatly next to each other. The reading books look as though they have all been placed on the shelves in a neat order. In Linda's room there is not a book or a piece of paper out of place, the chairs are neatly set at the tables and her desk is very tidy and ordered. In the nursery the Monday morning activities - painting, cooking, modelling - are laid out on the tables, the house is on the carpet and the three descending sized bears sit at a breakfast table in the home corner as in the Goldilocks story. In Tracy's room all is set and the ticking of the clock reminds me that it's only now a matter of hours before the actual event. I hear the wind cause the builders gates to crash together. The weather is stormy but a calmness permeates the school. Leila, a part time teacher, drops in a tin of biscuits for the staff. She has been thinking about them most of the night.

All is now ready for the inspection.

The prologue

On Monday at 8.15 the car park is full to overflowing. 'It looked like a motorway service station.' All the inspectors drive cars no more than 18 months old. A Mazda Xedes 6, an Audi A4, a Honda Elite Civic, an Escort

and a Fiat Tipo, believed to belong to the lay inspector, stand bright and gleaming amongst the teachers' older cars.

I have restricted myself to the staff room during the day and as I make my way there I don't meet anyone. The teachers are already in their classrooms. The staff room is deserted, only the occasional sound of the water heater is heard. Ava, the job share nursery teacher is the first to come into the staff room, She has come in to see what the inspectors look like and to wish the staff good luck for she doesn't officially begin work until later in the week. She comments on new displays she has seen around the school. 'It's like a living exhibition. Lots of new resources had been bought recently and kept for Ofsted like the RE books that I only handed out this week'. She is nostalgic for the old, local inspection where you had a chance to explain things, 'they knew you as friends'. She describes how the Chair of Governors appeared in the school at 8.10 and visited every classroom to wish all the teachers good luck. 'It was like inspecting the troops before the battle, like Monty did, to show how the general cared about them'. At 8.38 Amy, Laura and Linda enter with the latter yawning. Angelina enters soon afterwards and says she has butterflies but they're good to get the adrenaline going. She is followed by Evelyn who declares in a slightly jocular manner that 'her husband is lost at sea'. He was skippering a sailing boat with secondary school pupils and because of the gales yesterday had to shelter in France until this morning. She described her run on Sunday - 6 miles in 58 minutes - and said she had watched the lottery results on Saturday night for the first time. The atmosphere is a more spirited one compared with the calm of Saturday and Sunday.

At 8.44 the rest of the staff appear. There is much talk and occasional jocularity, 'I couldn't find any clean clothes this morning'. There are three boxes of sweet things, milk chocolate marshmallows, a packet of dark and white chocolate biscuits and a tin of butterscotch shortbread on the main central table around which people sit. The marshmallows are opened and Angelina and Aileen declare they are 'eating for Ofsted'. Most of the teachers have put on their smarter clothes.

At 8.47 the inspection team led by the Registered Inspector enter the room. There are three women and one man. They too are smartly dressed with jackets and the man has a bronzed tan. The RgI smiles and states that this is the worst bit for the teachers but it will whiz past and she laughs. She says they will be exhausted by Wednesday and not to worry for it is known as 'dip day' - where enthusiasm drains away and tiredness is felt most strongly - and there is general laughter. (In the event the teachers described it 'not as dip day but kick day' and a 'self fulfilling prophecy' as two of their colleagues are, they believe, unjustly criticized.) The inspectors are introduced together with their special responsibilities and staff with corresponding responsibilities match their introductions by indicating who they are. The stage is set.

The RgI then explains the procedure for grading teachers and the atmosphere changes as people quieten down and serious expressions are maintained. She tells them that by Wednesday the majority of the one and two and six and seven grades will have been awarded. The teachers getting sixes and sevens will be given a verbal warning. If further grades of six and seven are given then a written text will be prepared. It will be confidential to the headteacher and not be available to governors and the person will not be identifiable in the report. In the event that anyone is so graded there will be training opportunities made available to them. She asks if there any questions. There is a silence of about 10 seconds and at this point the inspectors took their leave. (This is not a staff that are backward in coming forward. Their local inspector always expects 'a spirited interchange'). The head then breaks the quietness with a call for Amy to read her Ofsted poem. There are some cries of agreement and some laughter, as some teachers have already heard it, and Amy stands on a chair to declaim it.

'Til We've Done Our Ofsted

Lowstate you need not fear
Though the dreaded Ofsted's here,
Just remember the end is near
And we'll have done our Ofsted.
Lists of what we have to do
Piles of paper just for you.
Have we worries? Just a few!
'Til we've done our Ofsted
Planning folders oh so neat
Act like teaching's such a treat.
No time to sit upon a seat,
'Til we've done our Ofsted
Classrooms tidy, great display,
Brilliant lessons everyday.
Of course it's always just this way
'Til we've done our Ofsted
We may feel like tired old hags
Bags so long my whole face sags.
Just grit our teeth...I've hit the fags.
'Til we've done our Ofsted
We just need to keep so cool
Smiling sweetly that's the rule.
We must never shout at all
'Til we've done our Ofsted
So when the inspectors they come in
Make sure there's no unruly din,
Give a sincere welcoming grin
'Til we've done our Ofsted
So here it is, it's Ofsted day,
It's not going to go away
But won't it be nice to say
Thank God we've done our Ofsted

During this rendition, focused on by all the teachers round the table, some sitting some standing, except one who busies himself and takes little part, the teachers laugh at the appropriate points and at the end they clap loudly. The poem is ceremoniously pinned to the centre of the notice board and Amy declares, in answer to a question, that it 'only took her five minutes or so for if there's *feeling* it comes easily'. There is loud chatting and amongst this hubub Laura notices me scribbling quickly and with a glint of humour tempered by the euphoria and tension of the moment she says 'you're just a vulture' and Esther gives me a short diary of her last week. The head then raises her voice above the chatter, and says 'once more into the breech dear friends' and all the teachers begin to leave the staff room for their classrooms, some of them trying to break into singing 'we shall overcome'. With loud laughs and chatter the event has begun.

Monday - early encounters

After everyone had gone to their classes I found myself sitting alone in the staffroom. I wandered around a little reading the messages of good luck from parents, friends and one from the local inspector scribbled on a rough piece of paper by the secretary. I could hear the children coming into their classes but after a few minutes everything quietened down. I moved between chairs trying to decide where I would be relatively inconspicuous, as people returned from their classes at breaktime with news and stories. Once settled in a corner I began indexing some tapes of earlier conversations with some of the teachers. I was immersed in the drama but at a distance from the action.

At 10.20 the head popped in to say that the RgI had already made some complimentary comments to her about some of the lesson plans. She seemed pleased and relieved. She buzzed around tweaking a bit of organization here and there, reporting all positive comments and events and rushing off in mid sentence to do something else. This was not the General evaluating the battle plan and devising new strategies, she was ensuring that everything went smoothly, clearing away newly emerged obstacles, making sure papers and people were in the right place for the inspectors, reporting positive events and generally boosting morale 'I feel that the school will do well.'

At the first of the breaks in the action there were loud stories told of teachers' encounters, 'every time the door went I twitched' and told with humour, 'my first lesson was PE for three quarters of an hour. I leapt around very energetically. I hope they realize how much I had to fork out for the sports bra'. Another PE story shows their commitment, 'I did it in two left shoes of different sizes because I couldn't find a pair, and I was in agony the whole lesson, not that I let them see that'. When encounters went badly irony was used, 'One child hit another and I let a queue form - normal day really!' Terse descriptions capture the nature of the encounters. 'Why does it seem like there's more than four of them. They must clone each other. I've had hardly a moment without them.' Wounds are described, 'One of them asked the children what flowers they were painting and although I'd told the children a few minutes ago none of them remembered.', and alleviation of tension sought, 'How I wished I smoked.' Other ways of coping are explored, 'I've put on my track suit. Do you like it?' asked one teacher modelling herself. Laura is keen to assure me that she was confident about the event by telling me that she had been away for the weekend, slept well and did her preparation in school at 7.30 this morning. Others appear on a high but claim they 'can't keep this (level of performance) up for long. Shall we all have to play this role for ever.' Some return grateful to have survived and grateful for commendation, 'It was quite positive. He told me I had good control and the children were good at changing for PE. I was dreading it. I got confused at the start and mumbled my words. He said 'thank you' and I said 'thank you for coming'. I was glad he said that I controlled them well.'

Another teacher recounts a close encounter, 'She sidled up to me and said quietly 'I've never seen a file so neatly prepared.' I touched her arm and said 'thank you'.' They played their part, 'In assembly two children were mucking about, my face glared and my voice said nicely 'now come on'.' The head teacher asks the staff whether her assembly had gone OK and in the same breath she rushes off to sort out a loo roll stuffed down a toilet. The atmosphere in the school is, according to Linda, 'quiet and eyrie. I can sense it is not normal. I can't hear a sound at this end of the school.' She found the waiting intolerable. 'I just want them to come in and get it going.'

Halfway through the lunch break at 12.45, it is unusually quiet in the staffroom with even the loudest and most cheerful of staff lost in their own thoughts. Five minutes later there is a quiet hum as people talk quietly in twos and threes in a staffroom where the only accommodation is round the central table. Aileen gives Edith

advice, Tracy and Letica discuss their practice, Elaine, Evelyn and Esther chatter quietly about non school issues, Laura works and Lional slides in and then leaves without a word. Five minutes on and Angelina arrives and the group all talk together for a while. Another five minutes later only four remain talking about home and life far from this event.

During the afternoon action the head teacher returns to the staff room to report that the RgI had said she was 'efficient' and it had pleased her because she wanted it to be like that for the staff and again as I talked to her she interrupted and rushed to the phone to tell her secretary not to buzz her room as the inspectors were conducting interviews therein. 'There's so much whirling round in my head. I've fished out two loo rolls from toilets today. The holders haven't been fixed. I don't want the inspectors to get there first. 'Oh Marion (the secretary), I don't want to panic people but the stock room keys seem to be missing and matches have been seen down one of the loos'.' She analyses her role, 'I'm acting like the Gestapo, checking up on smoking which we had here some time ago.' She leaves in a rush and returns half an hour later for some deodorant spray. 'I found some excrement over a loo door and I've cleaned it up.'

During the afternoon break one teacher bemoans that she has had no-one visit her whereas others have been visited constantly and another leaps into the room calling out 'A plus' in a loud excited voice. Another describes them watching some of his boring lessons in the morning and missing his good topic lesson that afternoon. 'If the science inspector doesn't come in by Thursday I'll ask him in because I want him to see me. The science was good but he probably didn't come because I had written 'topic'.' Another exudes over her 'great kaleidoscope lesson' that was not seen by anyone. Nobody can determine where the action will take place. They're on their toes the whole time. The school support staff are both participants in the event and observers of it. 'The school is so calm, even wet playtime was different, the head helped out. I wish it was like this every day'.

The end of the first day in the staff room begins with a visit from a past colleague who arrives with three cakes. These are cut up and eaten amongst lots of chat about the day's events. In the middle of this the head apologizes and asks if they can all provide one below average reader for tomorrow. Elaine says the inspectors seemed impressed and were complimentary. Aileen looks pale and doesn't joke or laugh as she normally does. Emily tells her tale of a bruising engagement, 'she said that she couldn't find my drama lesson on my English termly plan. I chased after her and told her it was in my music/drama plans. She didn't say a word to me about my drama lesson. There was no feedback. I'm worried.' (She was right to be as things turned out). Letica tries to interpret inspectors' actions 'she talked to the children a lot. I emphasised place value, was that right? She's very thorough and she asked a lot of questions.' The stories subside as they turn back to the event's demands. Esther asks Laura to help her with her PE plans. It's decided that the new netball posts caused some arguments in the playground so they're being removed for the rest of the week. By 4.30 they are all back in their classrooms preparing for the next day though there is some solace in that the event is at least happening, 'I'm glad it's here. It's been a lot of hours out of my life.'

I left them alone the next day until after school had finished when I returned to hear the stories of the day.

Tuesday - Acclimatization Day

Support staff had been quizzed by inspectors about their timetables and the children had been good all day, even at lunchtime when the inspectors ate with them. More 'great maths investigations' had been missed and teachers with a number of responsibility 'hats' were having to switch modes to engage in interviews with inspectors one after the other. Others were pleased with themselves for not worrying about it the previous night, enjoying the evening and going to bed late. Pleased that 'today had gone well and that the feedback on yester-

day's lessons had been more than good.' The inspectors themselves are examined. Evelyn thought 'They were approachable, talkable and the feedback was good because they were a particularly humane team' but Aileen thought one of them was 'severe.' Their encounters are dissected, 'There's a slight adrenaline surge as they come in. It feels right, I still feel calm, the children are responding well and it's a good atmosphere in the room. It was just like having another teacher in the room for she was talking to the children and helping.' However, others felt differently particularly when the children let them down. 'I wanted to kill Stephen. By the time I'd explained the problem he'd done it. I told them to make up their own. I hate them today. They played up during my Tudor class lesson. There was chewing gum all over the place, they were complaining about each other. Through clenched teeth I intoned 'stop it.' One child started making faces during music. I glared but decided not to stop the lesson. I thought 'you horrors, you've shafted me.' I told them I was disappointed with them and sent them home without a smile.' The inspectors were considered by this teacher as poor evaluators. 'He stayed for an hour in the history, didn't look at the displays or history work, just asked the children questions about the colour of the historical figures' tights and to name some Tudor battles.'

The head appears and asks for names of children to show off design and technology tomorrow and those who had had bad days decline her request emphatically, with a heightened emphasis to show their distaste, but conform later. As the daily stories subside, Amy asks Angelina for help with RE and the head again recounts a positive comment from the RgI, 'You must be proud of the school.' By seven minutes past four they have all returned again to the scenes of the action to prepare again for the next day or to be examined by inspectors about their posts of responsibilities. 'I couldn't answer any of the questions, 'Why is there no instrument teaching here? Have you any recordings of pupils composing? How can you assess music in the school? Why hadn't the coordinator's report got any success criteria e.g.: for buying a CD player?.' She didn't give me a chance to talk about resources. She had a long list of questions she rattled at me. I couldn't get a word in.'

It went better for others, 'An OK interview. He was clued in. He liked the classroom and the class work.' Some encounters were with sympathetic inspectors. 'She wanted me to tell her all the positive points. There was ample opportunity to make a response. There were no trick questions. It was searching but she gave me some positive comments back.'

Some took control of the encounters, 'He didn't know about the wildlife garden. I had to sell myself and science. He listened a lot. He had a form and wrote in three or four parts but he had no batting order. He let me go left and right. I kidnapped him. I'd got it together because of the number of job applications I've made.'

As the evening wore on - at about 5 p.m. - I carefully made my way round the school wary of intervening in the process. I found a group in one room chatting and telling stories. 'My husband and dad - down from Scotland to help with the cooking - expected me to come home at lunchtime or after school in a real state. Instead I walked in at 6.00 and just said 'one day over. It's in the hands of the gods.'

I become the focus for discussion 'You lucky bugger sitting in the staffroom on Monday all calm and relaxed writing notes drinking coffee while we're having all the inspectors at us. Wait till Friday. We're going to put you in a class.'

Wednesday - The Longest Day

Day Three had been called 'dip day' by the RgI to mean a day in which teachers would feel exhausted. However, for some staff it dipped further than she expected. It started OK for me as I arrived at about 3.20 in the afternoon. Evelyn was doing next term's plans in the staff room during her non contact time and she took a

difficult child for a while to help another teacher who was covering a class. Asked if she had had a good day Esther replied humorously 'I got both plimsolls on the right feet.'

She then had another interview concerning her art post with the same inspector who had been difficult over the music, but there was a softer approach with which she seemed satisfied. Her earlier experience with this particular inspector was countered by Evelyn who said 'she was OK with her about language throughout the school.' It's not possible to tell how the inspectors will behave.

From 3.30 to 4.15 p.m., 10 teachers drift in and out of the staff room. On this dip day some just wanted it to end. 'I'm just getting through it, getting on with life. It was an horrendous build up and I just want to get it over and look forward to doing something else.'

At 3.43 Aileen brings up her news, 'I saw the RgIs go into Tracy's room. Is everything all right?' Evelyn is sat at the table, Aileen stands with her back to the radiator thinking and Lional enters and yawns reflecting his tiredness. The phone rings and no-one answers it which is unusual. It rings again and Aileen says vehemently 'Oh God go away.' Lional tells his tale of working in someone else's class on some maths with some children and how badly it went.

At 3.45 it is noted that the RgI is talking to another teacher. A regular cover teacher - partner of one of the teachers - has had his class for the day. 'I had inspectors all day. I wish the inspector could see the children with the deputy as well as me to show how difficult they are. There was a stand up fight in PE and some children refused to do PE. It wasn't a very good today.' Esther has difficult children too. 'Isn't the weather horrible. It's so windy it's affected the children. Inspectors don't care about the weather.'

At 3.50 there are six teachers present and the depressing climate is enhanced by more stories, 'A child hit an inspector with a ball in the playground and had to write a letter of apology. The PE skills paid off then! (Ironic).' Ignoring their commitment is particularly debilitating. 'I'm pissed off. I stayed up till 3 a.m. this morning because I lost the science lesson on the computer and it was a blinding lesson and nobody came.' Other close encounters of a different nature are recounted, 'I'm glad that they didn't see my RE. I had the book on my lap as I did the lesson. A child opened the door and I jumped. I feel I don't really want to do any more tomorrow.'

She leaves the room. Letica comes in. 'The kids were horrible. My maths lesson was horrible.' Laura arrives with the only positive reactions, 'I've been a real teacher all week.' 'I haven't' says Esther depressingly. 'The music inspector has seen no evidence of appraisal or composing and that because it's not in the plans she is going to report there is none.' The others try to help by offering examples of evidence but she doesn't write it down. Instead she rails against the process. 'I'm fed up with having to show evidence. They must see it. She wants it given to her on a plate. She won't delve into people's records.' She then remembers a family commitment 'Oh no! I forgot to phone the doctor for my son. I left him at home ill. He shouldn't be ill when we're having Ofsted.' Laura contrasts this by announcing her evening plans, 'I'm going home to make a pair of trousers', but Esther maintains her theme with more assertiveness, 'I don't want her to get away with saying there isn't any music here.' Someone else does some analysis: 'What has to be accepted in an inspection is that some lessons are better than others. I had one or two like that. Why should this week be any better?' And irony sums it up for many of them, 'Is it only 4.15? Doesn't time fly when you're having fun!'

They all leave to return to their classrooms. A visit to the Early Years department brings further depressing news. 'They didn't read my documents at all. What's the point of doing them all if they don't read them. I produced nine sheets of A4 in the holiday and she only asked about the first page.' Reports of possible fracturing relationships begin to surface, 'She asked us why the children in the nursery were so confident and average and why this was not the case in Key Stage 1. We began to feel worried that teachers in that department would

feel they are being criticized if the inspector makes these comments to them about the Early Years.'

The inspectorate team ended the day by criticising two teachers in Key Stage 1 'quite unfairly' according to most of the staff. It's at this point that the 'dip day' reaches its lowest point. 'We get the dips because you put in the kicks.' 'They look smart, nice and smily but they are not.'

Two teachers, both black, were visited after school on dip day by the RgI and another inspector. Tracy was criticized for a drama lesson and told it had been marked as a failing lesson. It is unusual to see drama going on in an Ofsted inspection for it is more risky than other lessons, but this particular teacher had gone ahead with it in her classroom although she usually did it in the hall but it was not available, because, 'it was good for them and I wanted the Ofsted team to see me working normally.' Her teaching is much admired by other teachers in her department: 'She's a great teacher - the bastards.'

The other teacher, Edith, was a temporary teacher in her first post. She had not been too worried by the thought of the inspection for she approved of inspections, as did Tracy. She was going to cope with inspection visits by pretending the inspector was not there. However in this particular lesson the inspector sat facing her about four yards away, 'invading my space.' People were angry with what they thought were unfair critical comments. 'She was seen eight times in three days and they only saw me five times and said nothing to me. It seems they were determined to go for the weakest link.' It was also noticed that the RgI had not conformed to the guidelines for lesson criticism as laid down by Ofsted for she had not informed these two teachers of their low gradings at the end of, either the lesson or the day on which these events occurred.

Staff gathered in support. At 5.10, six or more teachers moved from the first teacher's room to the second teacher's room to discuss the event and offer support and critique the inspectors' methods and judgments. One teacher was near to tears as she fumed at their unjust attack. At 5.20 one husband arrives to take one of them home and across the corridor the inspection team sat locked behind a closed door with their name on it 'Ofsted'.

As two of the teachers go for a cup of tea to the staff room they walk past me looking grave and don't acknowledge me. The first teacher, Tracy, slowly walks out of the school burdened by many bags and flops into her 'A' registration car and drives slowly out of the school. A few moments later the second teacher leaves, head lowered as she struggles with her bags following a few yards behind her husband who wearily fingers the car keys in his hand.

Back in the staff room people angrily comment 'it's wrong to focus on the temporary teacher. It's a waste of money.' The head teacher looks awful and has told the RgI what she thinks. She bangs the table angrily, with her fist, as she exclaims 'look what it's done to my staff. Dip day has become a self fulfilling prophecy. I'm worried now that she might resign on Friday. She's pregnant, an agency teacher, has coped with SATs and worked hard. There was no indication that anyone was going to get the knock on the door at 3.30.'

Suddenly the phone goes at 5.30. It's the first of the two teachers who wants to talk to the headteacher. I make a discreet exit and withdraw. The wind that was here on Sunday has returned if a little less strong and it is raining. Two other teachers are caught up in an altercation about something one of them said and another wants to criticise someone else for something she said to the inspector. At six o'clock we all leave. The head, the deputy and two other teachers leave, discussing how to redress the situation. It certainly has been a dip day.

Thursday - last performance

By Thursday lunchtime the teachers feel that they have done their stint and can see the end of this event. They raise their eyebrows to the ceiling as they pass me, 'Thank goodness there's only half a day to go. I've had

enough.' Another winks at me but is looking tired and not her usual jolly self. Re-arrangements had been made in the assembly responsibilities to ensure the fit teachers fronted them. The lower school one was done by the job share teacher who works late in the week and was fresh. The enthusiastic dance teacher who is untroubled by the inspection event took the junior assembly and celebrated the raising of £2000 for charity by another teacher in the marathon.

Time dragged during the whole week. A support worker noticed how normally time flies during the week but this particular week, 'It's only Thursday.' Events which exhibit tension and crisis slow the passage of time and ensure a longer focus on the stressful experiences of the people involved. Even her commitment is beyond the call of duty, 'My dad is in hospital but I came in all week because it was Ofsted week.' She noted the uniformity. 'They all dress the same, with only slightly different straight smart skirts and dark suits'.

Resistances to orders were more in evidence: 'She wanted to see me now but I said 'No, 12.30. I need a break'.' 'We should ignore the report for we have no respect for their judgments.' Tiredness affected everyone. Even the trousers didn't get made, 'I slept from 9.30 p.m. to 6 a.m.' 'I usually read at night but I haven't done for three weeks'. The event is all consuming. The part-timers who came in later in the week were not excused anxiety for information about the engagements were passed down the line, 'I had a panic attack at 9 o'clock last night after talking to Linda over the phone. I went and talked to a RgI who lives next door.'

Others continued their survival strategies by eating vast amounts of chips, 'I've never eaten so much rubbish food in my life.' One of the teachers, criticized the previous evening by the RgI, eats her dinner quietly on her own at one end of the room, though after a while Aileen goes and talks to her. The head reports that two inspectors and the RgI are with the other teacher, Edith, and then she says that she felt quite nervous at the podium in her assembly. There's some laughter about the lectern and how she didn't use it. Letica, who showed some anxiety prior to the event recounts the terrible atmosphere of yesterday and says she is relieved it wasn't her who was criticized and that she feels sympathy for her friends and colleagues in what she feels was an unfair incident. For a while the chat turns to the children and then away from the children and then one of them spots me and accuses me of bringing them back to the event by being there.

A few of them then discuss the details of the observation of the temporary teacher by a particular inspector, the invasion of the teacher's space and the inspector is ridiculed. The sympathetic teacher gives evidence that she has only been seen teaching groups and not in front of the whole class. Where there is humour it is concerned with the difference in power positions, 'I've sat outside the head's room waiting for interviews with the inspectors so many times this week it's like being back at school as a pupil.'

At this point the teacher criticized for her drama lesson comes in and sits at the main centre table. She says 'It was the management of my drama lesson they criticised. I've had my ups and downs. I'm OK now' she bravely asserts. The tone is changed quickly by the deputy head who is at pains to recognize how good the children have been during the week and stories are told of children performing brilliantly during questioning from the inspectors. However, this doesn't last long. 'Only two and half hours and then they can just bugger off.' Tracy comes in again, near to tears, as she tells the story of how the RgI and another inspector came to see her at 12 p.m. for a further interview. She told them that her interview was timed for 12.15 and they confirmed the time as 12.00 for 'an interview with Mrs.....'. ' 'That is not me'. I said and they apologised and went off to see the other black teacher. They probably can't tell us apart.'

Two teachers report that they have not been seen teaching language and a teacher is critical of a child being asked by an inspector, 'What wars took place in Tudor times?' The temporary teacher, Edith, explains that she held her own in her conversation with them this morning as she explained her version of the events the previ-

ous day and how she had forgotten to put helpful words on the blackboard for she had been nervous. Another teacher describes her bad lesson, 'It was going badly and instead of sorting it out I sunk under it and carried on thinking 'I don't want to be here.' Do you really need someone to tell you it was a bad lesson?' and then recounts feelings of irritation: 'I wondered why I was pleased with an inspector telling me I have some good strategies to deal with stroppy kids. I felt resentful and wondered why on earth I was feeling pleased about it. I should have said 'I know I have. I've been teaching for 25 years'.'

This explosion of resentment concerning her professional competence and the demonstration of power differentials was immediately mingled with a more mundane tale indicating the effect of Ofsted inspections, 'I lost my car keys on the first morning of the inspection and haven't found them since.' By this time everyone had drifted back to their classrooms for the last time.

During this last afternoon evaluations were taking place in the staff room. The head observed 'I'm amazed at what they haven't read.' Another teacher observed 'How little they know of our work. They seem obligated to check on certain things and do so with a cursory look.' Others reported, for the last time, about close encounters, 'Thank goodness she left just before I couldn't find my geography worksheets' and others of more positive encounters, 'The report back on the science was good as was the PE.' Others ignored it at breaktime and talked about football and conversely the part time teacher described the 'lesson from hell. I made sure I wasn't nervous. I was my usual jolly self and had a chat on the carpet with the children but they were awful.' These varied stories were becoming normal staff conversation with hardly a comment made. One teacher who was not adversely affected by the whole event phoned a florist for flowers for the head and deputy head to be presented at a celebration on the following day and another teacher talked to me for a while and said it was good to have someone to chat to about it all.

After the end of the school day, most people drifted into the staffroom and plans about the future took over from stories about the inspection. 'When I told my son it was the last day he said, 'Does that mean you will talk to us tonight?'' She outlined her plans, 'I'm going to have a good story with my kids tonight even though the house is a tip. I didn't do my timetable for the last lesson. It was a great feeling, really naughty.'

However, the day was not over yet. Some tales of the event were still to unfold and some were still being enacted. The teacher criticized for her drama lesson sat wringing her hands and wiping her forehead and cheeks and hanging onto her coffee cup tightly. 'I woke up at 2 a.m. and couldn't get back to sleep with things turning round in my head. Things were buzzing around, 'How am I going to approach today?. What am I going to say to them?'', and the other teacher involved said 'It was the same for me.'

Nevertheless, they also recognized that this was a nervous time for the head and deputy 'having to wait for feedback'. More positive feedback was intermingled with these stories, 'the PE and the SEN was great. Give yourselves a pat on the back. Have I got to do a dance?' to which the reply was 'Oh no. I'm too tired to watch.' More feedback ensued with people going round the table reporting mostly in a quiet manner. The 'dancer' reported to me that, 'I consider this a positive experience, absolutely fabulous and I didn't feel any different in the classroom than on an ordinary day.' For one teacher at least the engagement was an invigorating and highly positive event.

There were general themes running through all reports concerning the curriculum subjects, 'more monitoring and more assessment,' which became the touchstone for humour as it was repeated with each report. Another theme was 'they didn't tell us anything we didn't know' implying the futility of it all. The consequences of 'presentation of front' are examined and the judgments then assessed as hollow, 'After ten years I'm told I'm good at discipline. It makes me feel like shit because the whole inspection has made the kids act well anyway,'

‘It’s not real,’ ‘It’s bad for your health.’ ‘What have we learned - to cope under pressure.’ ‘Our standards are all right but we knew that. It has only confirmed it.’ ‘I’ve learned I’m as big a show off as I thought I was.’

Slowly, from about 4.45 half the staff leave, some with very different feelings from the last few months, ‘Do you notice anything. I’m not carrying anything.’ This is contrasted with behaviour the previous night, ‘I was obnoxious last night at home. I snapped at them all. They left me in the kitchen saying ‘we‘ve done this and that for you and you behave like this.’

Gradually they leave until a hard core of 10 people are left. They ruminate over the part played by politics in Ofsted inspections and the high levels of teacher demoralization due to the critical public focus on their work and they try to come to terms with the end of an overwhelming event, ‘I feel I should be doing something. I’ve been so long doing things.’ I leave them to their feedback from the RgI but on the way out pick up a rumour that two teachers have been given excellent teacher gradings. The event is not over for all of them.

Friday - celebration and review

As I arrive in the school at 9.45 a.m. I am informed by support staff that there are some tension points and there have been some tears from one quarter. ‘That’s why it’s wrong. They work their hardest and get criticized.’ There’s a rough large notice on the staffroom table ‘It’s official: We are a good school’ and this is supplemented by an A4 computer printed message

which looks similar to a medal and a copy is spotted adorning the wall in the school office. A visitor remarks ‘You did well then. Is this the highest category - the gold star?’ At breaktime the head teacher gives a verbal report back to the staff and I volunteer for break duty, for to stay would be a surveillance too far. However, I am informed that there is ‘fall out’ already though this is not elaborated upon. One of the teachers who found the experience positive says jokingly to me ‘I‘ve got a taste for this. I fancy getting another fix and going somewhere that’s having an Ofsted.’

The head teacher is concerned about the grading of teachers in terms of the diminution of her power but also because she feels that some of the inspectors don’t like it either. ‘Many of the inspectors have had no choice but to become Ofsted inspectors’. However, much of this relaxation of relations may be based on relief at receiving a good report. One tension point involves the non recognition by the inspectors of a non-teacher who plays a major role in one department. The persons concerned are very annoyed and they attempt to get things changed and later they take the matter to a professional association. The incident causes some considerable tension this morning between one worker and the head which the latter is unable to resolve immediately. The other tension concerns the ‘excellent’ grading commendations which some teachers feel is divisive, and the

inspectors' methods are questioned in some detail for there are different perspectives on the validity of the awards. In the light of these awards some teachers are heard to mutter 'What does that say about me then?' Staff wish to know whether the head has access to individual teacher grades.

At lunchtime there is much discussion about the negative aspects of inspection and the unfairness of the critical comments made about the two teachers, and in other places in the school there is concern about the effects of the 'excellent' gradings. One of the criticised teachers, Tracy, puts a card on the staffroom table: 'Thank you everyone for your support through my 'downs'. This is becoming rather a habit don't you think? You're a sport. Love Tracy.' It's a sad end to her week which began with so much optimism and enthusiasm from her. At the other end of the scale the teacher who enjoyed the event comments: 'If one is not anxious does that mean the process is less intensified or there is less involvement? No, it means better outcomes and a saner response to the whole process.'

At 4 p.m. most of the staff, including the support staff, adjourn to a local pub where a room has been set aside for a celebration with a large buffet and large rounds of drinks are bought by the management. The party goes on till after 8 p.m. and there they relax, make presentations to the head and deputy, tell tales of the event and evaluate the process. I get a sound bite evaluation of the inspection from each one of them. Nine were critical, three recognised some good in amongst the disadvantages and one found it enjoyable:

> Pressurised, pressurised. I didn't like it at the end - I was looking forward to it but in the end it was demoralising, demoralising. They didn't try to find out the reason why some children behaved the way they did. I just wonder what they do with the information they've got. It ought to be something positive. But anyway, I'm not going to let it bother me or anything because I know the way I work is OK, so does everybody else. (Tracy)
>
> I don't want to say anything, thank you. You see, this Ofsted situation has simply emphasized and re-emphasized the divide in the school. What upset me was to see one of the best people in the school hurt. (Ava)
>
> A waste of time, energy and I would also say I think it was worthless and valueless. (Letica)
>
> It seems like they made pretty early judgments, and then they go back to the ones they think they want to commend or criticize. (Edith)
>
> I think it's horrendous and I've only been in for one day of it. I just don't think I'd like to go through that again for a very long time! I don't see the point in it - they didn't tell us anything we didn't already know and I think people have been absolutely exhausted by it. (Leila)
>
> I think in any kind of constructive sense it was a non-event. I don't see what we got out of it. It hasn't changed my view of it at all and I just think, 'Why are we doing it?' It confirms my feelings that it's - that it's got a political agenda - it's nothing to do with making education better for children or giving teachers guidance about being better, it's a stick. (Amy)
>
> Exhausting, very negative, I don't ever want to go through all that again - it was dreadful, absolutely dreadful. (Esther)
>
> It hasn't helped. A waste of time, didn't tell me anything I didn't already know, I think it's been divisive, I think it's been demoralising, I think it's not left us any happier than we were before. All right? (Aileen)
>
> They could have given that money to the school for resources instead of having all six walk around. They were only really here for criticism, weren't they? I know two have got excellent marks, but it

doesn't help the youngsters and they all work hard. (Support Worker)

I don't know why we've done it. I suppose in some ways it's confirmed our professional judgment so perhaps that in itself is good. I think it has highlighted some weaknesses and we've got to be a little bit more proactive for the Key Stage I. However, mainly a waste of time. I don't feel particularly anything about it at the moment. I feel jet-lagged I think. Last night was the only night I didn't sleep. I felt as though my body was catching up with my mind, it's so peculiar, it's weird - it's like when you've been on an aeroplane and you're in a different time zone. I don't feel happy or ecstatic about it. I don't know that I feel anything particularly at the moment, a bit numb I suppose. (Angelina)

I'm relieved it's all over. I don't know that I've learnt anything very much that I didn't know before, nice to be re-assured that what we're doing is okay, I suppose, but then I was 99 per cent sure of that anyway. It could have been nastier, the people were very obliging, very polite, very helpful, tried to be unintrusive - bit of a shame about the stress that some people have been put through. I felt a certain amount of stress myself, I guess we all have, but some people have felt more than others. One or two people have got rather down feelings as a result of it all which I think is a bit unfair and a bit unnecessary. (Lional)

I feel it was a positive exercise and it's done me a lot of good. It's made me feel better about myself. The build-up was hell but they were quite nice people actually. (Lola)

It was a doddle, no problem - I'd do it again tomorrow. Very positive experience. (Laura)

The following week is half term and two of the teachers are off to Morocco the following day. One is off walking, another goes off to a cottage for the weekend and the head goes down to her country home. One of the commended teachers is to spend the first few days working on a presentation to be given at the end of the week and the others mostly plan to stay close to home. The event is over, the school is calm and quiet again, until next time.

Chapter Four - Performativity and primary teacher relations

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The data upon which this research draws – as does chapter's 5 and 6 - is a sample of 73 teachers, 6 head teachers, 30 pupils and 6 Lead Ofsted inspectors from six primary schools who took part in the preparation and experience of Ofsted inspections between 1994 and 1998. The schools were researched ethnographically for six months prior to their inspections and up to a year afterwards. Further research was carried out in two of the schools during their second Ofsted inspection four years after their first. The sample contained a range of primary teachers from Key Stage (KS) 1 – children aged 4-7 and Key Stage 2 – aged 8-11. It included newly qualified teachers and those on the verge of retirement but the data for this paper has mainly drawn on teachers with more than five years experience as they were more able to make comparisons with changes in relations. Although we did not talk to any LEA advisor/inspectors, we interviewed all the Ofsted lead inspectors who had all been LEA inspectors and two of them maintained this role contemporaneously with their Ofsted contracts.

Teacher and child relations

The humanist discourse that was influential in primary schools in England prior to the introduction of the performativity discourse focused on learning theories that emphasised learning as an holistic process. The Hadow report (1926) recommended that prioritising children's needs and interests was a more effective teaching strategy for young children than punishment and coercion (Broadfoot 1996). This was echoed in the Plowden Report (1967) which advocated more attention to children's biographies and the adoption of 'child centred' strategies. Its core features were,

> full and harmonious development of the child, a focus on the individual learner rather than the whole class, an emphasis on activity and discovery, curriculum integration, and environmentally based learning (Sugrue 1998). They (teachers) place a high priority on feelings in teaching and learning, and on making emotional connections with knowledge and with children (Woods 2002).

Changes in teachers' relations with children, due to the influence of the performativity discourse, have been identified in this research as taking place in three particular areas, dependency relations, familiar relations and pedagogic relations.

Dependency relations

The Plowden discourse advocated inter-dependent relations, where the teacher, although responsible for curriculum selection, acted sensitively to children's interests and was aware of the motivating advantage to be gained from following children's interests. 'I've always drawn from the children and I've always gone off at tangents if it's got really interesting' (Carol, KS 1). Projects were often workshop investigations, (Woods, 1996). 'It's being able to take a child's idea or a group of children's ideas and seeing what you can do with them' (Carol, KS 1).

This form of inter-dependency was constituted by both teacher and child having opportunities to influence the direction and pace of the curriculum. The performativity discourse, on the other hand, meant that, children became more dependent upon teachers to supply all the necessary knowledge and skills to increase performance levels. 'It is like being eaten alive because these kids are constantly expecting more and more from you. You just have to stand up, perform and deliver' (Carol, KS 1). Pollard et. al., (2000) reported a doubling

of children's time spent in whole class interaction compared with the 1970s, leaving less time for one-to-one interaction with the teacher. As the performativity discourse gathered pace teachers 'became more pressured. We may get the results but at what price'? (Cloe, KS 2). One of the consequences has been 'mutual instrumentality', (Pollard, 2000) in which both teachers and children focus predominantly on assessment outcomes. Relations in this situation result in increased dependency as children act strategically to please the teacher and avoid approbation (Pollard, 2000). Mutual dependency has developed out of the performativity discourse in that teachers become dependent on children's performance in tests for assessments of their practice,

> It became clear that the school will be judged on how well the children I've got this year do in those tests and any failure to meet the level will be seen as my failure. The inspectors were like bloody flies on dung about these bloody tests in my room. Everything seemed to depend on the results (Cloe, KS 2)

and children dependent on results for self esteem (Davies, 1999).

> We work at the SATs to make our teachers proud of us. So that teachers can say 'we have got the highest marks of the schools in our borough'. So they can say we are the best school (Yr. 6 child).

An objectives led approach to learning is a feature of the performativity discourse and is seen by some teachers as positive in that they develop mutual dependency (Pollard, 2000).

> As a result of Ofsted I now say at the beginning of a lesson 'what I want you to get out of this by the end of it'. I never used to do that. I used to assume that they would empathize with me and understand these things as if by magic. I just think that I am giving them clearer goals than I probably ever have done in my teaching career so far.... That timetable wouldn't have been there prior Ofsted, it's there and it's real, it's not Mickey Mouse. I worked it, I'm happier, the kids are happier and I genuinely think it works (Larry, KS 2).

Relations between teacher and child have changed from the Plowden form of interdependency, in which teachers and children relied on humanist connections between them, to a dependent relationship based on a mutual necessity to achieve satisfactory performance.

Familiar Relations

Primary classrooms, which incorporate a Plowden discourse, are intimate arenas, 'you get to know them and you talk to them a lot' (Becky, KS 1). Intimacy is necessary for relations built on knowledge of each child, 'The whole point of teaching is that you know what question would suit a particular kid, because you are working with the children' (Clare, KS 2). Responding to a performativity discourse means that teachers become more formalised in their relations with the children because children's and teachers' unique dispositions and humanity became less relevant. 'It's turning round and saying that we're not particularly special to this particular time and place, anyone can do it' (Shula, Deputy Head). Teacher's humanist relations with children have affinities with other 'caring' professions,

> When I was in nursing, there may have been a certain designated way of nursing that patient but if it wasn't right for the patient, I'd automatically change it to ensure it suited that patient. 'Child centred education', is what I call 'person centred' and that's what they are trying to take away from teaching (Simca, newly qualified, KS 1).

Relations were formalised by 'categorising everything in little boxes and children are not things to be shoved in little boxes, they're human beings, they have their good days and their bad days, they have their strengths and weaknesses' (Veronica KS 2). Primary teachers, in the past, focused on 'the children as whole human

beings', they 'wanted to know how they felt about things and to nurture them' (Naomi, KS 2). Under the influence of the performativity discourse the person in the child has become transformed into the 'pupil' (Woods, Boyle, and Hubbard 1999).

> The student teachers were very confident in planning their lessons and they knew very clearly what they were aiming for, but their relationship with the children was not nearly as good. None of them gave the children a cuddle or brought in little things to show them. They were very proficient teachers but they didn't have that 'warmth' (Bronwyn, KS 2).

Teachers found themselves 'applying more pressure on the children as teachers become more pressured themselves', (Dora, KS 1) and their caring, nurturing role was reconstructed into caring predominantly for pupil performance, 'I don't know the children, I don't think about the children, and I don't care about them as much as I did before', (Naomi, KS 2).

Formal relations squeeze out the humanist interactions.

> We were excited and jubilant after our assembly performance but I had only about five minutes with the children before an inspector was due to see the next lesson. I felt like saying 'can you just leave me alone for a while'. All the children were on a high. All their parents were there and they were all excited and suddenly it was all over. It was just awful (Freda, KS 2)

The essential emotions of teaching and learning (Hargreaves 1998) became restrained as teachers became more focused on performativity. Inspirational relations became evened out, with few highs, 'that's gone, that sort of vibrant, really getting excited about it, really involving all the children. They say they don't feel free to run with something' (Carl, retired teacher volunteer). There was a loss of joint excitement, 'the children aren't getting the flowing enthusiasm they used to get from teachers' (Tracey, KS 1). The routinisation of performativity relations developed due to interactions and engagements being seen as indicators of quality and not as valid experiences or processes in themselves. Formal relations are less personal and more task orientated. This form of relation is appropriate in a number of educational contexts such as the mass lecture or seminar but the performativity discourse is universalizing its use in primary teaching and learning.

Pedagogic relations

Dialogic engagement is an essential aspect of Plowden's (1967) learning theories which stress exploration and discovery. The engagement involved debates, discussions, peripheral enquiries, risk taking and arguments (Woods 1995). Topics were mutually determined and mutually experienced.

> They took you over, and the kids said 'how does that work'? You said 'I'll go and get a book on that' and children would return from home saying 'I have got such and such', and the whole thing would sustain itself. I can't see this business of delivery being the way to have a stimulating environment (Carol, KS 1)

Ball (2000) suggests that in relation to individual practice we become schizophrenic as we split our 'judgements about good practice and student needs on the one hand and the rigours of performance on the other' (p. 6).

The performativity discourse through the experience of Ofsted inspections and the necessity to achieve predetermined targets has shifted pedagogy towards an inculcatory approach, 'to endeavour to force (a thing) into or impress (it) on the mind of another by emphatic admonition, or by persistent repetition' (Shorter Oxford Dictionary).

> I teach them whether they learn it or not. They've forgotten most of the details of the Romans a few

> months later but I am only expected to fill in the records as having taught it and provide evidence at the time of their doing it. My main concern is to get through it (Rebecca, KS 2).

The teacher's gaze has now switched from the children onto the curriculum,

> There should be an awful lot more playing taking place, and more chance for them to talk, and for me to talk to them. I haven't got the time, and that's against everything that I know that's right (Aileen, KS 1).

Dialogic relations, so central to a humanist approach, have been replaced by a technical approach in which teachers perceive of children as 'a function machine. I pressed a button and out came the answer. I went at it bang, bang, bang, and if they hadn't got it tough titty. They learnt the facts, questions that might come up and examination skills' (Cloe, KS 2).

If there is a reduction in the 'commitment to care' (Hargreaves 1994) then there is a reduction in concern for the child as person and 'how they felt about things' (Amy, KS 2). Care of the child means caring mainly about 'those Standard Assessment Tests (SATs) results. We're not doing our school and the community any favours if we choose to ignore them' (Toni, Deputy Head). An inculcatory approach means that teachers are 'not working *with* the children any more, I'm working *at* the children and it's not a very pleasant experience. There is this feeling of being alienated from it all, divorced from it all' (Deena, KS 1).

Developing children's knowledge, skills and understanding of the curriculum is the aim of a National Curriculum and is supported by most primary teachers (Osborn, 2000) as is the raising of achievement. The approach favoured by those teachers supporting a whole child theory of learning is a dialogic one in which teachers and children engage in discussion and exploration of curriculum. A performativity approach changes the learning relation from an investigative one into one of deliverer and receiver (Dadds 1994), a relation in which the child as pupil becomes the subject of curriculum aims.

The identification of objectives is not necessarily identified as a negative learning experience. Identifying goals means that children may well have a clearer understanding of specific tasks and forms of mutual benefit may well develop between teachers and children (Jeffrey, 2003). It is the narrowing of the goals within the performativity discourse and the narrowing of assessment instruments (Gipps 1994) that alters the relations from dialogic to preceptive one in which teachers convey precepts. (See Table 5)

Teacher relations

Drawing on six studies into primary school organisational cultures, from 1985 onwards Southworth et al (Southworth 2000) assert that school improvement is enhanced by

the existence of a professional culture which supports strong professional ties between teachers. These ties are sustained by frequent informal and formal interaction, social peace, and professional discourse. (Southworth, 2000, p. 281)

These cultures act as nutrients (op. cit.) and contain humanist features such as sensitivity, flexibility, empathy, familiarity and personal support. (Nias, Campbell, and Southworth 1992; Nias, Southworth, and Yeomans 1989; Troman 1997; Troman and Woods 2001). The performativity discourse has led to new school relations that prioritise commitment to institutional 'team' success determined by criteria established by external auditors - Ofsted - and 'consuming' parents and pupils. This has meant a restructuring of primary teachers' democratic, collegial and personal relations

Democratic relations

The primary school staff relationships (PSSR) project (Nias 1989) showed how cohesion was negotiated in the whole school development discourse. In this democratic form whole school policies were developed through a striving for consensus between teachers of equal status in discussion and debate. A performativity discourse refocuses teachers' attention from the issues of how to interpret curriculum policy to ensuring that delivery of its basic tenets and reproduction of them illustrate the success of the school in the educational market place. This priority imposed a discipline on teachers (Ball 1990) and reconstituted teacher relations in terms of

> the team being only as good as the weakest link and I keep thinking, 'I'm the weak link here, I'm going to let the others down' (Aileen, KS 1).

Team discipline worked to achieve league success.

> In the end what matters is that the team is strong and that the school is strong, it's not particular individuals that matter. Sometimes people rise to the occasion or play the game better. Ofsted is a team sport (Angelina, Deputy Head).

At the same time discipline led to the suppression of opinions, 'I've heard other people criticise things that he, (Chris Woodhead, Chief Inspector of Schools at the time) has said, that I agree with. However, I don't think I'd dream of saying that anywhere apart from here, in this interview, privately' (Letica, KS 1).

Dissension within teams was considered harmful to successful performance.

> Many people disagreed, but they were just told that they had to get the children to use pens. So much for democracy. Consensus is going. I used to have a feeling that it was okay to disagree (Diane, KS 2).

The need to succeed in the performativity climate united teachers and management in defending the institution from adverse public admonition but at the same time reconstituted some teachers' humanist values.

> I have become less sympathetic. I now identify less with those who don't fit this system. They know what the game is and they should be fulfilling what we, as a school, ask of them, because there is no place for them otherwise. You can't be an individual in this system at the moment, it just makes it hard work for everybody if you try to be (Toni, Deputy Head).

Expediency became essential to ensure conformity,

> Confidentially the new Information Technology policy won't be done with the staff, it will be done by me and then represented to the staff in draft form, not the way that you are told a policy should be constructed (Rita, Deputy Head).

Democratic relations, where individuals bring their values and perspectives to the policy-making arena and where the construction of consensus was prioritised, was replaced by a team culture which although enhancing the possibility of school success acted as a disciplinary force to marginalise collegial debate and consensual relations.

Collaborative relations

Primary teachers in the England are less 'balkanised' (Fullan and Hargreaves 1991) than secondary teachers, who prioritise school departmental relations and experience more status differentials. Teachers involved in the whole school, collaborative cultures research developed an interdependency (Nias, 1989) which 'created overlapping roles and responsibilities which encouraged adaptability, flexibility and collective strength' (Nias 1989, p. 276, Southworth 2000, Nias, Southworth and Yoemans, Nias 1989). However, with the shift from consensus policy development to outputs and performance, the overlaps and equality of status between pri-

mary teachers, embedded in what we term collegial relations, have been eroded and we now see the development of the 'expert' teacher manager (Troman 1997).

> As always, there has been this dilemma of being a teacher and a manager. I feel great anger and frustration that I'm having to virtually order implantation of the literacy programme rather than the development coming from those who are doing it (Carol, KS 1).

Subject co-ordinators have become 'experts' and managers, a different role to that of curriculum co-ordinators (Webb 1996).

> You have got to bow to superior knowledge from somebody who will put it together and then say: 'Come on, what do you think about this' (Rita, Deputy Head)?

The 'experts' have also become supervisory managers.

> The senior management job description has been changed by Ofsted to include heavier monitoring. I don't think teachers were particularly happy about it because I don't think that staff have seen the science, maths and English post holder as being a line manager, somebody who checks up on your work. It was always viewed as the support of a colleague (Norman, Deputy Head).

Collegial observations in the past were seen as 'going into someone else's class just to find out what they're doing that's good' (Carol, KS 1). A series of hierarchical vertical relations has now developed as teachers dispense authority for one subject area and defer to 'expert' colleagues in other areas. Some primary teachers found that this challenged their collegial values, 'I'm just not the kind of personality that goes around telling people what they've got to do' (Dora, KS 1).

As teachers' areas of professional competence is narrowed and specific expertise is enhanced, teachers became more dependent on colleagues (Broadfoot, 1999), not in a collegial sense but in seeking reassurance that everything they do is 'right' (Osborn, 2000). This development altered teacher relations in such a way that teachers now

> expect an answer. Whereas before I could say things like 'it doesn't work for me either'. I've become more of a specialist in solving problems quickly. I find I can't afford the time to really play around with it in my head. I need to get in there, listen to the problem, ask pertinent questions and be able to say 'Right, how about trying this'? and they trot off quite happily because you've given them something to do (Shula, Deputy Head).

Perceiving pedagogic issues as managerial reduced the possibility of enquiry and debate and reconstituted teacher relations as hierarchical.

Further differentiation was experienced with the introduction of the grading of teachers.

> In my department we discuss together and look at areas we think need to be developed and improved. But if they give individual grades, it's not a team, they're separating people out from that team by awarding individual grades. It is divisive (Aileen, KS 1).

The categorization of teachers by grades created differentiated relations (Jeffrey, 1998) and reconstructed collegial relations,

> I didn't want an excellent grade. I don't value that. When I sit in a staff room and put forward my ideas I want people to see me, not my grade. Judging me by the number that has been stuck on the hat that I'm wearing is not my idea of gaining respect (Amy, KS 2).

The move towards creating teacher experts and managers increased the effectiveness of successful outcomes

in terms of the assessment criteria of curriculum tests and Ofsted inspections but collegial relations gave way to hierarchical relations.

Personal Relations

A collaborative culture

Arises from and embodies the best of social and moral beliefs about desirable relationships between individuals and communities of which they are a part, and not from beliefs about epistemology or pedagogy (Nias, 1989, pp. 73-4).

In the primary 'whole school' culture humanist personal relations are considered to be the mortar that ensures institutional development and stability. The time spent on supporting good relations in primary schools is seen as effective school development (Nias, 1989, Troman, 2001). The disciplinary effects of the performativity discourse exerted supportive practices but often in terms of a siege mentality (Osborn 2000), 'There was a lovely atmosphere here yesterday as we prepared for the Ofsted inspection, even though it was half term, it was like we were having a party' (Rachael, Headteacher). However, the process of external examination, the ranking of schools, departments and teachers also exacerbates confrontational relations (Troman 2001). Within the team, personal relations suffered as discipline was exerted and considerateness marginalized, particularly when it was close to an inspection.

> Tears came to her eyes, and I thought 'Oh God, I've done it again!' It's my management role, I've got no choice. I thought I was actually being quite helpful by photocopying some more check sheets and giving them to her when she arrived this morning (Toni, Deputy Head).

Human relations were compromised as performativity took precedence and schools became internally divided due, for example, to Ofsted reporting on separate Key Stage departments. Differing assessments between departments resulted in a cooling of teacher relations.

> It was Key Stage 1 that was criticised last time and this time it's Key Stage 2's turn. We are not happy with the fact that we were being picked on for extra courses when other parts of the school are being thought of as 'being really good' (Reen, KS 2).

The public reporting of critical performance in the interests of accountability further soured teacher relations, 'We had to sit in the staff room with the others and listen to these Ofsted criticisms of our department, while others were praised and it divided us from the rest of the school', (Robina, nursery). Confrontations developed as differentiation increased and individual human circumstances took second place to the interests of the team, particularly for head teachers, who feel the full force of accountability of an Ofsted inspection (Troman 2001).

> The head was very, very unsympathetic when my daughter was rushed back into hospital. One of the reasons why I decided to come here was the humanity she showed. Before the pressure of the Ofsted inspection I don't think she would have reacted in that way. It's affected my view of her as a manager and I certainly don't feel this keen spirit that we're all supposed to be part of (Lucy, KS 2).

Head teachers', when being inspected, are under pressure to ensure that their system is performing efficiently and effectively.

> Not only did I have pressure to return to work after the death of my mother, but I was threatened with loss of salary if I didn't return quickly. I was looked upon as part of this machinery. The head actually said to me that I am very highly thought of, and that a significant part of the machine was missing and it had to be put back (Naomi, KS 2).

The development of team cultures constructs a new form of collaboration, one that is based upon treating teachers as potential weak links. Consequently personal relations become less considerate and more confrontational. (See Table 6)

Teacher – LEA advisor/inspector relations

Prior to the introduction of a performativity discourse primary teachers felt that they were part of a triangular relationship with government and the LEA (Radnor, 1996; Scott, 1989). The partnership discourse portrayed each of the partners as having an interrelated role in assuring accountability to, and from, each other. The performativity discourse has contributed significantly to a change in that relationship (Audit 1989), 'The role of advice and support was now to be subordinate to that of inspection' (Evans and Penney 1994, p. 524). The performativity discourse has meant a restructuring of accountability relations with government now responsible for all policy. LEA's and teachers' have been reduced to disseminating and implementing policies and to proving accountability through the realization of government targets. Teacher relations with local authority advisors and inspectors – now all called inspectors – have become more formalized. Relations between teachers and LEA inspectors can be categorised as supervisory and accountable.

Supervisory Relations

The Ofsted approach is necessarily a distanced one for the inspections are 'hit and run' (Jeffrey 1998) affairs. Consequently, humanist relations between teachers and the inspectors are also distanced.

> I often make comparisons between bank inspectors. It's a case of, 'off you go, I need your room, I need your papers, people as well as figures. Absolutely clinical' (Neil, Lead Inspector).

However, the LEA inspector has also become more clinical in spite of past friendly relations. 'In the old days the science lady would come in your classroom and we would chat afterwards and she became a friend' (Bronwyn, KS 2). LEA inspectors have, for the most part, now adopted Ofsted practices.

When he came in on Wednesday and acted differently to the way he has in the past, the atmosphere here was totally different. People were tense, behaving differently, and they bolted things down. I almost got the feeling that he was slightly put out by this, that he thought that we should have been more relaxed because we knew him. But we said 'you were here as an Ofsted inspector' (Laura, KS 2).

The performativity discourse required more time spent on observation, monitoring and reporting to head teachers than talking to teachers. 'Why can't they come into work in your nursery and work with you. It's been made very formal and there's no need for that. That's not supportive' (Robina, nursery). LEA inspectors re-focused their sights on accountability criteria and partnership relations became less important, 'It was like we had robots from outer space standing there, discussing Colin's plans for 45 minutes, without a word to us' (Clare, KS 1).

A depersonalization (Jeffrey and Woods 1997) took place as 'they freeze framed you. They strip all these bits off you and you feel as if you haven't got any real substance there. It doesn't matter whether they say, good, bad or indifferent, the point is they have stripped the self' (Shula, deputy head). The clinicalization of relations was a fundamental change for primary teachers who placed a high priority on humanist relations.

> I don't know whether an inspection works or not but there must be a friendlier way to do it. It's too cut and dried and you can't be that way with people (Simca, newly qualified KS 1).

The 'long tradition of advice on curriculum developments and support of specialist curriculum area,' (Evans and Penney 1994, p. 521) was a major feature of inspector/advisor relations in the past.

> I went on a 20 day maths course. It was wonderful. We were given new ideas; we were lectured to by modern people who were on the ball. We bounced ideas off each other and we got the latest trends, and when I came back to school I was bursting with ideas (Bronwyn, KS 2).

LEA inspectors also expressed satisfaction with a reciprocity of relations, 'I enjoy coming here because you all say what you feel, speak your mind, and we always have a jolly good discussion and debate my reports' (Mark, LEA Inspector). However the current

ethos is one of telling you rather than inter-acting with you and supporting you. It's 'how we view it from up here' rather than, 'how about looking at what we might be doing with this'. It's just a look through the paper-work. That's his main purpose in life (Colin, nursery).

The performativity discourse changed teacher-inspector relations from one of partnership to one of subjugation.

It's an 'us and them', they're not being very supportive. They're presumably supposed to be working out our literacy plan, but they seem to be doing that on their own. It's going to be very much, 'this is what we think you should be doing' (Clare, KS 1).

LEA inspectors appeared to be, 'testing us, and her appearance of pleasantness wasn't what she was thinking. She made judgements too quickly having only just seen something for a short while' (Enid, KS 2). Dialogue was eschewed in favour of what could be easily observed and tested and where there was dialogue it is seen as an infantilization of relations, 'We're adults and we seem to be put into the role of a child' (Diane, KS 2), resulting in teacher – inspector dependency. 'It is like being a child in a classroom that is failing. I think these people look at me as a pupil and them as the greater teacher' (Letica, KS 1). Teachers came to lose confidence in their own professional judgement (Osborn 2000, Ball 2000).

LEA inspectors took on a hierarchical and authoritative role.

> I didn't have any outcomes written down, and he said, 'Where are they'? and I said, 'Well, like all good teachers they're in my head'. He didn't like it. I felt I was being too outspoken and I suddenly had this sense of, 'Oh God, I shouldn't have said that'. It made me consider going home and resigning. I don't know if I can be this robot, I don't know if I can work in this particular way because it's against what I believe' (Robina, nursery).

Professional development is seen as 'something being done to teachers; teachers will be improved' (Diane, KS 2).

The change in relations to a hierarchical, formal one resulted in some cases in a reduction in teachers' attempts to maintain their own values.

> We knew that local inspectors at the beginning of all this were on our side. But now they can't fight anymore. They are now Ofsted inspectors themselves aren't they? We're having to just fit in, so you give up fighting for what you think is right (Deena, KS 1).

Supervisory relations in a performativity discourse became dependent ones, as did relations with children and colleagues. The necessity to gain commendations during inspections meant, for some, the adoption of strategies to capitalise on the nature of the supervisory relations.

> There were three sessions where I went and grabbed people to come in. Every time they were there, I spelled it out. 'Have you got everything you want, is there anything you want to ask me, had you noticed this'? I made sure that everything I wanted made explicit was explicit, by going up to them and asking 'Was everything clear, is there anything you want ask me, have you seen this'? Once I identi-

fied a lesson in advance and asked if someone could come and see it. I certainly encouraged them at every opportunity….Getting a good grade is in the hands of the teacher. It is up to you as to whether you want to jump through those hoops (Larry, KS 2).

Supervisory relations within a performativity discourse involves a distancing of humanist relations but the action is seen as necessary to meet the goal of raising achievement, 'I think inspections do provide rigour. They improve the quality of provision and I think, in the long term, it will raise standards (Pamela, Lead Inspector). However, it also increases a teacher's focus on gaining satisfactory performance grading to maintain career and professional identities rather than partnership relations.

Accountability relations

Accountability is education is part of the 'audit explosion' in which trust has been replaced by audit accountability 'Far from being passive, audit actively constructs the contexts in which it operates' (Power 1994, p. 7-8). LEA inspectors 'are looking to see that you are up to scratch delivering all these things that you are supposed to be delivering' (Gayle, KS 1). A discourse that focuses on performance leads to a focus on presentation, creating less open and more contrived accountability relations.

You know that they're going to clear up areas, they're going to put up displays, they're going to put in extra hours and get all their arguments sorted out. You also know that during the inspection you are going to inhibit the performance of people as well (Simon, Lead Inspector).

Teacher - inspector relations became more circumspect as they became engaged in playing the game (Jeffrey 1998). 'You have to actually catch on to what it is they want...and then perform it' (Angelina, Deputy Head). Being a performer rather than a pedagogue meant that teachers 'manoeuvred most lessons to show what they want to see. I stage-managed them', (Bronwyn, KS 2). The focus for teachers became that of trying to please their 'parent' rather than instituting a practice based on their knowledge of pedagogy and their personal humanist commitment (Nias 1989)

It is very difficult to be yourself when you know you are been scrutinised in this way. All the time you are thinking 'What do they think'? You are unable to be yourself, because you are more conscious of what they are thinking. You are subconsciously becoming what you think they want you to be and my style of teaching is about being me (Shula, Deputy Head).

Teaching requires a 'showmanship bit for my kids in my class because that's motivating and getting them learning and interested. That's fine, I accept that part of my role within the classroom but now it's show business in my relations with inspectors' (Carol, KS 1). The emphasis on performance led to cover-ups, 'Some teachers talked in terms of using the inspection as a vehicle to blow the whistle on the person who's been upsetting them, and I am very frightened that this could surface' (Rita, Deputy Head). The attempt to make the processes of teaching and learning transparent resulted in opacity (Ball, 2000).

As well as replicating the procedures of Ofsted practices, LEA inspectors also advised schools on how to impress Ofsted inspectors. They service schools who contract their services (Radnor 1996), 'He was very supportive over the action plan we developed earlier in the term. He knows what the game is and he's telling us how to play the game, supporting us in playing it' (Toni, Deputy Head). Supporting teachers to manage and confront Ofsted inspections, constitutes a new kind of 'partnership' with local inspectors, one in which teachers have less opportunity to engage in professional dialogue and more responsibility for performance success. The LEA's accountability is to central government and to maintaining their league position by ensuring school success.

> I was told at this meeting with the LEA inspectors that 'All you have got to worry about are the kids that are in the top section of level 3, forget about the rest'. If you get half of your top 3s into level 4 by the summer time your percentage of children at the required level 4 will rise 25 percentage. It wasn't an official policy, but it was held up as a way to improve your schools' performance. It didn't even matter about the bright ones, we were told to focus on the ones that struggled in level 3 and had low self-esteem (Cloe, KS 2).

Relations between teachers and inspectors became contrived and then together they both engaged in further contrivances to satisfy the performativity demands. Contrivances resulted in improvements in children's performance and the raising of achievement levels and they ensured that the schools maintained their market position. The new partnership between teachers and inspectors is one focused on children's and schools' performance, an instrumental one that has superseded the triangular partnership of the past.

Partnerships in the performativity discourse are less mutually collaborative than previous primary teachers experiences, 'we've got no way of being an equal partner in any kind of struggle. The same criteria are applied to every school and every classroom' (Nancy, KS 1).

Teachers are well aware that the changed dispositions of LEA inspectors is a result of the influence of the performativity discourse and in recognition of their previous partnership relations they can sympathise with their position,

> I just thought 'Well that's their job, they've been told that that's what they've got to do and that's what they are going to do'. They were trying to tell us is that they have got to do this job. They didn't actually say what they thought about it all, they just said how it was going to be administered because that was how they have been told to do it (Carol, KS 1).

Ball (2000) argues that the performativity discourse has resulted in a 'fabrication' of ourselves and our organizations.

To paraphrase Foucault, fabrications are versions of an organization (or person) which does not exist, they are not 'outside the truth' but neither do they render simply true or direct accounts--they are produced purposefully in order 'to be accountable'……the work of fabricating the organisation requires submission to the rigours of performativity and the disciplines of competition—resistance and capitulation. It is, as we have seen, a betrayal even, a giving up of claims to authenticity and commitment, it is an investment in plasticity (p. 9), (See Table 7)

Conclusion

In spite of a diminution in teacher vocationalism as a result of increasing intensification of work, teachers seemed to be retaining the humanism of their role (Woods 2002). However, with the increasing dominance of the performativity discourse, relations between teachers, colleagues and local inspectors have become less humanistic as they each take up a more defined role. Teachers are defined as deliver, team player, and performer. Children are redefined as pupils, colleagues as competitors, team members, experts and 'weak or strong links' and inspectors are now examiners and authoritative coaches. Equal and open negotiative relations have been superseded by hierarchical, dependent and deferential relations.

Collaboration between teachers, pupils, colleagues and local inspectors has not diminished but has been reconstructed as teamwork. Team solidarity and attention to improving targets brings teachers, pupils, colleagues and inspectors closer as they seek to maintain and improve their levels of achievement in external assessments and public league tables. Collaboration is reconstructed as 'mutual instrumentality' (Pollard 2000). Teachers,

pupils, colleagues and inspectors are dependent on each other for the school's success or failure because the school determines their status rather the latter being developed through trust relations with each other and with the community (Troman 2001). Personal, social, political and moral values are subordinated as each constituent group focuses on the single purpose of gaining and improving success.

Humanistic relations in England's primary schools have been reconstituted not so much as inhuman or dehumanised but as less personal, less familiar, less emotional, less sensitive, less warm, and less empathetic. The individual is less important as a 'person' but considered more as a mechanism for supporting the well-being of the team. Relations between teachers, children, colleagues and local inspectors are now utilitarian – based on the greater good of the many and the quality of the relations are, as Ball, 2000) notes in Lasch and Urry's terms, 'flat' and 'deficient in affect' (Lasch and Urry 1994, p.15).

Government policies in the 1980-1990's have been successful in reducing provider capture, tackling the uneven quality and patchy provision of entitlements that characterised English primary schools in earlier decades - some really excellent, some dreadful (HMI 1978) - and it is clear that standards of pupil performance, measured by SATs tests, are rising (Pollard, 2000). Teacher's skills and competencies have been refocused and developed, in for example, assessment procedures and the evaluation of children's learning experiences (Broadfoot 1999; James and Gipps 1998). A performativity discourse is seductive (McWilliam, Meadmore, and Hatcher 1999), because it is possible to be properly passionate about excellence, about achieving peak performance {Ball, 2000). However, the dehumanising of the performativity discourse has resulted in the 'emptying out' of relationships (Lasch, 1994 in Ball, 2000)

Nevertheless primary teachers' have devised strategies for coping with these changes to relations. Some have both distanced themselves and engaged with Ofsted inspectors (Jeffrey, 1998), others have hopped between discourses (Jeffrey 1999), constructed multiple selves (Woods, 1997) and restructured identities (Woods, 2002).

Primary schools have a particular culture that highlights humanistic relations as they deal with young, socially developing children and daily parental concerns for the general welfare of their children Pollard, 1996). The 'struggle for the soul of professionalism' (Hanlon 1998) includes, for primary teachers, a struggle to maintain humanist relations and therefore to reconstruct the performativity discourse itself, for discourses are amenable to resistance and influence (Davies and Harre 1994). A good place to start this process is the gathering of examples of how primary teachers are managing to influence the performativity discourse (Jeffrey 2000, Woods 2002).

Chapter Five - Side stepping 'the Substantial Self': The fragmentation of primary teachers' professionality through audit accountability.

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Professional responsiveness and audit accountability

Accountability can be seen as a means of ensuring responsiveness: the willingness of an institution - or indeed of individuals - to respond to outside pressures and new ideas. There can be different kinds of accountability. Professional accountability, according to Kogan, is the control of education by teachers and professional administrators (Kogan 1989) see also (Eraut 1992). It involves obligations:

- to serve the interests of clients;
- to self monitor and periodically review the effectiveness of one's practice;
- to expand one's repertoire, to reflect on experience and to develop one's expertise;
- to contribute to the quality of the organisation in which one works; and
- to reflect on and contribute to discussions about the changing role of the profession in the wider society.

A rather different form of accountability, what can be referred to as 'market accountability', came to be emphasised in the 1980s under the Conservative government. So, for example, schools were exhorted to respond to the needs of the community through competing with each other for clients (Gewirtz 1996; Ball 1990). From this perspective, professional accountability was regarded as a producer-orientated system, with teachers' main interest lying in perpetuating their status and in some cases using their position to advance value-based beliefs (Hatcher 1994; Troman 1997). By restructuring the system of accountability towards the market model, those supporting this approach sought to constrain the power of providers in favour of the 'consumer' (Lawler 1997). However, since this amounted to the creation of *quasi*-markets, rather than privatisation of the state education system, in practice it involved a rather different kind of accountability: audit accountability.

This 'heavy duty accountability' (Woods and Jeffrey 1996), in the form of the specification of policy guidelines and targets plus regular audits, has taken different forms in various parts of the private and public sectors. However, there is a common thread: the use of bureaucratic procedures to verify compliance. As such, it is not only a technical practice but articulates values with rationalizing and reinforcing public images of control. At school level this has been translated into managerial approaches that use concepts such as 'goal definition, efficient resource allocation, financial performance, competition, economy, efficiency and effectiveness' (Power 1994). As Power notes:

> audits generally act indirectly upon systems of control rather than directly upon first order activities. (...) Audit has thereby become the 'control of control', where what is being assured is the quality of control systems rather than the quality of first order operations. In such a context, accountability is discharged by demonstrating the existence of systems of control rather than by demonstrating good teaching, caring, manufacturing, banking etc. (Power, 1994 p. 19)

The primary teachers in our research accepted the principle of public accountability. As one of them said: 'I think you have to be accountable. I don't object at all to accountability. I think that it's a good thing'. However, many were concerned about the kind of accountability regime under which they now had to labour (Troman 1994). Alongside the introduction of the National Curriculum, the associated national standardized testing, and public disclosure of results, schools have been set in competition with one another. Added to this are Ofsted inspections, subjecting what goes on *inside* schools to audit, testing teachers' compliance in delivering the National Curriculum and examining evidence of planning and record-keeping. These developments have marginalised professional accountability, as many primary school teachers see it (Woods and Jeffrey 1996b; Jeffrey and Woods 1998); and from their point of view, schools have become less responsive to the needs of children and their parents. These developments have also intensified primary teachers' work (Troman 1997; Woods et al. 1997).

Intensification and accountability

Besides the audit explosion, there are other macro elements that are connected with changes in teachers' experience of work: notably, crumbling social structures and globalization. The more traditional structures lose their hold, and the more that daily life is recast in terms of a dialectical interplay of local and global, the more individuals are forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among a diversity of options. According to Giddens, trust can no longer be anchored in criteria outside the relationship itself, 'such as criteria of kinship, social duty or traditional obligation' (Giddens 1991, p.6); or, in the case of teachers, in forms of professionalism. For primary teachers the downgrading of the notion of professional responsiveness - albeit idealised and bounded (Nias 1989) - results, together with a disconnection between responsiveness and accountability, in a reduction of the trust which previously secured their confidence and professional identity. As one of the teachers commented:

> There's got to be a sense of trust. If you've been appointed and been given a job, there's got to be a sense of trust. If you feel like the powers-that-be just don't trust you, don't trust you to do the job properly, and then they home in here like some kind of old-fashioned police, it's awful, it's really horrible. And you just sit there thinking, 'are all jobs like this now, or is this just teaching that is being put through this?' You wonder are there any jobs left where you're trusted to do it. It's awful.

According to Giddens, as the significance of place is removed from 'time and space', abstract systems are produced to replace outmoded social structures such as status passage and religion (Giddens 1991). Abstract systems can be split into two sorts: symbolic tokens and expert systems. The first of these is a medium of exchange involving the standardisation of value across a plurality of contexts. The most obvious example is money. The expert system, on the other hand, brackets time and space through employing technical knowledge. Validity is established independently of practitioners and clients, for example by the counsellor and the therapist. In the school context a standardized inspection system seems to combine both kinds of abstract system. It is intended to ensure that the value of schools can be ascertained and compared in standardised terms. The inspectors are also considered experts in applying technical knowledge to the grading of schools and teachers, independently of practitioners' and clients' insights and involvement in the judgements that are recorded. For abstract systems to be valued by the practitioners and clients they must be trusted by the individual in the same way as traditional social structures were once trusted.

How these developments have affected what we referred to as the 'compliant' group of primary teachers is the subject of this chapter. To a large extent, the work of English primary teachers is characterized by direct

engagement with their pupils as people, and an exploration of the curriculum as a means of understanding and engaging with the world (Woods, 1995, Woods, 1996). These engagements are based on primary teachers' wider educational beliefs, pedagogic knowledge and experience. And many English primary teachers have been imbued with the values of a holistic and child-centred pedagogy, emanating from educational academic institutions in the 1960s and from the influential Plowden Report (1967; see also (Darling 1994; Siraj-Blatchford and Siraj-Blatchford 1995). In spite of recent criticism of these values and practices (Alexander et al. 1992), older primary teachers have been concerned to maintain these principles pragmatically within the contemporary context of a National Curriculum (Woods and Jeffrey 1996). These teachers have a ''substantial self', a set of self-defining beliefs, values and attitudes (which) develops alongside (their) situational selves and is highly resistant to change' (Nias 1989, p. 203).

Carol is an example of this kind of primary teacher. She is 44, single, and lives alone in a large metropolis; her relations living approximately 100 miles away. They cannot understand why she chooses to work in a deprived area far from her family, but she is committed to the children she teaches. She works with early years and is imbued with the theory and practice of the sort of child development theories and practices that were prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s, based on the work of (Bruner 1986; Dewey 1929). She has responsibility for language throughout her school and attends courses regularly to keep up with curricular and pedagogic developments. She has been described as a 'disturbed conformist' (Woods et al. 1997), and we can get a clearer sense of what is meant by this category through an examination of the tension felt by her as a result of the imposition of audit accountability.

New clothes

An unsuitable fitting

Carol initially tried to incorporate her own child-centred approach into the new technical framework, but she found this increasingly difficult; the pressure on her growing as the Ofsted inspection approached:

> I'm quite happy to make a list of things that go on in the classroom, but then you've got to look it up in the National Curriculum and put it under certain headings. I'm finding it exceedingly difficult to do. For example, you have to write down the fact that the children in the 'role play' areas and the 'puppet theatre' are 'presenting to audiences'. You have to make all these incredible lists, about what dramatic areas it comes under. I can't think like that, I can make a list of the things I am providing, but that isn't enough. There is a lot of language and vocabulary going on in the play corner because there are two telephones in there, but knowing that isn't enough anymore. I have to detail the educational experiences. I just can't write all that down.

Prioritising 'control of control' (Power 1994) reduced her engagement with the classroom work:

I've taken this group on a visit around the school and introduced them to different parts of the school. In retrospect I shall do a lesson plan on geography and actually say that that's a geographical skill and that this is the geography work that I've done. But to me it seems a waste of time in a sense. I have set up the structure, which is where the evidence is. If you are aware of what your aims and objectives are, and you have set up the structures and access to equipment you have done the thing that is so important for young children. However, the most important thing seems to be to keep this blessed paper work up to date.

Carol felt that the forms for recording 'control of control' assumed a radically different classroom context from the one which she felt was most appropriate:

> It's harder for the early years because they (Ofsted) are already talking about 45 minute lessons, and

> they will be in the classroom watching how many reception kids stick at something for 45 minutes, in a directed lesson. Usually I would suggest that they get the construction equipment out and make something and if it grabs them they will be there for half an hour, if not they will finish in 5 minutes. The secondary school orientation came over, although the emphasis was very subtle. They queried why timetables and weekly plans were not available earlier. Our weekly plans were done as close to the actual inspection as possible, because they were referenced to what happened the week before, we did them in context. I just thought that as long as I'm seen to be vaguely in control I assumed I wouldn't get a low mark.

However, her control over the classroom operation was not the main focus for the audit; instead, it was the bureaucratic means by which this could be established. A professional judgement based on an educational body of knowledge or that of an experienced practitioner was no longer seen as enough:

> I reckon that if you know about early years you can actually get a feel about whether the kids are on task and are productive. I think you can do that just by walking into a class. I agree there's more to it but I still think you can get a general flavour of whether it's a class where the children are all well occupied or where they are just killing time.

Trust that teachers and the school are doing their best for pupils has been eroded, along with the decline in social institutions. In adopting an audit form of accountability it is essential for Ofsted that judgements can be standardized across a large sample, irrespective of place. Any judgement based on an extensive body of knowledge would require a specialist, highly trained inspector. Not only might these be in short supply, but any national conclusions would be open to criticism over validity. Consequently, the measurement of the control mechanisms used by the teacher - their plans and records - takes priority, for these are easier to assess. In this way what is being measured may appear to be the same thing right across the country. Statistical outcomes based in quantifiable judgements are employed, rather than qualitative judgement:

> I hate this thing about statistics, it just makes me really angry that people start looking at these graphs and saying, 'oh well, you didn't do very well in reading that year'. That really makes me very cross because I think of the kids as individuals and the way they progress here. I cannot prove it by statistics, but since we've worked this developmental approach to reading, we have a lot of very confident, enthusiastic readers going throughout the whole school, but that doesn't come over in raw statistics.

According to Carol, these narrow foci do not reflect the full range of competencies and capabilities of her pupils. She was also concerned that the narrow criteria used to examine her 'delivery' of the curriculum would not uncover the underlying reasons for her decision making. 'What looks like bad practice can actually be exceedingly good practice, for example there may be a good reason for walking around ignoring a child'. She felt that there were a wide range of aims and objectives that she employed, together with subtle processes that were not easily amenable to marking procedures.

She was encouraged to plan her teaching programme well in advance, so that the assessors could make a judgement as to whether she was complying with the overall National Curriculum programme, which made it difficult for her to vary the pace of the learning engagement:

> It takes the less capable and the second language users that haven't got a very wide vocabulary about a week and a half for them to fall into what we're doing. Fitting into this formula where I have to keep to a predetermined plan isn't the way I work. It's unreal.

At a curriculum level the same applied as far as she was concerned. When a friend of the school asked if they

had a scheme of work for language:

> I went into a major panic mode and said, 'no I hadn't', and he said, 'Of course you have' and he listed some of the things that we'd actually been doing. That is my worry, that I'll actually say no to things that are going on in this school, that I'll think, 'oh no, no, we're definitely not doing that', and we are doing it. The policy statements that we've got are very much linked to what goes on in this school but I just don't think like 'management', I'm never likely to ever ever be promoted because I don't think in those terms.

Furthermore, *delivery* of the curriculum was prioritised over individual interest and process:

> I can't really explain it, but all the things that I've been good at for the last 20 years I've been told I can't do them any more. That's not right, I've got to formulate things a certain way. I've always had a structure but I've always worked on what the kids have got interested in and involved in. I've always drawn from the children and I've always gone off at tangents if it's got really interesting. So I'm finding it difficult now. We're doing a project on shape at the moment and the plan was to look at a different shape each week but the kids got so wrapped up in it that we were doing circles for about 3 weeks. We're still doing triangles now and they're so enthusiastic about it that it seems pointless to actually suddenly decide artificially to move on to squares.

Delivery becomes a driving force because of the way in which the assessment foci are directed at measurable judgements about whether the National Curriculum has been 'covered'. The quality of the engagements, as this relates to Carol's educational philosophy, is not considered.

The new clothes bring new terminology. Carol is steeped in her own value-based child-centred discourse. The new form of audit accountability discourse not only challenges her working practices but in order to maintain her working life Carol has to start using its mode of language and way of thinking. However this is not so easy. Just as it was difficult trying to fit her value-based working patterns into a technical grid of examination and assessment, it is difficult for her to talk a new language. The 'terminologies' constitute new jargon that Carol must begin to use if she is to communicate with her colleagues and Ofsted inspectors:

> I find it very hard to think in the terminology that's grown up in the last 2 to 3 years. If somebody else is talking to me about it, I understand it; it's not a complete mystery to me. It's just that I find it quite difficult to think that way and half of me resents it in some sense because in some way I see no need for it; it's almost like setting up jargon just to make it more complex than it really is. I obviously can't speak for other members of staff but I think there is a similar feeling that, because we've been teaching the length of time we have, it's probably harder for us in some ways than it is for less experienced.

The language of this audit discourse is outlined in Jeffrey and Woods' (1998) description of the Ofsted Handbook (Ofsted 1995):

> Measurable factors predominate as they affect such matters as attainment, progress, strengths and weaknesses, effective and ineffective teaching, needs, management, resources, objectives, assessment, use time, competence, planning, skill. The model of the teacher and the learning situation provided in the handbook is essentially a transmissional one in which information is passed to pupils, and pupils are seen as developing through the manifest technical skills of the teacher. Phrases like 'contribution to pupil's attainment and progress', 'overall strengths and weaknesses in different subjects', 'effective teaching', 'the extent to which teaching promotes learning', 'secure knowledge and understanding of

subjects', 'employs methods and organisational strategies which match curricular objectives', 'needs of pupils', 'manages pupils well', 'achieves high standards of discipline', 'assesses pupils' work thoroughly', 'uses assessments to inform teaching', 'uses homework effectively to reinforce and or extend what is learnt at school' illustrate the model that Ofsted prefers.

In this model, the child is seen as a pupil (rather than 'child'), in need of managing and disciplining and needing to learn certain prescribed things in order to be able to survive in a competitive market. The teacher is seen as someone who has to impart knowledge and understanding of a set curriculum, who supplements deficiencies, assesses and evaluates pupils' efforts from an hierarchical position, rather than one who removes obstacles to learning and works with children (Jeffrey and Woods 1998, p 57).

The introduction of new language forms acts as symbolic power (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). 'Getting done' becomes the overriding imperative (Apple 1986). And less time on classroom activities means less depth of engagement:

> I don't think I'm sinking, but I don't think I'm doing anything to any depth because there just isn't any time. You just seem to lurch from one thing to something else to something else to something else and you don't really get time to spend on getting that depth. We're supposed to be doing something on buildings and the kids have all brought me bits of paper with the age of their house on. We're going to stick it on the timeline because I thought buildings were quite a good thing to link in but have I had time to get that up there, no I haven't.

More initiatives and demands continually dominate teachers' time. This has been recognised by the Chief Inspector of Schools, the Secretary of State for Education, and by a leading right wing polemicist (Lawler 1997) who all argue for a reduction in paperwork and meetings. However, it is the new audit accountability system which they advocate that demands this attention to systems of control. The new ill-fitting clothes challenge to Carol's identity.

Altered Identities

Carol feels that audit accountability marginalizes her experience, promotes loss and increases an emphasis on performance.

Marginalization of experience

As the system of control of control impinges on schools, teacher experience and expertise is marginalised as the accounting takes over:

> In the past I put the structures in place, for example I had a list of things I planned to introduce them to in the first month. I felt that was enough. Whereas now I feel obliged to account for myself in much more detail. It's as though we haven't been trying to do it for the past 20 years and trying to get it right, as though we've just been messing about and having a good time and not trying to teach the kids to read.

This process is underpinned by a value-system based on continuous rising levels of achievement, albeit in a much narrower definition of children's achievement than that to which Carol subscribes. However, the technology of its operation dominates, for two major reasons. First, 'control of control' is easier to evaluate in a standardized form than qualitative judgements of teaching and learning of teachers operating in specific locations. Secondly, a technical appearance implies a rational and non-subjective approach which appears to simplify the process of teaching and learning and make it more amenable to control.

The extra work of providing written evidence of the process of teaching not only marginalizes the attention given to the teaching itself, but it undermines teacher confidence; since the system requires that teachers chart the minutist detail of their work. The details are recorded and filed in a similar way to the collection of the detail about a mentally ill person's life for examination in the asylum (Goffman 1961). The detail of a teacher's work, in terms of accountability, might well be a legitimate subject of enquiry. However, if the technology of the process involves examination of the work by a distanced hierarchical process, then it constitutes a major shift in power to 'overseers' (Power 1994, p.47). It is the audit nature of the process that raises anxiety, for it means that written accounts will be judged by someone at a distance rather than there being an engagement with the teacher about purposes and strategies.

Loss

There is also a loss of control, enjoyment, confidence, role, creativity and commitment. Carol resents the inevitability of the process and compares it to the intense experience of her mother dying:

> It's part of the same process as a death isn't it, that things are not going to be as they were and it's quite a hollow feeling isn't it? Whatever Ofsted was, we had to work hard for it and we had to focus on that and nothing else. It's something that's completely out of your control. There are two issues involved, there is the lack of control and the realisation of what is taking over and the stress level in itself is like coping with a death because you are so worn down. The stress level I felt was as high in some ways as when I watched my mother slowly die. It was a horrible, horrible experience to go through. It was one of these horrendous experiences where she was in hospital just deteriorating slowly and slowly and slowly, and the build-up to the inspection was similar. There was the terrible pressure of visiting and guilt if you didn't go. It builds up and everything was outside that experience. It became unreal in some ways, and that was what Ofsted was like.

The loss of control felt by Carol is due to her not being involved in the judgement process in the way that she would be in the context of combined professional responsiveness and accountability. There is also a loss of control over the direct engagement with her work, due to the prioritization of 'control of control' and the separation of responsiveness from accountability.

A loss of enjoyment is also experienced:

> When they (the children) first came into school, it was just such a happy time to be with them. I just used to really enjoy it. Maybe that was a bad thing, maybe I enjoyed it too much. I'd just be in there playing with them and sitting down in the book corner and reading with them; I really got a lot out of that. So I don't have the job satisfaction I once had working with young kids because I feel every time I do something I just feel guilty about it. Is this right? Am I doing this the right way? Does this cover what I am supposed to be covering? Should I be doing something else? Should I be more structured? Should I have this in place? Should I have done this? You start to query everything that you are doing there's a kind of guilt in teaching at the moment really.

Fun in primary teaching means that the person is subjectively engaged with the learning process; and that process is often extremely productive when engaging the emotions (Bonnett 1994; Drummond 1991; Woods 1993; Woods and Jeffrey 1996). The power of the teacher to engage children, excite them and be creative does not fit easily within an 'audit' conception: 'I could go into any class in this school and get them fairly well motivated but that seems to not be important any more'. There is a sense of 'grieving' (Nias 1993) as feelings and emotions are marginalized.

Indeed, audit accountability shifts the emotions towards persecutory guilt:

> Persecutory guilt is the kind of guilt that leads many teachers to concentrate on covering the required content, rather than ignoring it or subverting it to develop more interesting materials and approaches of their own. It is the guilt that inhibits innovation in 'basic' subjects for fear of prejudicing the test scores by which one is ultimately held accountable (Hargreaves, 1994 p. 143).

Andy Hargreaves was referring in this quotation to primary teachers in Canada and the United States, but much the same applies here. Confidence is a key element in teaching and this has to be based in teachers believing that what they are doing is appropriate, and that it has a solid value-base with which they concur, for this is also moral work (Hargreaves 1994). After a gruelling inspection Carol finds:

> getting back to normal is actually quite hard in lots of ways. I can't quite analyse this but it's something to do with having all the stuffing knocked out of you, all your confidence going. You think that as it's all over, I can do this, that and the other, but when it comes down to it you're not quite sure really what you want to do. It's just a bit disorientating. You don't have any belief in yourself. Whereas before the inspection you'd think to yourself, 'Oh yes I must do this and that now', I question everything in such depth that I feel a bit insecure.

She also suffers a little from depressive guilt, which according to Hargreaves may be rooted in childhood and the psychological self:

> I suppose in some ways I'm not a particularly confident person so I'd always throw myself into things to prove that I was of value and that's actually not enough now, is it? I'm sure that this is insecurity on my part. Wherever I land up working, I always have mountains of jobs to do. I'm always quite willing and I'm sure that that is insecurity, that if I say that I've got lots of things to do I must be worthwhile because that makes me feel quite important. I'm more a doer than a thinker but you've got to lock into these bloody terminologies now or you've had it, haven't you? You've got to think certain ways and that's quite hard.

The loss of confidence triggers the depressive guilt and the two together can contribute to a downward spiral. She is conscious of this loss of role on the part of her headteacher:

> I think one of the problems with Victor was that he lost his role through the Ofsted inspection. He didn't quite know what to do for us. He's always been there in the background, he's always been there for us and he didn't know what to do for us this time. He couldn't get us out of what we had to go through. It was out of his control in a lot of ways and he lost his role, he didn't know what to do. We just had to go through this. He couldn't make it easier or better for us even if he wanted to.

After the inspection her headteacher took on a different role, one dominated by the new form of accountability:

> There's also a tremendous amount of pressure on me to monitor in other classes from Victor, but not really from Victor, from on high. We're supposed to be monitoring what goes on in the other classes because we were told to do that by Ofsted. The focus at the moment is language, so there's more pressure on me to start the process because I'm the postholder.

Other teachers have extended themselves in this process (Woods, et al. 1997), but for Carol this route was not possible.

Increased performances

She resented the move towards increased performances:

> No, I don't really want to do a performance because in actual fact I'll fail abysmally at that because it's just so alien to me. I'm almost better to be myself and not actually achieve at a high level but at least I shall have some degree of pride and credibility when I come through it.

So the maintenance of the value-based self becomes the over-riding concern at the expense of being accredited by the accounting process. In the event she had to perform for the inspection and she did not enjoy it:

> It was a horrible experience and I knew that whatever I did, I'd never look good in an Ofsted inspection. I just don't perform well when I'm on show to start with and the formula is just one that's almost certain to make me look bad.

However, Carol, like most of the teachers in our sample were compliers (Woods et al. 1997). How did she manage the new design and her altered identity?

Wearing It In

Carol was resigned to the new situation:

> There's just no escape is there really? There is no way you can say 'I don't agree with this'; you've got to do it. I suppose that really sunk in after two meetings. They were saying they had got a remit, they work it, and leave; and it's just tough whether we like it or not, there really was no room for argument or debate about it.

She had the same feeling about the schemes of work:

> Obviously things are escalating. We've got all these schemes of work to put in place. I mean it's just got to be done, even if you hate it, it's got to be done.

However she was also practical. She needed to secure an income as a single person; and she still needed an identity, which she established by drawing on her humanity towards other people. Individuals now need to adopt a lifestyle to replace the disappearance of identity-giving social structures (Giddens 1991). In Carol's case she created her own sense of place. The humanistic emphasis of her teaching is also part of who she is:

> I am resigned but I think it's due to my nature because I am the kind of person that fits in. If I feel that I can make things smooth for other people, then I feel as if I've got a place in life, that's just me, isn't it? It's the way I cope as well. It's the way I manage to get through.

She faced up to the circumstances. The inspection process was almost like a cauterising of her past teaching practice, and an event that propelled her into a new world:

> I finally had to face up to change just as I did when my mother died. I'd conveniently not faced up to what was going on. I knew that I had to deliver all these things and prepare all these things but I hadn't really faced up to it. If I'd had any illusions before, they went when the Ofsted inspection came and all the things that we had to do for it. I knew I couldn't carry on the way that I wanted to.

For Carol, the new forms of accountability are not ones with which she could engage authentically, for they were part of an alternative value system based on technology. Jennifer Nias suggests that because primary teachers' selves are incorporated within their teaching practices any policy change will only be successful if their values are altered (Nias 1989). However, it appears that there is another strategy: that of marginalising values through the introduction of a new discourse which emphasises technology, in this case via audit accountability:

> If you say to Veronica and myself 'that's how it's got to be' then we're not the people that we were before. It's almost like telling us to change our personalities, the thing that has actually made us what

we were over the last 24 years. To suddenly turn round and say to somebody, 'you can't do that any more' is completely and utterly demoralising. It's not just a case of taking on something new, it's just something that's so alien to the way we work.

Nevertheless, she engages with the new form. In her responsive mode she not only agrees to take on a new responsibility after the inspection but finds herself leading a series of in-service training sessions for other staff. However, her control of the subject matter and her relations with staff alter as she takes up a more managerial role:

I've also agreed (like a twit) to be the IT Co-ordinator and we've got new computers in the school so all the staff meetings this term had me fronting them on IT and language. It was announced in the staff meeting without a by-your-leave. I think the poor staff got fed up with the sound of my voice. I don't think they wanted to hear anything from me ever again! I began to feel awful about delivering anything. I began to feel really bad about it.

She has introduced innovatory practices into the school in the past but her approach then contrasted with the current one:

The reason it was accepted was something to do with the fact that the people weren't coerced into doing things. They weren't made to feel bad about what they were doing. Instead of being told that they had got to do things that were alien to them, it was a slow, gradual process and I'm just not the kind of personality that goes around telling people what they've got to do. I think the reason it was successful is because people didn't feel threatened by it.

Still, under the new regime, she also mediates and moderates as far as she can:

I've moderated this wonderful system. I actually write down what I'm doing and then when I feel a bit weak in the head I go through and look the activity up in the National Curriculum and what the learning objectives are. I might do it a month afterwards and then I add the possible learning outcomes in later on. If I feel like doing something different I do it and then I write it down afterwards! I don't know whether I'm telling management that but I'm telling you!

When it comes to monitoring she devises her own way of doing it:

My definition of monitoring is going into someone else's class just to find out what they're doing that's good. It might as well be for our own ends. We suggested that less experienced teachers, like Corrine for example, might come into a class and see how groups were organised,

One of her colleagues, the deputy head, has made it her business to become familiar with the 'jargon' so Carol uses her to mediate the new discourse:

I'm quite happy to give them (inspectors) a long honest spiel about why certain things are in place and why children are being asked to do that but when I actually sit down to write it I find it less easy to do using the new jargon. I go and ask the deputy head if I've written it down in the right way because I'm not very good at the jargon. I explain to Toni, the kind of things that have gone on in the classroom. She then translates it and says 'well you've done this and you've done that' but I don't see it in those kinds of terms.

She also tries to maintain a connection with those discourses that reflect her values. She relishes listening to speakers like Michael Rosen (a respected author and reviewer of children's literature) because 'We could really do with somebody coming in, firing us up and making us feel good about ourselves again'. They are in tune with her past professional life:

> It's been wonderful for me. I got on a course for looking at bilingual learners in mainstream education and how you accommodate them. It's running at the Centre for Language in Primary Education for 10 weeks and it's brilliant. They are wonderful people that run it.

But she still doesn't want to join the accredited management career paths, a feature of the new managerialism:

> It's been fun. We've done some quite heavy stuff but at the same time it's been really interesting. We've had kind of all sorts of lectures and that's done me a lot of good. I don't do all the homework but I'm not choosing to get accredited by the University, which I could do if I wanted to. It's just a case of getting some ideas about supporting children.

At the same time as being resigned, facing up, engaging, mediating and seeking out familiar discourse she analyses the current context. Carol is not resentful of inspectors themselves but of the process, for she is a person who sees the humanity in people. She has worked with some of the inspectors who carried out the Ofsted inspection on them:

I just thought 'well that's their job, they've been told that that's what they've got to do and that's what they are going to do'. What they were trying to tell us is that they have got to do this job. They didn't actually say they agreed with it, it's just a job they've got to do. They didn't actually say what they thought about it at all, they just said how it was going to be administered because that was how they have been told to do it.

A Tighter Fit

Although the process of audit accountability involves a distancing in the operation of 'control of control', it has not remained at a distance from affecting pedagogy, since audit practices 'strongly influence the environments in which they operate' (Power, 1994, p. 48). As audit is largely concerned with 'control of control' and is a dominant form of accountability this 'results in a preoccupation with the auditable process rather than the substance of activities' (Power 1994, p 48). Following the introduction of inspections, the Government has introduced prescriptive programmes into schools, which are amenable to standardized audit assessment. Carol attended a course for the new prescribed Literacy Hour and found that control over her pedagogy had diminished further, even though she was not totally alienated by the content of the programmes:

> Some of it was excellent. A lot of the suggestions were good. They talked about phonics not being taught if it was not appropriate, grammar not being taught effectively by marking children's work and children looking at their mistakes. All those kind of things were really quite interesting and, you know, there was some very, very valuable stuff came out of it, but at the same time it was very much a formula.

It was not only formulaic and prescriptive but the presentational style and tone was very hierarchical:

> Every time he was asked questions he started fielding queries, they were very nicely deflected. It was a bit fascistic in a way because you were not allowed to query things. They're very nice about it but it was 'oh well we'll get back to that later'. They'd got the patter for deflecting us to something else. Part of me felt it was like an evangelical American drive to sell this 'wonderful way'. I loathed it on that level because I thought it was quite impersonal.

First, the audit accountability approach demanded attention to forms of control. Secondly, the inspection took an examination role using narrow criteria. And, thirdly, a prescriptive pedagogic innovation was introduced, which further separated Carol from her work in spite of her appreciation of some of it:

> We have to have the whole class work on a text and then you have to have grouped reading sessions but you've got to choose ability groups. Now I don't think staff are going to like that. If there's a

degree of flexibility, we'll be okay with it but if we have to stick to these structured ability groups I think it may come a cropper in the end.

The Literacy Hour's prescriptive nature and its lack of flexibility diminish Carol's responsiveness to this particular innovation. It reinforces her experience of the change that has taken place: 'I'm quite happy to go along with new things but I have realised that I can't go off on my own tack any more. I've lost control of my work'. She sums up her sense of loss as follows: 'We seem to land up jumping through hoops when really there's no need, but we'll never go back, will we? That's the problem'.

Conclusion

In Carol's experience, the evaluation of primary teaching under audit accountability is one in which:

- the teacher becomes increasingly separated from direct involvement with her work;
- monitoring abstract systems become the focus for assessing accountability;
- place is removed as a factor in describing and defining pupils' educational reality;
- the professional perspectives of the teacher become marginalised;
- the teacher loses considerable control over the curriculum and over pedagogy.

Michael Power (1994:8) identifies opposing models of control and accountability as follows:

Style A	Style B
Quantitative	Qualitative
Single Measure	Multiple Measure
External Agencies	Internal Agencies
Long Distance Methods	Local Methods
Low Trust	High Trust
Discipline	Autonomy
Ex Post Control	Real Time Control
Private Experts	Public Dialogue

Audit accountability in schools displays many of the features of Style A. First, it examines the 'control of control' mechanisms as indicators of good practice. Secondly, it assesses individual pupils in terms of achievement scores from standardized tests and extrapolates from these to levels of achievement for the school. Thirdly, inspectors assess the extent to which the curriculum is being delivered. While some of the evaluative processes used involve qualitative judgment, the recorded outcomes are quantitative ones based on the use of single measures for each operation, and are carried out by external agencies using methods that do not engage the teacher. There is a low level of trust involved, discipline is exerted and the assessors take on the role of experts, as Giddens (1991) described.

However, this situation did not result in Carol either becoming 'deprofessionalized or reprofessionalized', as in Troman's study (Troman, 1997). Her solution was to hop between the discourses. She was resentful as well as being resigned and amenable; but she nevertheless maintained professional responsiveness and kept in touch with her values. Her professional identity as a member of a valued and recognized profession had been damaged by its marginalization. The meso structure of professional knowledge and educational values, which assisted her construction of identity, have been removed. Her 'sense of place', in terms of educational values,

had been undermined. She attempted to regain a sense of place by drawing on her own feelings for the people she works with and to do this she engaged with them at times in implementing the new programme. But she also maintained as many links to her 'substantial self' as possible. She did not lose her past but she did lose control over her present. She may never be able to 'go back' but she can draw on the past again if, along with others, she is able to re-establish 'place' as a determinant of identity and professionalism. Her 'substantial self' had been side-stepped by audit accountability.

At present, Carol is living a fragmented professional life hopping between discourses and straddling them. She experiences the conflict between the discourses of technicization and value-based working practices, and she engages with the conflicts and contradictions within both. If abstract systems are to be successful they must gain people's trust (Giddens, 1991:15); or individuals may maintain alternative perspectives and beliefs in the hope that they can reassert them as expressions of 'place' in another 'time and space'.

Chapter Six - The Reconstruction of primary teachers' identities

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Introduction

The restructuring of education has brought about radical changes in primary teachers' work (Woods et al. 1997). In previous publications, we have considered various different modes of teacher adaptation to these changes (Woods 1995), and modifications to the teacher career (Troman and Woods 2001). In this paper, we want to examine the implications for teacher identity.

We need to make clear at the outset our view of identity. We largely follow Snow and Anderson's (1987) construction, with some modifications, distinguishing among social identities, personal identities, and self-concept. Social identities are 'attributed or imputed to others in an attempt to place or situate them as social objects.' (p. 1347) These are largely 'imputations based primarily on information gleaned on the basis of appearance, behaviour, and the location and time of the action'. In the context of our research, we find the notion of an 'assigned social identity' (Ball 1972) useful. These are imputations based on *desired* or *prescribed* appearance etc. Personal identities refer to the 'meanings attributed to the self by the actor,' and are 'self-designations and self-attributions brought into play during the course of interaction' (Ibid.). They may be consistent or inconsistent with social identities. The self-concept is the 'overarching view of oneself as a physical, social, spiritual, or moral being', and is 'a kind of working compromise between idealized images and imputed social identities' (p. 1348).

We shall be concerned with teachers' personal identities, which 'provide a glimpse of the consistency or inconsistency between social identities and self-concept' (Ibid.). We make a further distinction between 'substantial' and 'situational' identities. Ball (1972) used these terms to distinguish between more enduring identities and more transient ones given meaning by their contextual location. We shall refer to the combination of personal identity and self-concept as 'self-identity'.

In the years immediately preceding the restructuring of recent years, there seemed to be a great deal of consistency of social identity and self-concept among the majority of English primary teachers. Much of the literature of this period speaks of these teachers seeing their selves and social identities as isomorphic. Nias (1989), for example, writes:

The personal and occupational self may be so closely related that, in their own terms, they 'become' teachers: The persons they perceive themselves to be go to work and the teachers they feel they are come home, often to occupy their sleeping as well as their waking hours…Many teachers, for part or all of their working lives, invest their personal sense of identity in their work (p. 224-5).

However, education has undergone a revolution since this was written. What challenges have teachers had to meet to their identities, and how have they dealt with them?

Giddens (1991) provides a useful reference point for current developments. He argues that in the current state of 'late' or 'high modernity', as he calls it, global trends impact on the self in unprecedented ways. Daily life is reconstituted. Much of everyday life used to be based on a high degree of trust between people, but now trust is less personalized, and more invested in processes and abstract systems. We also live in a culture of high consequence risks of global origin, which contain opportunity as well as danger. These developments have brought about the separation of time and space, and the 'disembedding' or 'lifting out' of 'social relations from local contexts and their re-articulation across indefinite tracts of time-space' (Ibid. p. 18). For the

individual, the result is a challenge to the taken-for-grantedness of everyday life, to the erstwhile 'high level of reliability of the contexts of day-to-day social interaction', and to the 'ontological security' of the self (Ibid. p. 36). In education, these developments have been reflected in the growth of economic rationalism and technicism; an emphasis on marketability, efficiency and performativity; the growth of management systems and of audit accountability; and attacks on moral systems, such as child-centredness, which appear to run counter to these (Woods et al, 1997). These processes demand attention, and teachers have been forced to reconsider their beliefs, values, roles, biographies, and ambitions in ways they had not anticipated. As A. Hargreaves (1994 p. 71) puts it, 'The fragile self becomes a continuous reflexive project. It has to be constantly and continuously remade and reaffirmed'.

According to Giddens (1991 pp. 189-196), the self in late modernity typically confronts four major dilemmas: 1. The degree to which the self is unified or becomes fragmented; 2. Whether one appropriates the changes to one's own concerns, or feels powerless before the scale and depth of the changes; 3. The question of authority versus uncertainty; and 4. Personalized versus commodified experience. However, though this is markedly different from the conditions pertaining to those of Nias' (1989) research, a substantial self-identity, he feels, still appears to be at the heart of the resolution of these dilemmas. Giddens is keen to emphasize the role of agency, and the possibilities for integration as well as disintegration, for opportunity as well as risk. 'The ideal self', he says, 'is a key part of self-identity, because it forms a channel of positive aspirations in terms of which the narrative of self-identity is worked out' (Ibid., p. 68).

The reconstruction of teacher identities makes a useful test case for Giddens' theory, as well as providing an opportunity to consider identity theory in general. So far, humanist theories, emphasising the consistent and unitary self (and supported by, for example, Nias' research), have largely prevailed. But these have come under attack in recent years from post-structuralists, who argue that we have multiple selves and identities that change and shift according to different discourses. According to the latter view, there is no ideal, real or substantial self or identity. Individuals' negotiations through the rapid and radically changing events of recent years lend some support to this view. But we find both theories useful in understanding the reconstruction of teacher identities.

All of these processes are reflected in our researches of recent years (Woods and Jeffrey 1996; Woods et al 1997). In this paper, we draw from our research during the period 1994-9 into the effects on English primary teachers (teaching children aged 5-11) of the impact of school inspections carried out by the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), an organization established by the UK government in 1992 as part of its drive to raise standards of education (Jeffrey and Woods 1998). These inspections were very traumatic, and brought to a head identity issues already stirred by Government legislation. In research terms, therefore, they constitute a 'critical case' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). For the Ofsted research, we selected six primary schools, contrasting in size, location and pupil intake. We then studied the effects of the inspections on the teachers of these schools from two terms prior to the inspection (when schools were first given notice that they were to be inspected) to up to a year afterwards. We later returned to two of the schools where teachers were experiencing their second inspection four years after their first, enabling us to monitor adaptations in those schools over a period of five years. The main methods of data collection consisted of series of unstructured interviews with individual teachers, tape-recorded and transcribed, over the whole period; and observation in their schools at key points of the inspection process. Our full sample was over 90 teachers (consisting of 95 per cent of the staffs - a few were not willing to take part), 80 per cent of whom were mid- to late-career teachers whose educational values were established prior to the introduction of the National Curriculum. It is this latter population

of teachers, therefore, who are chiefly represented in this paper.

It was clear that these inspections were mounting the most significant challenge to teacher identities since they had begun teaching. We consider this challenge in this paper, and how, in meeting it, teachers were negotiating new identities for themselves. We begin with a resume of typical features of the English primary teacher's self during the 1970s and 80s as evidenced by our teachers.

The primary teachers' Plowden self-identity

The typical English primary teacher's self-identity of the 1970s and 80s was strongly endorsed by government policy of the day, and educational and academic discourse, all epitomized in the Plowden Report (CACE 1967). While we should be cautious about the extent to which Plowden ideals were operationalised in schools (Alexander 1992), there is plenty of evidence to attest to its general influence among primary teachers (see, for example, (Pollard 1987); Nias 1989; Osborn et al 2000) Consequently, those who began teaching in the 1970s had a strong sense of 'ontological security' and an almost taken-for-granted 'protective cocoon which stands guard over the self in its dealings with everyday reality' (Giddens 1991, p. 3). Social and personal identities and self-concept were at one, and teachers had, for the most part, an integrated and consistent self-identity. It was based on two major sets of values - humanism and vocationalism - which we summarize here as illustrated by the teachers in our sample.

Humanism

This set of values centres around holism, person-centredness, and warm and caring relationships. The teacher is a whole and real person who could 'really be myself' and who could 'really feel at home' while teaching, rather than being someone who is 'really removed' (Erica). Teachers see children in holistic terms. Basic to this outlook is the child as person. They base their notion of 'good teaching' on child-centred principles, core features of which are full and harmonious development of the child, a focus on the individual learner rather than the whole class, an emphasis on activity and discovery, curriculum integration, and environmentally based learning (Sugrue 1998). They place a high priority on feelings in teaching and learning, and on making emotional connections with knowledge and with children (Woods and Jeffrey 1996). Veronica, for example, believed that fun is a powerful educational tool, and was fond of playing educational games with her children, which she found highly motivational and very productive. Laura also felt that:

> If there's something that children are really, really enthusiastically interested in, it would be so silly to ignore it because the motivation's there, the eagerness, the drive to look at something, to find out about something. It's already there.

Marilyn emphasized the need for inter-personal skills, the need to communicate and for 'mutual respect'. This kind of relationship involves a high degree of trust. Erica felt that 'a warm, personal relationship wherein they can trust adults is important because children will feel that they can take risks, and not be rejected as people'. Their 'protective cocoon' is strengthened, not attacked. One of our head teachers was keen to develop a similar quality amongst the staff:

> I want them to be happy, to come in with enthusiasm and joy, and to take risks with children that will put a spark in them. You can only do this if you feel safe and secure and happy, and if children feel safe and happy with you, they are going to respond as independent learners because we're trusted, we're cared for, we're respected. (Rachael)

Trust is also important among teachers (Troman and Woods, 2001).

> It works informally because the relationships are such that you can go and talk to people. So you have respect for other people's professionalism. And you know if you need something, you know who to go to and you know you will get the kind of response you need to have, and you know the other person will give the time to help you. I think it's mutual trust and respect. (Grace)

Vocationalism

A second set of values revolves around the teacher's relationship with her work and job. Teachers exhibit various different degrees and types of commitment. For example, some can be quite instrumental, others more professional (Sikes, Measor, and Woods 1985). The Plowden primary teacher, however, feels that teaching is a vocation. Our teachers had

a mission to teach and…I wanted to change the world and the only way I could do that was through changing individual children's futures. When parents say, 'My children turned out like this because of you', you think, 'Oh great!' (Angelina)

They have a strong emotional dedication to their work. Leila, for example, loves teaching:

> I love being with the kids, being with a child when they actually achieve something. I could wax lyrical about it. I love being in my classroom with my kids and the door shut. Today the classroom was covered in paper and Calvin was talking to my new Somalie boy. I looked round and felt so excited.

These teachers have a strong moral and political investment in their work. Laura, for example, was

> very much for the sort of world that is not patriarchal or matriarchal. I want a world where we live in some sort of mutual respect, and I want it for my sons and my daughter and for me and for all the children.

Their commitment was total:

> You put so much into it, you can't switch off from it; you can't take a step back. In order to be good, you've got to be wholehearted and the children have got to see that you really care and you are committed (Carol).

Such commitment entails a 'feeling that you can never do enough for them'.

> The importance of the fact that you are dealing with people never ceases to be at the back of your mind - the fact that you are instrumental in the growth of these children. However, you are always going to feel that you could have done a little more (Cloe).

Despite these feelings of frustration, in order to carry out their unified role teachers had to have 'an inner self-esteem. Nobody likes to think that they are not doing very well' (Kirsty).

Challenges to the plowden self-identity

The Plowden self-identity has been subject to challenges in recent years during the reconstruction of the educational system, primarily through: criticisms of child-centred philosophy; the loss of 'elementary trust'; and changes in the teacher role. At the heart of this is an *assigned* social identity – one that the policy-makers wished teachers to adopt, and one under-written by sharply contrasting values to those of Plowden.

The assault on child-centred philosophy

This attack strikes at the heart of teachers' humanism. The marketisation and managerialisation of schooling (Ball, 1994), the subject orientation of the prescribed National Curriculum, and new forms of assessment and inspection inform the new order. These developments are accompanied by government and inspectorial pres-

sure on teachers to abandon child-centredness and adopt a more traditional approach to their classroom teaching. Cloe articulates the assault on humanism:

> We're not saying that the education system didn't need a review because I'm sure it did, but it has meant that children have become slots in a machine who have to come up with the right numbers and we're the ones that have got to make them come up with the right numbers whereas before you were dealing with the whole child. You were dealing with its emotions, you were dealing with its social life, you were dealing with its grandma, you were dealing with its physical development in a much more intense and bonding relationship than you do today. You had a real effect on these people and you felt that you were actually doing something that was worthwhile and they come back and see you and you're still 'Miss', you're still important to them. I was referred to as 'Miss' by a twenty nine-year-old. Being that important to other human beings is a real privilege, but that joy has been dampened until I don't think it's a privilege any more.

Veronica affirmed that children were 'not things to be shoved in little boxes, they're human beings, they have their good days and their bad days, they have their strengths and weaknesses.' There would soon be 'no individuality left in classrooms, no way to be with kids or to encourage them or direct them or lead them the way you feel is best'. One of the 'joys' of teaching for Victor, now disappearing, was 'feeling free to run with something…that sort of vibrant, really getting excited about it, really involving all the children… (which they) never forget that for the rest of their lives'. (Victor)

The process of an Ofsted inspection reduced the complex, multiple qualities of Plowden teaching to a series of measurable criteria, ascertained in 20-30 minute assessments (Jeffrey and Woods 1998) as to how well children had 'received' specific factual knowledge.

> My teaching is about the whole child, whether they're in the classroom, walking along the corridor, in assembly. It's the interactions that go on all the time that helps to bring that child 'together'. But my immediate reaction to the Ofsted inspector's questioning of the children was that it seemed like attack, attack, attack as they quizzed them on specific pieces of knowledge (Shula).

Diminution of 'elementary trust'

Control of teachers has become, 'tighter, largely through the codification and monitoring of processes and practices previously left to teachers' professional judgement, taken on trust or hallowed by tradition' (Dale 1989, p. 132). Power (1994) argues that accountability in public services has become a substitute for trust, and that certainly seems to be born out in our research. Robina, a recently appointed head of department, felt this change after her department had been criticized by inspectors just as she was getting to grips with its problems:

> They're here all the time pushing for more and more and making you feel that you can't achieve, questioning your capability…You can't work like that because there's got to be a sense of trust if you've been given a job.

Veronica also observed that the demand for detailed and extensive records 'has left me with an even greater feeling of inadequacy than I had before...there's no trust that I am doing the job to the best of my ability'. Teachers are 'having to write down the hidden things that you take for granted'. Naomi illustrates the undermining of her sense of vocationalism, feeling that she had

> to chop the top off my head off and show somebody what's in it. 'Is it OK? You don't like what you see? Then I'll go and get another one'. The assumption is that teachers are inadequate. That's why I don't like this, it stinks! It thrives on inadequacy. What does this do for teachers' self-esteem? Why do

> I have to have all these people checking up on me? I just want to do my job - the job I used to love, I was there till 6 o'clock every night until I had my kids. Even then I used to take work home and kids home, take kids out for netball tournaments. I loved it, because people trusted me and I felt good about things. I don't feel good about anything I do anymore.

Local inspectors used to be collegial with teachers. However, since the 1986 Education Act and as a result of the Audit Commission' report (Audit 1989), Local Education Authorities (LEAs) had been encouraged to adopt more of an Ofsted role, 'abandoning a long tradition of advice on curriculum developments and support of specialist curriculum areas' (Evans and Penney 1994)(p. 35)

> But when he *(the LEA Inspector)* came in on Wednesday, and acted differently from the way he has in the past, the atmosphere was totally different. People were tense, people were behaving differently, and they bolted things down in their class teaching. I almost got the feeling that he was slightly put out by this, that he thought that we should have been more relaxed because we knew him. But we said 'You were here as an Ofsted inspector' (Lauren).

In most 'pre-modern' contexts, according to Giddens (1991), trust relations were localized, and focused through personal ties. Audit accountability, in the post Plowden order, places less emphasis on the local factors and more on universal strategies and practices, codified in written, standardised procedures:

> There seems to be a whole ethos of telling you rather than interacting with you and supporting you. It's 'how we view it from up here' rather than, 'how about looking at what we might be doing with this?' There's no real discussions about what are you doing here, why are you doing that, where you're going to, or what problems you're having. He's here just to look through the paperwork (Colin).

The Plowden commitment is being undermined here. Deena said the LEA inspectors had been on their side to begin with, but had 'given up the fight'. In the end, 'you give up fighting for what you think is right'. Resolve is replaced by doubt:

> I just keep thinking, 'Am I going to feel good in my job afterwards? Am I going to be able to carry on? Am I going to be able to face parents when they see this report or have heard about it…and say 'Well I'm doing my best for you, I feel I'm a good enough teacher to teach your children?' And that worries me. I don't think I should feel that way because I think I am doing my best. It puts doubt in people's minds. (Helen)

Changes in the teacher role

From a notion of the 'good teacher' based on 'personal qualities' (Broadhead 1987), the emphasis is now on teacher competencies, such as subject expertise, coordination, collaboration, management and supervision (Woods et al. 1997). This is the new assigned social identity. But it is not one that our teachers welcome. It attacks their self-esteem 'saying that the teacher in all of this is not important. Its saying 'well anybody can do it' (Shula). It attacks teachers' personal philosophies, 'undervaluing exactly what teachers do. It's almost saying to us, 'you haven't been doing it right, this is what you should be doing.' …All the time there's a mismatch between what we think is best and what they're imposing. It's like you're being pulled in different directions' (Cloe).

The human element gives way to commodified experience - 'there's nothing about what makes a 'quality' teacher - rapport with the kids, interest in their life experiences, and enthusiasm in what they're teaching. (Aileen) This commodified discourse strikes at the roots of teacher commitment, giving 'a feeling of sickness about how it's all going'. (Toni) It causes Freda to feel that 'As soon as that stuff outweighs the love of teach-

ing, then that's the time when you are going to say 'What's the point? Why have stress at work all day, and then come home and be stressed as well?' Something central to the Plowden self-identity has to give way:

> I now put a lot of time and effort into school to the detriment of my own personal identity. I will do things like planning but I'm going to take a bit of time back for *me*. It is a process that puts you through so much stress and strain that you are no longer talking about yourself as a 'rounded person'. We're like cardboard cut outs. (Shula)

The new role thus appears to demand a radical change of identity: 'It's almost like telling us to change our personalities. If you say to somebody, 'You can't do that any more' after 24 years' teaching, it is completely and utterly demoralizing. It's so alien to the way we work.' (Carol).

Within a child-centred discourse the 'persona of perfection' (Hargreaves, 1994) was accepted as the moral basis of a humanistic and vocational professional life, even though it was understood that it was impossible to achieve. However, audit accountability seeks a perfection that *is* possible. Inspectors' grading of a teacher's work in quantitative terms and the setting of targets for pupil achievement levels exemplifies this conclusion. Success and failure is constructed through a 'discourse of derision' (Ball 1990) and a continuous onslaught on teacher adequacy. Leticia found 'every paper you open tells you you're not good enough, that we are responsible for all society's ills'. Veronica found this 'slowly eroding away at your confidence till you're beginning to doubt nearly everything that you do. 'God, if I do it that way what'll he say, and if it goes wrong how will he react?' No day's going to be perfect but you want it to be perfect. You want everything to be right'.

Continuous criticism strikes at the heart of the self-identity:

> For all those years you've tried to do your very best and then to be told, 'You're not good here, you're not good there' is a blow to your pride isn't it? We are pretty engaged with the kids, so any criticism of your teaching is a criticism of **you**. It's bound to be, you can't separate them. (Aileen)

It affects the inside of you, working on people's guilt feelings, working on people's sense of inadequacy. It's hitting people in the ego but it's also pushing buttons in their unconscious, so it's getting to very deep places (Naomi).

To move towards the new assigned social identity makes you 'feel ashamed. It's like licking their boots' (Diane). Shame 'bears directly on self-identity because it is essentially anxiety about the adequacy of the narrative by means of which the individual sustains a coherent biography' (Giddens 1991, p. 65). The other side of shame is pride. However, pride is continually vulnerable to reactions to others, 'being naked in front of the gaze of the onlooker' (Giddens 1991, p. 65), in this case inspectors:

> I felt degraded by it. We've talked as a staff about this feeling of being undressed by it, of being laid bare, being laid naked. It is very much a sort of professional rape if you like….You **are** accountable for what goes on in your classroom, I don't hide away from that, but it's done in such a way as to make you feel like a victim. (Cloe)

Teacher Dilemmas

We can see how these challenges bring on amongst our teachers the four Giddens' dilemmas noted earlier typical of experiences of the self in late modernity:

1. The previously unified self is in danger of becoming fragmented in a number of ways. There is a yearning by teachers to retain the old values, but strong pressure on them to adopt a new persona. The holism of child-centredness is being splintered in the focus on the child as pupil, of knowledge by the focus on subjects, and of teacher identity by the focus on managerial and marketable aspects of the

new teacher role.

2. There is an assault on teacher autonomy, and an introduction of far-reaching strongly prescribed changes, sustained over a period, leaving teachers with a feeling of powerlessness. Little attention is paid to their views. They are no longer trusted. They are under almost continuous surveillance.

3. A strong note of uncertainty has been introduced into teachers' minds about their work and about their selves. The constant pressure and criticism breeds uncertainty in teachers about their abilities, aims, relationships and commitment to teaching. In some instances, there is a feeling of anomie (see Jeffrey and Woods, 1998), all sense of reality and who they are being lost. Guilt, shame, and loss of confidence ensue.
4. We have seen how commodified has come to challenge personalised experience. Consumerism has replaced care. Measurable quantities have replaced immeasurable qualities in assessment. Audit accountability sidesteps the personal and local, putting emphasis on the abstract and the universal. Competencies have replaced personal qualities as criteria of the good teacher.

These dilemmas induced 'fateful moments', when

> the individual is likely to recognize that she is faced with an altered set of risks and possibilities. In such circumstances, she is called on to question routinised habits of relevant kinds; even sometimes those most closely integrated with self-identity. (Giddens 1991 pp. 131-2)

The Ofsted inspection certainly had this effect on Shula:

> We can't separate self from what we actually do within the classroom. The Ofsted team cannot come in and say, 'We're looking at your teaching practice', without saying, 'We're looking at you as a person'. The self is a complex thing, with many layers which is constantly evolving and changing and developing, but by encapsulating the assessment in one week they've tried to make the self stand still. That's not what people are about…They strip all off these layers and you feel as if you haven't got any real substance... It's building back that self that is necessary for us. I find myself thinking, 'What's my purpose, what's my role? What am I going to do?' It goes right down to where you see yourself in the scheme of things and what's important. I've never, ever, ever, had something that's really made me question something so big all at once. I feel lost….It was really getting down and saying, 'Who are you Shula, and what are you doing? And asking the question 'if you were feeling like this, what the hell are you doing to the kids? What hope are you giving to them?' I've lost *me* in it somewhere and I've got to find me, if I can (Shula).

Aileen was also struggling in the search for self:

> I still am worried; I haven't found me yet. I haven't found myself because I **do** in fact care. I don't feel that I'm working **with** the children any more, I'm working **at** the children but it's not a very pleasant experience. You feel responsible for every part of the school during an inspection, whether you had anything to do with some departments or not but at the same time I feel alienated from the whole process, divorced from it all.

Carol similarly was at an impasse:

> I don't want to be seen to be good, but I don't want to be seen to be crap either, I just want to get by. I don't rate the process, but I don't want to be beaten by it. I don't quite know what to do…

How did teachers go about resolving these dilemmas? How did they emerge from their 'fateful moments'?

Identity Work: meeting the challenges

Teachers engaged in 'identity work', which (Snow and Anderson 1987) define as 'the range of activities individuals engage in to create, present, and sustain personal identities that are congruent with and supportive of the self-concept' (p.1348). As with their sample of the homeless, so our sample of teachers, challenged by the new assigned social identity outlined above and lacking the power to pursue other varieties of identity work, engaged in a great deal of *identity talk*, involving the 'verbal construction and assertion of personal identities' (Ibid.). However, it was not just *talk*. As we shall see, teacher talk conveyed a great deal of *feeling.* This is important, as the strongly traumatic negative feelings induced by the assigning of the new social identity – those of guilt, shame, fear, shock etc – needed to be countered if the personal identity were to be salvaged. We find in teachers' expressions, therefore, among some, certainly, feelings of shock, resignation and despair, but among others a great deal of anger, feelings of injustice, fighting qualities, pride, determination and resolve, courage, spirit and hope. Like Snow and Anderson's homeless, they have been disempowered, and are trying here 'to generate identities that provide them with a measure of self-worth and dignity'.

The easiest identity work in securing a new substantial self-identity comes to those teachers whose self-concept most accords with the new social identity. They simply *embrace* the new identity, but there is still some *talking up* to be done, to ensure and almost to celebrate a close fit. Laura, for example, was rebellious as a young person but had a breakdown after the failure of a relationship and she decided she could not let it happen again. 'I suffered because I was against things so much. Now I go with the flow and I am much happier. Inspections are opportunities to perform'. She talked herself up 'about how fine I feel and how I enjoy the work'. Larry 'grabbed the inspectors as often as I could. I was keen to show them what the children could do'…It is up to you as to whether you want to jump through those hoops'. Toni felt that others should accept that 'You can't be an individual in this system at the moment', and used the currency of the inspection discourse to reinforce her self-identity, feeling 'There's something to be said for using numbers to show your worth, providing that you are influencing the interpretation'.

However, on the whole, teachers were made to work a good deal harder in negotiating some consistency between self-concept and social identity. We found two major patterns of response among them. The first was to do with *self-positioning,* teachers summoning up their own reserves to *refuse* to embrace the new social identity, and to *assert* the merits of their own favoured self-identity. This was largely emotional work, establishing a platform for the more intellectual work of *identity strategies* by which teachers would attempt to resolve the dilemmas that confronted them. There were a number of these, but they all point to the same conclusion - the dismemberment of the old substantial self-identity, and its replacement by a more fragmented one.

Self-positioning

Most of our teachers showed a strong resolve to maintain the Plowden self-identity, rejecting the new assigned social identity.

Refusal

Carol had to maintain the same level of humanism:

> For all those years you've aimed to be good, you have tried to do your very best and then to be told 'No, you're not good here, you're not good there' is a blow. You have your pride. You want the children to do well and you want to show the children that you care about them. So you can't take a step

back from the self. It's all or nothing, you've really got to put everything in.

This meant that, if pressed, she would leave teaching:

> I don't like what we are being asked to do. You have to fit in to what is being demanded of you. What I am actually good at, I can't do any more, so I might as well try and find something that I am happier doing even it means I am paid at a lower level. I want to go with my self-esteem intact.

Corrine did leave, in between the inspections, and thought that she was going to regret it, 'but I didn't, I prefer to come in and go voluntarily now. If I had to do Ofsted now, I wouldn't cope. One of my children is doing Key Stage 3 exams (at age 14), and the other is doing Key Stage 1 (age 7). There is no way that I could cope and go home and help them. It nearly destroyed my family last time'. While her childcare values coincided with her teaching values she could cope, but once they diverged she chose to maintain her personal values. Stephanie had been teaching for eight years and her experience of her first Ofsted inspection was traumatic. Prior to her second inspection she had already decided to have a break from teaching and this enhanced her second inspection performance and confidence in her own self:

> At first they put you off. I was so nervous with them sitting there and one of them said after the first lesson 'Be a bit more lively', and I just laughed, because I am a bit of a drama queen. After that I said 'Stuff it, I will just be myself'.

She had decided to reject the new assigned substantial identity and maintain her original self-identity. Bronwyn, a far more experienced teacher, took an equally strong stand:

> I will actually turn around and say something if we are criticized for not doing the best for the children. I will look them straight in the face this time and say 'I love my job, and I am doing my very best'. Ofsted are not going to make me change because that would mean being something that I am not... I am what I am from 30 years of teaching.

Self-Assertion

Faced with the dilemma of powerlessness v. appropriation, teachers summoned up all their resolve. Carol was

> determined that I am actually going to get through this, no matter what it takes, because if I didn't, it would seem that the 26 years that I have been teaching have been wiped out. How could I answer the question, 'What have I done with my life?'

Sophie sustained self-esteem by thinking, 'They might be able to tell us all the theory and how it should be done, but I'd like to see them actually do it. So in some ways I feel a bit superior to them because I feel that our job is more important than theirs'. Toni similarly reflected on the first day of the inspection, 'I'm better than any of them on my worst day'. Becky said,

> Although you could make a complete hash of something you're good at when there's somebody else there, I don't feel inadequate. I believe I'm a good teacher and that my children do well. I think you've got to believe in yourself.

Sometimes, the feeling of superiority was not enough. Formal complaint was required. Elvira, for example,

> was so angry and I wanted to hit out, and then as the week went on I got to the stage where I thought, 'I don't care, it doesn't matter, I know that I'm good at my job so it doesn't matter'. Then I thought 'Blow me, it does!' and I put this letter together thinking, 'I will let them know how I feel because it's important to me'.

At other times, teachers developed a 'bottom line': 'My safety barrier is that I can walk out of the job and

tell the inspectors what I think'. The exit option was one solution to too much pressure**,** again illustrating a weakening of the vocational link:

> I know what I am doing, wherever I am doing it, they should trust me. I think I am a valuable commodity. If people push me too far I will say 'OK, I am going'. Although I need the money, I also need my sanity; that is more important to me. (Clare)

Shula was upset by the inspection, but eventually concluded 'it might well have been a good thing, in the sense that it made me start to kick back and say, 'No way, no way, I'm not sitting back and taking this''.

Identity Strategies

The strategies teachers deployed all involved some separation of the self from the new assigned social identity. They necessitated the development of new personal identities, sufficient to meet the ostensible requirements (though not the spirit) of the new social identity, while reserving and cultivating what to them were more important aspects of the self for their private life outside the teacher role. In this sense, their erstwhile substantial self-identities have been dismembered, the 'substantial' element of aspects they hold most near and dear now being displaced to life outside teaching, while their personal identities within teaching have become more 'situational', constructed to meet different situations and purposes with which they might be presented, but in which they feel they cannot invest their full selves. Naomi expresses the problem:

> I can't come to terms with all this. I really cannot believe it. I do love the kids but I can't go on with all this. Angela will come in and say she's been working all weekend or all night. I know she spends hours and hours planning her lessons, but I think she is wasting her life and I'm not prepared to give my whole life. I'm 48 years old and I need to have some of my life for myself. I feel extremely vulnerable with all this going on, I might even crack up and have the week off. I don't owe my life to this institution.

Self-displacement

Teachers, like others, will engage in identity work to dissipate the harmful effects of any incongruity. Even when Cloe found out that one of the new inexperienced teachers had been graded 'excellent', whereas her own grading had been 'satisfactory' this did not affect her because

> as I told you, it wasn't me. It was somebody else they looked at. They can think what they like, as far as I am concerned, I just don't want to know. They can please themselves what they do; I don't care. I will do what I have got to do. I will smile when I have to smile, I will be somebody else, when I have to be somebody else but they aren't going to get to *me*.

In schools that had had a second Ofsted inspection, teachers had acquired a certain streetwise knowledge which was empowering, and enabled them to counteract 'expropriation processes' (like Ofsted inspections, which) 'reach not only spheres of day-to-day life but the heart of the self' (Giddens 1991, p. 192). Cloe regained control of her self-identity by detaching

myself from my work and it made me feel good. It gave some power back to me, to who I was. If I hadn't they would have skinned me alive like they did last time when I had all my guts hanging out. My whole career, my whole life was laid on the line for that 'bloody inspection'.

Cloe is still committed to her work, but it is a commitment that reflects a new personal identity, that of mainly raising achievement levels. She retains her humanism but has lost her sense of vocation that was constituted by a unified self-identity.

Francis adopted temporary ambivalence, 'I'm not resisting it, I'm just not accepting it at the moment, because there is enough pressure elsewhere'. Others treated it like a life trauma. Leticia 'decided I've just got to get through it, like most unpleasant things in life, just pretend it's not happening, though I'm not sure I know how to do that.' Clare 'felt good doing playground duty today when five girls and boys came up to give me a hug and a kiss, I thought, 'Yes! this is what it's all about'. I love these kids and that's got to triumph and I'm not going to think about the bad vibes'.

Being praised by inspectors caused even more problems, for this was announcing an identity that the teacher might not want, especially in the eyes of her colleagues. When Amy received a commendation from Ofsted she was concerned that it might threaten her relationship with a colleague. 'I phoned her and said 'I feel dreadful' but she said that she knew that I had a greater loyalty to my friendship with her. I would have been really upset if it had made a difference'. Similarly with the rest of her colleagues:

> When I sit in a staff room and put forward an idea I don't want people to just value my commendation because that's not me, that's about Ofsted and their skewed values system. I do not want to be judged by the number that has been stuck on me.

Game playing

Goffman (1959) has written of how one 'presents oneself' in order to control the conduct of others, especially their responsive treatment of one. In 'playing the game', teachers acted out the new assigned social identity in inspection situations. Amy's analysis indicated how successful it was, 'It's no accident that both Larry and I are adult trainers and both got commended. We know how to put on a performance.' Keith remarked 'I don't think I will be able to go my own way as when I was on teaching practice with Ofsted coming up, I think it is going to be a bit more of an act to act up to what is needed'.

Game-playing is a defence. It is not for real, but something that is being enacted outside the really important frame of one's life where the innermost self resides. Most teachers were caught unawares with the first Ofsted inspections. The Plowden self-identity in its integrity was all that was on show, and they were extremely vulnerable. Hence the highly traumatic reactions (Jeffrey and Woods, 1998). But they were more prepared second time round. When the National Inspectors arrived four years after their first inspection, Cloe was determined 'that they wouldn't get to *me* this time. I distanced my 'self' from the operation. I played the game and I'm pleased and satisfied about the way I did it'. Cloe's strategy was

> that they weren't going to know who I was as a person. I was hiding behind the face of the year 6 teacher. I smiled when I had to smile, but they weren't going to get to me like the last time. I came out of this inspection, thinking 'got you', not because of the result, but because they hadn't affected me. I am exhausted, like we all are, but they didn't affect who I was this time.

While Cloe expresses some satisfaction here, as individuals, and as would-be vocationally dedicated teachers, the orientation is troubling, for this is not their real selves. Toni wondered how far she was in control: 'Am I identifying things that are really there or are they being identified for me and I'm playing the game? I'm not the person I was when I was younger; it's been stamped out of me'. Diane's reaction to her own game playing was self critical, 'I told myself that I wasn't going to play the game, but I am and I know they know I am. I don't respect myself for it'.

Victor was aware that he had to construct a new personal identity by negotiating between the new assigned identity and his self. 'We shouldn't have to go through this. It is a process that says we don't trust you. But I will stay and fight for the profession. It means I must play the game and it's a very trying game but I can't

complain, I chose to do this'. Cloe, prior to her first Ofsted inspection, questioned the effect that the strategy being forced on her by the new assigned social identity was having on her personal identity:

> I'm just really worried about my own personality and my own emotions and I know that even if I'm nearly dead next week, I'll be putting on a show. I'll be belting around here like no teacher's ever belted around, smiling and being wonderful but I wonder what the cost will have been in terms of whether I would feel that what I have to offer in the future is sufficient. Am I going to feel that 'I'm not good enough' and that I'm going to have to find something else to do?

Game-playing can leave teachers ambivalent (Casey 1995) about their self-identity. In the face of authority and loss of trust, uncertainty occurs and creates yet another dilemma for teachers.

Realignment

Realignment involves recognition that the self-identity is no longer a harmonious, integrated whole, and that it is composed of separate parts that cannot be blended together, and that indeed in some significant areas are in tension with each other. This necessitates teachers reviewing the balance of their selves and social roles, and re-prioritising. In all instances, the self-concept is paramount. Social roles have to be meaningful in the light of the self-concept. A common strategy here was to separate out the personal identities of home and school. Teacher values of humanism and vocationalism (in the sense of heartfelt commitment) were sustained in the former, but came under adjustment in the latter. This was particularly true of vocationalism. There was thus less of what one might term the 'quality' self in the personal identity reconstructed for school.

Some insisted on maintaining a practical balance, not forsaking domestic and family affairs for the demands of an inspection, as many teachers have been wont to do (Jeffrey and Woods, 1998). The mother of Rachael, Mixstead's head teacher, for example, had a 90th birthday some 200 miles away on the Saturday prior to an Ofsted inspection beginning the following Monday, and she decided it had to go ahead. 'Ofsted is not the big thing in my life until Sunday night. I am going to spend a little time sorting out my assembly for Monday but most of my focus is on my mother's birthday'.

This was a way of keeping things evenly balanced. On the other hand, Frederica, with 30 years teaching experience, began distancing her personal self from her social identity between Ofsted inspections. Prior to her first inspection she had been resistant to the idea of change, or game-playing, or any other strategic device: 'I'm not going to change my way of working. If they can do better let them try'. However, after a prolonged absence due to ill health between inspections she reassessed her vocational commitment. Originally she saw herself as 'putting in a lot of energy, because I'm that sort of person anyway, I'll put 150% into anything I do'. However,

> Since I have been ill I have prioritized so much and I have realized what is valuable in life. So, with this inspection I thought 'What is the point of using energy on something that really can't be changed?'

Clare's commitment has very clearly changed from vocationalism to instrumentalism:

> I remember my first school in Brixton. I didn't have children of my own and those children were my life. I loved them, and the parents loved me. It was wonderful, it was so rewarding. They were the best years of my life as far as my professionalism is concerned. It was based on my interaction with the children and my own intellectual thought being imparted to the children. But I don't feel I have a career anymore, not at all. This is just a job, a means to an end to earn some money until I am retired. I have no commitment whatsoever, it has gone out the window. I am more important than my job, as are my family, my husband and my son. There is no feeling that this is my vocation, my way of life,

that I was meant to do this.

In terms of career, Clare's unified self-identity has disintegrated. Her personal self now resides in her family situation, while her commitment to teaching has become purely instrumental. 'It's a job and I do it and I'm also *me*. But there's no place for *me* now'.

Teachers are practising a form of 'strategic compliance' (Lacey 1977), wherein the individual accepts the prevailing system though entertains private reservations. The acceptance and the compliance, though, are made to differing degrees with differing feelings. Cloe, for example, 'decided to comply, to go along with it because otherwise you tear yourself in half if you're always working against what you believe in. I've shuffled my beliefs away in a back drawer somewhere'. In all, then, it is a very reluctant, grudging kind of compliance, with even more seething beneath the surface at times. Bronwen

> will cope with it, I will take it on board, I will do all the things I'm meant to do and I'll scrape and bow and I will back the head teacher and the school to the hilt. I won't let anybody down. But secretly inside myself I'm very, very angry that we're being made to go through this.

In these cases, the new school personal identity is experienced as being in sharp conflict with the self-concept. The full-blown instrumentalism of the identity is at complete odds with the humanistic vocationalism of the self. The more the self is dedicated to the latter values, the more difficult is the resolution of this problem.

Conclusion

For primary school teachers, local trust relations have been reconstituted in terms of audit accountability, position in national and local league tables as decided by SATs and Ofsted inspection reports, and by grading by inspectors. The introduction of literacy and numeracy programmes has further reduced teacher qualities to a short and narrow list of competences (Cox 1998). The 'expert systems' behind these policies now define teachers' social identities by 'performativity' (Ball 1998; Broadfoot 1998). This is how they are known within the official educational world. But it is not how they are known to themselves. This has brought on severe identity crises for teachers. For the mid-career teachers of our researches, a unified self-identity had been unchallenged for many years. It was deep in the heart, but not in the forefront of their minds. The challenge has caused them much heart-searching, and has forced them to reconsider and reconstruct.

For most, their new self-identities show some key changes from those that pertained during the Plowden era. In general terms, our data suggest a retention of the humanistic values, most evident in teachers' resolution to remain dedicated to caring, to the child, and to holism, even though they are at some odds with the current rationalist discourse in education. There is a weakening, however, of the vocationalism. Certainly the physical conditions described earlier by Nias of teaching occupying their 'sleeping as well as their working hours' may still apply to many, but then it was a matter of choice, of 'giving their all to work'; whereas now, it is a matter of weight of prescription, of 'work demanding all'. One involves integration of the self, the other disintegration. There is no easy resolution of Giddens' late modernity dilemmas.

In general, teachers have been forced to become more strategic and political in defending their self-identities against the countervailing inroads of the new teacher social identity. Their priorities have been to hold on to their values and their self-esteem, while adjusting their commitment and other aspects of the holistic approach. Current trends, therefore, appear to be working against the conception of primary education that Nias (1989 p. 208), for one, had in the 1980s:

> Primary teaching has a bottomless appetite for the investment of scarce personal resources, such as

> time, interest and energy. The more of these resources that individuals choose to commit to their work, the better for pupils, parents and fellow staff, and the more rewards the individual teacher is likely to reap, in terms of appreciation, recognition, self-esteem, and, perhaps, self-extension. Therefore, it could reasonably be argued that children, teachers, and parents will all benefit, if teachers are motivated to give more to their work than simply the physical presence and minimal level of competence required….

For education, this is clearly a serious matter. There is no direct route to changes in teaching and learning, restructuring education or raising educational standards. Such desired outcomes, however politically willed, have to be processed through teachers, who have feelings, values, beliefs, thoughts, cherished ideals, in short, identities. Before they can apply themselves to best effect they have to work out how to organize a personal identity or identities congruent with the social identity and self-concept – to know who they are. As Snow and Anderson (1987 p. 1365) among others argue, in opposition to (Maslow 1962), such concerns are just as important as physiological and safety needs. As a teacher told Riseborough (Riseborough 1981, p. 15), 'You know, if you take this (status) away, not all the money in the world will make him feel content with his job, and this is what teaching is all about. You've got to feel right'. In most cases, as we have seen, the identity work aimed toward such equanimity has involved the deployment of strategies to resist the new assigned social identity, to extol aspects of the old, to construct new personal identities congruent with the self-concept, and to disguise situational identities. Education is the loser here on two counts. First, identity work consumes enormous emotional and intellectual energy that might otherwise be dedicated to teaching. Secondly, the teacher's personal identity in the new order is partial, fragmented, and inferior to that of the old in that teachers retain a sense of the ideal self, but it is no longer in teaching. The personal identity of work has become a situational one, designed to meet the instrumental purposes of audit accountability. Teachers' real selves are held in reserve, to be realised in other situations outside school or in some different future within.

It is in this sense that the evidence presented here challenges the poststructural scepticism about an essential self (Davies and Harre 1994; Maclure 1993)and their championing of a multifaceted self, one that is not constant and constraining, but which recreates itself anew in different social situations. Yet, in some ways, there is evidence here to support this view. The dilemmas are only partially resolved. Teachers have to live with them – there is no neat transition. Identities are thus in flux, there is no settled state. There are signs of multiple and situational identities that were not there before in the integrated self-identity. However, as Snow and Anderson (1987, p. 1364) point out, personal identities are not static, but alter with time. In the case of their sample, 'distancing' was more a feature of the early stages, evolving later into 'embracement'. Will teachers, similarly, grow more into the new assigned social identity? Some will, no doubt, especially younger teachers who are fashioning personal identities in teaching for the first time. For our mid-career teachers, it is more a matter of regaining control. Identity work goes on. There is no endpoint, no completion of task. The new self-identities are much more volatile than the old.

Chapter Seven - Developing a student performative identity

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Introduction

The influence of policy texts upon student - or learner - development depends largely on the influence they wield. Policy discourses are one of the main means whereby policy texts, in the settings in which they operate, influence the value, the implementation and the inscribing of those texts on learners. This research focuses on how policy texts and a performativity discourse influences the development of primary school learner identities alongside creativity policies and texts.

The formation of performative identities

As indicated in the last chapter we largely follow Snow and Anderson's (Snow, 1987) construction, with some modifications. Foucault rejected any notion of an essence of being asserting that self and identities are constructed in particular contexts affected by non discursive institutions, texts and discourses. From Olssen's (2006) perspective Foucault sees societies in history as complex contingent systems of non substantial relations and interactions and identities are conceived as relational rather than substantial. They have no essences outside of what is produced in history. As Currie (Currie, 2004, in Olssen, 2006) explains,

> a theory of subjectivity or personhood for example might locate not in the body of the individual but in the relations between that person and others. In other words a person might not be defined by inherent characteristics but like Saussure's train or chess piece be understood as an identity only because of the relationships that person has with other people in a system of family, friendship and social relations. This would be referred to a relational view of personal identity (p. 13)

Although our perspective of identity, outlined above comes from an interactionist perspective, which Foucault rejects in favour of a relational basis for the formation of identity it is not inconsistent with his approach. The interactionist perspective accepts the idea that selves and identities are constructed in contexts, similar to the idea of the situational self, (Nias 1991) and Foucault is addressing a more fundamental question of being and becoming. For the purposes of this research we see learners and teachers continually adapting both their behaviour and their actions to the influence of social practices and discourses. There is a continuing experience of becoming influenced by their relations to the extra, intra and inter discursive situations. Pollard and Filer (Pollard and Filer 1999) describe young children's learning career as 'a continuous spiral' (p.22) in which identity is seen as a representation of the self-belief and self-confidence which learners bring to new learning challenges and contexts. They also identified an aspect of self and identity that is concerned with what they become through interaction with significant others, their experience of new learning opportunities and their engagement with dominant social representations within their culture.

While Foucault's more historical approach still ontologically privileges relations over substances a non-essential but historically valid positivity is constructed by action in history: this is what is central to self creation and historical praxis. What is central for Foucault is that identity in not a substance in the classical sense and hence lacks a stability of meaning by which it could be defined ahistorically. Foucault's relational approach portrays actors as embedded and identity as developing in concrete social practices where stability is always transitory and precarious.

Foucault sees social relations as inter-related dependencies (Olssen, 2006) which have in the social and histor-

ical process has three aspects: first the **intra-discursive**, which concerns relations between objects, operations and concepts (in this case knowledge) **within** the discursive formation; second the **inter-discursive**, which concerns relations between different discursive formations (social, humanist and creative) third the **extra discursive** which concerns relations between a discursive and the whole play of economic, political and social practices (political values). The first section of the paper focuses on the discourses attached to the extra discursive relations, Relations between a discourse and the whole play of economic, political and social practices.

Governmentality - the extra-discursive

Pre-discursive practices such as national curriculums and testing and assessment systems are linked (enchainment) to discourses. Such practices thus form the intelligible background for actions by their twofold character as both judicative and veridicative. On the one hand pre-discursive practices establish and imply norms, controls and exclusions. On the other hand they render true/false discourse possible. While such practices thus act as constraints upon discourse they are unable to totally explain the discursive context of explanation and belief, which is that practices underdetermine the discursive context of their explanation of which one example is the enterprise text (Olssen, 2006). Peters (2001) summarising Burchell (1996), says it constitutes the distinguishing mark of the current style of governmentality and is a pre-discursive text, while 'education and training are key sectors in promoting national economic competitive advantage and future national prosperity. They are seen increasingly as the passport for welfare recipients to make the transition from dependent, passive welfare consumers to an enterprise self' (p.85) Within the enterprise formulation there is the clear message that each individual is responsible for him or herself; if you don't have a job, create one and if you fail it is a result of your inadequacies…..all individuals are correspondingly indebted to society for the conditions and structures provided and on this basis individuals should contribute in direct proportion to the luck or good fortune they experience.

School cultures are imbued with awards and rewards, of cracking learning barriers, producing performances for each other, for parents, for the community, for funders, for celebrations, for targets, for corporate image, against each other internally in the shape of sports and other competitions and against other schools. A powerful discourse of 'learning to strive' brands the journey through the pervasive homilies and target setting for learners and teachers. People, including learners play the game and gain satisfaction from the process of perform-ance and performance outcomes with apparent joy and the raising of self esteem at the climax of any performative journey. As Scott (2007) following Gipps, highlights, what is important not whether the a test is high stakes, but whether participants believe it to be high stakes' (Gipps 1994, p.34) A powerful discourse of 'learning to strive' brands the journey through the pervasive homilies and target setting for learners and teachers (Jeffrey, Troman, and Zezlina-Phillips 2008). Learners have absorbed the importance of these events and see them as the life of a learner, reinforcing the pre-discursive texts, in this case, the relationship between exams and economic opportunities, replicating the discourse and validating it. Learners want to do well for both themselves and their teachers (Pollard 2000)

R. If you were a teacher would you make your children do SATS and SATS preparation?

A. Yes because you learn more.

R. Do you learn more?

A. Yes!

R. Supposing you didn't have to supposing there was a choice?

B. It's important to help you learn, if I was a teacher I would make them do it.

M. I wouldn't make them do it.

B. I would because it would make them have a good education and they get a good job when they're older. When I'm older I want to sit in an office and do lots of paper work and the only way to do that is to learn and do my SATS. So that's why if I was a teacher I would make them do it and if they wanted a good job they would have to do their SATS, exams and GCSE's (C-Yr. 6)

Learner's understanding of performativity is acute and at the same time the discourse they use represents the construction of governmentality (Foucault, 1979),

Jo. The SATS are a test of what the teachers have been teaching us and how good our teachers are teaching us.

R. How does that work?

Jo. because if the teacher doesn't teach you hardly anything or if you don't understand quite as much because it hasn't been explained you'll get another level

R. But who tests the teacher?

Jo. The government.

R. How do you know that?

Jo. because my mother told me that the teachers get tested that's why we do SATS.

G. Our teacher told us that our SATS go to the government and if we mess it up the government won't be happy with our work, that's what Miss E. said.

R. Does that worry you?

G. Yes, in case our work's rubbish and if I only got 4, only got 4 questions right out of 20 I don't think the government would be happy with us (C-Yr.5)

Governmentality is imposed through the strong performativity practices (ibid) which focus on status and the discourse confirms this, 'someone in Number 10 is probably happy when we get good results' (V-Yr.6).

R. Why are people making you do these SATS?

Ma. To see where you are.

R. But you know where you are, you've been told.

Ma. Making sure for secondary school, maybe.

C. So our school can show the secondary school and they can place you in a higher group or a lower group.

C. It would be good for them if we got higher results, Pegasus would have a good name for itself among other schools.

Ma. You don't want other people thinking our school is no good because people are getting low SATS results, kids won't come to this school (C-Yr.6)

The SAT and other exam based practices are significant events in establishing governmentalisation, trials, an ordeal for which they have been trained, not only in how to succeed, but how to manage the performative event. A supportive, soothing supporting discourse is used and comforting artefacts are carried to ameliorate the intensity of the government examination,

Some children are frowning, with an air of concentration. Some of them look a little bit tense: shoul-

ders higher than usual, neck a little strained. A blond boy yawns. They all set out a soft toy on the desk, near the water bottle. It's their lucky mascot.

Jane: 'Best of luck guys. It's your last one. Give it your best of efforts and concentrate, and then we can relax and have fun. Your time starts now.'

The support group goes back to the classroom to do their test there.

Jane is rather smiley, Linda is very calm. I feel she has a calming influence, she smiles and feels like 'a good mother' (FN-I-Yr.6-18/5/07)

Technologies of power (Foucault 1980) act on the body from outside via humanising behaviours and approaches. There are performative collaborations between learners and teachers and schools in clusters, performative selection is open and accepted across the intellectual divide, a multiple series of tracks on which learner's travel at different speeds.

Well last week I used to go to a dyslexic club but my mum wants to see how I do without it because I am dyslexic and so is Georgia and Dougie. And I was doing it for like a year and a half something like that. I had a tutor. She helped me with my maths and my literacy. She didn't know a lot about science because she wasn't a teacher. She helped me do my homework when I didn't really have a clue which was pretty much all the time (V-Yr.6)

Other nominated learners went to Saturday revision classes and there were other groups such as the Flying High group (to gain a level 5) and another group of aspiring level 4 candidates to boost scores.

There is a constant power drive to push and pull the train along to the next station, to celebrate the change in distance covered and to improve the speed on the next leg of the journey. An improving life is being lived out by everyone in the institution and this has now become an institutions main objective – that of improvement. The discourse of improvement, challenge, and performative progression (Jeffrey 2012) pervades their discourse,

R. What do you think about targets then?

C. If you set targets you probably will go up a grade.

I. I think having a target is good so you know what you need to learn, to improve so I think it's a good idea.

Ch. I wanted to know what my target was because I thought it would improve my handwriting.

R. Why do you want a higher grade?

C. So you can move forward and then do harder stuff and then you don't have to do stuff that's too easy.

R. Do you want harder work?

C. I want harder work.

I. I want a higher grade because then people will think you are getting better at things and people will think better of you (P-Yr.5).

This discussion could sum up the economic, political and social aims of global governmentality, that of improving oneself, working hard as an aim in life and social acceptance through levels of attainment.

Hierarchies are established not only in terms of social status but also in terms of the amount of knowledge acquired so there is a quantification of knowledge

R. But you're trying so hard, why are you trying so hard?

K. ‘cos if you get a level 5 you will be in the top class.

R. And does that matter to you M.

M. Yes, ‘cos if you have a higher class in the secondary school you can learn more, ‘cos they teach more stuff and that (Yr.6-P)

Tracking one’s progress and travelling to new levels of achievement is also considered self motivating and learners as well as some teachers take up the challenge readily and with vigour.

K. And for homework we’ve got these books and they just give us pages to go away and do.

M Last week we have three pages of maths and three pages of science.

G Yes. Like we have this book and they give us pages to do and we have to go away and fill them in

K I think that’s quite good though because in Commonwale, the secondary school, they give you like lots more homework so that’s quite good practice. So you get used to doing more (Yr. 6–P)

There are three specific ways in which these values are processed.

Stratification

The practice of stratification (Riddell 2005) is embedded within the governmentalisation process. Classification and objectification involve the human sciences, which developed after the start of the nineteenth century and which ensure the provision of expert any authoritative knowledge, and an assortment of dividing practices which objectify; the subject, providing classifications for subject positions (mad, normal, intelligent, unintelligent, high flyer, slow developer, etc.) (Olssen, 2006). In education these operate through whole range of techniques, including examinations and other forms of assessment, streaming practices, and the like.

Performativity is a principle of governance which establishes strictly functional relations between an institution and its inside and outside environs (Ball 1998). In terms of a normalizing judgement disciplinary power (Rabinow 1984) operates in the space that the law left behind, in the workshop, the school, and teacher training. At the heart of all disciplinary systems functions a small penal mechanism. In education it is the teacher grading system and the failing school’s reconstruction either by closure and reopening or through the reorganisation by special units. There is a penalty for non observance as well as transgression, ‘a pupil’s offence is not only a minor infraction but an inability to carry out his tasks’ (ibid. p194). The art of punishment brings five distinct operations into play,

- It refers individual actions to a whole - compares them.
- It differentiates individuals from one another and develops averages.
- It measures in quantitative terms and hierarchizes in terms of value of abilities.
- It introduces through this value giving measure the constraint of conformity.
- It traces the limit that will define all other differences - the ‘shameful class’.

‘The perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short it *normalizes*’ (ibid. p195). The power of the norm is the new law of modern society. It adds to *parole* (language) and *tradition* (text). Normalization imposes homogeneity but it individualises by making it possible to measure.

Stratification of young people in schools to identity the particular labour market for which they are suited was developed in the 1950s-70s through the tri-partite system of selective schools was another form of governmentalisation. The current performativity discourse appears to offer more opportunity to ‘improve’ and move into different stratas through hard work. Social and interpersonal dimensions are affected (Ball, 2000). In the

primary school learners are sorted in classrooms into groups according to ability in language and maths, even in classes as young as seven.

R. So what are these SATS all about?

Th. It's getting ready to go in Yr. 3.

R. But why do you have to do these SATS to do that?

Th. To see how good we are and then we can learn more things.

Jade. To see how clever we are.

R. Are you clever?

(general, 'yes')

Th. I'm a bit second best and Jade's like the other one a bit third best, because I'm a bit better than Jade but Jade's a bit better than David,

J. He's clever.

R. How do you know that?

J. because he's on the highest table, because we have highest to lowest tables we sit at.

Th. Jade and I are sort of the same because we are on the same table but I'm going to move up to spelling group. If you're on roses you get the hardest and if you're on Jack's table, tulips, you get middle-ish and if you're on peaches for spellings it's quite easy, they're for the other groups (P-Yr.2)

The masking of stratification technologies becomes almost bizarre in primary schools where it is assumed that young people might become a little anxious about overt stratification but in practice it is overt, they understand it and they live it.

Th. Well yes I'm quite good.

R. How good?

Th. Really good, the teacher keeps on reading my work out and me and Tina are in the top group.

R. How do you know you're in the top group?

Th. Miss? says we're in the top group, it goes roses, tulips, daisies, sweet-peas, lilies.

B. Lilies is the last group

B. Lilies are people who don't know how to write.

T. Some can write but they need some help (Yr.2-P)

Performative stratification embeds the idea of differentiated levels of competence rather than ability and acts as an effective disciplinary technique for learners responsibility is placed upon them to progress to higher levels. Talking to young children occasionally brings up what appear to adults as amusing comments relating to differentiated competencies,

R. Have you got any friends on Level 3 below you?

J. I had one but he got hit by a car. He left school two years ago and he had a Level 5 in Science but got a Level 3 in other subjects, 'which I thought was a shame, because he showed he could work hard'.

T. I've got one in my class, she goes to Saturday revision class as well (Yr.6-P)

Nevertheless the use of the impersonal pronoun 'one' gives us an insight into the way young people are being defined as objects immersed within a performative framework. The dominant discourse here is not the accident but sympathy that the accident affected his potential performance.

The stratification in terms of learning competency makes sense to them and adds to their acceptance of the technology,

R What are the SATS for

G 'cos it helps us with our education, it helps us learn more.

J And next year they'll know what group to put us in, like if we're doing Maths and we were really rubbish and they put us in the top set and we didn't know nothing that wouldn't help us, it goes by what level you are (P-Yr 5)

Everything is levelled (assessed) to start with and gradual but steady inclines are negotiated with extra pulling and pushing needed for learners to gain new level labels. Each annual report states clearly the levels each learner attains in each subject and sub category and personalised learning is focused on improving these levels and progressing to the next level is almost mandatory as teachers cannot be seen to have failed to improve a learner's level. These processes of daily performative life have a powerful affect on even young children. As they moved up the school the pretence of being stratified as flowers ceased and levels were assigned,

A. Our long writing test is 45 minutes our short one is 20 minutes, most of them are 45 minutes apart from our mental maths.

C.A. Miss marks them and then she tells us the mark and then we get levelled.

R. What's levelling?

C. That's grading, it starts from 1a and goes up to 5b and if I get a 3a Miss.? would help us work on that more to get higher and higher and go up to Level 5 (Yr.5-P)

The ongoing progression narrative, we call progression performativity, (Jeffrey, 2009) is embedded in the general stratification of young learner's identities. As Broadfoot et. al. observe labelling does not increase learning outcomes for all as the successful thrive and the less successful underachieve more as they are repeatedly discouraged by the way their efforts are judged (Broadfoot et al. 1993).

Best effort

A second aspect that is embedded is doing your best. This acts a driver for performativity – an ethical approach – and at the same time it is seen as a reason for failure to achieve at the highest level, often by parents (Scott 2006) an acceptance of their stratified level,

R. Why didn't you just take the time off school?

D. You wouldn't have got a mark.

R. Is that what your teacher told you?

D. Yes 'cos if you came in the next day, you'd only have done half and you wouldn't get all the marks you could have got.

R. And why would you want to get the marks?

D. 'cos then you'd know you'd tried your best.

R. And is that important to you D.(yes) (Yr.6-P)

These two discourses of achieving targets and doing one's best appear to be contradictory.

Doing your best is contrasted with achieving. They are contrary discourses, eg: you must succeed to win but if you fail you are told never mind 'you did your best'. This is a lived exhortation. They live the contradictions of a capitalist life - See Wright Mills - striving with out ever mostly succeeding and having to accept their failure (FN-C-Yr.6-18/5/2007)

The latter is often used as a humanist response to failure to progress but at the same time within the progression narrative learners are exhorted to work harder to progress implying that their best is not good enough if targets are not met. In the performative framework doing one's best is never quite good enough for there is always another rung to be climbed.

There is also another aspect of doing your best for others such as parents and teachers which puts pressure on learners (Whetton and Twist 2000) (Pollard 2000) My colleague in Yr. 5 was saying that those sentence structure and punctuation scores were much higher because we've been focussing on it as a whole school and the children are really good, for if you tell them you need to do more of this and you make it explicit they'll do it. On the whole they want to please, they want to do the right thing and they want to get good grades and prove themselves to the teacher and get attention for the positive things they achieve (Katy-MM-Yr.2).

Self responsibility

They are then, thirdly drawn into self assessment for improvement making it their responsibility for performance, the individualising of performance (Fielding 2007; Hartley), another major disciplinary technology.

We are given reports for maths, science and literacy. You get that twice a year and you get five smiley faces to colour in and the teachers get another five. You say how well you think you've done and they put in what you have done and your parents look to see what you think you are good at against the teachers. And compare them really,

R: So do you find that useful?

Yes because you get to say how much you think you're improving (Yr.6-V)

They are clear about the advantages of performativity in making their parents proud of them (Scott 2006) as they gradually develop performative identities,

R. If you were a teacher would you make your children do these tests?

C. Yes I would because it's important to know what level they're on and what they need to learn on and what they need to practice on and they need to work on to make them better (Yr.4-P)

The teleological element of education for future social and economic status involved in performativity are clear to see from the discourses used by these primary learners

K. I think the same, if they're not intelligent they might not be able to be anything when they grow bigger, if they're not intelligent.

R. How do you become intelligent?

K. When you go to university you become intelligent, if you don't learn much at school and have low grades that means you go to a home and you won't have to live in a nice home so you have to learn all your grades.

There is a constant power drive to push and pull the train along to the next station, to celebrate the change in distance covered and to improve the speed on the next leg of the journey. An improving life is being lived out by everyone in the institution and this has now become an institutions main objective – that of improvement.

As this educational practice takes hold through target setting, testing and assessment young learners begin to

equate tests as the major characterisation of learning and being knowledgable,

R. Did you like doing these tests this week?

(general yes, yes, yes)

R. What did you like about them?

Jade. Because it makes us cleverer, more clever than we are.

The extra discursive relations of social, political and economic practices are seen through the discourses of learners as they articulate their aspirations and the uses to which education can be applied, their subjectivation (Davies 2006). A major cultural aspect of all the schools was one of improvement and performance, of progress to the next level to gain future benefits and rewards. The main discourses used to define and describe learning were those associated with hard work, endeavour, challenge, rewards and achievements. Discourses pertaining to exploration, investigation, innovation, argument, discussion, collaboration, contributions connected to something such as creative learning were marginalised, particularly for Year 6 learners (Jeffrey 2009).

The construction of knowledge relations – intra-discursive

This paper particularly focuses on the performative aspects of primary educational experience including its extreme form of testing and practices for the Year 6 SATs exam. Foucault is concerned not with education in reproducing labour, power, or ideology, Hunter (Hunter 1994) argues in a way that echoes Varela (2001), but rather with the effects of the school through a variety of technologies of domination concerned with disciplinary organisation of the school: special architectures devices for organising space and time, body techniques, practices of surveillance and supervision, pedagogical relationships and procedures of administration and examination. Foucault thus forces us to consider that it is not just educational principles but also school premises and modes of organisation that are important for understanding the constitution of subjectivity. And rather than representing the school as an agency of reproduction, Foucault sees it as a form of disciplinary and bureaucratic governance that both reproduces and constitutes identity.

Relations between objects, operations and concepts – the intra discursive – were of particular interest in what was a dominant form of teaching and learning – testing - but not the only one experienced – see creative teaching and learning. Testing pedagogies and the processes attached to them had their own particular construction, sometimes contradictory to other forms of teaching and learning and produced their own specific forms of experience. We identified some of those practices concerned with, space and time, knowledge conceptions and relations, routinisation practices and strategic engagement.

Space and Time

The intra-discursive relations could be seen in the environmental use of space and the organisation of that space. In one school the tables and chairs in the year six classes were organised in the shape of a horseshoe with the teacher and the boards at the open end. Not only could the teacher see each learner easily there was were no spaces to hide acts of resistance or subversion behind the backs of others and all learner utterances were directed to the middle space totally occupied by the teacher who could easily reach a learner in a split second without losing any positional control. This form of total control also encouraged open dialogues and a feeling of being part of the whole. This arrangement appeared to be mainly instituted for SATs revision and the grouping of tables was more common throughout the rest of the school.

The acclimatization programme over time to testing as learning and the value of preparation appeared to work

even for someone who wasn't able to take a full part in the process,

> R. So you've no complaints on the amount of time you spent on those practices?
>
> No I enjoyed it, because we were into the bit were, if you like - only people - if they were like just thrown into their SATS but didn't have no practice or nothing and they were like, 'how do I do this' but it didn't really feel like that, we had SATS, it felt like we were having another practice, the actual SATS paper, (Daniel, P-Yr.6)

Phenomenological – subjective - time was marginalised and sidelined in favour of technical rational time (Hargreaves 1994),

> Tables with fluffy toys …..Victorian hall (also used for lunches). Jane is giving out instructions, stressed no extra time would be allowed. Just about 16 children all wearing school uniform. Roger adjusts standard clock so it will easily show 20 minutes ie: set for 9.40am even though it is 9.35am, for test to end at 10.00am. The hall is former church hall - big stained glass window at one end - wall bars at one end - multipurpose space. The Victorian payment by results inspection visits would probably have take place here (FN-V-Yr.6-9/5/2006).

Learners play a major part in the event of the test as they conform to its practices,

> Children all seem to know what is happening - how to behave in an examination situation - a lot of habitus. Rachel sits at front completing exam admin paper - then circulates in room - Rachel giving help to one boy. So far only boys have asked for help. Rachel reminds them 'we are just coming up to half way through'- Rachel circulates classroom - big electronic stop clock on whiteboard ticks down - 'countdown' fashion (FN-V-8/5/06)

Testing situations create test identities, participants who play the role of testee, inscribing governmentalism,

> Courtney writes out the 4 times table to find out how may packs of 4 in 50 instead of using the calculator. Josh turns another page and is halfway through in less than 20 minutes. I suspect he isn't following the instructions. He appears to read the questions but has not used the calculator at all. He is possibly playing the role of being tested without having the correct answers or using the appropriate methodology (FN-C-Yr.6-18/5/07)

The classroom surroundings in those classes Yr. 6 classes dedicated to knowledge absorption frames the classroom discourse,

> There is another board of famous figures - Shakespeare, Einstein, Keats, Marlow, Dickens, Gallileo with groups of children attached. These must be groups. Yet little work or theirs. All the revered work is factual knowledge, there are no arguments, different views. It's like a learning factory. There is also a do's and don'ts board (FN-P-11/05/2007)

Knowledge, routinisation and rituals

Foucault's concept of practice refers to a pre-conceptual anonymous, socially sanctioned body of rules that govern one's manner of perceiving, judging, imagining and acting. As our identities and bodies are constructed through such discursive practices the partitioning of truth from falsehood is much more difficult in Foucault's view than has been previously thought and something that is never finally assured. In addition discursive practices are always complex articulations of the true but in a particular historical juncture. Hence Foucault analyses how discursive practices constitute that provide a perspective within a particular normative context of possible thought and action and that become legitimised as true expressions .

The influence of the performativity discourse is exemplified by the demands of the heavy duty accountability of Ofsted inspections 'I talk to Francis, the DH who tells me that Ofsted complained that the Yr. 6 children did not know their levels and their targets for their next move'(FN-27/3/2007). SATs performance is institutionalised through specific programmes to improve learner's test results and the focus on correct answers to test questions is intense and more investigative discourses and relations are discarded as knowledge becomes narrowly conceived.

> An adult - supply teacher - is working with two Yr.6 pupils on science – the schools Flying High Project = those on the cusp of Level 4. He gives them questions about orbits, eg: what keeps the earth in orbit round the sun? Why does the moon's appearance change shape as it orbits the earth. (He yawns and says excuse me). What orbits around us? Where is the moon in its orbit where we cannot see it at all? He told them they had the answers in their books. One of the boys says 'Did you see the moon change colour. It was all red'. Adult says 'It was very picturesque, a lovely colour'. The child says, 'my dad said it was as if it had been warmer it would have been redder. He looked it up'. The adult says 'anyway let's get on'. He doesn't follow up the child's interest at all. How long does it take for the earth to rotate around on its axis? And he says 'You've got to learn the words, that's what we want you to learn, so I can't explain it differently. Why do we have day and night? Does the sun move around the earth? Where does the sun rise? What time of day do we get the shortest shadows? How does the fact that the earth's axis is tilted affect it? What season do we get the largest day and why?
>
> A learner says 'Always the why?' The adult says 'The why sorts the men from the boys'. The child says 'you're a man, I'm a boy'. The learner says to one question 'roughly spherical. The adult says we need ideal answers. 'Because we see different sides of the moon'. When can we see the moon? Answer from one learner is 'when it's closer to the earth'. 'I'm afraid not. When do we get the shortest shadows? How are shadows formed?' 'Because it's blocking the sun's rays' comes an answer. 'No, when the sun is highest in the sky. (I wonder how qualified you have to be to do this job?) The children mark their work and then they have to write down the correct answers against those they got wrong (FN-C-Yr.6-21/3/2007)
>
> Their SATs practice is distanced from a 'hands on approach' and produces disciplined learners as well as an exteriorisation of knowledge (Lyotard, 1984). Any knowledge challenges are passed over in favour of focusing on the test questions.
>
> A child questions the teacher and he admits he was wrong but moves on quickly. On a question about inculcation he tells them they need to know about polystyrene, plastic and metal. A child says the teacher has a metal cup and another child is taken for extra tuition. They are onto 'the Earth' and the teacher says 'if you put a circle as the answer you won't get a mark. Is the sun hidden behind the moon at night, true or false? It should be false because the moon's light is reflected from the sun'. A boy offers the answer that Mr Wilson told them it was true during a solar eclipse. They don't appear concerned about this contradiction and he is ignored (FN-C-Yr.6-11/5/2007)

They are tested to compliance as a child with learning difficulties validates the power of he performativity discourse, 'Daniel asks why the 'do's and don'ts board' has not been taken down like the other displays that have been removed, as it may help them. Their teacher doesn't answer but tells them that they cannot put up their hand and ask anything during a SAT (FN-C-Yr.6-15/5/2007).

The pre SATS journeys for Yr. 6 and sometimes shorter ones for other years are about playing the game, revising constantly, regurgitating some answers but also learning to apply facts. Testing is seen as a challenge and

a chance to focus on a number of short recalls and more intricate problems, opportunity to test the success of the journey and the process of it. Both teachers and learners appear to accept the challenge and the struggle of testing journeys even when they know they are handicapped.

Performative rituals

As the intensity of the testing practice develops so does the development of a routinised practice, one in which the relationship with knowledge and teaching and learning becomes deadening experience, a distancing of the self from the learning process.

A Year 6 class began revision at the beginning of their year.

> The weekly spelling lists are displayed for ability groups and printed out from SATs 2004 tests, depending on ability, and each child is given the appropriate list. Another worksheet is handed out on melting and boiling. The teacher reads from a KS2 science book and asks some questions. 'Is there any way of reversing the boiling of an egg? What is the process of turning to solid – freezing'. The answers are written in their revision book - Gas to liquid and condensation. It's all a treadmill but it is busy, with ever changing subjects. IT apparatus are used to answer worksheet questions, thereby fulfilling that weeks curriculum object for ICT engagement (FN-C-Yr.6-23/04/2007)

SATs preparation is a disciplinary technology focused on the tests not the knowledge with which they are engaging,

> They are handed back their science mock tests from yesterday and they finish those they didn't do and check them. Their teacher says 'make sure you fill in all the parts'. He reads out the questions. One boy tells me he can read them and then looks closely at them. The teacher says 'every hand should be up now'. You know it's not a bar or a pie graph. It's a bouncy ball graph' and they have to comprehend - read the tables. Is this scientific knowledge or mathematical technology? They all concentrate except for two boys who fiddle with a pen and play with rulers. These are no cheers of smiles of delight just coping. They have to answer some questions about temperature. They are asked what equipment they would use - a thermometer and I ask them if they have ever used one in school and they say no (FN-C-Yr.6-11/5/2007)

Routinisation and ritualisation become the handmaiden of performativity (Ball 2000) as practice sessions dedicated to preparing for SATs and instilling National Curriculum knowledge become institutionalised,

> Lisa prepares the often in lesson by logging on to a BBC Internet site. Each is called BBC schools service, science aged 10 to 11 entitled 'Fighting the spread of disease'. She then makes up some unfinished sentences on a paper board, 'To prevent becoming ill from the food ……''To prevent becoming ill from insect bites you could ……' 'To prevent the spread of colds and flu you could ……' 'To prevent catching diseases you could…' All this preparation is for a teaching assistant to take the class this afternoon.
>
> The children carry on with their lunch, seemingly totally uninterested in what she's doing. Learning appears to be a routine operation, a workplace. Teachers appear to balance their lessons rather than integrating them. It is a seamless experience of changing activities. Another science sheet appears on a board concerned with micro organisms. The task is to complete a table. They then have to look at some science pictures on the screen and complete sentences. These are all task orientated (FN-P=17/04/2007)

Unrealities develop as the test imposes its regulation through unremitting practice,

> Joshue pushes his paper away when he gets to the point where he stopped yesterday. I ask if he wants to do it with help. He says no and looks tired. I ask him if he is and he says 'a bit'. Are they fascinated by filling in the boxes as they put in a zero if they get it wrong? It doesn't seem to bother them what they get right or wrong. They just appear to accept failure. Does the performance implant an acceptance of failure rather than stimulating them to try harder? They play a game of success and failure and you can't have one without the other. There are no winks or smiles when I catch their eye or when they look at each other. This has been going on for 40 minutes. By the time we get to number 10 less than half the children are involved or engaged. It finishes at last but has been relentlessness and wearing (FN-C-Yr.6-11/5/2007)

The revision process and learner's engagement with both knowledge and performativity often became meaningless as the process became ritualised (Wulf and Althans 2010),

> It is lunchtime so there is no indication as to how well people did, no show this time of success. Are they bothered? Chelsea was more interested in lunch then adding up how many she got right. Most of the conversation is about lunch, the size of their sandwiches, the chocolate cake, new sausage rolls, and cake (FN-P-Yr.6-11/5/07).

The students are treated as if they must focus all their efforts to overcome this affliction and to this end any other disappointments of life must be kept from them until they have come through their trial,

> Jane comes back to the classroom: 'I do love this Friday, when it's all over. It's good!' I observe that the children didn't seem too stressed, and she replies: 'No. In fact, they were even a little bit too laid back, if you ask me!' And then 'I think I'll order some more stock for next year, it's nice to have new protractors for SATs, it makes them feel better.' There are a pile of letters on her desk and she says: 'Yes, I have to give them this and tell them I have another job next year. I have known for a long time, but I couldn't tell them because of SATs. Everybody knows in the school, and really I wanted to tell them…' (FN-I—Yr.6-18/5/2007)

Strategic Engagement

Both teachers and learners develop strategies for managing this performative process, entering a grey areas between truth and falsity that is a bedrock of the performative process of testing competence and knowledge.

> Courtney continues to tap her calculator and Stephen joins in. Francis, their teacher, whispers to Courtney about an answer and after he leaves she rubs out the circle although she was meant to circle 'all' the amounts. He does the same with Aleisha on a different question and watches her as she uses the calculator and points to one of the circles where the instructions say 'write in the missing signs'. He encourages her to use a calculator (FN-18/5/2007)

A mutual instrumentalism (Pollard etal 2000) develops, 'Francis asks for volunteers to go with a supply teacher for revision for whatever they want and 2 boys answer the call' (FN-P-11/5/07).

The performative text encourages fabrications (Ball 1998), activities out of the gaze of the panopticon (Perryman 2006),

> She says it is possible to cheat in Year 2 because they choose the activity and they go over the question again and again before it is tested. But when she was talking about the writing test it was clear that the class had practised last year's question about 'My Favourite Meal' and she was delighted that

this year's questions was 'easy' and very similar to one they had practised on an 'amazing animal'. She wanted to know if I had seen the Science SAT - thought that it was hard this year. This all just seems like O level - teaching to the test and trying to second guess the examiner - question spotting (FN-V-HT)

And the learners are not averse to fabricating (Ball, 2000) results as they try to make sense of the imperative to perform well,

R. This is comprehension, two types of comprehension, one where you're allowed to look at the text to answer the questions and one where they take the text away, read it and then they take it away.

D. I read it all, I read it twice actually and then I couldn't remember it once it got taken away so what I did, it was kind of cheating but it wasn't really cheating, I looked back to answers before and I just slightly changed them so they wouldn't be recognisable (C-Yr.6)

Fabrications are enacted by young people just as they are by teachers. This learner's comments on his grades were untrue apart from his 'n' for English.

R. So what did you think of your report?

D. Good, mostly. For maths I got 4 for English I got none, an 'n' for English for Science a 4.

R. So what did your parents think of it?

D. Good, they thought it was really, really good.

R. Even though you got an 'n' for English.

D. They knew I was going to get an 'n' because I've got a disability, reading and writing, dyslexia, they thought my level 4's were good. I feel all right (Daniel, P-Yr.6)

The fabrications begin early in their learning career,

R. Do you know how well you've done in these mock tests?

L. Yes 'cos Miss E. told us our scores and my score was 2.

K. And my score was 2.

R. What did you think about that?

K. Embarrassed of myself.

L. I was upset because I haven't done SATS tests before and I didn't know what it was like to have 2 scores.

R. Did you tell your mum?

L. I told my mum that I had two scores but I didn't tell her about anything else.

K. I didn't, I thought she might tell me off.

Their strategies are understandable to adults and to learners as is the game (Olssen, 2006) and it defines people as well as constructing a contextualised learner identity of uncertainity and ontological insecurity (Ball 2000)

R. I noticed that 17 people put less than they actually got right, what do you think that says about those 17 people?

L. They don't have faith in themselves.

A. They're like nervous, they don't trust themselves 'cos they think like they got it wrong, but I've never in my life got 19 out of 20, so that's why I put low numbers 'cos I'm not that good at spellings.

R. I noticed that some people changed their spellings and gave themselves a higher mark, why would

they do that?

A. They just want to make like they can spell better than everyone in the class.

J. 'cos they want to be good spellers.

A. They want to be better than others, they want to think they're the best in class but they're not they just cheat (Yr.6-P)

As in factory life strategies (Jeffrey 1998, Hargreaves 1978, Pollard 1982) are used to maintain the self and identity,

> The boy who said he wasn't good at spelling and gave himself 2 marks looks miserable with his hands on his cheeks and shows no emotion when he gets one right. Josh keeps telling us he has got them all right so far and cheats to do it. Joseph asks to spell it out for the class and gets it wrong and Francis shows what's missing with support. They guess low and then cheat. Joseph says he got 20 but got 2. Francis asks them to put up their hands if they were spot on with their guess - three respond. One boy guessed a range. 'Who got less than their estimate' - 3 hands go up. Francis asks them to give him one they were unsure about to learn from their mistakes. 17 got more than their guess. They have learnt how to play the game. Joseph joins in on a word he is learning and says I only got 17 - he didn't. Josh tells me he got 20 out of 20. I look at him hard and ask him if he altered any and he says no but he did. Joshua says 'I am a level 5 in maths'. He is not. They are living lies. Joshua looks ill. Chelsea and Michelle got 20 and are given 'good stickers', so is Joseph for getting 17 except he didn't. All the children clap (FN-P-Yr.6-11/5/07)

Facts and knowledge related directly to test curriculum is the main currency,

> They then play a game for 10 minutes but Joshua doesn't want to join in. For the first time I have seen some animation. (Is this a learning life, studious repression, studious engagement, studious anxiety, studious confidence). Francis asks them to give him a mathematical fact, not an addition or subtraction. Jack - the three angles of a triangle add up to 180. 5x5 is a square number, ¾ of a turn is 270 degrees, area is where you count the surface, a full turn is 360 degrees, 3x3x3 is a cube number, the angles in a square add up to 360, vertex and vertices are different, there are 4 angles in a square, 50% = a half, a square has 4 sides, a triangle ahs 3 sides - there is some laughter at the cheek of this follow up - a rectangle has 4 sides - laughter again, an acute angle is less than 90 degrees, Joseph whispers a fact to me, there are 8 vertices in a cube (FN-P-Yr. 6-11/5/07)

Teachers began to act out of character as they became determined to succeed at the performative task, particularly where it was not a Yr. 6 SAT but an annual testing, ritualizing the process through rejection of the policy but enacting it, acting technocratically, (Brain, 2006)

A. We had to do it twice because we kept getting the spellings all wrong.

R. What did you get wrong?

C. There were words like 'idea' and people got the easy ones wrong.

A. And we spelt 'any' eny.

R. And Miss said you'd got to do it again.

C. And one person got 20 out of 20 and one got 18 and she ripped the others up and put them in the bin.

R. What did you think of that?

A. She could have kept the ones she ripped up so she could have showed us the difference that we did (C-Yr.5)

The SATS are, for Year 6, their main experience of school, although they now have a school journey in the Autumn term prior to the main onslaught like an army camp prior to battle. The extent of the training appears to reduce fear and anxiety making the activity second nature, technicised, cognitive activity as learning but a problem solving one, learning spelling strategies, good discipline, effective maths strategies for tests, remembering facts and knowledge. It's a life and they live it. At the same time they are inured to failure but some enjoy the challenge and they have absorbed the 'equality of opportunity' text but are blamed for not succeeding.

Foucault focus on practices as the main indicator of the power of texts such as policy is to show both the inconsistencies and contradictions which go to make up the identities of those in these particular contexts. Studying the relations between objects operations and concepts, in this case learners, testing and knowledge shows how a particular text is managed and it also shows the strategies used to manipulate the imposed text. In this case it has shown how the relation between knowledge and learning has been constructed to produce indifference and strategies to subvert the dominant text and a concept of knowledge that is framed by test questions.

Subjective experience – inter-discursive

According to Foucault societies in history are complex contingent systems of non substantial relations and interactions, identities are conceived as relational rather than substantial. They have no essences outside of what is produced in history. Saussure argued for such a relational ontology with reference to language asserting that one could not posit a theory of identity as a substantive entity or as a concrete essential positive unique particularity. As Currie explains 'a theory of subjectivity or personhood for example might locate not in the body of the individual but in the relations between that person and others' (ref). In other words a person might not be defined by inherent characteristics but like Saussure's train or chess piece be understood as an identity only because of the relationships that person has with other people in a system of family, friendship and social relations. This would be referred to a relational view of personal identity.

Different discourse formations such as performativity, creative pedagogies and humanist social relations are the third area of dependency identified by Foucault - inter-discursive relations. Learners experience dilemmas, tensions, and constraints as they try to manage conflicts and symbiotic relations between different influential texts as well as the intensity of life within one particular dominating text exemplified in the last section and the cultural imperatives indentified in the first section. These intra-discursive relations may mean support for one text at the same time as supporting apparently contradictory positions or practices from another influential text.

For some in Year 6 it is too much, especially those who find them difficult,

R. You've done lots of practice tests though haven't you?

L. A bit too much, we do them every day all day.

D. We've done tests for two months, no longer than that, all day, non stop apart from playtimes and lunch.

R. Have you enjoyed any of it?

D. No, because it doesn't stop all day? (C-Yr.6)

Later on, after it was all over, a different evaluation is made,

R. Was it worth all that practicing? If you had to do it again would you, all that practicing of tests,

day in day out?

D. Yes, yes I wouldn't mind, you have to do it anyway, again, you have to do your GCSE's and that's what normal study is. My brother has to do GCSE work and he's like, 'can you help me'. (Daniel, P-Yr.6)

However, during the process of revision and regular testing any variability of results in practice tests creates confusion and uncertainty and the cause is interpreted as student failure and responsibility,

R: Right. So do you feel confident that it will be different next week, you could have a different grade?

B. I think so, yes

R: So you've done a lot of work.

T I don't really know because my tests have been up and down.

R. Right. It's not always the same scores.

T. Yes, because sometimes I don't read the question properly all the time (V-Yr.6),

This uncertainty about competence gnaws away at the view of the self, (Ball 1972)

B It makes you very nervous

R Why is that?

B Because it's a lot of pressure. Because say if you got a really good mark, its quite pressurising so you need to get another good mark and if you got a bad mark its pressurising because you need to do better. So either way it's kind of scary.

T And sometimes it can be really annoying because in your practice ones you get really high ones and in your proper ones you can get really low ones. Then you wish the test before had been the proper one. (V-Yr.6)

The requirement to be successful adds more pressure and performing well begins to dominate,

R. So there's good things about getting it wrong?

A. Yes, it means you're learning, but some people they can't take the pressure that they're not better than others.

R. Do you mind getting things wrong then?

J. In my SATS I will mind, if I'm just practicing I won't mind.

L. That's what I like about 'revise wise', you can click on some test things, if you get one of those wrong it doesn't matter because you're only practicing. (C-Yr. 6)

They are conscious of the inbuilt feelings of failure that courses through a performative text, 'I know that feeling though, you want to get that level but you put yourself down and say you know you're not going to be able to do it' (Yr.6-P) so, one can maintain an acceptable social unstable ontological (Ball 2000) performative identity.

Their performative (Jeffrey and Troman 2009) learning identities became the relay (Bernstein 1971) though which social relations are formed,

Ch. Somebody in the class asked what level we are and she read out what level we are and what level we need to be, our targets. She told us our target, how we can move up a level, like I didn't used to do joined up handwriting but now I do.

I. My target was to write a bit more big because I used to write small, she needed a magnifying glass to see it.

R. Do you know other peoples levels?

Together. Most peoples, but some didn't want them read out.

R. So you had a choice. Why did you choose to have your level read out?

C. I wanted to find out my grade.

R. But you could have asked your teacher afterwards.

C. Most people were having their grade read out and I thought I might as well have mine because I might have a good grade.

I. I thought I might have a good grade and I wanted my friends to know,

R. Why would you want your friends to know?

I. I don't know, so their impressed.

C. You might want your friends to know so you can help each other get good grades (FN-P-Yr.5-5/4/07)

Stratification influences how they behave towards each other generating feelings of pride, guilt, shame and envy (Ball, 2000),

K. I think it's quite easy for the higher groups but for the lower groups it's harder because they don't know much. You know that girl walking past, she's in the lower group.

R. What do you think she feels being in the lower group.

J. She might feel embarrassed. People might say 'we're in the high group' and 'that's easy' and stuff like that and she might feel disappointed about not being in the higher groups.

K. And she might start to cry maybe and she might tell her mum and then her mum might tell the teacher and then we'll be in trouble, so we mustn't say nasty stuff to other children otherwise we might be in trouble (Yr.3-P)

However, at the same time learners play the game and some gain satisfaction from the process of performance outcomes with apparent joy and the raising of self esteem at the climax of any performative journey,

A. Do you know what, I'm so excited about I'm getting my level. In my Maths test I got 19 out of 20, I was really chuffed with myself because I can't believe I got that, because it's getting close to SATS and I'm getting better at learning because my brother, who is in Yr. 10 is teaching me stuff at Yr.7 level. I really get excited, I don't know why, I couldn't believe I got 19 in my spelling (Yr.6-P)

Highs and lows are experienced, valued and sometimes traumatic,

Ma. It makes you nervous. Sometimes when you're nervous you get lower marks, you panic and you can't like concentrate as much as you were going to. When you panic you can't concentrate properly and when you can't concentrate you start to panic about the questions and you can't answer them and you have to go on and answer the question really quickly (Yr.6-P)

but they have also absorbed the 'challenge' discourse, central to taking responsibility for learning,

R. Did you like doing your SATS, (all chorus 'yes'). Why did you like doing them, what did you like about it?

Le.'cos all the classes were silent 'cos when we usually do work like writing they're normally noisy and always talking.

L. They help you learn more ‘cos when you go up to a higher class like when you are in Yr. 4, they help you learn more in Yr. 4.

M. I liked it because I like doing tricky maths stuff and English and I like doing the times tables as well and I think it was really good (Yr.3-P)

Test results both add to feelings of achievement as well as of failure, a way of life for very young school learners in performative cultures.

R. Did you like doing the SATS tests? (general yes) Why did you like doing them?

D. ‘cos we would get to a higher level and get more confident in doing them.

G. Yes, I like doing all of the SATS, I like doing the sums and the reading and comprehension ones and spelling out the words and ticking the boxes (Yr.4 – P)

They develop a continuous multiple performative identity that, for most of them, sways back and forth between self congratulation and self denigration,

J. It’s scary, it’s hard, when they say you have to get it right and you don’t. You feel bad, ‘cos you haven’t got it right and then when the teacher tells you it’s easy and everybody should know it and you’ve got it wrong, it’s upsetting and annoying ‘cos you knew that you knew it but you hadn’t written it down.

R. What does it make you feel about yourself?

J. It makes you feel that you’re not very good at that subject.

G. Sometimes I feel that I’m doing something completely different from everybody else, it was sort of funny and I wasn’t happy.

Jo. Sometimes if you get a question on what the lesson has been about and if you don’t understand it you’ll be quite embarrassed if front of the class. Yes it has happened to me (Yr.5 – P)

Performative identities are a continuous mixture of developing confidence, having it shattered, feeling successful and confident to experiencing panic and anxiety, from being assigned high status to feelings of rejection but all the time knowing that both self worth and social identities are based on striving for better performances and continuous improvement.

R. So next week you’re going to have your SATS, are you looking forward to it.

D. No

L. I’m not worried about them. I just know I’m going to get an N, nothing.

R. I thought they were all numbers.

L. Yes but you can get an N for Not Levelled. N in Science N in Literacy and N in English. When we practiced in Year 6 he gave out all our levels and he called out my name and I looked at my sheet and it was N N N, No Levels and that’s true.

R. So have you told your parents that? (yes) what did they say?

L. They said when you do it next time try harder.

D. I said to my mum I’m going to get an N in my SATS and she goes, don’t put yourself down already you don’t know because it hasn’t happened yet.

R. How do you feel about being a ‘No level’?

D. I’m not really bothered, they don’t really mean anything.

L. Sorry but it means you will get a good job, so the cleverer you are you will pass your GCSE's.

R. So how do you feel about getting a 'no level'?

L. Not that happy because I know I can do a lot better but I know I'm going to get an N.

D. You try 'cos of the feeling inside

R. What's this feeling inside Daniel?

D. Like you want to get a level, at least a Level 4 but you don't reckon you will get a level, you're afraid you'll get a Level N.

The reaction of parents also adds to the construction of performative learning identities,

R: So you can then see improvement or the opposite. Does anybody go back a level?

I think I have

R: You have.

Yes because one time when we did it I was ill and I went back quite a bit and then I got back up again. But my mum was getting quite concerned because I got quite low marks (Yr 6 – P)

The aesthetic and intellectual delights of the world are marginalised as the main focus of one's worth becomes directly linked to performance.

B. Every year we get a report about how we've done in that year.

T. It's about how good you've done, it's about how many 'A's', if you get an 'A' it means you've been excellent all the term.

Th. Yes but last term I got a 'B'.

B. I got a 'B'.

R. And how did you feel about that, Bethany?

B. I just felt really cross with myself, I really felt really cross 'cos I've never got 'B' in my life, that's the only time I've got a 'B'.

R. Oh dear! And you're 8 years old! You're 7! Thomas how did you feel about having your 'B'.

Th. I just felt normal really.

R. It didn't worry you, what did your parents think?

Th. My parents were quite cross, I forget what they said but I was grounded for 2 days.

R. You're not serious?

Th. I am.

R. Because of your 'B'?

Th. Yes. (Yr. 4-P)

Even accounting for the possibility that they were playing with the researcher the discourse shows a direct relationship with performance and punishment. Some of these extreme feelings become sanitised as the performative drive to establish an acceptable performative identity takes over,

L. I got fifteen, oh no that was spellings, Maths I got thirteen right. I wasn't happy with thirteen, I reckon I could have done better.

Robin I wasn't happy with five because the other day I got fourteen.

R. How does that make you feel?

Robin I don't know it makes me feel weird.

L. It makes me feel upset.

Robin (continues to recount his number scores) I got fourteen last week and five today - it just don't really seem right. It seems as if I can do the hard questions better than the easier ones.

L. and Robin (talk about a particular sum they got wrong)

R. Will you think about that score tonight, tomorrow. I didn't notice you looking sad after the test and at lunch time you were busy talking about your food?

Robin I wasn't miserable or sad I thought I could do better on paper A and on paper B. (Yr.6-P)

What is central for Foucault is that identity in not a substance in the classical sense and hence lacks a stability of meaning by which it could be defined ahistorically. Foucault's relational approach portrays actors as embedded and identity as developing in concrete social practices where stability is always transitory and precarious.

What Foucault clearly conveys us that individual subjects create themselves in relation to social, political, and regulatory structures of their environment. Ethical action and agency are regarded as political, and as forms of power which is itself represented as a force that circulates. Both in his books and in interviews Foucault presents a picture of individuals who are interconnected and interdependent with each other and with the structures of social and institutional control—where freedom, itself considered political, is conceived of as self mastery within a set of societal constraints.

Conclusion

The construction of performative learning identities occurs during the educational and social practices of performative teaching and learning and the discourses used exemplify that construction but at the same time they confirm and embed those performative practices in daily practice and therefore contribute to the formation of performative identities. The influence of these educational and social practices upon young people from 7-11 is both extensive and significant. They have absorbed the values of aspiration, continual effort and improvement as a way of life; they have a view of knowledge as that which can be tested; an awareness of the significance of differentiation and stratification and they have learned to fabricate their educational practice to further performative objectives. At the same time they see the value of testing and target setting to achieve those objectives and regard learning as a progression from level to level and of being hierarchically organised and assigned. Their personal identities are being recreated constantly as their social identities are altered to cope with both the assigning of imputed identities and the social imperatives in educational settings. Their self worth – their view of themselves – is then developed in the context of their social practice and as Scott (2006) observes prior success or failure affects pupil expectations and self fulfilling prophecies (Pollard 2000; Kirkland 1971). This would be the same in creative teaching and learning situations but the dominant activity in most primary schools is the performative one, particularly in its weak form – the progression narrative.

The use of the Foucauldian perspective is that is shows that this is not just a correspondence reproduction of macro values but that respondents find some satisfaction from the social practices, that they differentiate between them from time to time and that they construct strategies to cope with them and manipulate them recognising the subjective affect they have upon themselves and their peers.

Gramsci realised that hegonomic situations differ in intensity and degree of variation depending on the dynamics of historical development. On this view the potential for social disintegration is ever present and conflict lurks just below the surface. The originality of Gramsci's form of materialism and its compatibility with Foucault approach stems in large part from the break it produced with mechanistic models of base and

superstructure. For Gramsci forms of Marxism that overemphasise the economic base of society neglect the diversity of the constitution of civil society and its autonomy from the economic. In addition the stress on the role of education on the constitution of identities in civil society as well as on the role of the intellectuals, was part of a constructionist dimension taken as much from Croce and Machiavelli as from Marxism by which Gramsci emphasised the constitutive nature of human consciousness. The autonomy of the discursive is recognised also in relation to the universality of the philosophical dimension of reasoning

The idea of mixing Gramsci with Foucault is that we are forced to alter our idea of the structure of social conflict. Foucault doesn't see power as structured or binary between dominators/dominated or as exclusively repressive. As well as being repressive power is also productive, and far from being contained in the state or repressive apparatuses power is exercised at all levels of society…According to Barry Smart (1983) it is in relation to the concepts of power and hegemony that the essential complementarity and utility of the two is justified. Although Foucault's work has revealed the complex multiple processes from which the strategic constitution of the forms of hegemony may emerge, Gramsci's formulations contribute to and constitute a theory of formation and the attempted social cohesion of groups and classes in the wider social structure in response to external environmental conditions. In terms of this new combined perspective then attempts to constitute hegemony work not simply through practices of coercion or simply through practices of consent, but also by way of other practices, techniques and methods that infiltrate minds and bodies as well as cultural values and behaviours as apparently occurring properties. Gramsci and Foucault share a dual analytic focus on forms of knowledge and relations of power through which the human subject has been objectified and constituted and on the techniques of the self and related discourses in terms of which human beings are made into subjects. Both focus on a concern with forms of government to which human beings are subjected, disciplined, modified and reconstructed. Through such a common perspective the dangers of interpreting hegemony as a form of socialisation (from above) are averted. Rather now it is represented as constituted through practices in concrete historical settings (from below)……

According to Marshall (2006) the very concepts we use to construct our identities are such as to make independence and autonomy illusory. Hence education via governmentality effects the production of a new form of subjects –those who believe they are free. Such an education simply introduces a new form of social control and socialisation as well as new and more insidious forms of indoctrination whereby a belief in our own authorship binds us to the conditions of our own production and constitutes and identity that makes us governable.

In the final analysis Gramsci and Foucault present a more powerful perspective on social structure taken together than each does on his own. It produces what can be seen as a new form of historical materialism. Although it is not specifically a Marxist conception in that it is not a theory of the economic base of society or a critique of political economy or of the traditional Marxist dialectical method, it still provides for a general theory of domination which consistent with historical materialism takes all social, economic and political practices as transitory and all intellectual and discursive formations as inseparably connected in institutional relations and to power.

Chapter Eight - The performative institutional embrace

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This final article, based on our mid 2000s research, reviews performativity in its totality, at the level of the school and how the latter seeks to adjust to the performative world. It portrays how performativity has become embedded in the school and how the latter seeks to create a positive environment for teachers and pupils. The specific foci upon which this article is based were;

- The effects of performativity on institutional policies and operations,
- The coping strategies used to ameliorate any tensions and dilemmas,
- The educational identities constructed during this process,
- The significance of a market environment on the professionalism and institutional commitment of teachers,

Performativity, according to Stephen Ball (2003) changes people and their social identities through the regulative ensemble of policies. Teaching becomes a life of calculation, a remaking and for some an empowering experience, such as managers who become the heroes of reform. He sees a paradox in that the move away from low trust centralisation to a more autonomous delegated problem solving role for schools, adds new forms of surveillance, such as self-regulation that creates existential anxiety and is not a local freedom. He goes on to argue that following the law of contradiction the benefits of more autonomy is not realised as organisations and workers focus on impression management. He suggests that there is a schizophrenia of purposes and management inherent in all we do as performativity becomes ubiquitous. It engenders cynicism and he sees it as a further colonisation, via audit, and the fabrications to deal with audits and performance criteria are experienced as both a resistance and capitulation. It fosters a pathology of creative compliance and he argues in an earlier paper (Ball 1997) that this compliance is a new subjectivity of the market, one in which the regulation of private conduct becomes the major aim for schools, teachers and learners. He invokes Bagguley's view that the Gramscian relationship between the State and Civil society and the dichotomy between them is dissolving into radically new political technologies of market power.

Whilst we recognise these possible outcomes, our research found a more nuanced situation within our research sites, one in which the school as an institution developed into an embracing one. The institutions embraced government policies and everyone in the institution, and in turn the members embraced the institution as the vehicle most influential for their development, security and career.

Theoretical Frame

We found three categories of social institutions - the Total Institution (TI) (Goffman 1961), the Greedy Institution (GI) (Coser 1974) and the Reinventive Institution (RI) (Scott 2010) - relevant in attempting to understand the operation of performativity. Our overall contribution to this area is to suggest that a new category of 'The Embracing Performative Institution' (EPI) adds to these types of institutions framed in a similar symbolic interactionist approach to those used by Goffman, Coser and Scott.

Goffman's (1961) description of the Total Institution (TI) was one based in an asylum in which the three aspects of modern society – sleep, work and play – were carried out in the same place and time, unlike our more general social arrangement in modern society, where they are contextualised separately. TI members lived their lives under the same single authority, together with a batch of others, in tightly scheduled activities brought

together in a single rational plan to fulfil the aims of the institution (Goffman 1961). Goffman traced how identities were constructed in this authoritative institution similar to that of army barracks, boarding schools and prisons, concluding that, although inmates carried out continuous minor regular acts of resistance, they saw themselves as powerless even though they played the system to suit themselves. He argued in Asylums that this particular special institution arrangement didn't 'so much support the self as constitute it' (p.154). In this sense Scott (2010) argues that the interactionism the TI embodies is not a static structure but a dynamic, agentic team performance through which identities are collectively, reshaped and redefined and that the TI was a precariously constructed social reality that was constantly re-accomplished and upheld by its members.

Greedy Institutions (GI) (Coser 1974) are similar to TIs in that they seek exclusive and undivided loyalty and they attempt to reduce the claims of competing roles and status positions in those they wish to encompass within their boundaries in order to gain maximum productivity. Unlike Goffman's TI the GI rarely physically confines its inmates, but creates symbolic boundaries between insiders and outsiders, that is, equally powerful: these are disciplinary mechanisms not blockades (Foucault, 1977), or 'institutions without walls', which members are ostensibly free to leave but choose not to (Scott 2010, p.218). Nor do GIs rely on external authority, as in the TI, but 'tend to rely on voluntary compliance and to evolve means of activating loyalty and commitment' (Coser 1974, p.6). They claim the totality of their member's social identities by pervading every role they play and every aspect of their lifestyle: for example religious cults, vocational training schools and secret societies. Greedy institutions are exclusive and demand absolute commitment: new recruits are expected to weaken existing ties with other social groups and give the institution their undivided loyalty.

Scott (2010) argues that a new form of institution has emerged, which though ostensibly benign, subjects its inmates to a subtler form of social control through performative regulation. The same characteristics of coercion in the TI and voluntarism from the GI can be observed in this new Reinventive Institution (RI) but a reversal of the balance between the two has created new techniques of reinventing the self. She goes on to argue that surveillance in RIs is maintained, not only by disciplinary regimes imposed on and responded to by bodies (Foucault, 1977) but also by the negotiations of reality that occur between members in the context of their physical, spatial and social institutional arrangements. As with the classic TI it is not enough to say that inmates are subjected to surveillance; we must also consider how their interactions collectively define this situation as non-coercive and we must consider the meanings they attach to their obedience. She notes the parallel between Goffman's writings, and Foucault's view of power as dispersed and ubiquitous (Burns in Scott 2010). Both beg the question as to how institutional regimes are upheld by routinised conformity or 'why do they put up with it' (Jenkins in Scott, 2010, p. 220). Both Goffman's 'cooperation with disadvantage' and Foucault's 'disciplinary power' suggest essentially negative motivations for compliance: actors cynically conform in order to retain the dramaturgical loyalty of their team mates, or restrain themselves by internalising a punitive omniscient gaze. However, where institutional membership is perceived as voluntary, discipline may be welcomed as positively empowering, experienced through discourses of self-improvement that are both internalised and personalised. Paradoxically, these private meanings are publicly shared, communicated between as well as to inmates, which strengthens their belief that conformity is of mutual benefit.

Performative regulation is a conceptual synergy of Foucault's disciplinary power, Strauss's (Strauss 1978) negotiated order and Goffman's interaction order (Scott 2010). It occurs where groups of people submit themselves to the authority of an institution, internalise its values and enact through them mutual surveillance in an inmate culture. Power operates horizontally as well as vertically (Bernstein 1977) as members monitor each other's conduct, sanction deviance and evaluate their own progress in relative terms. The disciplinary gaze is

not merely transmitted but reticulated: dispersed and refracted through an agentic network. Power is not only discursively constitutive but also interactively productive of new identities. The rituals of peer group interaction are central to this process and can be as important as the formal instruction they receive in motivating people to commit to an institution (Scott 2010) instead of going it alone. Moral trajectories of reinvention are mediated by an interaction context and narratives of change are collectively negotiated. In this respect power is not only discursively constitutive but also interactively productive of new identities.

In dramaturgical terms, mutual surveillance involves performances of obedience and role embracement: members seek to demonstrate the sincerity of their commitment to the institution, and manage the impressions they communicate to fellow staff (Scott 2010). The result is an emergent team impression (Goffman 1959) of conformity: actors sustain a collective belief in both the institutional rhetoric and their voluntary adherence to it, making resistance seem unnecessary.

In contrast to the repressive authoritarian power of the asylum and its like, RIs rely on a more dispersed, intangible authority built into relationships and practices. This power operates through a pervasive gaze that captures every inmate and appears to emanate personally from the institution itself and the expertise it represents, rather than the specific individuals within it. Scott's RI institutions are voluntary therapeutic clinics, utopian retreats and academic hothouses, in which members were attempting to reinvent their identity.

The Embracing Performative Institution (EPI) has similarities with all three institutions described but the context in which they operate differs. It operates in the modern performative world similar to the RI, however, teachers join their schools as workers and careerists, in contrast to the RI, where members focus on changing or renewing their personal identity rather than their professional career. As in the GI and the RI the staff of a marketised primary school, are to some extent, there voluntarily for they apply to take posts in schools. They have to teach in a highly structured institution with specific policy purposes and their main identity development is one of professionality.

Nevertheless, the situation ensures similar changes in identity and role as in the three institutions described above, for the EPI embraces members to assist in the development of both the institution and the member. Authority structures are similarly dispersed, as in the RI, as performativity becomes a major guiding value for teachers themselves, their careers, professional competence and job satisfaction. However, performative success and school position in the local market encourages or deflates their efforts.

EPI members do not perceive themselves to be powerless. The see themselves as both constrained by market demands for performativity but also creative in managing the performativity of the institution and they perceive opportunities to develop their interests with the support of the embracing institution.

The Embracing Performative Institution

The EPI works to develop open, welcoming collective, inclusive cultures in which there appear to be few centres of power but where power circulates freely by binding people together to develop the institution and its inhabitants. We found that the EPI differed from the TI, GI and RI in three ways: it looked both outwards and inwards due to its market orientation; it develops its members in a humanitarian fashion and encouraged them to play a large part in the maintenance of the institution and it created a culture of aspiration for both learners and teachers which maintained commitment and encouraged members to embrace the institution's values, policies and processes.

Embracing openness

The EPI looked to embrace not only its members but the local community, like the RI, but to maintain its

market position rather than to enhance only commitment and to that end, unlike the GI, it developed an open culture. As shown in Chapter One the six primary schools had an openness to the local community through their websites, publication of test results, community interests and willingness to engage. Their values, aims and objectives, policies, activities, performance, physical structure and location, staff events, ethnic makeup, poverty indicators and learners were all open to scrutiny across the world through their websites, which provided information about the school year, student performance and the quality of learner's work as well as carefully selected images to represent the school's ethos.

They were open to their communities – albeit often through electronic entry systems as in City School,

> Samantha persons the reception desk in the area just inside the locked school entrance. She has access to the entry button and organises things with a phone and ensures everyone signs in. She is immediate contact with visitors and shows a friendly but professional image of the school (FN-C-21/3/07)

The performance of the teacher was a daily public affair, unlike the closed classrooms of a 'professional autonomous' phase prior to 1990 (Hargreaves 2000) and its qualitative nature had changed,

> Yeah it's more open door. We don't have our door shut and we don't teach like that so much. We're a bigger team than we used to be when you were on your own in the classroom from 9-3. It's much more open and we encourage teachers to show us what they can do (Carolyn-C-Yr.2).

This is opposite to the 'siege mentality' of the 1990s (Woods, 1993). The impression is that everything is now pushed to the front of the stage (Woods, 1995), instead of being confined to the back regions (Goffman 1959) for all to see.

> The staffroom is upstairs and its role as a 'back region' (Goffman, 1959) appears to have been dissolved. The kitchen side of it, reached directly from the stairs, is used for group work during special days (e.g.: Gifted and Talented). There is a separate, smaller room with chairs for staff to sit. Children do come up now and again to look for things or people. Although children don't seem to walk directly into the smaller room, its door is never shut and the children freely address the staff within. Visitors, once admitted are given free reign to roam (FN-H-25/02/2007)

Meetings often took place in public, not in the head's office, which in one of our schools was only used to house her two dogs, with the door open of course. One such meeting we noted was in the school café and included a DfES (Department for Education and Schools) person and another meeting constituted six local headteachers (FN-C-21/03/2007). The school is not just willing to share information, but positively eager to share it.

> On my first visit, I am offered a wealth of information (including access to the curriculum folders). I have a chat with the Assistant Head over coffee in the staffroom, and she tells me all about the introduction of the curriculum, and about creative aspects of her current work, before I even have time to ask her. Slight variations of the invitation to 'wander around, they won't mind' were offered by several different people (FN-H-20/10/2006)

Schools were also open to the community and at the same time they established the school as an important community institution that was worthwhile supporting, developing and embracing,

> The Children's Centre in the school has picked up and is running the family therapy groups, PCAMS, (the Primary Child Mental Health Group). They're providing parenting through the family links programme. It's beginning to have an impact but it will slow. But it does fundamentally change things and certainly more schools are like us. When I appoint people the first thing I do is put them on the

family links training. (Camile-HT-City)

There was more collaboration between teachers who often worked together planning a term's work for the same age group and joint activities often took place with two teachers working in the same room or the whole school worked on one project for anything from one week to six in which teaching ideas and strategies were shared and displayed.

> I think that's quite exciting for us as a whole school because it's something new and something different and it makes sense to work very closely together with our year colleagues which is good. It's good for me because I love to learn from other people. I watch them and think 'oh that's a good way of explaining that' or she'd talk about a topic in such a way that I think I must remember that (Carolyn-C-Yr2).

This open culture made hierarchical power less visible and appeared to show how horizontal power (Bernstein 1999) operated by focusing on the institution and less on hierarchical influence . Everyone was embraced and everyone embraced the development of the institution.

Embracing members – team work, nurturing and distributed leadership

The embracing institution is constituted by a 'negotiated order' (Strauss, 1978) similar to that of the TI (Scott 2010) except that compliance is more evolutionary than revolutionary due to the lack of an observable and operational hierarchy to react against. The EPI contains more flattened hierarchies, where members develop the institution. Belonging to a team, the opposite of the lone professional of Lortie's (1975) study and the holistic individual/professional integrated identity of those in Nias's study (1989), was the new major way in which the primary teacher's identity was constructed (Jeffrey 2002).

Today's professional primary school teacher is a team player in open competition with other school teams, but also part of a team that needs to present itself as a unified, creative, inclusive and effective managerial organisation, 'doing member' (Garfinkel 1967), 'Being part of a team, getting to know adults as well is rewarding. It was very lonely when previously I was with just children all the time and then going home and having my own life' (Wanda-W-Yr.6). An air of supportive collegiality pervaded the institution,

> I think the staff are wonderful. Everybody here, in general, works very, very well together. I think we support each other very well and that's teaching staff and non-teaching staff. So that's TA's and DSA's and office staff. I think everyone gets along really, really well and works together superbly to make sure that the school is the place that it is (Wheatley-W-15/1/2006)

Professional cohesion and good professional relations were essential to the development of the team approach. These corporate teams reflect the modern commercial organisation in which everyone plays a part in the development and promotion of the cultural institution (Peters, 1982).

The most significant aspect of these embracing institutions was the care they exhibited towards its members bringing them close to the institution's cultural life and development.

> We do a lot of professional development. We have specialists in to motivate us and I think that really does keep you going. We try to nurture each other and help each other and we're all very hot on family links and we do that with the class but we also try to do that with each other and support each other and have networks and have teams (Carolyn-C-Yr.2)

And developing their careers was closely tied to institutional development,

> There are so many high spots actually - the buzz you get from seeing people learn and grow. New teachers coming in and managing new exciting things. Parents and carers have got OCM accredited

courses now so I've just seen some parents and carers getting their first ever certificate. That was fantastic - it was fabulous. When people grow and the fact that I have a tiny influence on that (Camile-HT-C)

This approach promoted ownership

of the school and its policies and it's beliefs right through and it's engrained in staff as soon as you come in. You get a huge amount of support as I've had in my NQT (Newly Qualified Teacher) year and it's been particularly appreciated given the social and economic difficulties that the children live with here. If you didn't get it, it would be a disaster. That for me is the single biggest factor of teaching in this school making it easier to teach in this school in a different way (Christopher-C-Yr.3).

The wider team discourse of culture of business and commerce was seen in the language used to portray primary school cultures and professional identities,

I don't do many of the things I should do as a Head, I don't take many assemblies, I never cover classes, I don't do very much paper work. I've got brilliant people in the office and brilliant people in the leadership team. I don't do that, what I do is influence. I influence children; I influence parents and carers (Camile-C-HT)

The headteachers were not seen overtly as decision makers, as were the leaders in the RI, but as people who frame and influence the conduct of conduct – the culture of the institution (Gillies 2008). The global interest in harnessing intellectual and creative labour through cultural processes is as prevalent for teacher identities in today's schools as it is in corporate institutions (Jones 2001),

Why do I stay? Because it is a nice school. I've got a Head who's very supportive, who allows me to do a lot of different things that maybe I wouldn't be able to do in another school, all the extra curricular things. I'm very keen on the health of the children and he is very supportive. If I want to do something to do with that he'll let me. So it's a combination of a nice school, lots of change happening in it all the time, lots of things going on and the supportiveness of the Head and the Deputy, who's excellent. She's always there with the door open and I think that matters (Imogen-I-Yr.5)

The reticulation – dispersal and refraction of the disciplinary gaze involves the incorporation of a managerial identity (Scott 2010) but in the EPI the obvious trappings of managerialism have been moved to a back region,

In my last school I came in for a meeting with external visitors in a suit and the teachers were surprised. So I asked them about it and they said that 'when you meet with important people you wear a suit but when you meet with us you don't wear a suit because we're not important'. Well after that, I wore a suit every single day I taught the kids and I didn't wear a suit when I went to meetings 'cos I wanted to turn it on its head (Camile-C-HT)

Contemporary primary school teacher identities involved both a teaching and a management commitment,

I particularly enjoy managing staff and managing the TAs (Teaching Assistant). I'm TA co-ordinator and I'm also the NQT mentor. We have two NQTs in the school and I mentor them. And I really enjoy that side of it. I've always given it my best. I am also a Physical Education co-ordinator and now I have an Assistant Head role which is very new. I'm shadowing our deputy at the moment (Carolyn-C-Yr2)

The team approach and distributed management (Woods 2004a) enabled class teachers to assist other teacher's professional practice, specifically in performative practices,

I sit with the Yr. 5 teacher and we look at areas where there is a dip and we look at different strategies,

with writing for example, looking at how the children can set their own manageable writing targets so that they understand in 'children speak' (Harriet-H-Yr.6)

One major aspect of the cultural development of the institution was the positive relationship between career guidance and counselling and flexibility of employees and their ability to function in flexible organisations. There was

> a clear relationship between the employee's perception of being valued by the organization on the one hand, and job performance, motivation, self-esteem and innovative behaviour on the other hand. The main reason for these positive effects is a social exchange process: 'When the organization is good for me, I am good for the organisation'. These results suggest that career guidance and counselling for teachers can provide a promising platform for personal sense-making in relation to actual developments and changes that are taking place in schools (Geijsel 2005), p. 427)

Embracing performativity, and aspiration

Performative regulation occurs where groups of people submit themselves to the authority of an institution, internalise its values and enact through them mutual surveillance in an inmate culture (Scott 2010). Power operates horizontally as well as vertically, (Bernstein 1977) as members monitor each other's conduct, sanction deviance and evaluate their own progress in relative terms. Power is not only discursively constitutive but also interactively productive of new identities. The rituals of peer group interaction are central to this process and can be as important as the formal instruction they receive in motivating people to commit to an institution (Scott 2010) instead of going it alone. A performative culture of awards and rewards has replaced the authority of the TI and the GI. It is an embracing discourse celebrating achievement and progress, for example: City school has a Healthy Award Status for 2006-9.

There were an array of awards and rewards across every school's culture,

> The room is very tidy, there are things hanging from the ceiling, but not as many as in Yr.2. Some seats have 'Star of the week' sheets stuck on the back, with the name of the pupil and a dozen or so reasons, such as 'You are kind and caring', 'You are very good on the play equipment'. 'You can do very difficult calculations' etc (FN-H-Yr.5-8/1/07)

Vertical ladders and steps were some of the metaphors used in the awards and rewards discourse,

> They then sit down on the carpet and discuss with the teacher why two children were sent out during rehearsals, and the consequences if they misbehave again. The two children in question are sent to ' climb down a step' of a paper ladder which has to do with 'Climb the teddy to be a winner', where little photos of the children continuously move up and down a poster of a teddy according to good and bad behaviour (FN-H-1/12/06)

External awards were applied for and prized,

> And receiving the International School Award for the work that the whole school had done, through my kind of initiative. It was made by the British Council and you have to send them a portfolio of all the things we've done and then we keep the award for 3 years (Cecile-C-Yr.2)

Learners were drawn into the performativity game through the assignment of personal responsibility,

> Oh, I always tell my kids that it's for them to know how well they're doing, for their parents to know how well they're doing, for and the rest of the teachers to know how well they're doing. So they have to show us that they're doing their best, otherwise they'd let themselves down (Celina-C-Yr.3)

Improvement was a key feature of the discourse,

> I think schools should be judged and I think we should have a standard that we should reach and we should keep on striving to get better. You need to have inspections and things like that to - nobody wants it but you need that. It keeps you on your toes and helps you move forward (Wendy-W-DH),

That pressure permeated the school's discourse of performativity, in particular Yr. 6 where SATs (Standard Assessment Tasks) play a prominent role,

> We are saying to them at the start, 'you want to get into your school and you need to perform well' and the results are recorded, which they are, so that other teachers in secondary school can access them. I say 'you need to get good results to get where you want to go', (Witney-W-Yr.6)

The fear of failure was constant, for rewards and successes brought further imperatives to do better,

> We have got a slightly falling roll so there's peer teacher pressure because last year's Yr.6 did exceedingly well compared to the previous two years. We have been constantly told if you don't do well again we're going to get OfSTED'd (inspected) because an alarming set of results triggers one (Calvin-C-DH)

Embracing performativity became one of the ways members embraced the institution's values and care shown towards them,

> My high points of teaching are when you hear children whispering to each other on the carpet and they say 'I've got that' or they've done something, a sense of achievement or they come up to you and they're desperate to get their books marked, you just get the sense that they're thriving and they're enjoying what they're trying to get over (Wheatley-W-Yr.3)

In these circumstances children and teachers felt they were thriving, not just surviving or striving. Progress was also fulfilling even if it was a minor progression,

> I went through my results yesterday and although on the face of it they don't look great, when you compare them with October when they came to me but they've all achieved. They've all moved up and that's made me happy although the results aren't fantastic when you compare them with other schools. Everybody's gone up and that was good, so we must be making a difference. When you go through it with a tooth comb, you can see something positive and that's good (Weatley-W-Yr.3).

The school embraced external support unlike the TI, GE and the RI for times when the results were not so good,

> The ISP (Inspection Support Programme) programme will come in and support purely curriculum based activities and we've had EAZ (Government Educational Action Zone) come in and work with us to write our literacy plans which has been great, so if you don't perform well they will come in and help which is great. (Witney-W-Yr.6)

There was satisfaction and a reward in knowing that progress had been made, that achievements had been reached and targets met.

> I think it's good that Ofsted could be round the corner or could be checking on us at any moment. I don't particularly like it when they're in (laughs) but no it doesn't worry me. I don't think it worries the school either because I think we know what we're doing and I think we know where we want to get to, we know what we want to achieve and we've got our school improvement plan and we know what's on it, so I think it's fine (Carolyn-C-Yr.2).

Any failures were internalised and teachers developed responsibility towards their pupils and the institution, a form of internal embracement of institutional problems Perversely, the support of the team culture of the PEI appeared to protect them from this personal criticism but the responsibility was nevertheless felt acutely. However, it was also accepted as part of the role to reach these targets so they incorporated these responsibilities. They embraced the imperatives of the performativity culture to ensure the continuing success of their institution in the local market place. We saw how testing and targets alongside external auditing were accepted by teachers as part of their role, more of a craft role ensuring everything was effective and striving for improvement.

The demanding GI always wants more of its members and teacher commitment to the institution ensures it gets more but the negative aspects of institutional life are internalised and marginalised by their interest and commitment to embrace a culture of openness and aspiration, improvement and collaboration.

Scott (2010) notes that

> Lukes (2005) argues that power is most effective when it operates not through coercive domination but by securing the willing compliance of subjects to be governed. Thus 'third dimension' of power – performative regulation - may be subtle and insidious but it is not necessarily exploitative. Lukes warns against condescending theories of false consciousness and cultural doping, arguing that while cultural discourses may shape people's perceptions of their 'true' or 'best' interests, these individuals are actively involved in translating general principles into personally meaningful terms. Furthermore, insofar as they perceive the effects of power to be positive (for example when therapy makes one feel better), they can be said to have acted in their *real* interests. We should therefore beware of underestimating the agency of RI inmates just as much as that of those in the TI (Scott 2010, p. 221).

There was clearly a technicisation of work represented by levelling assessment procedures and target setting but general educational values were present with passion, which to some extent, counters some of the literature showing primary schools and teachers as depressed and stressed resulting in a loss of commitment (Troman, 2001). Promotion and challenges were daunting but welcomed in this new 'can do' culture.

> It is a big job and it is a responsible thing to do. There are downsides to it but I think quite positively. Perhaps it's me in my innocence or my ignorance, I don't know. It's a big responsibility but I think it's one that I'm quite happy to take on. And I think I would do it very well. So that's just how I look at it really (Vicky-V-DH)

Being placed in special measures (a critical Ofsted assessment) proved to be a challenge, 'to come in and have that clear mandate to change a school in special measures was very exciting. And a clear understanding that it really did need to change' (Camile-C-HT) as did wider challenges.

A commitment to social justice strengthened the power of the institution and those individuals who embraced these principles. Their commitment was not just to maintain their league table position in the market environment but to improve children's opportunities. Their aspirations were tied closely to the children's education although they accepted that the methodology was not perfect for all children. The discourse of improvement and challenge pervaded the whole culture, a postmodern form of governmentality (Foucault, 1979),

> In fact one of the kids last week at Breakfast Club gave me the best feedback I have ever had. I want it written on my tombstone. I think it sums up best what you need to do and you do on a good day. She said, 'I think you're like the Wizard of Oz Mrs Herbert because you educate our brains, you're kind but you give us courage'. And I thought well, there you go there's a pretty good leg up that you need

to give to your staff too as well. Give them the courage, give them the stamina but also give them a challenge. We musn't see them as problems but give them the challenge and give them the support (Camile-C-HT)

The discourse of improvement, challenge and aspiration seeped into the life of the institution and its members.

Conclusion

The Embracing Performative Institution encourages teachers to take on more managerial roles, to supervise each other, to take responsible for various parts of the school organisation and curriculum, often without extra pay or designated seniority. In this way the institution is continually reinvented with the collaboration and support of the inmates for institutional development and at the same time individuals benefit as they develop careers and performative institutional competences. It looks to embrace not only its members but the local community in order to maintain its market position and to that end, unlike the Greedy Institution, it develops an open culture but nevertheless like the GI it separates staff from wider professional relations due to the necessity to maintain a competitive approach in its marketised environment. The recent government policy development of academies, federated schools managed by one organisational body and 'free schools' administered by private organisations can be seen as a widening of market influence and they will extend the experience of being a member of an embracing institution as each one seeks to popularise their schools.

Being embraced is supportive and it ensures institutional survival in a marketised macro world and embracing the institution allows members to influence some outcomes and to gain personal satisfaction as well as reconstructing relevant situational identities. This model of the Embracing Performative Institution applies to institutions that develop supportive cultures unlike the TI but similar to the GI and the RI. However, these EPIs are not exclusive like the GI, nor do they focus solely on exploring and reinventing individual and personal identities as in the RI. A more general distinction is that an EPI model can apply to a wider set of institutions than either the TI or the RI, both public and private sector institutions that seek to enhance their worth, status, values and practices in a marketised macro context. They use the full force of member effectiveness to gain market position, like the GI but at the same time develop each member's commitment through embracing their development, professional values, interests and sociability. The EPI creates a positive, supportive and creative internal culture to enhance the performativity of its marketised institution.

Epilogue

This review of performativity experiences for a small sample of primary schools, teachers and pupils over the last 20 years shows an uncompromising, sustained development of an approach to education, teaching and learning that focuses on continuous improvement of performance in terms of results of testing and audit procedures.

However another major reform of the primary curriculum due in 2014. The main changes will be a focus on content and schools and teacher efforts to enable pupils to reach the required standards in those subjects, 'There needs to be a relentless focus in ensuring all pupils grasp key curriculum content' (Gove 2012). To this end the level descriptors researched in this project will be abolished. The core basic subjects will be English, maths and science, which will be prioritised in performativity assessments and a foreign language. The programmes of study will be significantly reduced focusing only on specific subject content but schools and teachers will have more flexibility to decide how to reach those standards (Oates 2011). The rest of the curriculum subjects will also have programmes of study but again these will be much reduced and schools and teachers will have considerable flexibility as to how they meet the standards required.

The progression narrative in which teachers have become proficient is now to be discarded in favour of the status narrative of performativity – achievement level – but one more attuned to succeeding or failing than levels of competence.

Primary teachers are faced with two significantly different professional roles, one focusing more on specific performative standards but with greater flexibility about how to achieve those standards.

The development of creative teaching and learning and 'smart teaching' may well develop in this more flexible context or they may become marginalised once again as pedagogic practices narrow to include more rote learning to meet the subject content standards.

There has been criticism that knowledge, creativity, and innovation, part of the discourse of economic growth, are being excluded from the proposed secondary curriculum according to Stephen Twigg the shadow education secretary (Wintour 2012) and the development of a 'Smart State' (Adie 2008) approach - to show support both for performative practices and for creative teaching and learning in pursuit of a raising achievement and supporting a broader economic strategy may also be eroded.

The general context in which this policy framework is enacted has been recently summarised by Pat Thomson (2013) using narrative theory to explicate the basis of its ideology and its enactments. She argues that Lyotard's master narrative of the Enlightenment still remains dominant but that one that no longer resides on truth – depends now on continued operationalistion and adaptation/adjustment. This performativity principle characterises (post) modern life. It is both utopian and utilitarian. It professes a teleology of reason which is neutral, rigorous and universal. It is enacted through taxonomies which classify every aspect of everyday life and empirical processes which manage and measure improvements (the way of progressing). She shows, through the description of five storylines, how an equity narrative not only speaks to the global knowledge economy (GKE), we outlined in the Introduction, but how it also contains utopian elements as it serves to satisfy the highly utilitarian ends of

- *The competitive nation state:* In order to survive the nation state must have a workforce in which a majority is able to 'do' knowledge work.
- *The work ready citizenry*: The duty of all citizenry in GKE is to ensure they are equipped and ready for work.

- *The prepared nation state*: Nation states need to show each other they are committed to GKE progress.
- *The recalcitrant citizen-leaders*: the nation state has empowered local sites and leaders to get on with it. If equity is not happening it is their fault.
- *The resistant citizenry*: Talking about the importance of context is making excuses; the focus must be on what can be done, not what cannot.

To exemplify some of her analysis we draw upon recent policy pronouncements and initiatives from July-November 2013 reported in the Guardian newspaper to illustrate the fact that future education policy and practices show no diminution of this process of performativity. One of these articles reflected the first four storylines very succinctly - entitled 'Clever but poor boys 'are 30 months behind richer peers in reading' (Guardian 2013b). It outlined how, high-achieving boys from disadvantaged backgrounds are more likely to perform poorly on international tests than those in other nations and warned that action must be taken to ensure that schools are supporting bright students so they do not lose out on top university places and good jobs. The data came from the 2009 scores of 15-year-olds taking part in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) international Pisa reading tests. This put England 23rd out of 32 countries who took part in the tests, ahead of countries including the USA and France, but behind others including Norway, Chile and Slovenia. Sir Peter Lampl, Sutton Trust chairman, who wrote the roport said the gap in boys' achievement was a 'worrying issue'.

> 'This matters for two important reasons,' he said. 'First, it is clearly economically inefficient not to tap into talent wherever it exists. By not stretching our most able students from all backgrounds, we are not only failing them, we are reducing our ability to compete globally… Second, such under-achievement perpetuates those inequalities which make it so hard for bright children to move up in society'.

The report went on to say that a culture of low expectations in many schools meant that bright pupils were not being stretched and were failing to gain top grades at GCSE, according to a report published by the inspectorate. According to the Guardian article The Sutton Trust is calling on the government to introduce a programme that identifies children with high potential when they start school to ensure that they are supported throughout their education. Sir Peter said: 'We need to improve the support given to highly able children in comprehensive schools and academies'….'That is why it is so important that there is a targeted scheme that ensures that those with high potential from low and middle-income backgrounds are identified and helped to thrive….'Parents and students need to know that highly able young people will be given the backing they need to succeed regardless of which school they attend.'

Thompson (2013) argues that the narrativisation of equity-as-equal outcomes and the equal-opportunity-as-the-removal–of-barriers has become in national policy the arithmetic equation for the distribution of goods/benefits among population groupings in roughly the same proportions as they are in wider society. She suggests this is a distributive notion of equity and social justice which shares the characteristics of GKE. For her equity in education has its own variations on the Enlightenment narrative – performatives – not truths, but utilitarian categories that shape what is said and done:

- knowledge, dispositions, and skills become a thing to be dealt with. Knowledge is parcelled up in syllabus artefacts and delivered through transmission pedagogies or coercive contructivism.
- knowledge outcomes are privileged over purposes and processes.
- it is assumed learning occurs in the same incremental way for all.
- learning can be measured.

She notes that the national policies from the USA - No Child Left Behind, the UK - Every Child Matters use this logic as do policies enacted in Australia and all of them consequently subscribe to OECD measures.

Further evidence of Thomson's (2013) narrative analysis comes from evidence of further testing to be introduced at younger and younger ages.

> A government consultation has asked whether a 'baseline' test should be introduced at the start of reception for five-year-olds. This would be used to assess a school's success when tougher standards are set for new key stage 2 tests, the exams pupils take at 11 as they prepare for secondary school. Under the changes, 85% of pupils will have to reach a "good level of attainment" by 2016 in updated key stage 2 tests. The old level 4 will be replaced by a new "scaled score" in line with the new national curriculum covering maths, reading, spelling, punctuation and grammar….. The deputy prime minister Nick Clegg told BBC Radio Five Live that the government would not "turn schools into exam sausage factories". But speaking later on the BBC News channel he defended the proposal for new "baseline" tests for five-year-olds. He told the BBC: "We expect primary schools in the future to get more children across the bar so that they are ready to do well on the first day of secondary school. Pupils are already tested in the last year of primary school. Parents and teachers already get marks – level five, level four, level three – which distinguish one pupil from another. (Watts 2013)

A later Guardian article in November (Adams 2013) quoted the Ofsted Chief Inspector as saying,

> 'Poor under-fives are still 19 months behind their affluent peers when they start school at five. What a dire start to their educational lives….Those children have low-level social skills, especially reading and communication. They're not ready to learn at school. Weak parenting, low educational attainment of parents, poor diet, poor housing and so on, the gap between affluent and disadvantaged is greatest in that group."….Sally Morgan said there was a political imperative to help children from poorer backgrounds, alongside Ofsted's introduction of a tougher regime of inspection for daycare and nurseries. 'I think there needs to be a big bold brave move on the under-fives agenda to target funding heavily on the children who will benefit most and – increasingly I think – to look to strong providers to go further down the system'…'We've increasingly got five-to-18 schools, why not [from] three?' Morgan said, later adding: "I said three to 18, it could be two to 18 as far as I'm concerned.'

The emphasis on more testing of pupils, schools and teachers in the future exemplifies the extent to which performativity is embedded in our schools and the latter chapters of this book show how schools and teachers have had to adapt to its powerful and persuasive practices.

To this end the current government has scrapped national incremental for teachers and introduced performance related pay to be administered by individual head teachers and governors. From September 2013 staff members pay progression will be dependent upon their success in the classroom. Under the system teachers will no longer progress automatically up nationally set pay 'bands'. Instead, head teachers will have the option to link an individual's salary to their annual appraisal. Pay bands will be kept as a reference point, but instead of teachers steadily moving up points within a band, heads will have complete discretion over where in the band to place any member of staff. In one primary school,

> Teachers there have been set three targets: a whole school target, a team target and a personal target. 'At the end of the year there will be pay progression based on whether they are satisfactory, good and outstanding, and in February the governors will set the percentage pay rise for a year – this will be set on an annual basis depending on the budget.' All targets set must benefit pupil progress, while the personal target can relate more specifically to the individual's career development.' (Ratcliffe 2013)

At another secondary school targets underpin pay progression,

> 'We operate performance related pay anyway,' says Lawrence Montagu, headteacher at the 'outstanding' St Peter's High School and Sixth Form College in Gloucester. 'When people progress from the main pay scale to the upper pay scale, they're given targets. And if they don't hit them, they don't progress any further.' (Tickle 2013).

The demands on teachers and pupils to improve performance has not only increased over the last twenty years but new elements such as performance related pay is further entrenching it as a central element in what is understood as education, both in policy and pedagogic terms.

However, a vital element in any epilogue and for educational/social policy analysis is to highlight any counter narratives. Thompson (2013) finally goes on to suggest that one counter strategy is to build on the small stories which show the possibilities for different kinds of educational and social practices. She argues that 'Counter narratives are repositories of discursive resources that can be drawn upon by individuals and groups to not only disrupt and engage in localised counter activities but also to bring them together in social movements' (p.181).

The narratives provided by those recorded in our research over the last twenty years show how people act as a agents for the dominant discourses but also how they use their agency to adapt them and in some cases to resist them. We outlined, in Chapter One how some teachers merged performative imperatives with creative teaching to operationalize 'smart teaching' and all of our research over the last twenty years has recorded an alternative pedagogy of creative teaching and learning in other publications (Jeffrey and Woods 2003, 2009; Tickle 2013; Woods and Jeffrey 1996). These stories are also reflected currently at national level. During the same period sampling Guardian articles there were counter narratives expressed by influential individuals and groups (Guardian 2013a).

> Carol Ann Duffy – the Poet Laureate and 200 others condemned education policy (Tuesday 1 October) by joining leading academics and children's authors in condemning the government's education policies as harmful to children. They said they were 'gravely concerned' by new policies in state education and have called for the reforms, affecting the national curriculum and exams, to be halted. They write: 'Competition between children through incessant testing and labelling results is a public sense of failure for the vast majority'…The drive towards ever-higher attainment in national tests leads inevitably to teaching to the test, which narrows the range of learning experiences. Harmful stress is put on young people, their parents and their teachers….These damaging developments must stop. If they go ahead there will be devastating consequences for children's mental health, for future opportunities and, most importantly, for the quality of childhood itself.' They describe demands on teachers as being like a 'straitjacket' that will 'destroy the educational richness that should be children's birthright'. The group wants the government to set up a commission to examine alternatives. They conclude: 'It is time to seek a consensus of parents, teachers, academics, children's authors, business leaders, politicians of all parties and other public figures to decide on what we want for our children and how best to achieve it'.

UK activists are employing those that speak for other education systems who have, according to the UK Government, enviable performativity results, such as Finland (Wilby 2013).

> Pasi Sahlberg was Finland's chief inspector of schools … until it was decided teachers did not need Ofsted-style surveillance. Now his job is global spokesman for the Finnish message… While England began to dilute its comprehensive system almost as soon as it was established – in the early 1980s,

> the Tories introduced 'parental choice' and offered subsidised places in elite private schools – Finland was further extending its ideal of the common school….Sahlberg is reluctant to attribute Finland's economic success to its schools. 'Some would say it's the other way round: we have educational success because we have economic success.' To him and other Finns, equity is the schools' greatest achievement: the gap between high and low achievers is the smallest in the world and nobody talks of failing schools because there isn't that much difference between schools' results….Sahlberg insists: 'Pisa is not what we are about. League tables are not a good measure of a school system. We never aimed to be the best in education, only to have good schools for all. Equity came before a 'race to the top' mentality'… Like many other educational researchers, he argues that most pupil achievement is explained by factors outside of school authorities' control and that, if politicians wish to elevate children out of poverty, they should look to other public policy areas.

As far as creative teaching and learning is concerned it is possible that, at least, the following three scenarios may become dominant or they may all operate at the same time.

- Creative teaching and learning acts to improve the effectiveness of future knowledge based standards –'smart teaching' – teaching creatively.
- Some creative teaching and learning is maintained in parallel for subjects outside the core curriculum alongside performativity imperatives of the main subjects of English, maths and science in an attempt to develop the new creative, skilful, collaborative contributor to the national economy – the creative citizen – teaching for performativity and creativity.
- Creative teaching and learning maintains itself as a continuous challenge to performative performance, with the support of other civic groups such as the arts lobby, to reinstate it as a central policy for educational development – the creative challenge.

The use of Foucault's discourse theory and that emanating from Narrative approaches indicates clearly that any social setting is a contested arena including, in this case at the level of the GKE, our meso UK education policies and the micro facework done in schools. As Thomson argues the deconstruction of the micro, as exemplified in the chapters in this book alongside that of the meso and macro provides an opportunity for continual counter narratives to be developed and exhibited.

Glossary

SATs – Standard Assessment Tasks given to all primary pupils, but the Yr.6 tests are externally marked and taken in one designated week in May each year across England. The government Department of Education publishes LA results.

Ofsted – The Office for Standards in Education, which inspects all schools and related educational establishments and provides regular reports on them.

LA - Local Authority – Responsible for overseeing and supporting most of the schools and educational establishments in each local authority.

SIPs - School Improvement Partners are usually private companies or LA groups purchased by schools to assist the improvement of school performance.

Academies – Privately managed schools, often charitable trusts, funded directly from government taken out of LA control and gaining more financial and curriculum freedom than LA schools.

Level - Achievement Level – A level descriptor that designates the level a pupil has reached in each subject and at the same time indicates the next level to attain according to the average standard for their Key Stage.

Tables

Table One – Schools – Chapters 3-6

School	Role	Full Time Equivalent Staffing including the Head	P/T Ratio	Eligibility for Free Dinners	English as a Second Language
Flately	578	25.00	23.12 : 1	73%	66%
Mixstead	410	16.80	24.40 : 1	18%	13%
Morghouse	316	12.60	25.00 : 1	16%	1%
Lowstate	295	13.00	22.70 : 1	48%	9%
Cottingly	206	8.20	25.10 : 1	14%	1%
Trafflon	165	7.50	22.00 : 1	47%	48%

Tables Two – Teacher Sample – Chapters 3-6

School	Teacher Sample	Recorded conversations - approximate	Fieldwork visits - approximate	Eligibility for Free Dinners	
Flately	23	28	20	73%	
Mixstead	17	23	13	18%	
Morghouse	11	15	11	16%	
Lowstate	17	22	15	48%	
Cottingly	8	12	10	14%	
Trafflon	10	13	12	47%	
More detail can be found in Jeffrey, B, Woods, P, (1998) Testing Teachers, London, Routledge					

Table 3 – Schools sample – Chapters 1-2, 7-8

Schools/Data	City(C) Suburban Estate Two form	Istead(I) Rural One form	Hampstead(H) Rural One form	Morden(M) Suburban 3 form	Victoria(V) Urban 2 form	Westside(W) Urban 2 form
Researcher	BJ	EZP	EZP	EZP	GT	Consultant
Teacher Transcribed Conversations 54	19	3	4	1	11	16
Typed Fieldnotes – Days 46*	20	6	9	3	7	1
Transcribed children's conversations in groups 19	13	0	0	0	6	0

BJ = PI, GT = Collaborator, EZP = Researcher

Each researcher also had fieldnotes that were not transcribed and entered into the digital software.

Each school in the paper is identified in the text by the initial letter of its pseudonym; the Yr. refers to the year

group taught by the teacher; each teacher's name begins with the school identification letter; DH and HT indicate deputy head or Headteacher; FN = fieldnotes; learner's names are not identified in full.

Table 4 – Key Stages and Levels

	Key Stage 1	Key Stage 2
Level 1		
Level 2 a-c	Years 1+2 Aged 5-7	
Level 3 a-c		Years 3+4 Ages 7-9
Level 4 a-c		Years 5+6 Ages 9-11
Level 5 a-c		Years 7-9 Ages 11-13

Table 5 Teacher-pupil relations

	Plowden discourse	**Performativity discourse**
Inter-relations:	interdependent	dependent
Familiar relations:	intimate	formalised
	inspirational	routinized
Pedagogic relations:	dialogic	preceptive

Table 6 – Teacher relations

	Whole school discourse	**Performativity discourse**
Democratic relations:	consensual	disciplinary
Collaborative relations:	collegial	hierarchical
Personal relations:	considerate	confrontational

Table 7 - Teacher – LEA inspector/advisor relations

	Partnership discourse	**Performativity discourse**
Supervisory relations:	friendly	clinical
	reciprocal/mutual	subjugatory
Accountability relations:	open	contrived

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