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**‘Teacher Voice’ and the Struggle for
Recognition**

**Investigating new teachers’ experiences, values
and practices in a school in special measures**

by

Gillian May Smith

Canterbury Christ Church University

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Abstract

This thesis considers the relevance of Recognition Theory to school education and contributes to the development of a body of empirical research in this field. Recognition has been defined as an essential component of a just society and a central concern of this study is the promotion of a humane form of schooling which embodies the principles and practices of a just and democratic society. The empirical data were gathered in a focus group and interviews with three new teachers working in a school in special measures. Their experiences and their stories of recognition and misrecognition are analysed using Honneth's Recognition Theory as a framework. The methodology of interpretative phenomenological analysis allows the reader to gain an understanding of what the experience of being a new teacher is like for the three teachers. The combination of Recognition Theory and interpretative phenomenological analysis offers the opportunity for a critical reflection on those experiences. My findings suggest that Honneth's Recognition Theory, informed by a Deweyan understanding of education and its relationship to democracy, and broadened to incorporate an ethic of care, as well as an understanding of Klafki's critical-constructive pedagogy, has the potential to inform a normative understanding of school as a community in which the values of a just, caring and democratic society can be put into practice. This includes recognising teachers and students as valued members of a community in which their voices are heard and respected. In addition, this thesis draws attention to the need for new teachers to gain a critical understanding of the means and ends of education.

Key terms: recognition theory; education and democracy; ethic of care; teacher voice; student voice; Dewey; Honneth; Klafki; interpretative phenomenological analysis.

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Introduction

Education is ...a process of living and not a preparation for future living.
(John Dewey, 1888a, My Pedagogic Creed, Article Two)

The belief that the process of education should be a worthwhile process in itself, and not merely a preparation for future life, expressed succinctly in the short extract from Dewey's Pedagogic Creed (1888a) above, has been a catalyst in the development of this research project and, as I explain later, Dewey's philosophy of education is a cornerstone of my research.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the everyday lived experiences of three new teachers through the lens of Recognition Theory, the form of critical theory developed by Axel Honneth (1992). Currently very little empirical research in the social sciences is based on the concepts of Recognition Theory. Honneth (2012c) has therefore suggested that it is time for such a research programme to be developed. My aim in this study is to contribute to that body of empirical research by applying the concepts of recognition to the field of education by investigating new teachers' educational values, how the new teachers themselves feel valued in their professional lives and their experiences of recognition and misrecognition.

Within the theoretical framework of Recognition Theory, I adopt the concept of 'voice' as a metaphor for being valued (Couldry, 2009). Drawing on a number of theories of recognition, Couldry (2010) believes that we are experiencing a crisis of voice in the UK occasioned by the dominance of the neo-liberal ideologies which have shaped government policy from the Thatcher era to the present day. Features of neo-liberalism include the privatisation of public services and a heightened focus on competition and individual achievement (Apple, 2011). These principles have arguably weakened democratic engagement by extending market principles beyond the economic sphere into the social sphere, thus eroding not only democratic control of economic life but also of social life (Ranson, 1993; Couldry, 2010). In brief, the features of neo-liberalism which impact on education have been described as a "coherent regime of regulation" (Ranson, 2003, p. 464) in which the focus on measurable

outcomes comes at the expense of a pedagogy able to foster people's "right to speak and have their say" (ibid., p.474). In recent decades, neo-liberalism as a political ideology has therefore been a cause for particular concern amongst those with an interest in promoting education for and in a democracy (Ranson, 1993; Fielding, 2008; Apple, 2011; Fielding & Moss, 2011; Smyth, 2012; Biesta, 2015), a theme returned to in Chapter One. Important for my argument here is not only Couldry's (2010) assertion that a normative theory of voice is needed to challenge the crisis of voice but also his suggestion that recognition theories can provide that normative theory.

My aim in this thesis is to apply Honneth's 1992 theory of recognition to the field of education and in particular to the notion of teacher voice. Whereas much of the literature on voice in the field of education focuses on student (or pupil) voice (Bernstein, 2000; TLRP, 2003; Rudduck & Flutter, 2003; Fielding, 2004), my thesis is concerned with teacher voice in what Bernstein (2000) refers to as the "acoustic of the school" (p.xxi). Teacher voice has been described as the "missing voice" in education (Cohn & Kottkamp, 1993) with some teachers claiming that as a profession they experience "voicelessness" (Bangs & Frost, 2012, p.23). My research topic draws on these notions and the findings that teacher voice has often been neglected in discussions of student voice (Rudduck, 2004; Bragg, 2007; Fielding, 2008). This perception is explored further in the section on teacher voice in Chapter One.

The original contribution to knowledge in this thesis is derived from the data gathered in my study of three new teachers working in a school in special measures, using Honneth's Recognition Theory as a theoretical framework. Whereas in much of the literature the experience of becoming a teacher is described as a struggle for survival, my data suggest that new teachers' experiences can be more profitably understood as a struggle for recognition. My argument is based on my belief that a normative theory of recognition, applied to the field of education, can provide a framework within which the voices of teachers and students can be recognised not only as a right but also as a form of esteem and I adopt Couldry's (2010) definition of voice as a value. As a normative theory in the critical tradition of the Frankfurt School, Honneth's theory of recognition has the potential to lead to change by

challenging educational policy and supporting the development of the kind of democratic practices in schools central to Dewey's philosophy.

My chosen methodology of interpretative phenomenological analysis involves listening with sympathy and empathy to narratives of lived experience.

Listening to the voices of others is in itself a form of recognition and an innovative aspect of my study is the combination of Recognition Theory with the methodology of interpretative phenomenological analysis.

Axel Honneth and the Frankfurt School

Honneth is the current director of the Institut für Sozialforschung (Institute for Social Research) at the University of Frankfurt and his work is often taken as representative of the third generation of the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School (Anderson, 2011). Recognition Theory¹ is founded on the essential role of reciprocal recognition in human growth, human interaction and human identity and is therefore an essential component of a just and democratic society (Honneth 1992). Although it was always my intention to situate my research within the tradition of Critical Theory, it was not until I had completed the interviews for my research that I read *Kampf um Anerkennung* (The Struggle for Recognition), Honneth's (1992) seminal work on recognition. From that point on, the impact of Honneth's writings on my ideas has been considerable and his understanding of recognition as a reciprocal, intersubjective process underpins my thesis.

Recognition has been defined as a moral act embedded in the everyday social world, an act which specifically affirms the positive characteristics of individuals or groups (Honneth, & Stahl, 2010). The title of my study: *'Teacher Voice' and the Struggle for Recognition: Investigating new teachers'* experiences, values and practices in a school in special measures echoes both Honneth and Hegel since Honneth's *Struggle for Recognition* takes its title from a section in Hegel's (1807) *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (Phenomenology of Spirit). Honneth translates the three Hegelian categories of love, right and

1. Capital letters are often used to differentiate the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School from other critical theories (Held, 1990), a practice I extend in this study to Honneth's Recognition Theory as opposed to other theories of recognition.

esteem (Hegel, 1807) into the social-philosophical concepts of self-confidence, self-respect, self-esteem and solidarity which are at the heart of Honneth's (1992) theory of reciprocal recognition. These concepts are intimately related to human growth and create a link between Recognition Theory and Dewey's understanding of education as "fostering the growth of the child while at the same time ensuring the development of social dispositions" (Dessberg, 2010, p.49)². Recognition in this sense is fundamental to notions of human flourishing (Carr, 2003) and to an ethics of care (Noddings, 2002). From here it is but a small step to infer the importance of recognition and caring in an educational setting and this is a central tenet of my thesis.

The experiences of new teachers

The everyday experience of school life is "an important field of ethically relevant experiences" (Klafki, 2005, p.64)² and teaching is thus concerned with ethical issues which require teachers to be guided by a moral purpose (Fullan, 1993). Both Klafki and Fullan emphasise the importance of the values that teachers hold, and how those values affect teachers' understanding of their role in relation to their students and colleagues.

Schools serve many purposes and have many functions in a democracy and, at different times in any given society, the importance accorded to each of these functions can change (Klafki, 2002). However, Klafki suggests that the generic functions of education are relatively immutable in Western societies, in that public schooling cannot avoid responsibility for developing in young people the skills, knowledge, creativity, tolerance and emotional intelligence which allow them to flourish and take part in social life as moral, responsible and self-determining citizens. Schools must also socialise young people into the political and ethical norms of society and ensure the survival of the cultural heritage of that society, as well as providing formal qualifications which act as a selecting and allocating function for different roles in society (summarised from Klafki, 2002, p.43).

It is hardly surprising that teachers in general often feel there is little space in schools for them to fulfil their pedagogical responsibility for all the above

2. The translations into English of original German and French texts are my own.

aspects of education (Shapiro, 2009). New teachers in particular struggle with the conflicting demands of their chosen profession (Hobson et al., 2007), demands which are all the more contradictory in the present climate of accountability (Ambrosio, 2013). The first three years of teaching have been described as an apprenticeship period which indelibly shapes teachers' professional practice (Hobson et al., 2007; Hericks, 2009). In my thesis, 'new teachers' therefore refers to teachers in their first three years after qualification and this was the selection criterion I used when recruiting my participants.

Arguably, education policies in recent years in England have been weighted towards measures which serve the selecting and allocating functions of schooling to the detriment of the other functions listed above (Pring & Pollard, 2011). In relation to the tensions between the different functions of school education and their implementation, Klafki (2002) believes that teachers have a responsibility to be always mindful of the importance of creating a "democratic and humane school" (p.138). By this I understand Klafki to mean a place where young people thrive and feel cared for, and have the opportunity to encounter democracy in the everyday practices and structures of the school. But a democratic and humane school is also a place where teachers feel valued and respected. There are however concerns that the authoritarian and hierarchical structure of schools in the UK and across Europe (Maitles & Deuchar, 2007), in what Shapiro (2009) refers to as 'troubled times', make it more difficult to put into practice Dewey's conviction that democracy must be experienced and not merely taught in schools.

School education in an age of measurement and accountability

In the current troubled times of an age of measurement and accountability in education (Biesta, 2010; Ambrosio, 2013), the need for a flexible workforce in a global economy has led to educational policies which promote the technologies of the market through the techniques of management and performativity (Smyth, 1995). These techniques, when applied to education, are centred on measurable outcomes and standards and leave too little space for the caring aspects of schooling (Ball, 2003). By defining young people's 'potential' narrowly in terms of the world of work and the market economy (Pring & Pollard, 2011) government policy has valorised formal qualifications and

privileged the instrumental, thereby marginalising the ethical foundations of education (Fullan, 1993; Carr, 2003). There is thus a tension between the pressure teachers are under to ensure their students achieve the academic outcomes used as an indicator of school effectiveness and what they often instinctively feel are the caring aspects of teaching (Carr, 2003; Noddings, 2002; Tronto, 2015). New teachers in particular are vulnerable to disillusionment if in the first phase of their careers their ideals and values are called into question by the constraints of their workplace (MacBeath, 2012).

‘Satisfiers’ and ‘dissatisfiers’

Very aware of the many pressures that all teachers face, MacBeath identifies several criteria, which he calls “satisfiers” (ibid., p.13), which are essential for teachers’ well-being. Contrasting with the category of satisfiers, the ‘dissatisfiers’ that MacBeath identifies include “the feeling of not being in control; isolation from colleagues [and] policy initiative overload” (ibid.). If the balance of a teacher’s experience tips towards the dissatisfiers, this can have a negative impact not only on their professionalism but also on their sense of self. There are parallels here between MacBeath’s categories and the concept of recognition. Satisfiers such as “being trusted; being valued; being listened to [and] collegiality” (ibid.) have much in common with the concepts of self-confidence, self-respect, self-esteem and solidarity central to Recognition Theory. The dissatisfiers are related to a lack of self-confidence, self-esteem and solidarity. Satisfiers and dissatisfiers can therefore be equated with recognition and misrecognition respectively, with MacBeath’s terminology acting as a bridge between educational theory and Recognition Theory.

Despite the concerns raised above about schools in an age of measurement, MacBeath (2012) argues that in many ways schools are better places not only for children, thanks to policies of inclusion and the recognition that children have rights, but also for teachers:

Teachers are, in general, not only better qualified but can call on a wider repertoire of tools and skills. ... They teach in schools and classrooms that are better resourced, with smaller class sizes and para-professional support. Teachers enjoy more opportunities for continued learning and professional

development. Assessment strategies at their disposal are more sophisticated and, as “extended professionals”, they exercise a broader, more complex and professionally demanding remit than in any generation before them (p.8).

Nevertheless, other academics in the field of educational philosophy and sociology are concerned at the lack of an informed and democratic debate on what is important in the life of schools (W. Carr, 1995a; D. Carr, 2000; Biesta, 2010, 2015; Fielding & Moss, 2011). Their concerns can be related to a “regime of performativity” (Ball, 2013, p.27) in which the rhetoric surrounding the importance of measurable outcomes and targets has arguably led to a narrower public understanding of the purposes of education (Fielding & Moss, 2011), a view shared by Ball (2013):

We have to reconnect education to democracy. ... Among other things schools should have a responsibility to develop the capabilities of parents, students, teachers, and other local stakeholders; to participate, to discuss, to challenge and critique. It is time to get back to basics – to think seriously about what is the purpose of education and what it means to be educated, what schools are for, and concomitantly and crucially who should decide these things (p.4.).

Yet too often the democratic participation of the stakeholders Ball refers to is lacking and too often the professional voice of teachers is ignored (Fullan, 1994; Hargreaves 1994, 1996; Durrant & Holden, 2006; Frost, 2008; Fielding & Moss, 2011; Bangs & Frost, 2012). If government policies leave no room for the development of democratic and ethical practices in education (Ball, 2003) then there is arguably a need to refocus attention on practices which are rooted in a shared moral understanding and which define a humane school and education as a democratic undertaking. The potential of Recognition Theory to contribute to that shared moral understanding is a central tenet of my thesis.

Before I turn to the importance of Honneth’s theory for my research, I should explain how my long-standing interest in student voice, together with my more recent interest in Critical Theory, led to the development of my original research proposal. I explain how the topic of my research changed from an

exploration of the dialogue between teacher voice and student voice on teaching and learning into an investigation into new teachers' voices and their stories of recognition and misrecognition.

There are parallels between many of Dewey's ideas on education and those of Wolfgang Klafki, whose theories have had considerable influence on government policy and on teachers' understanding and practice in Germany since the educational reforms of the 1970s (Klafki et al., 1971; Klafki, 1985, 1993). Klafki's pedagogy has influenced my own values, which are oriented not only towards the holistic development of the learner, a feature of human science pedagogy, but also towards communicative and democratic practices in the classroom.

Klafki's critical-constructive pedagogy

The term 'critical-constructive pedagogy' is used by Klafki (1998) to define a form of pedagogy which developed out of a combination of traditional human science pedagogy and the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School. One of the central concepts of human science pedagogy, namely the importance of the individual pedagogical relationship between teacher and student, has been redefined by Klafki as a relationship which incorporates the group dynamic of the school classroom and the peer relationships between students. An important element of learning within a group is the ability to develop solidarity with others, and as mentioned above, solidarity is one of the key concepts of Recognition Theory.

Like Dewey, Klafki (1985) draws attention to the importance of education as a democratic undertaking in which young people can develop the self-determination that allows them to participate responsibly in political, social and cultural processes. Although the pedagogy promoted by Klafki and colleagues (1971) is now being challenged as a result of the shockwaves caused by Germany's PISA³ ratings (Althaus et.al., 2002), Klafki's ideas have had a profound influence in Germany, not only in schools but also in institutes of

3. The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is a worldwide system of ranking educational efficacy led by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

adult education, (Volkshochschulen), where I had spent my early years as a teacher in the 1970s and 1980s. The principles and practices of the Volkshochschule have also shaped my personal philosophy of education.

The concept of Teilnehmerorientierung – an ‘orientation towards the participant’ (Dolff, 1978) was central to the pedagogy of the Volkshochschulen at that time, accompanied by the notion of solidarity with others as a means of promoting social justice. In terms of classroom practice, the concept of Teilnehmerorientierung placed special emphasis on the subjectivity and needs of the learner (ibid.). Democratic structures were incorporated into the constitution of the individual institutes in which I worked and there was a strong interest in the social and communicative aspects of teaching and learning. The principles of student and teacher participation and consultation and active, collaborative learning are principles which have continued to influence my beliefs and practices.

Culture shock – school culture in England

Returning to England in 1996 to teach in a comprehensive school, I had expected to find a similar openness to student and teacher representation and participation in the life of the school. Instead, I was taken aback by the prescriptiveness of schooling in England, by the rules that regulate students’ appearance, behaviour and learning, by the lack of regard for student voice and other democratic practices, and by a line management structure for teachers indicative of a school hierarchy which affected teachers as well as students. This hierarchical structure and the prescriptive nature of schooling have inclined me towards the critical standpoint regarding the purposes and practices of state education in England presented in this study.

Personal values

Despite my initial ‘culture shock’, the late 1990s were nevertheless an exciting time to be working in education in England. There was a sense that teachers had an agentic role to play in school improvement. Inspired by Stenhouse (1975), action research projects sprang up; political engagement was encouraged by Fullan & Hargreaves (1995), who asked what was worth fighting for in our schools; and it felt as if we really were ‘making a difference’

as teachers. The election victory of 'New' Labour in 1997, which had been prefaced by the mantra of "education, education, education" (Blair, 1996a, n.pag.) was greeted with enthusiasm. However, this enthusiasm was soon overshadowed by the more powerful litany of targets, standards and "zero tolerance of failure in Britain's schools" (ibid.). Labour increased spending on education but also increased direct government intervention into all aspects of schooling (Bassey, 2005). A discourse of standards, linked to accountability and measurable outcomes, was introduced in the White Paper Excellence in Schools (Department for Education and Employment [DfEE], 1997). What was optimistically referred to as the right balance between support and pressure on schools from central and local government (Barber, 1996) was made actual through externally set benchmarks, inspections, league tables and the public 'naming and shaming' in the media of schools which failed to reach the floor standards set by central government as the minimum expectations for students' attainment and progress.

I was therefore open to the ideas of those who were arguing for a more humane form of schooling, such as Cullingford (1991, 1995), who was among the first at that time to draw attention to the need for teachers to listen to what students have to say about their learning. Contributing to this growing interest in voice was the research project Consulting Pupils about Teaching and Learning (Consulting Pupils in the following), part of the Teaching and Learning Research Programme (TLRP) which ran from 2000 to 2003 under the directorship of Jean Rudduck:

Hearing what pupils have to say about teaching, learning and schooling enables teachers to look at things from the pupil perspective – and the world of school can look very different from this angle ... [it] is the first step towards fundamental change in classrooms and schools (Rudduck & Flutter, 2003, p. 141).

As well as justifying the importance of student voice as a form of respect, the Consulting Pupils research team also engaged with student voice as an effective way of improving both teaching and learning (Flutter & Rudduck, 2004). The project highlighted the importance of listening to what children and young

people had to say (TLRP, 2003) and the researchers identified an essential link between voice and listening.

At the same time, researchers in the field of school improvement and distributed leadership were beginning to suggest that teachers' voices were misrepresented in debates on educational policy (Hargreaves 1996; Frost et al., 2000; Durrant & Holden, 2006; Frost, 2008; Bangs & Frost, 2012). Even in the research into the democratic practices of student consultation and participation there is a sense that teacher voice is a neglected area (Bragg, 2007). Too often teachers are not listened to (Rudduck, 2004) and Rudduck argues that if student voice is to be embedded in school practice, then teachers also "need to feel that they have a voice – that they are listened to and that they matter (ibid., p.2). Agreeing with this, Bragg (2007) concludes that teacher voice needs to be developed in parallel with student voice if either is to be meaningful in a school context. Influenced by Consulting Pupils, my original ideas for a research topic centred on the notion of dialogue between teachers and students on teaching and learning in the classroom, illustrating how a researcher's engagement with a topic is often intimately linked with personal values (Ekins & Stone, 2012).

My original research proposal

I decided to study the experiences of new teachers in relation to student voice since Consulting Pupils had found that beginning teachers were often less confident in eliciting student voice than those who had been teaching for longer (Rudduck & McIntyre, 2007). However, because Rudduck had confidently announced in 2004 that "student voice is here to stay" (p.1), my assumption some ten years later was that even new teachers in 2014 would be more aware of student voice initiatives and might well include student consultation in their teaching practice. This assumption underpinned my original research questions. However, it seemed that Rudduck's optimism and my assumptions about new teachers engaging in dialogue on teaching and learning in the classroom were both misplaced. The data I gathered in the summer of 2014 were disappointing in this respect. Although the three teachers who had volunteered to take part in my study were interested in student voice and were all in agreement that it was important, they, like the young teachers interviewed by Rudduck & McIntyre (2007), were too preoccupied with 'delivering' the curriculum and managing

classroom behaviour, which meant that developing student voice was not a foundational aspect of their teaching practice.

My original proposal of investigating the dialogue between ‘teacher voice’ and ‘student voice’ on teaching and learning was therefore looking less viable. However, what struck me forcefully on first reading through my data was how the three young teachers felt that their voices were not listened to. It seemed that the questions Bernstein (2000) asks about the voice of students in schools: “Whose voice is heard? Who is speaking? Who is hailed by this voice?” (p.xxi) could equally apply to new teachers.

I therefore became more interested in teacher voice and the experiences of new teachers in schools. Listening to the voices of others is a way of acknowledging that people have something to say about their lives (Couldry, 2009) and that their voice is valued. Writing on the politics of voice, Couldry defines voice as: “the implicitly linked practices of speaking and listening, based in a practice of mutual recognition” (ibid., p.580). As mentioned earlier, Couldry (2010) suggests that in neo-liberal democracies like the UK voice no longer has value since neo-liberalism has been normalised and embedded in everyday social and political life to such an extent that we are now living with a “crisis of voice” (ibid., p.2). Taking Bragg’s (2007) aforementioned conclusion that teacher voice needs to be developed in parallel with student voice one step further, my argument is that if voice in schools is to be regarded as a measure of democracy and as a force to combat the neo-liberalism that has engendered the crisis of voice Couldry identifies, then ‘voice’ must become a form of reciprocal, intersubjective recognition.

Choosing Honneth’s Recognition Theory as my theoretical framework meant that the association of voice with recognition would offer a critical approach to the interpretation of the experiences of new teachers. Combining the critical perspective of Recognition Theory with an interpretative phenomenological approach to data analysis therefore allowed me to redefine the direction of my research in a unique way.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

An important strand in the development of my research questions was the choice of interpretative phenomenological analysis as my research methodology. In the field of education, the choice of research method is in itself a pedagogic commitment in that it reflects one's philosophy as an educator (van Manen, 1997). Interpretative phenomenological analysis in the variant proposed by Max van Manen is an approach to the representation of lived experience which has similarities with narrative analysis in that stories in both narrative analysis and interpretative phenomenological analysis allow the researcher (and the reader) to gain an insight into the world of people they would not otherwise know (van Manen, 1997; Elbaz-Luwisch, 2005, 2007; Ashby, 2011). What interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) brings to the tradition of narrative analysis is a hermeneutic approach that aims to interpret in a sympathetic and non-judgemental way the lived experiences of everyday life (van Manen, 1997). There are several forms of phenomenological analysis, and I present those pertinent to my research in Chapter Two. Common to all the hermeneutic forms of phenomenological analysis is the attention given to what an experience is like from the standpoint of the person experiencing it (van Manen, 1997; Smith & Osborn, 2008). It is this that influenced the wording of my first research question and the way I have approached the process of data gathering and analysis.

Redefining the research questions

In qualitative research, the research questions often do not begin to take their final shape until after the data-gathering process (Ely, 1991). This was certainly the case in my research project, and my final questions developed out of engagement with Recognition Theory and interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA).

My first research question is influenced by a phenomenological interest in the lived experience of new teachers, using the methods of IPA to listen to their voices and interpret their experiences:

1. What is the experience of becoming a teacher like for the three new teachers in this study?

The use of interpretative phenomenological analysis contributes to the new knowledge presented in this thesis by allowing a sympathetic and empathetic interpretation of stories and anecdotes (van Manen, 1989). There is an affinity between IPA and Recognition Theory which enriches my thesis. Listening to the voices of new teachers with empathy is a way of according new teachers the recognition they need, and indeed strive for, in the process of becoming a teacher. A strength of IPA is that it can offer both a description and an interpretation of lived experience since the researcher “engage[s] with a research question at an idiographic (particular) level. The participant’s ‘lived experience’ is coupled with a subjective and reflective process of interpretation” (Reid et al., 2005, p.20). As exemplars of what it is like to become a teacher in England, the experiences of the three teachers in my study provide a promising starting point for revisiting the values not only of a just, caring and democratic school but also of a just, caring and democratic society.

The second research question relates therefore to the interpretation of experience using the concepts of Recognition Theory as a theoretical template:

2. Do the categories of Honneth’s Recognition Theory (love, respect, esteem and solidarity) enrich our understanding of the experiences of the three teachers in such a way that their experiences can be generalised beyond the context of their own school community?

The final question addresses the wider impact of the research findings:

3. To what extent do the empirical findings of this study confirm the assertion that the normative concepts of Recognition Theory are capable of promoting a more humane and democratic form of education in schools?

In this thesis my aim is to provide both theoretical and empirical support for my assertion that Honneth’s theory is a productive way of understanding the practices of school education in the 21st century. Dewey (1916) and Klafki (2002) both define education as an intersubjective and social process and there are parallels between their understanding of the importance of the normative nature of intersubjective relationships in education and Honneth’s (2011a) view of the intersubjective nature of freedom, social justice and democracy in society. The strength of Recognition Theory in my study is its potential to

provide a normative foundation for education which is founded on intersubjective relationships and reciprocal recognition in a just and democratic society (Honneth & Stahl, 2010).

As indicated on page 3 above, Honneth (1992) draws on Hegel's categories of love, right and esteem to define different spheres of recognition in which human beings can develop self-confidence, self-respect, self-esteem and solidarity. The Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor (1994) defines recognition as a "vital human need" (p.26), and I believe that if teachers were more aware of the role of recognition in promoting the growth and development of children and young people this could transform the experience of students. In turn, because of the reciprocal nature of recognition, the everyday lives of teachers would arguably also be transformed. The notion of education as growth is also related to the notion of pedagogical caring, a concept closely associated with a sense of vocation (Carr, 2003) and many teachers enter the profession hoping to improve the life chances of their students (Marsh, 2002; Boustead, 2015).

Teaching as a caring profession

A pedagogy of caring highlights the importance of the interpersonal connections involved in working with students (Marlowe, 2006). The desire to nurture young people is commonly cited by new teachers as a major motivational factor in their choice of teaching as a career (Perry & Quaglia, 1997). Like recognition, caring is intersubjective and reciprocal. An ethic of care is relevant to the way in which teachers make sense of the relationship of education to human flourishing (Noddings, 2002). Noddings believes the task of the teacher is to build the kind of caring relationship which is capable of providing the foundation for all other aspects of education. I return to the bond between caring and recognition in Chapter Four.

The assumption here is, of course, that the vision of the school as a community which incorporates the values of a just, caring and democratic society is, in the words of Fullan & Hargreaves (1996) something 'worth fighting for', but their warning must also be heeded:

However noble, sophisticated, or enlightened proposals for change and improvement might be, they come to nothing if

teachers don't adopt them in their own classrooms and if they don't translate them into effective classroom practice (ibid., p.13).

It follows therefore that if recognition is to be understood as belonging to the field of educational ethics, and acted on as a normative theory, then it is essential for teachers to have a grounding in educational philosophy and ethics. This is an area where concerns have been raised about the lack of educational philosophy in current programmes of initial teacher education (Orchard & Winch, 2015) and the related concern that new teachers have little awareness of the importance of 'voice' in education (Kidd, 2012).

Becoming a teacher in an age of measurement

One question with respect to new teachers in this age of measurement is whether they are adequately prepared during their initial teacher training programme to understand the interplay between values, purposes, expectations and needs. This understanding is arguably essential for new teachers, not only in order to help them 'survive' the impact of the early years of teaching (Flores, 2001; MacBeath, 2012) but to help them understand the educational values which shape their everyday professional practice.

Much of the literature on new and trainee teachers tends to interpret the first few years of teaching as an apprenticeship during which new teachers learn to adapt to the policies and practices of schooling "on the job" (Department for Education [DfE], 2016a). Recent discussions regarding the training of teachers seem often to rely on the assumption that all that is needed is simply for new teachers to become more efficient in developing resilience (Day & Gu, 2014) or mastering behaviour management (DfE, 2014b) or acquiring new teaching techniques (Coe et al., 2014) in order to 'survive'. But becoming a teacher is about more than survival, it is an unavoidably moral practice and effective teaching is more than just the application of technical skills (Carr, 2003).

The problem as Biesta (2015) defines it is as follows:

We have reached a situation where measurement is to a large degree driving education policy and practice without any longer

asking whether what is being measured adequately represents a view of good education (ibid. p.2).

Democratic school communities develop out of “recognition and the mutual deliberation of purpose, rather than the external imposition of quantifiable targets” (Ranson, 2003, p.476). Ranson thus refocuses the purposes of education on the life of the school community rather than on measurable outcomes. It is here that the importance of recognition becomes clearer. Recognition Theory is concerned not with philosophical discussions of a ‘good life’ or a ‘good education’, because those definitions will change over time and place. What is unchanging is the human need for freedom, which is defined intersubjectively by Honneth (2011a). If we accept that in a pluralistic society there can never be universal agreement either on moral arguments (MacIntyre, 1981), or on what is worthwhile in education (Pring & Pollard, 2011), or on how what is worthwhile is to be achieved (Klafki, 2002), then there is a strong argument for making educational policy and practice central to an ongoing public debate (Pring & Pollard, 2011).

New teachers therefore need to acquire the tools that will enable them to reflect not only on their own experiences but also on the structures of schooling (MacBeath, 2012) and on society’s expectations of school education, as well as the values and accepted modes of professional practice with which they are confronted (Cherubini, 2009). The question of whether new teachers are given the opportunity to discuss the purposes of education raises the following three issues which are relevant to the context of my research and which have been highlighted in the literature on teacher training and induction.

Initial teacher education and induction

The first concern is over recent changes to the teacher education landscape, including the move from university-based programmes to programmes based largely in schools such as School Direct and Teach First. These changes mean that for many trainee teachers less time is available for formal study in a university setting of the philosophical foundations of education. There are concerns that new teachers now have fewer opportunities to reflect on their own values in relation to policies of education (Bernstein, 2008; Winch, 2012) and that, crucially, this equates to the silencing of their voices:

the excision from [initial teacher education] courses of all but the most instrumentally relevant forms of educational theory (especially the near elimination of philosophy, history and sociology of education) can be seen as illustrative of ... a process of silencing – by denying 'trainees' access to the forms of knowledge that permit alternative possibilities to be thought (Beck & Young, 2005, p.193).

This lack of a philosophical grounding can impact on beginning teachers' awareness and understanding of the means and ends of education (Orchard & Winch, 2015). Topics of educational ethics, student voice, and education for democracy have become less prominent, even in the university-based courses, with the result that new teachers are largely unaware of theories and practices relating to student voice (Kidd, 2012).

Secondly, the recent changes in educational policy outlined earlier have made the first few years of teaching particularly complex, as newly trained teachers are faced with social, cultural, political and technological challenges (Shoffner et al., 2010). There is therefore a perceived need to understand how new teachers make sense of those challenges in order to decide what needs to be done in order to better prepare new entrants to the teaching profession (Fantilli & McDougall, 2009; Hobson et al., 2007).

Thirdly, there are concerns over the high attrition rate for new teachers in schools in England (MacBeath, 2012; Ofsted, 2015) and in other countries around the world (Fantilli & McDougall, 2009; Hong, 2012; Day & Gu, 2014). In order to promote teacher recruitment and retention, those working in schools need to understand and take into account the multiple demands made of new teachers in order to sustain their morale (Wilshaw, 2014, 2015; Ofsted, 2015). With regards to new teachers' needs, researchers have identified the importance of listening to the voices of beginning teachers (Fantilli & McDougall, 2009) in order to support them more effectively as they come to terms with the realities of school teaching (Hobson et al., 2007). New teachers also need the motivation and energy that come from feeling valued in the schools they work in (MacBeath, 2012). MacBeath emphasises that teachers must be given both

recognition and respect for rising to the challenges they face every day in schools.

The struggle to survive – new teachers' experiences

Many of the stories told about and by new teachers are stories of survival which highlight the challenges new teachers face during their initial teacher education and their first years of teaching (Bullough, 1990; Britzman, 2003; Flores & Day, 2006; Cook-Sather, 2006; Hobson et al., 2007; Cherubini, 2009; Cook, 2009; Chong et al., 2011; Boyd et al. 2015). These stories are offset by only very occasional reports of wholly positive induction experiences (Hebert & Worthy, 2001). Autobiographical accounts tell sometimes humorous, sometimes harrowing accounts of becoming a teacher (Braithwaite, 1962; Codell, 1999) and numerous self-help books are intended as a guide to 'surviving' the first years of teaching, some of which have become bestsellers (Cowley, 2009).

Becoming a teacher is often depicted as a baptism of fire and the highs and lows experienced by beginning teachers are well-documented (Caires & Almeida, 2005). The baptism of fire was perhaps the case for the three new teachers in my study, who were all working at Daleswood School⁴ when I met them in the summer of 2014. Daleswood is a state secondary school which two years earlier had been made subject to special measures⁵ following an inspection by Ofsted⁶. This had a profound influence on staff, students, parents and the local community. A more detailed description of the school follows in Chapter Three. The context in which teachers work is a factor which shapes their teaching practice (Nicholson 1996). Working in a 'failing school', as schools in special measures are often called, added another level of complexity to the context in which the teachers in my study were inducted into the teaching profession.

4. The name of the school has been anonymised, as have the names of all people and places connected with the school.

5. Schools are made subject to special measures under section 44(1) of the Education Act 2005 if Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools is of the opinion that the school is failing to give its pupils an acceptable standard of education.

6. The Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) is the agency responsible for the inspection of schools in England.

It is not, however, my intention merely to add three more stories to the considerable body of literature on the experiences of new and trainee teachers. Using empirical evidence from the stories of three new teachers, my aim is also to evaluate what contribution Recognition Theory can make to an ethical theory of education in England and how it might support the development of a better understanding of the experience of new teachers as a struggle for recognition, as well as a better balance between the different functions of schooling. These functions were defined earlier (see p.4) as promoting growth; life skills and well-being; socialisation; cultural transmission; and the provision of formal qualifications.

Summary

In this study, I investigate the everyday lived experiences of three new teachers who have started out on their careers in a school in special measures in an 'age of measurement'. The tension between the values the three new teachers hold regarding the purposes of school education and the challenges they face is explored and the importance of intersubjective recognition in the life of schools is exemplified in the way that new teachers feel recognised and misrecognised in their everyday professional lives. The way their voices are often overlooked in the acoustic of the school is a theme which emerged out of my data and which became central to my thesis in relation to the concepts of Recognition Theory.

Axel Honneth's (1992) social-philosophical theory of recognition, in which the categories of love, right and esteem are developed into the concepts of self-confidence, self-respect, self-esteem and solidarity, has been instrumental in the development of my understanding of human growth and of the importance of recognition as an aspect of social justice. Extended to incorporate Noddings' (2005; 2011) ethics of care, Recognition Theory forms the theoretical framework for my research.

The new knowledge presented in this thesis is an illustration of how Recognition Theory, supported by empirical evidence, can help make sense not only of the experiences of the three new teachers who took part in this study, but also, by extension, of school life in England in general. The combination of Recognition Theory with interpretative phenomenological analysis and an

ethics of care is also innovative and contributes to the development of the new knowledge in my study. However, Recognition Theory is not only a means of understanding the everyday experiences of life in schools. As a normative theory in the tradition of the Frankfurt School, it has the potential to provide a new framework for the development of humane and democratic practices within a school context and is thus also concerned with change.

In Chapter One, I combine an explanation of my theoretical framework with a review of relevant literature. Using Recognition Theory as a scaffold provides a way of understanding the tension between the historical, social and political context in which teachers work in the English education system; their professional values; and how they feel able to put those values into practice. Relevant to the relationship between Recognition Theory and education is Dewey's (1916) philosophy of education, which has influenced Honneth's (2012a; 2012b) understanding of the purposes of school education. Chapter One starts with a model showing the various strands which make up my study, followed by an overview of relevant aspects of Dewey's theories of democracy and education and Honneth's theory of recognition. Chapter One also provides a definition of voice as a normative concept. Examples of government reforms illustrate how national educational policy has impacted on school life in England. A brief literature review addresses the relevance of existing research into recognition in the field of education in relation to the topic of my thesis.

Chapter Two concentrates on methodology and research design. I explain my choice of research paradigm and what led to my choice of methodology. I summarise different phenomenological approaches to qualitative research, and explain how these translated into my methods of data gathering and interpretation. I also discuss the ethical implications for my thesis of the dual role I took on as consultant and 'researcher-in-residence' in a school where the headteacher is a former colleague and also a friend. Finally, I describe the different elements of the research design and address questions of validity.

In Chapter Three I introduce the three teachers who took part in my study and provide background information on Daleswood School, where they were working when I interviewed them. I discuss the concept of 'this-ness' (Thomson, 2002), which sheds some light on what it means to the three

teachers to be working in a school in special measures in an area of relative deprivation.

In Chapter Four I use a form of interpretative phenomenological analysis to present and interpret the data gathered. Stories of experience take centre stage and my aim is to present a sympathetic and empathetic portrait of each of the three new teachers. Template analysis provides a conceptual filter to identify aspects of the data relevant to the categories of love, right and esteem which constitute my theoretical framework. The final section in this chapter discusses the importance of listening to the voices of new teachers.

In Chapter Five, I offer a critical review of my findings and a reflection on the outcomes of my research. This final chapter revisits areas of interest with regard to Recognition Theory and an ethics of care, including the relationship between recognition and the other major themes covered in this study, including the importance of democracy in education.

These themes are outlined in Chapter One, which starts with an overview of the theoretical framework and continues with an interpretation of the concepts that contribute to that framework.

Chapter One

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Key theories and concepts

This study of the experiences of three new teachers shows how Recognition Theory can add to our understanding of life in schools. As explained in the Introduction, one of my aims is to evaluate the potential of Honneth's Theory of Recognition as a means of understanding the purposes and practices of school education in the 21st century as they are experienced by those who teach and learn in schools. This aim is driven by a vision of a more humane and democratic school which incorporates the values of a just, caring and democratic society. Two of the key concepts which underpin my research are recognition and democratic education, represented by Honneth's Recognition Theory (1992) and Dewey's philosophy of education (1888b, 1916, 1937). The former provides the theoretical framework for my thesis, while the latter has influenced Honneth's understanding of democracy (1999) and the relationship between democracy and education (2012a; 2012b).

In this chapter I present both Dewey's and Honneth's theories in more detail. Klafki's critical-constructive pedagogy (1998) was introduced in the Introduction as an example of how Critical Theory can be applied to education, and the notion of a humane and democratic school in my thesis is influenced by Klafki's pedagogy. Much of Klafki's work predates Honneth, so he makes no reference to Recognition Theory. Instead, he owes much to earlier theorists of the Frankfurt School, Habermas in particular. However, the concept of solidarity and the importance of democracy are two key themes in Klafki's work which provide a connection between his ideas and those of Honneth and Dewey. In relation to Recognition Theory, solidarity can be seen not only as solidarity between peers but as a form of inter-generational solidarity between teachers and students (Prengel, 2013).

Model of the different elements making up this study

Figure 1 below shows schematically how I have linked together the various strands that make up my thesis, namely the context of my investigation, the empirical data, the methodology of interpretative phenomenological analysis, the concepts of Recognition Theory and my research questions.

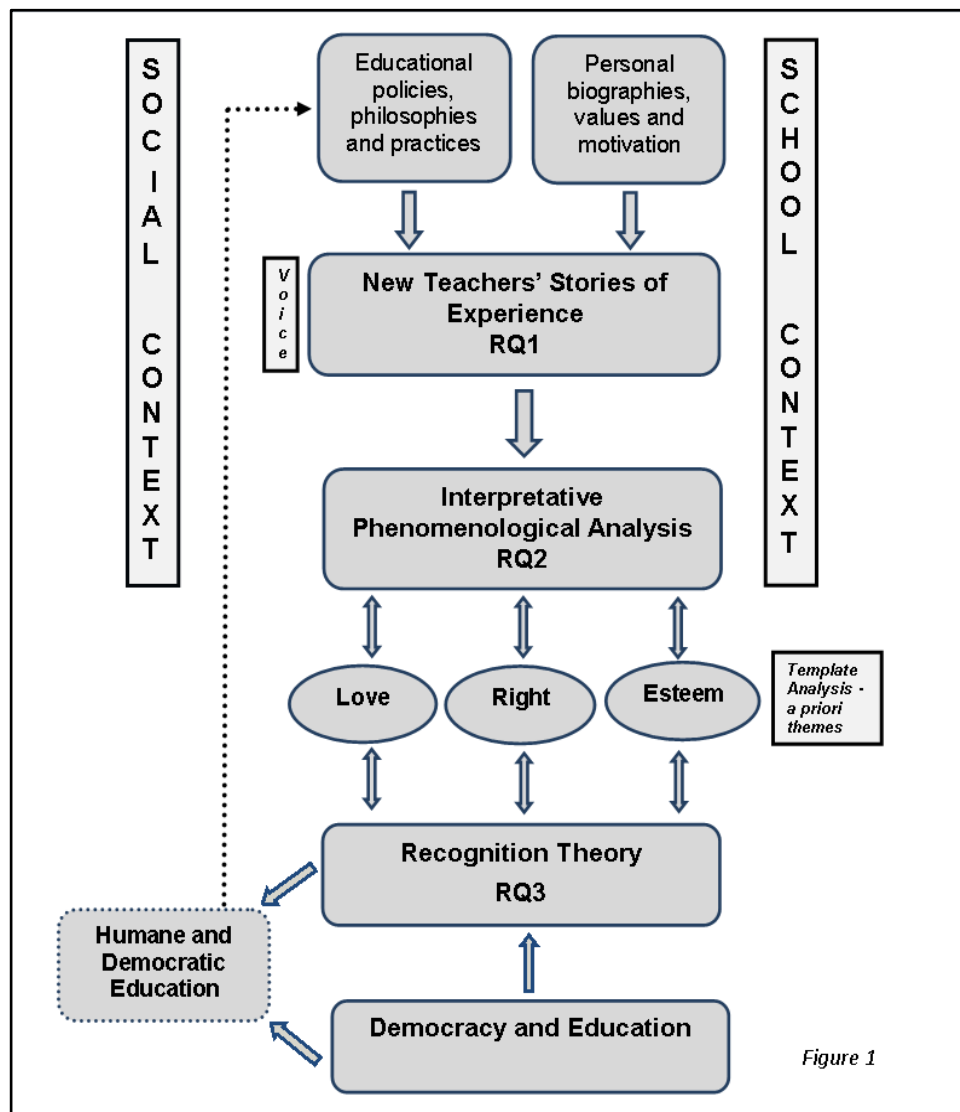


Figure 1

The different elements that comprise the body of my research are bordered on the left by 'social context', which stands for the broader socio-political expectations regarding the purposes and functions of school education, and on the right by 'school context', which refers to the structures and ethos unique to the school. Within these contexts, teachers' lived experience is influenced by personal biographies, as well as by current educational policies and philosophies, shown at the top of the figure as feeding into the empirical data

gathered as part of my research. The choice of the two inputs into the first research question (RQ1): What is the experience of becoming a teacher like for the three new teachers in this study? is based on an understanding that teachers' professional identities are "mediated by their own experience in schools and outside of schools as well as their own beliefs and values about what it means to be a teacher and the type of teacher they aspire to be (Sachs, 2001, p.154).

The empirical data which relate to the first research question therefore cover not only biographical detail but also aspects of the personal educational philosophies and the motivation, professional understandings and teaching practices of the three young teachers who volunteered to take part in my study. The data are interpreted against the backdrop of current educational policy and the characteristics of the school in special measures in which they were new teachers.

The relationship between the first question and the method of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) is that the purpose of IPA is to understand what an experience is like from the standpoint of the person experiencing it. The interpretation of lived experience by the researcher (and the reader) includes a willingness to make space for and to listen to the voice of others, as indicated on the left of Figure 1.

The second research question (RQ2) asks whether this interpretation of lived experience can be generalised:

Do the categories of *Honneth's Recognition Theory* (love, respect, esteem and solidarity) enrich our understanding of the experiences of the three teachers in such a way that their experiences can be generalised beyond the context of their own school community?

For the purposes of this study I have adapted the phenomenological approach of IPA by incorporating a form of template analysis (Langdridge, 2008; King, 2012) which allows me to use the concepts of love, right and esteem as a priori themes, as shown in Figure 1. I anticipate that the stories of the three new teachers will resonate with others who are or have been in similar situations in schools. The use of universal concepts such as love and esteem is in itself a

form of generalisation, even if the experiences portrayed are idiographic. Another form of generalisation is an emotional or critical response on the part of the reader. Figure 1 shows the interaction between IPA and Recognition Theory in the two-way arrows mediated by the three concepts. The tiered analysis links IPA with Recognition Theory in a unique way. This combination adds to my interpretation and understanding of the three teacher's stories by adding a theoretical and critical framework to the hermeneutic approach of IPA.

The third and final research question (RQ3) asks:

To what extent do the empirical findings of this study confirm the assertion that the normative concepts of Recognition Theory are capable of promoting a more humane and democratic form of education in schools?

Critical social theory, including that of Honneth and other adherents of the Frankfurt School, is dependent on empirical data which bridges the traditional divide between the empirical and the normative (Zurn, 2015). The empirical data gathered in interviews and a focus group is an essential part of my study. Based on my interpretation of the everyday lives of three teachers, using both Recognition Theory and IPA, I evaluate how existing norms and practices pertaining to education in England stand up against the values of a humane and democratic school. This is a form of the immanent critique fundamental to the Frankfurt School, discussed in the section on Critical Theory below.

Underpinning the third question is Dewey's philosophy concerning the relationship between democracy and education, a philosophy which feeds into Recognition Theory. The arrow on the left in Figure 1, which leads back from the notion of a democratic and humane school into the field of educational policy and practice, relates to Klafki's (2002) vision of schooling and is both hypothetical and aspirational.

The different variants of phenomenological analysis and template analysis which form the basis of my methodology are covered in more detail in Chapter Two and the school context is explained in Chapter Three. The remaining themes shown in Figure 1 are dealt with in the following sections of Chapter One, in which I explain the connection between the aims of my study, the

empirical data and the theoretical and conceptual frameworks. The next part of this chapter explores Dewey's theories of democracy and education, followed by an introduction to Recognition Theory and a review of relevant literature relating to recognition and education. The final part is concerned with the notion of voice as a form of recognition and discusses teacher voice and student voice in the context of educational policy and practice in England.

Dewey, democracy and education

Dewey's legacy with regard to the relationship between democracy and education is a powerful one with respect to the concept of recognition. Honneth and Dewey share an understanding of democracy as a form of intersubjective association and, as mentioned previously, Dewey's philosophy has had considerable influence on Honneth's views on democracy and his understanding of the relationship between democracy, school education and recognition (2010, 2012a).

Although Dewey is still regarded as one of the most important figures in Anglo-American educational philosophy, his critics accuse Dewey and the progressive educators who follow in his footsteps of prolonging the unrealistic hope that educational reform based on the notion of the school as a model of democratic community life can result in social justice and equality (Schutz, 2011). Schutz argues that Dewey relies overmuch on middle-class ideals of community which ignore working-class solidarity and that, because of this, Dewey's vision is limited to an academic sphere that has "little or nothing to do with actual social change" (ibid., p.508). This criticism is one to be taken seriously and even Dewey's proponents acknowledge that there is much in his work which needs updating (Bernstein, 2008). However, although Dewey's (1899) suggestions regarding the content of the curriculum relate to a different time, his definition of democracy is still relevant. While Dewey accepts that he has been accused of utopianism, he remains true to the principle of democracy as an ethical, intersubjective way of life (1939) throughout his writings. In *Experience and Education* (1938) and *The Challenge of Democracy to Education* (1937), Dewey confirms his belief in democracy as an unfinished project which must change in different historical contexts: "the very idea of democracy, the meaning of democracy, must be continually explored afresh; it

has to be constantly discovered and rediscovered, remade and reorganized” (1937, p.182).

Dewey believes that education has failed if school is only conceived of “as a place where certain information is to be given, where certain lessons are to be learned, or where certain habits are to be formed” (1988, Article 2). It is on this understanding that Bernstein (2008) can argue in favour of Dewey’s philosophy of education which requires teachers:

to cultivate the virtues required for a thriving democracy: to cultivate critical habits of thinking; to foster creative imagination; to encourage children to cooperate with, listen to, and learn from others, and to treat their classmates with respect and sensitivity” (Bernstein, 2008, p.28).

The debate that Dewey initiated on the relationship between education and democracy and the role of schools in preparing children to take their place in a democratic society still continues among educationists today, one hundred years since the publication in 1916 of *Democracy and Education* (Carr, 1995b; Oelkers & Rhyn, 2000; Hansen, 2006; Jenlink, 2009; Schutz, 2010; Biesta, 2015). The belief that children need to experience democracy is one that Honneth (2012a) shares, and he too regards schooling as a process of living and a form of community life.

Recognition as an essential component of democratic education

Honneth has only recently entered into a public discussion on the relationship between education and Recognition Theory (2012a). He does not specifically relate Recognition Theory to day-to-day school practice in the classroom, being more concerned with the theoretical and political relationship between education and democracy (ibid.). Honneth is sceptical of the claims made by governments in a number of Western democracies regarding the need for increased selection, competition, standardisation, and performance monitoring in schools in order to meet the needs of society and the economy. Instead, he returns to a Deweyan understanding of school education, pointing out that some of the highest ranking school systems in Europe in recent PISA surveys are those such as in Finland in which “the democratic ideals of [Durkheim and

Dewey] are most likely to have been put into practice” (ibid., p.438). Honneth also adopts Dewey’s definition of democracy in education as the practical development of good habits which will allow young people to gain the moral confidence needed to take part as citizens in the democratic process of decision-making. (Honneth, 2012a, 2012b). Agreeing with Dewey’s (1939) view that democratic ends require democratic means, he argues that democracy cannot be taught, it must be learned through experience (Honneth, 2012b, 2013). There are links here to the philosophy which underpinned early versions of the citizenship curriculum in schools in England (Hart, 1992; QCA, 1998).

In a newspaper article with the headline ‘The abandoned school of democracy’ (Die verlassene Schule der Demokratie) Honneth (2012b) notes with regret that the once close ties between democratic theory and pedagogy have been loosened in recent years. He argues that there is a lack of understanding in political philosophy of the requirement for a living democracy to constantly renew “its own cultural and moral substance through the processes of education” (ibid., n.pag.). Like Dewey, Honneth believes that young people can only grasp the meaning of democratic cooperation which will allow them as adults to take part confidently in the political public sphere if they develop an understanding that they are engaged with their fellow students in a “common enterprise of learning in which all partners have equal rights” (ibid., n.pag.). Implicit in this process is the concept of solidarity, which in Recognition Theory is associated with the third category of Hegelian recognition, that of social esteem. Honneth criticises the fact that schools have now been allocated the task of providing only a minimum of democratic education. He is concerned that in our neo-liberal, capitalist society, a narrow focus on individual autonomy has replaced the Deweyan principle of community-oriented learning:

School education and its methods and contents can either have a desirable influence on the substance of a democracy by furthering cooperation and individual self-respect or a negative impact by promoting moral conformity and an unquestioning obedience to authority which contribute to the insidious undermining of democracy (Honneth 2012a, pp.431-432).

As mentioned earlier, Recognition Theory is a critical theory of the Frankfurt School, and Honneth has been director of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research since 2001, so, before looking in more detail at Recognition Theory, the following brief overview situates Honneth's work in the intellectual tradition of Critical Theory.

Critical Theory

The term 'Critical Theory' was first used by Horkheimer to differentiate between traditional (positivist) social theory and critical theory (Horkheimer, 1972). From 1930 to 1959, Horkheimer was director of the Institute for Social Research (Institut für Sozialforschung) at Frankfurt University (and in exile), and this branch of critical theory is thus often referred to simply as the Frankfurt School (Held, 1980). For Horkheimer and colleagues, Critical Theory was a promise that a better, more equitable world was possible and its aim was to understand the social world in order to bring about change:

Critical theory's commitment to emancipation – understood as the development of possibilities for a better life already immanent within the present ... provides its point of critique of the prevailing order (Wyn Jones, 1999, p.28).

However, towards the end of his career, Horkheimer, together with Adorno, who succeeded him as director, became increasingly pessimistic about the project in the face of what Adorno called a new kind of barbarism occasioned by the increasing marketisation of lived experience (Adorno, 1966) and the lack of a target audience who could put the critical project into practice (Held, 1980). Critical Theory today is still "explicitly prescriptive and normative, entailing a view of what behaviour in social democracy should entail" (Cohen et al., 2007, p.26, emphasis in original) and still committed to social justice, but perhaps more realistic with regards to the utopian views of early critical theorists (Honneth, 2011b).

Habermas took over Horkheimer's professorial chair in Frankfurt in 1964, but declined to take on the directorship of the Institute. Although in some of his earlier writings Habermas (1974) is in broad agreement with Horkheimer's definition of Critical Theory, Habermas' (1981) theory of communicative

action broke new ground in Critical Theory and attracted widespread interest, including from academics in the field of education (Klafki, 1985; Carr & Kemmis, 2004).

Like earlier critical theorists, Habermas (1981) makes reference to the colonisation of the lifeworld by the system of instrumental reason and market forces, which encroach upon the personal, social and cultural lifeworld. There are clear parallels between the Frankfurt School's image of the colonised lifeworld and Couldry's (2010) definition of neo-liberalism with regards to the extension of market principles to the social sphere (see p.1). That process is often referred to as the "marketisation" of school education (Ranson, 2003; Biesta, 2015) in which the demands of the global economy and a perceived need for schools to provide the 'world class education' deemed necessary for economic success in the 21st century (Blair, 1996b). Barber (1998) defined the characteristics of a world-class education in terms of the economy, claiming that:

any education service which wishes to call itself world class will ultimately have to demonstrate that it produces world class standards of performance throughout the school population
(n.pag.)

Critical pedagogy, on the other hand, asks the question of what education should look like in terms of democracy and social justice. The concerns of the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School regarding the normalisation of neo-liberal forces are thus shared by educationists who argue against the marketisation of public education (Ranson, 2003; Aronowitz, 2004; Beane & Apple, 2007; Apple, 2011; Fielding & Moss, 2011; Giroux, 2012; Biesta, 2015). Neo-liberalism, it is claimed, has engendered a standards discourse, variously labelled as 'performativity' (Ball, 2003); 'accountability' (Whitty, 2006; Ambrosio, 2013) and 'deliverology' (Pring, 2013), which reduces educational reform to a technical challenge of delivery regarding 'what works' (Biesta, 2007). This has led to a devaluing of democratic citizenship in the everyday life of schools (Fielding, 2001).

This is not to say that government policies are devoid of notions of social justice and democracy, or an understanding that schools should be places where

children: “learn the value of life: what it is to be responsible citizens who give something back to their community” (Blair, 2001, n.pag.) and “develop their self-knowledge, self-esteem and self-confidence” (DfE, 2014a, p.5). But such policies need to be interrogated against their effectiveness in actually bringing about social justice. The Frankfurt School’s practice of immanent critique is arguably an effective way of evaluating policy against its actual outcomes

While Habermas and Honneth have both revived the project of Critical Theory as defined by Horkheimer and Adorno and taken it in new directions, using respectively communicative action and recognition as the means of bringing about a more equitable society, like Horkheimer and Adorno they are still committed to the notion of immanent critique as a driver of social change (Honneth, 2009). Referring to Honneth’s Recognition Theory, Zurn defines immanent critique as:

a normative reconstruction of actually existing practices and institutions, attuned to the ways in which they facilitate or frustrate the values of mutual recognition and social freedom (Zurn, 2015, p.20).

Immanent critique does not rely on external normative standards of what is good or right (Stahl, 2013), but derives its standards of criticism from the society or social group itself which is under investigation. This is helpful in understanding Honneth’s explanation that:

only those principles or ideals which have already taken some form in the present social order can serve as a valid basis for social critique (Honneth, 2001, cited in Stahl, 2013, p.2).

Applied to education, immanent critique is a means of examining how the explicit values and principles of school education stand up to scrutiny in practice, using recognition and misrecognition as a measure.

Honneth’s contribution to Critical Theory is his definition of recognition and misrecognition as the central forces in the struggle for social justice (Zurn, 2015). Like that of other critical theorists, Honneth’s concept of social justice is centred on addressing inequalities and injustices in society (Honneth & Stahl, 2010) but he is sceptical of notions of social justice which rely solely on the

distribution of goods (Fraser, 1997), claiming that redistribution is subsidiary to recognition in achieving social justice (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Honneth & Stahl, 2010).

Instead, Honneth draws substantially on Hegel's ethical norms of love, right and esteem for achievement (Wertschätzung) which Hegel introduced in *Philosophy of Spirit* (1807) and developed in *Philosophy of Right* (1820). Hegel equates recognition with the core human desire to be treated with decency and respect (Williams, 1997) and he believes that freedom and social justice are only possible in a civil society or state which is governed by right or law (Smith, 1989). What is important is that what Hegel means by a state governed by right is one: "that extends the right of recognition (Anerkennung) or respect to every one of its members" (ibid., p.5).

Honneth has undertaken a close reading of Hegel's philosophy in order to shape it into a normative theory relevant to all aspects of our post-traditional society. In *Kampf um Anerkennung – Zur moralischen Grammatik sozialer Konflikte* (1992)⁷, Honneth's aim is to develop for our society a formal concept of what Hegel terms 'Sittlichkeit', usually translated as 'ethical life', though I would argue that the meaning of the German term is perhaps closer to 'civility' in its more archaic meaning of good citizenship. Following Hegel, Honneth (1992) regards love, right and esteem as the inter-subjective preconditions for a person's capacity to achieve individual freedom, which he defines in *Das Recht der Freiheit* (2011a)⁸ as a form of intersubjective recognition. However, in this study I cannot do justice to Honneth's extensive and authoritative writings at the macro level of recognition in relation to freedom, social justice and democracy, so in the following I concentrate for the most part on those aspects of recognition which I believe are important at the micro level of the individual and of the school. The following explanation is thus very relevant to education due to its emphasis on the role of recognition in the development of identity:

Our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of

7. Published in English in 1995 as *The Struggle for Recognition The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*.

8 Published in English in 2014 as *Freedom's Right*.

people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves (Taylor, 1994, p.25, emphasis in original).

The association of recognition with notions of human dignity and equality means recognition is an essential aspect of democratic culture. Like Hegel and Taylor, Honneth (1992) sees recognition and its obverse, misrecognition, as fundamental to human development. With respect to childhood development, Honneth also acknowledges the importance of Winnicott's⁹ studies of childhood in providing empirical justification for the importance of recognition in personal growth. Winnicott's ideas substantiate Hegel's theory and provide support for Honneth's premise that our unique identities are created through a reciprocal process of recognition (ibid.).

Honneth argues, like Taylor (1994), that recognition is a universal need and thus an essential component of a just society:

As persons, we want to experience affection and love, we want to be recognised for our capabilities, and we want others to respect our rights. If these forms of love, esteem and respect cannot be experienced by all members of a society, then that society is not a just one (Honneth & Stahl, 2010, p.17).

The absence of recognition "can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being" (Taylor, 1994, p.25). Honneth agrees and argues that the critical role of Recognition Theory is to identify those practices of humiliation and disrespect which withhold a justified act of social recognition from an individual or a group (Honneth & Stahl, 2010).

In my thesis, recognition is relevant not only to the way that children and young people are valued in the education system but also to how students and teachers

9. Donald Winnicott (1896-1971), an English paediatrician and psychoanalyst.

develop solidarity with each other, how teachers are valued in society, and how new teachers are valued in the context of an individual school. In the next section I summarise Honneth's definitions of the three spheres of recognition, namely: love and affection, respect for individual rights, and appreciation of personal achievements and solidarity, as first introduced in *The Struggle for Recognition* (1992).

The three spheres of recognition

For Hegel (1807), the first sphere of love and affection is experienced in the primary relationship between mother and child, and is essential for the development of self-confidence. Whereas Hegel's model of love is situated within the structure of an intact nuclear family, Honneth's interpretation of this type of recognition encompasses the love and affection given and received by other family members, partners and friends. The second sphere is that of legal rights, where each member of society has the right to regard themselves as possessing rights in law equal to those of all other members of that society. This promotes self-respect. The third sphere is that of the recognition of one's social worth, in other words, the appreciation of individual achievement, through which self-esteem can develop. For Hegel, esteem was to be found in the world of work which defined a man's position in society in the 19th century. In view of the vastly different conditions in the current labour market, Honneth incorporates the concept of solidarity into this sphere of esteem, since reciprocal esteem builds a community of solidarity (Honneth, 1992).

This sphere of social esteem (*Wertschätzung*) is the most complex of the three, since what is valued in a given society, and is thus granted esteem, is subject to change over time. Moreover, structural changes in society that lead to change in what is regarded as worthy of recognition do not necessarily lead to greater inclusion and individual freedom and can therefore represent a form of injustice. As an example, the recognition of labour was seen by Hegel as a major source of esteem, but Honneth (2009) and Honneth & Stahl (2010) argue that certain types of low-paid and low-status employment which have proliferated in the last few decades have made it more difficult for many workers to achieve social esteem through their work. It is here that the critical potential of recognition theory in contemporary society is to be found, in that

Recognition Theory is a normative theory relevant to the way we respond to and value the characteristics of an individual or a group (Honneth & Stahl, 2010). ‘Normative’ implies that in each of the three spheres there are accepted norms or standards which ensure that individual members of a society can be assured that they have a justified expectation of recognition for fulfilling their allocated role in that particular sphere. Each sphere has a double function, firstly, that of upholding the values that sustain that sphere, and secondly, ensuring that a justified expectation of recognition will be met (Honneth, 2011b).

As a significant element in the formation of the personal and social identity of children and young people, the concepts of self-confidence, self-respect, self-esteem and solidarity are already part of the vocabulary of the teaching profession, as the Department for Education document Promoting fundamental British values as part of SMSC in schools (2014a) demonstrates:

Schools should ... enable students to develop their self-knowledge, self-esteem and self-confidence; ... encourage respect for other people; and ... encourage respect for democracy and support for participation in the democratic processes, including respect for the basis on which the law is made and applied in England (DfE, 2014a, p.5).

There is a considerable degree of correspondence between the terminology used in the Department for Education statement and the concepts in Honneth’s Recognition Theory. The notion of respect, a well-established term in English educational philosophy (Peters, 1966, 1973), will also be familiar to many teachers as one of the core values promoted in schools and this creates a further link between Recognition Theory and education in England (Stojanov, 2010).

But if concepts like respect, democratic participation and social justice are indeed already regarded as core values of education, as suggested by the Department for Education (2014a), then this raises the question of what Recognition Theory can add to the field of educational ethics. The answer is twofold. Firstly, the value of Recognition Theory stems from the way it identifies recognition and misrecognition in everyday life. For example, when the allocating and selecting functions of schooling take priority over other

functions, then some groups of students are accorded esteem, but others are seen as failures (RSA, 2016) and this denial of esteem is a form of misrecognition. As Honneth & Stahl (2010) point out, a society is unjust if the practices of its institutions exclude some of their members from being accorded recognition. Secondly, as mentioned above, the value of Recognition Theory lies in its power to assess through the process of immanent critique how policy intentions are put into practice. A reasonable question in this respect would be the extent to which schools whose mission statements include terms such as ‘respect for all’, ‘collaboration’ ‘equality of opportunity’ and the like have the capacity to implement those policies without a normative framework, such as recognition, as their benchmark.

If we accept that a society can only be just if it promotes recognition of different forms of achievement which include and motivate all citizens, then the task for society in general, and one which is arguably essential for schools, is to ensure that all members of the community or society are able to experience recognition:

To this end, these forms of reciprocal esteem must be institution-alised in such a way that they become norms of reciprocal social recognition which are in principle available to all members of society and which become embedded in stable and enduringly motivating institutions (Honneth & Stahl, 2010, p.20).

As potentially ‘enduringly motivating institutions’, schools therefore have a vital role to play in promoting ethical life through recognition:

Theories of justice must ... consider social relations: real social justice can only prevail if there are institutions which offer us the chance to experience social recognition (Honneth & Stahl, 2010, p.16).

Schools must therefore not only contribute to the critical reflection on what is considered to be of worth in schools and society but also on how to put those values into practice. Teachers need to be engaged in the assessment of whether current practice in schools is sufficient to the task of actually promoting core educational values. It is important to remember here that recognition is a

reciprocal process and not a unilateral one in which teachers accord recognition to or withhold recognition from their students. Rather recognition speaks to Dewey's notion of democratic community life in which recognition is an intersubjective cross-generational process. What is therefore needed is a way to understand what structures and what attitudes hinder the implementation of better, more humane and more democratic forms of schooling and this is something to which Recognition Theory is well-suited. In the next section I review a number of publications in English and German which have already applied the concept of recognition to education.

Review of relevant literature

In German-speaking countries, Honneth's work has started to influence research and practice in education (Helsper et al., 2005; Hericks, 2009; Prengel, 2012, 2013) but although Honneth's work is now having an impact in the field of political studies outside Germany (Thompson, 2006; Couldry, 2009, 2010; Martineau et al., 2012; Zurn, 2010, 2015), it is not yet widely known in the field of education (Murphy, 2010). What publications there are tend to be of a theoretical rather than an empirical nature (Huttunen & Heikkinen, 2004; Murphy, 2010).

Murphy (2010) does however draw attention to the importance of recognition in schools. He provides an overview of Honneth's theory of recognition drawing mainly on *The Struggle for Recognition* (1995) and *Disrespect* (2007)¹⁰ and on secondary literature. Murphy believes that adopting the principles of Recognition Theory in schools might lead to a "shift to an intersubjective frame of reference" (Murphy, 2010, p.8), which could replace existing forms of teacher-student relationships which "may not be up to the task of developing sufficient levels of self-respect and self-esteem" (ibid.). He refers to teaching and learning techniques as a means of putting Recognition Theory into practice:

A shift to a recognition approach would allow for a new set of ideas and 'techniques' that could offer a way forward to a more effective approach to learning (ibid.).

10. English translation of *Das Andere der Gerechtigkeit* (2000).

While Murphy does point out that pedagogical matters “should not be divorced from concerns over the role of education in fostering or alleviating social and economic inequalities” (ibid.), there is perhaps a danger inherent in his suggestion that recognition could be translated into teaching techniques. To concentrate on making learning more effective through recognition might divert attention away from the role of recognition in underpinning “the democratic discourse of a learning environment” (Fleming, 2016, p.21) which incorporates the reciprocal nature of recognition in teaching and learning.

German-language publications on the role of recognition in education reflect a broad understanding of the potential of recognition in schools (Helsper et al., 2005; Hericks, 2007, 2009; Prengel, 2012, 2013) and cover the themes of inclusion, initial teacher education and the pedagogical relationship between teachers and students. In her discussion of recognition in education, Prengel draws substantially on Habermas and Honneth, but she also adopts Dewey’s notion of unfinished democracy. Although she exhibits a rather more ambivalent attitude towards democracy than Dewey with regard to existing forms of democratic government in the Western world, Prengel (2013) argues, like Dewey, that democracy is the most effective form of government because of its potential to support the equal participation of all citizens in the life of the public sphere, despite its partial and unfinished nature. Democracy is essential in the field of education because it links freedom, equality and solidarity (Prengel, 2013) and this offers both pedagogical and political hope.

Recognition features in a longitudinal empirical case study in Germany in which three young teachers were interviewed at intervals during their first two years of teaching (Hericks, 2007; Hericks & Keller-Schneider, 2012). Recognition is one of four categories identified in the study as relevant in the process of professionalisation of new teachers. Also in Germany, an empirical study into the political views of students in schools reflects on the problem of reciprocal recognition in the asymmetrical teacher-student relationship (Helsper et al., 2005).

One of the few empirical English-language studies relating to children and young people is an investigation into the participation of young people in public life in Wales, using Recognition Theory as the theoretical framework

(Thomas, 2012). Rather than accepting the asymmetrical relationship as given, Thomas suggests rather that it is one that needs to be challenged in relation to theories which regard children “only as adults in waiting” (ibid., p.458). Starting from an understanding that children should be regarded as morally responsible persons, Thomas investigates the relationship between organising adults and participating young people in the Young People’s Assembly set up by the Welsh Assembly, using the categories of love, rights and solidarity as a conceptual framework. He argues that children are entitled to respect as rights-bearers and that they are worthy of esteem for their contributions to public life and therefore have a valid claim to recognition in the public sphere. Thomas concludes that Honneth’s theory of recognition offers an ethical foundation for analysing how recognition is actualised both in the private sphere and in the social-political field, but suggests that Honneth’s theory does not go far enough in theorising adult–child relations in general.

An Australian research project, on which Thomas was also a researcher, draws on the categories of recognition in relation to children in a large-scale mixed methods survey of children’s well-being in Australian schools (Graham et al., 2014; Anderson & Graham, 2016). Like the Welsh study, this study has a number of points of contact with my research in that the researchers use the concepts of being cared for, being respected and being valued, adapted from Honneth’s concepts of love, respect and solidarity, as the basis for their surveys and interviews with children and teachers. They are also interested in the link between children’s well-being and student voice. The research objectives were:

- (1) to develop a detailed understanding of how “wellbeing” in schools is currently understood by students, teachers, and educational policy makers;
- (2) to investigate the potential of recognition theory for advancing understanding and improvements in relation to student wellbeing;
- (3) to generate new knowledge about how educational policy, programmes, and practices in schools could more positively impact on student wellbeing. (Anderson & Graham, 2016, p.351)

Children's experience is also central to a large-scale mixed methods research project in the Republic of Ireland which adopts Fraser's version of recognition theory as a way of investigating equality in Irish schools (Lynch & Lodge, 2002). The researchers use recognition to examine equality with respect to gender, class and inclusion, themes central to Fraser's (2003) understanding of social justice, redistribution and recognition. Although the main focus in the Irish study is on children's experience of recognition, teachers' experiences of recognition and misrecognition are addressed in one chapter in which teachers' lives are analysed within a framework of power relations in which teachers are both "powerful and powerless" (Lynch & Lodge, 2002, p.166). Following Fraser's analysis of power in society (1997, 2003), Lynch & Lodge note that power is distributed unevenly within schools, and that formal power is accorded to those who belong to a higher status groups in the school. They suggest that teachers are engaged in power struggles which are both an effect and a cause of "unequal recognition and representation in relationships with subordinates and peers" (ibid., p.167). Again following Fraser, Lynch & Lodge interpret the equality issues regarding resources, information and privileges, (issues raised by teachers in their study) in terms of rights and redistribution, rather than in terms of Honneth's categories of respect and esteem.

In the field of university education, the implications of recognition theory for understanding the experience of students from non-traditional backgrounds in institutes of higher education are addressed in an empirical longitudinal European study (Fleming & Finnegan, 2009; Fleming, 2014; West et al., 2013). The published papers address the concepts of recognition and resilience, drawing together Bourdieu's theories of social reproduction, Winnicott's psycho-analytical theory and Honneth's critical theory of recognition as a basis for understanding how the experience of higher education can transform the identities of non-traditional students (West et al., 2013). The researchers make a strong case for considering recognition and resilience as important elements in the self-esteem of non-traditional learners enrolled on courses of higher education.

A number of theoretical papers have been published in English by the self-styled 'Jyväskylä School' of Finnish academics who promote the value of recognition in the field of education (Heikkinen, 2003; Laitinen, 2010; Laitinen

et al., 2015). Doctoral dissertations on recognition have also been submitted to Finnish universities (Huttunen, 2009; Hanhela, 2014). Writing on the topic of teaching and the dialectic of recognition, Huttunen & Heikkinen (2004) include short autobiographical passages dealing with their own experience of being misrecognised in the context of university education and initial teacher education. These passages are however only brief and therefore do not illustrate in depth with the different spheres of the experience of love, right, esteem and solidarity.

The research projects and articles reviewed here demonstrate that already there is more than one way in which Recognition Theory can be applied to educational research and indicate that the concepts associated with recognition are valid concepts for understanding the experiences of people in an educational setting. Most of the research reviewed above investigates the role of recognition in relation to the experience of learners. In contrast, my study focuses on teachers, based on an understanding that Honneth's theory is concerned with relationships of reciprocal recognition in a given community.

Teacher voice

For most teachers there is little doubt that their practical knowledge and expertise ought to be recognised in the debate on the curriculum (Stevenson, 2014), but many teachers are disappointed that their voices carry little weight in the public sphere. As one teacher quoted in Bangs & Frost (2012) reported:

We experience 'voicelessness' as a profession. There is a sense of despair about the gap between policy and what we know and experience as practitioners" (p.23).

While there are various organisations whose remit encompasses, or has in the past encompassed, the representation of teachers' voices on issues of policy and practice, such as the teacher unions and the General Teaching Council England (GTCE), their voices have often been silenced or marginalised. The denigration of the teaching unions by the Secretary of State for Education from 2010 to 2015 (Gove, 2013 as an example) has arguably shaped a negative public image of the unionised voice. Professional teachers' associations have lost much of their influence (Council for Subject Associations, 2015) and despite initial

optimism that the GTCE could provide a powerful voice for teachers (Whitty, 2006), by the time it was abolished by the coalition government in 2011, few teachers still felt the GTCE represented their voice or had improved the professional standing of teachers (Page, 2012). The professional voice of teachers has arguably failed to gain the recognition it deserves (Rudduck, 2004; Durrant & Holden, 2006; Frost, 2008) and teachers nowadays are still “the missing voice in education” (Cohn & Kottkamp, 1993). However, it would be reasonable to assume that if teaching is regarded as a profession, then the voice of teaching professionals, thanks to their knowledge, expertise and moral commitment, is an authoritative one that deserves to be trusted, provided it is founded in a theoretical understanding of the purposes of education (Markie, 2009).

Traditionally, professions have been defined as careers where the professional was required to exercise personal initiative, judgement and responsibility (Carr, 2003), together with the ability to apply theoretical knowledge to practice (Whitty, 2006). This is relevant for my purposes as both Carr and Whitty agree that serious, principled professional reflection is a form of moral practice that entails engagement with both philosophy and ethics. Professionalism in the traditional sense includes “a code of professional conduct oriented towards the ‘public good’” (Whitty, 2006, p.2). However, as noted previously (p.17) the nature of what is understood as ‘good’, or worthy of esteem is disputed and needs to be continually re-established in an informed debate.

Educational policy in England and teachers as professionals

This traditional view of professionalism was replaced under the Labour government (1997-2010) by a “new professionalism” (DfEE, 1998, p.9) which continued and developed the centralisation of control over educational policy and practice that had begun under the previous Conservative government (Mortimore, 1999; Kennedy et al., 2012). Prior to this, in the mid-twentieth century, governments determined school finance and the structure of the school system, but tended to leave questions of content and pedagogy to the teachers (Bassey, 2005). This changed with Callaghan’s 1976 lecture at Ruskin College, which initiated the ‘Great Debate’ on education. This great debate was:

the phenomena that brought into the public domain the notion of educational standards, and, perforce, the beginning of the discourse of ‘quality’, school improvement, attainment and performance (Bryan, 2012, p.219).

Twenty years after Callaghan and shortly before he became Labour Prime Minister, Blair also gave a lecture at Ruskin College (Blair, 1996a) setting out ‘New’ Labour’s education agenda. Whereas the debate between all stakeholders had been a central feature of Callaghan’s Ruskin talk, Blair put much less emphasis on public debate, and was concerned instead with accountability and standards (Barber, 1996).

When Labour came into power in 1997, a redefined understanding of teachers as professionals was written into the first ‘New’ Labour White Paper on education policy in England: *Excellence in Schools* (DfEE, 1997). According to the Green Paper *Teachers: meeting the challenge of change* (DfEE, 1998) the time was past when “unaccountable professionals made curriculum and pedagogical decisions alone, without reference to the outside world” (p.14). A new professionalism was called for in which the successful professional was defined as one who is accountable for maintaining standards (Sachs, 2001). In exchange, teachers were promised “higher status, better prospects, a rewarding career structure, less bureaucracy, more freedom to focus on teaching” (DfEE, 1998, p.9). What is missing in this list is recognition of the importance of teachers’ voices in the educational debate.

Tighter control over what was taught had already been introduced by the previous Conservative government with the National Curriculum. Labour extended that control by giving the teaching profession a mandate to deliver government targets, which were becoming increasingly driven by economic rather than social policy (Furlong, 2008). Government policy thus redefined the nature of the autonomy that is often seen as the hallmark of the professional (Carr, 2003). The process of central determination was pursued beyond the period of Labour government by the coalition government from 2010 – 2015 (Gove, 2009, 2013, 2014). Belying the rhetoric of greater autonomy and freedom from bureaucracy in schools, the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition continued the demand for higher accountability and higher standards,

including standards of professional behaviour both inside and outside of school (DfE, 2013a). Ironically, the strengthening of central government control was accompanied by the government's promotion of greater diversity in school structures with the introduction of academies and so-called free schools intended to increase both parental choice, social mobility and social justice (DfE, 2016b).

The crisis of voice

As suggested above, this form of politics, shaped by neo-liberal ideology, neglects the importance of voice (Ranson, 2000, 2003; Couldry, 2009, 2010) and runs counter to a democratic understanding of the interdependency of social beings and of the intersubjective nature of democracy which underpins both Dewey's theories of democracy and education and Recognition Theory. Even in government circles, concerns have been raised at the way successive governments have implemented educational policy. In 2009, for example, the Children, Schools and Families Committee reported to the House of Commons on school accountability in no uncertain terms:

§265 It is time for the Government to allow schools to refocus their efforts on what matters: children. For too long, schools have struggled to cope with changing priorities, constant waves of new initiatives from central government, and the stresses and distortions caused by performance tables and targets.

§266 The Government should place more faith in the professionalism of teachers and should support them with a simplified accountability and improvement system which challenges and encourages good practice rather than stigmatising and undermining those who are struggling (House of Commons Children, Schools and Families Committee, 2010, p.106).

Despite these strong recommendations from the Children, Schools and Families Committee, which amount to a call for recognition of teachers' voices, neither the outgoing Labour government, nor the coalition government of 2010 – 2015, nor the Conservative government which came to power in 2015 have interrupted the flow of reforms affecting the structures of school, the content of the curriculum, the training of teachers and the pressure to find ways of

improving learning outcomes. While some teachers thrive in these conditions, others lose sight of their self-worth, which can have a negative effect on how teachers feel able to value and care for others (Ball, 2003).

In terms of Recognition Theory, being cared for, being accepted and being valued in a community all lead to the development of self-confidence, self-respect, self-esteem and solidarity. These normative concepts of recognition are thus central to an understanding of the impact of government policy on teachers' professionalism. While reverting to a traditional view of professionalism from a previous age is no longer feasible (Whitty, 2006), there are alternatives to the new managerial form of professionalism including proposals for 'collaborative' and 'democratic' professionalism.

Alternative forms of professionalism

Democratic professionalism is diametrically opposed to the managerial professionalism exemplified by a market economy approach to education (Sachs, 2001). Sachs believes that democratic discourses of professionalism are a necessary condition for the development of collaborative communities. Her views are similar to Beane & Apple's (2007) advocacy of democratic schools where:

professional educators as well as parents, community activists, and other citizens have a right to fully informed and critical participation in creating school policies and programs for themselves and young people (p.8).

A link can thus be made between Recognition Theory, democratic aims and a new professionalism which is built on collaboration to counter those forces which produce and reproduce inequality (Quicke, 2000). The suggestion that in a democratic society all stakeholders should be concerned with the content and purposes of education is in line with the view that democratic states have an interest in providing their citizens with an education that makes democracy possible (Dewey, 1916; Honneth, 2012b). If the challenges of promoting social justice in a socially unequal society are to be met, a commitment to a form of shared leadership which encompasses teachers' voice is essential (Frost, 2008).

Defining 'voice' for the purposes of this study

As outlined in the Introduction, 'voice' has played an important part in the development of my research. Voice is an umbrella term which can incorporate a number of different meanings (Thomson, 2011; Rector-Aranda, 2014) and in the following I turn to stories of experience and the literature on teacher and student voice. Elbaz (1991) defines voice as "the right of every human being to be heard and to experience life from his or her own perspective" (p.10). In her view, stories may contain a moral, or be an acceptable way of voicing social criticism and have the power to affect the listener or reader. This means that 'voice' is political as well as epistemological (ibid.).

In the epistemological sense, voice is a means of gaining insight into the world of other people (van Manen, 2014; Elbaz-Luwisch, 2005; Ashby, 2011). With regards to teachers, listening to the voices of teachers talking about real experiences not only creates awareness but can also personalise and make real the issues, both positive and negative, that arise in the life of the classroom and the school (Phillion 2005). Listening to the stories of ordinary teachers is useful in developing an understanding of the way teachers are motivated by the values and beliefs they hold (Elbaz-Luwisch, 2005), an important feature in my study of teachers' stories of experience as shown in Figure 1 (p.24 above). But stories are not only a means of understanding people's lives: through critical reflection they can become a catalyst for change through their impact on the reader and the researcher.

In the political sense, voice can be defined as "the expression of a distinctive perspective on the world that needs to be acknowledged" (Couldry, 2010, p.1). The right to speak and the right to be heard are political rights which correspond in the terminology of Recognition Theory to respect and self-respect. Taking the opinions and concerns of others seriously in a community promotes the self-respect that comes from being accorded rights equal to those of others in the community (Honneth, 1992). However, voice can also be defined as a value (Couldry, 2010). Value corresponds to the process of being listened to as a worthy member of a community, which promotes feelings of self-esteem. Couldry argues that listening is more important than speaking, as it is the process of listening that accords recognition to the speaker.

There are parallels between Couldry and Fielding (2001), who asks not only who has the right to speak in a school community but who is listening:

- Who is listening?
- Why are they listening?
- How are they listening? (ibid. p.102, emphasis in original).

It is clear that Fielding is addressing the nature of power in schools and promoting the value of listening from a standpoint of advocacy of voice:

Listening is important because it is central both to a wider and deeper commitment to the development of agency in a democratic society and to our sense of human solidarity, to our emergent humanity as an achievement which certain kinds of relationships and circumstances can either enable or frustrate (ibid. p.104).

The stories that teachers tell about their own lives are a compelling way to make public their professional values and concerns. In narrative educational research, voice has often been seen as a way of empowering teachers by enabling them to “give voice to their teaching struggles in order to become conscious agents in their pedagogy” (Britzman, 2003, p.160). This is not, however, the aim of my study. Rather, the vicarious experience provided by listening to the voices of others is intended to initiate a form of critical reflection on the part the reader (Elbaz, 1991) and a deeper understanding of the experience itself and the factors that shape teachers’ lives in schools. As Fielding (above) points out, this is a form of solidarity, since allowing voices to speak and to be heard reinforces a sense of community, as it sends the message that peoples’ values and opinions matter. This “generates energy and enthusiasm, develops self-confidence and self-efficacy and improves relationships” (Durrant & Holden, 2006, p.90).

The importance of voice in building a community is central to much of the thinking on democratic and collaborative forms of professionalism. Fielding & Moss (2011) believe that the way forward is to create a democratic community in which schools can remake public spaces in which teachers and students

engage in genuine dialogue as a means of creating a more democratic form of schooling.

Voice is significant both as an indicator of recognition and as a moral commitment to promoting self-confidence, self-respect, self-esteem and solidarity in teaching praxis, defined as a “commitment to educational and social values” which requires the teacher to make: “a wise and prudent practical judgement” about how to act in a given situation (Carr & Kemmis, 1994, p.190). Because education “has norms built into it, which generate the aims which educators strive to develop or attain” (Peters, 1973, p.17), understanding teacher voice as part of a critical narrative on education suggests that there is some justification for regarding teacher voice as a normative concept with respect to teachers’ role in building communities of teaching and learning modelled on the principles of a humane and democratic school (Klafki, 2002; Fielding & Moss, 2011).

Teacher voice has the potential to build alliances which create solidarity between teachers and a range of stakeholders (Whitty, 2006). The importance of solidarity between students and teachers as a form of recognition is exemplified when teachers and learners actively engage in dialogue (Prengel, 2013; McLaren, 2015). This is consistent both with Sachs’ (2001) definition of democratic professionalism as “collaborative, cooperative action between teachers and other educational stakeholders” (p.153) and with the new democratic professionalism envisaged by Stevenson (2014), which incorporates the fundamental values of social justice.

Running counter to this admittedly idealised view of teachers and students actively engaging in dialogue with one another is the persistence of the traditional school hierarchy in which teacher voice can also be oppressive and silence the voice of students (MacLaren, 2015), a theme taken up again in the section on student voice below.

Couldry’s (2010) definition of political voice as not only the right but also the responsibility to enter into dialogue with others in the various communities in which we live and work is therefore an important one. The question of responsibility as well as right is a question central to Recognition Theory in respect of mutual recognition and the intersubjective nature of learning and

teaching in schools. Voice in schools is therefore a complex notion which concerns both teacher voice and student voice. Both are essential components in the creation of a humane and democratic school, and for that reason teacher voice and student voice are important in understanding the contribution Recognition Theory can make to life in schools and both are an important element in my thesis. The following section provides an overview of the development of student voice in schools in England.

Facets of student voice

Student voice has been defined in many different ways. It can be seen as a means of school improvement (Rudduck & Flutter, 2003; Lodge, 2008; Morgan, 2009); as a way of engaging teachers and students in dialogue about teaching and learning (Arnot et al., 2004); as compliance with educational policy expectations and Ofsted guidelines (Whitty & Wisby, 2007a); as an embodiment of children's rights and Every Child Matters (Cheminais, 2008; Ofsted, 2005); as a form of radical change (Fielding, 2008); as an example of citizenship in action (Breslin, 2011); and as a commitment to social justice and democracy (Czerniawski & Kidd, 2011a). The definitions range from student voice as a radical and critical concept concerned with the nature and purposes of education as a democratic enterprise to student voice as a tool to improve school performance in the context of the marketisation of education, where students are classified as consumers (Thomson, 2011).

With regards to engaging children and young people in dialogue, both voice and recognition are related to the principles of the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNESCO, 1997; UNICEF, undated). The Convention led to a growing appreciation of young people's rights in the last decade of the 20th century and to a considerable increase in interest in student voice in England (Bragg, 2012).

In relation to the key concepts of Recognition Theory, consulting young people is a way of treating them with respect (MacBeath et al., 2003) and granting them recognition. One of the most persuasive arguments for student voice in schools is that it is part of the democratic process through which children come to realise that others have the right to their own voice (Fielding & Bragg, 2003). This is closely linked with the National Curriculum citizenship syllabus

as originally introduced in the Crick Report (QCA, 1998) whose terms of reference included the “nature and practices of participation in democracy; the duties, responsibilities and rights of individuals as citizens; and the value to individuals and society of community activity” (p.6).

The citizenship curriculum was intended to support student centred practices which develop positive interpersonal relationships (Deakin Crick et al., 2005) but one concern in schools, raised by Fielding (2001) above, is the question of whose voices are heard and who is listening. There is also a danger that voice in schools can be used as a managerial tool, thus denying voice its democratic promise (Arnot & Reay, 2007; Fielding & Rudduck, 2002; Whitty & Wisby, 2007b; Thompson, 2009; Czerniawski & Kidd, 2011a). There are also many students whose voices, whether intentionally or unintentionally, are not listened to, or who for whatever reason remain silent (Cullingford, 1995; Fielding & Bragg, 2003). The above are all forms of misrecognition of student voice.

There are also problems relating to the difficulty of maintaining democratic practices in schools due the asymmetric nature of the student-teacher relationship, referred to on page 39, and teachers’ role as figures of authority:

The ‘hidden curriculum’ of authority in schools needs to be transformed into a curriculum of justice in which the rights of students as well as teachers are taken seriously. The value of justice should predominate over that of adult authority, and all issues of justice and authority should be dealt with through discussion. Without such a direct focus on issues of authority, it is likely that children will experience simulated democracy in the classroom while the traditional structure of teacher authority and autocratic governance in schools remains intact (Hart, 1992, p.37).

Recognition Theory is in a strong position with regards to its ability to critically interrogate phenomena such the ‘hidden curriculum of authority’ or the experience of the silent child (Cullingford, 1995), since recognition is a mutual process rooted in “the real world of everyday experiences” (Honneth, 2010, p.110).

Justification of my research focus

Much of the debate on democratic practices in schools has centred on the student experience with regards to voice and its role in school improvement, as exemplified by the Consulting Pupils project. The debate concerning teacher voice on the other hand has tended to concentrate on teacher voice in the public sphere (Bangs & Frost, 2012). However, rather than regarding teacher voice and student voice as two parallel concepts, as Bragg (2007) seems to imply (see. p.11) or teacher voice as a prerequisite for student voice, as Fielding (2001) suggests, I believe that the relationship between teacher voice and student voice in schools should be a reciprocal one, which would pave the way for a more democratic form of schooling.

Since 2010, when the Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government came into power, much of the initial enthusiasm surrounding student voice, consultation, participation and citizenship has dissipated (Czerniawski & Kidd, 2011b). Notions of emancipation and democracy, which were central themes in the citizenship curriculum, now feature less prominently. Every Child Matters (2003) was quietly shelved and changes to the curriculum for citizenship in September 2013 moved away from Dewey's notion of learning through democracy towards acquiring knowledge about government (DfE, 2013b). The previously cited Department for Education's guidelines for promoting: "pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) development" (DfE, 2014a, p.3) as an aspect of the promotion of British values makes no reference to how those values might be linked to the existing citizenship curriculum (Citizenship Foundation, undated). Concerns have also been raised at the way the concept of British values has been embedded in the government's Prevent Strategy rather than in a discourse of social justice and democracy (Bryan, 2012).

To some extent, though, both Every Child Matters and the Citizenship curriculum have had a lasting impact on teachers' values and practices (Glazzard, 2012; MacBeath, 2012). However, the increased focus on a narrow set of attainment targets by which schools are judged has meant that 'voice' has become a become a contested field for teachers in England (Czerniawski & Kidd, 2011a).

Summary

In this chapter I have looked at elements of educational policies and philosophies which exemplify different understandings of the purposes of education, purposes which are often in tension with each other, as are the different images of the professional teacher. As indicated in Figure 1 (p.24) these philosophies and policies, even if encountered only indirectly, impact on the experiences of the three new teachers in this study, since they encompass the specific expectations of parents, school governors and students, as well as the generalised expectations of society, and thus contribute to the social context in which they work. This relates in particular to Research Question 1 (RQ1) and to an understanding of democracy, and education in and for democracy. This includes the notion of voice and the question of whose voices are listened to in an educational setting. Following Couldry (2010), I have suggested a link between voice and recognition, in that listening is a form of recognition in action.

Moving to the third research question (RQ3), I have given an overview of those aspects of Critical Theory, Recognition Theory and Dewey's philosophy of education and democracy which are relevant for my research. Critical Theory is rooted in the everyday lifeworld and in the very simplest of terms its purpose is to assess what is against what should be. The normative concept of reciprocal recognition in Honneth's theory is therefore applicable to teachers' lived experience. What 'should be' rests of course on a concept of morality, that is, the agreed norms at a given time in a given society. The starting point for a critical evaluation of the emancipatory potential of those claims is often "a phenomenological analysis of moral injuries" (Honneth, 2000, p.179), which suggests that a phenomenological methodology can complement a critical research approach.

I have explored the similarities between Dewey's (1916) and Honneth's (2012a; 2012b) views on the relationship between education and democracy. In the Introduction, this relationship was exemplified in Klafki's (1998) critical-constructivist pedagogy. As shown in Figure 1 (p.24), the relationship between recognition, democracy and education provides the foundation for this study. The concepts of love, right, esteem and solidarity were discussed as forms of

recognition which are essential to human growth and well-being. These concepts feature in the data analysis in Chapter Four as a priori themes which provide a means of understanding the experiences of the three new teachers. In Figure 1, all the above themes feed into the notion of a humane and democratic school which has informed my thesis.

In the next chapter, Chapter Two, I turn to questions of research methodology which are of relevance for the second research question (RQ2), but also for RQ1, and the ways in which lived experience can be interpreted and presented. Interpretative, phenomenological approaches to research interpret lived experience in a particular way and I explain how I identify a synergy between Recognition Theory and phenomenology. I also compare different approaches to phenomenological research in Chapter Two. I then discuss my research design and the process of data gathering and analysis and reflect on the ethical requirements of my research.

Chapter Two

Methodology and Research Design

Chapter Two comprises four sections, which cover my choice of methodology, the way the research process was structured, the ethical issues that my research raised and finally, questions of validity and trustworthiness.

Methodology

In the first part of this chapter I explain how my interest in understanding the lived experience of new teachers influenced my choice of qualitative research strategy. I compare narrative inquiry and phenomenology, two traditions of qualitative inquiry which were potentially suitable as the methodological framework for my research and look at different variants of phenomenological analysis. I explain the reasons which led me to choose interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA). I then discuss the implications of that choice and the challenges it has presented.

In the second part of this chapter on methodology I turn to the practicalities of my research design, including finding a school as the site for my fieldwork and recruiting teachers willing to be interviewed. I also explore critically the ethical complexities that arose in part out of my dual role in the school as researcher and consultant. The chapter concludes with a description of the processes of data gathering and analysis and a consideration of questions of validity.

Qualitative Research and Stories of Experience

While there are studies which have effectively adopted a quantitative approach to research into topics such as student and teacher voice and the processes of becoming a teacher (Hascher & Hanauer, 2010; Gilljam et al., 2010; Gorard & Huat See, 2011; Gyurko 2012; Metlife, 2010), a qualitative, interpretative paradigm is consistent with my aim of allowing the experiences, practices, views and values of the three new teachers in my study to emerge. A qualitative

research design was therefore my methodology of choice. When I myself was a new teacher I learned much from stories of personal experience (Beyer, 1996; Bell, 1995; Thomas, 1995) and from teacher narratives in reports on action research (Stenhouse, 1975). Reflective practice and professional collaboration of the type found in many action research studies (Frost et al., 2000) are forms of solidarity and thus have a connection to recognition, but also to an understanding that teaching incorporates an ethic of care. The kind of care needed in schools is often associated with the work of Nel Noddings, (Hargreaves, 1998), whose ethic of care was described earlier in relation to Recognition Theory (see p.15).

Another aspect of the importance of stories, already mentioned in Chapter One, is that of allowing voices to be heard and of making public the everyday lives of teachers (Elbaz, 1991). The stories of those who have struggled to make a difference not only in their own classroom, but within their school and in the lives of the young people they work with, can also be inspirational (Beyer, 1996; Frost et al., 2000; Durrant, 2001) but it is not the case that all stories are stories of success and empowerment.

There are other stories, the stories of disillusionment which portray teachers' loss of self-confidence and self-esteem, and their lack of a sense of agency (Keating, 2009). Stories can thus be a powerful way for beginning teachers to understand the complexity of teaching (Chan, 2012) and to reflect on the challenges they and others face. In order to explore teachers' stories, narrative inquiry seemed a suitable starting point.

Narrative inquiry

One of the main claims for the use of narrative inquiry in research is that humans are storytelling beings who, individually and socially, lead "storied lives" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p.2). Stories disclose the ways humans experience the world and narrative research into teacher voice is underpinned by "a desire to ... make evident what is alive and interesting about teaching" (Elbaz, 1991, p.7). In the ethnographic tradition, narrative is used to understand a community and its cultural and social context from the standpoint of members of that community (Denscombe, 2010). Despite the considerable variation in what is accepted as narrative (Riessman, 2005), there is a generally accepted

consensus that what distinguishes the kind of text included in narrative inquiry from other qualitative approaches is that events are selected and organised with a particular purpose in mind for a particular audience (ibid.) and that stories tend to follow a sequence of events (Riessman, 2008).

Yet for my research I was not looking to create a chronological account of peoples' lives with a beginning, a middle and an end (Bruner, 1987, 1991; Elliott, 2005). The title of one book on methodology seemed to capture the essence of what I was looking for: Max van Manen's (1997) *Researching Lived Experience*, an introduction to the interpretative research tradition of phenomenology in the field of education. Both the title and the subtitle *Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy* accorded with the aims of my research, which meant that my initial response to this form of phenomenological method was positive.

Max van Manen and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

The roots of van Manen's human science methodology are to be found in the Utrecht tradition of human science and phenomenology. This tradition shares the same sources as German human science pedagogy which, as already mentioned, was familiar to me from my time in Germany. Following in this tradition, van Manen has developed a research method which aims to cultivate a way of seeing, listening to and responding to the child in an educational setting. He understands pedagogy as more than a collection of educational theories which merely offer:

models for teaching, approaches to discipline, techniques for teacher effectiveness, methods for curriculum, management procedures ... and so on (van Manen, 1997, p.147).

Pedagogy also involves a caring commitment to the child and this underpins van Manen's research philosophy. In his persuasive words:

When we raise questions, gather data, describe a phenomenon and construct textual interpretations, we do so as researchers who stand in the world in a pedagogic way (ibid., p.1).

What I take van Manen to mean by this is linked to the moral purposes of teaching and the development of pedagogical tact, since van Manen's use of the human science term 'pedagogical tact' and the phrase 'action-sensitive human science' suggests that educational researchers interpret lived experience in order to understand the implications of that experience for their own pedagogic practice and that of others. The relationship identified above between Noddings' ethics of care and the concept of love and affection in Recognition Theory is also compatible with the central importance of a caring commitment to the child in van Manen's human science philosophy (1997).

The lived world is a central concept in both Recognition Theory (Honneth 1992) and phenomenology (Wertz, 2005). Another common feature is the intersubjective nature of IPA, in that "everyday life is not a private world but rather an intersubjective one because the social world is experienced through shared meanings with others" (Hultgren, 1990a, p.15). My interest in everyday life in this study and the use of IPA to gain an insight into the lived experiences of three new teachers thus paves the way for a critical understanding of the values, structures and experiences which shape teachers' professional lives. An underlying premise of Recognition Theory is that when the injustice of misrecognition is experienced, then this may serve as a basis for action. In line with the aims of Critical Theory, misrecognition can provide the impetus for change which develops from an examination of how things are compared with how they are expected to be.

A further aspect of van Manen's method which proved useful for my research is his belief in the importance of anecdotes in understanding the meanings people give to their everyday experience. These are the kind of stories that teachers share with each other when talking about their daily practice, or when drawing attention to a concern, or illustrating a point (van Manen, 1989). Anecdotes are similar to the kind of "small stories" which Bamberg (2004) defines as "the ones we tell in passing, in our everyday encounters with each other" referring to them as "the 'real' stories of our 'lived' lives" (p.356, emphasis in original). New teachers develop their professional knowledge through the sharing of anecdotes (Doecke et al., 2000) and anecdotes featured as an important part of the dynamic of the focus group session which initiated the process of data-gathering for my study.

Prior to reading *Researching Lived Experience*, my knowledge of phenomenology had been negligible and I had not given it serious consideration. I had assumed it would not be compatible with a critical approach to educational research, although this turned out to be a false assumption (Cohen et al., 2007). The highly structured method of phenomenological analysis recommended for novice researchers in the field of phenomenology (Creswell, 2007; Smith & Osborn, 2008) was also disconcerting. However, as I explain in the next section, further reading revealed that ‘phenomenology’ is a very fluid term and that there are many different ways of approaching phenomenological analysis (Finlay, 2009).

Different approaches to phenomenology

Some of the early philosophical, psychological and sociological writings on phenomenology (Husserl, 1935; Schütz, 1932; Merleau-Ponty, 1945) provide an understanding of the foundations of the different approaches in present-day phenomenology. Although the term phenomenology had been used previously in German philosophy, notably by Hegel (1807), it was Edmund Husserl, a mathematician and philosopher, who developed phenomenology into a form of “scientific philosophy” (Heidegger, 1954, §1). It was not Husserl’s intention to create a research methodology for the social sciences, but this was the way phenomenology developed in the United States, introduced by Schütz, whose first book, published in German in 1932, was translated into English in 1967 under the title *The Phenomenology of the Social World*. The German title is more telling: *Der sinnhafte Aufbau der sozialen Welt*, which translates more literally as ‘the meaningful construction of the social world’ which suggests a link to Bruner’s (1991) constructivism in narrative research. Schütz is credited with introducing Husserl’s phenomenology into the field of American sociology (Holstein & Gubrium, 1998; Barber, 2014).

The Duquesne School

It was Giorgi (1997), a founding member of the Duquesne school of psychology, who recast phenomenology as a form of qualitative methodological practice in the field of human science psychology. Giorgi’s descriptive form of phenomenological analysis adheres closely to the principles set out by Husserl in that Giorgi (2006) is concerned with determining the

essence of a phenomenon of human experience and not with the individuals who are experiencing the phenomenon. Giorgi also adopts Husserl's concept of epoche (also known as reductio or phenomenological reduction). The purpose of the reduction for Husserl (1935) is to allow *Besinnung*, which has connotations of both contemplation and consciousness. The reduction involves the reflective process of putting brackets round common-sense assumptions and preconceived ideas and prejudices about the way things are, in order to find the essence of things as they really are (Giorgi, 1997; 2007). Epoche and reductio are therefore often referred to as bracketing. Giorgi (2006) acknowledges that the strong descriptive element of phenomenological research might suggest that phenomenology lacks analytic depth. However, the descriptive elements are essential in presenting a vivid account of the experience under investigation.

Heuristic Phenomenology

In his textbook *Phenomenological Research Methods* the psychologist Moustakas (1994) also uses Husserl's terminology. However, in contrast to Giorgi's purely descriptive phenomenology, Moustakas (1995) defines his own method as heuristic rather than descriptive. For Moustakas, this means that the researcher should be driven by a strong personal interest in the phenomenon under investigation. This personal element engages the researcher inevitably in a process of self-reflection and self-understanding which aims to discover what a particular human experience is like. Moustakas (1994) intends his heuristic form of phenomenology to "remain close to the individual stories" (p.18).

The method of analysis that Moustakas (1994) proposes consists of a systematic review of each sentence of the text or transcript, line by line, annotating statements relevant to the phenomenon in order to identify themes. The themes, told in the participants' own words, are then organised chronologically. These systematic steps in the data analysis have gained widespread acceptance as useful guidelines for novice researchers (Creswell, 2007).

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

The impact on the reader is an important aspect of van Manen's variant of IPA (2006). He argues for phenomenology as a way of imaginatively placing

oneself in someone else's shoes in order to understand the meaning of a lived experience from their point of view. The researcher then attempts to write an empathetic and sympathetic report that is evocative, perhaps even poetical - a form of writing that enhances perceptiveness and our understanding of human relations. The writing of a phenomenological study is so central to van Manen's purpose that he states: "writing is our method" (1997, p.124). He is, however, under no illusion that it is easy to produce the kind of writing that is sensitive to the lifeworld and that enriches our understanding of the meanings of our everyday engagement with the world.

Although van Manen (1997) accepts the kind of close textual analysis advocated by other phenomenologists as a valid procedure, he offers two alternatives to the line-by-line analysis Moustakas (1994) recommends. The first is a holistic approach which requires the researcher to be intuitively open to the meaning of the whole text. The second is a selective approach which looks for revealing statements which stand out in a text. An example of this in my data was the startling statement that one interviewee had 'hated' school, an illustration of what Smith (2011) calls a 'gem', referring to: "the pivotal role played by single utterances and small passages to the analysis of a research corpus" (p.6). Although I was initially drawn to the more intuitive holistic method, I realised that the selective approach was well-suited to the nature of my research in that it is compatible with a thematic analysis using the concepts of Recognition Theory.

A second form of interpretative phenomenological analysis, also referred to by its founder Jonathan Smith (1996) as IPA, has gained a considerable following in the UK. Most research using this variant has to date been undertaken in the field of experiential qualitative psychology, nursing and health care (Finlay, 2009), but more recently it has been applied to educational research in the field of educational psychology (Hefferon & Gil-Rodriguez, 2011).

IPA in England

Smith and colleagues make only scant reference to Husserlian notions of epoche or reductio (Smith, 1996; Smith et al., 1999). Rather than situating IPA within a single tradition, an eclectic approach is adopted and the emphasis is on doing rather than theorising phenomenological research (Smith, et al., 1999).

The researcher's own conceptions are seen as essential to the interpretative approach and there is no attempt to bracket these conceptions using the phenomenological reduction (ibid.). However, in common with other branches of phenomenology, the researcher is trying to understand what an experience is like from the point of view of the participant, using emergent themes to identify the essence of an experience (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

In order to support less experienced researchers, but without being prescriptive about the choice of methods of data collection and analysis, Smith and colleagues have produced extensive guidance on how to carry out IPA (Smith, 2003; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Smith et al., 2009). This includes identifying subordinate and overarching themes relating to a particular phenomenon across different cases. The close attention paid to the language used, which Smith & Osborn (2008) see as the critical aspect of IPA, is interesting:

What is the person trying to achieve here? Is something leaking out here that wasn't intended? Do I have a sense of something going on here that maybe the participants themselves are less aware of? (p.53).

Here, however, this version of IPA is closer to Ricoeur's hermeneutics of suspicion (Langdridge, 2008) than to van Manen's (1997) action-sensitive human science.

What makes phenomenology different?

Feeling comfortable with a methodology is not in itself a cogent enough reason for choosing it (van Manen, 1997) and van Manen believes that researchers who are also educators should choose a research method in harmony with their educational values. I had been drawn to van Manen's version of IPA because the underlying philosophy was familiar to me, but before making a final choice, I needed to find out more about phenomenological research to ensure it was appropriate for my research.

Comparing different phenomenological approaches

In order to get a sense of what the different approaches would mean in practice, I compared two phenomenological research reports. Both make reference to

‘voice’ in schools and both address concepts found in Recognition Theory. The first is a study of boys’ alienation from school in the USA by Schulz & Rubel (2011). The researchers offer five 16-19 year old male students the “opportunity to have their voices heard and their experiences understood” (p.287), using the step-by-step method proposed by Moustakas. The researchers first make explicit their assumptions and biases regarding the topic in order to bracket these. In the report, direct quotations from the boys’ interviews are interspersed with summative comments on the themes and categories identified, namely feelings of “disempowerment, disregard, and dissatisfaction” (ibid. p.286), categories which can also be understood through Recognition Theory. Overall, the report is clear and purposeful and the researchers’ intention is to make practical recommendations for future practice, rather than to create the kind of reflective, empathetic response found in the Canadian study with which I compared it (McPike, 2001).

Focusing on the phenomenological question of what an experience is like, MCPike provides an authentic account of the experience of academic failure by five Grade 12 students (the same age group as in Schulz & Rubel above). MCPike interprets their experience phenomenologically as a form of rejection. MCPike’s report creates a compelling reflection on the lived experiences of the young students which elicits the empathetic and sympathetic response in the reader van Manen (1997) advocates. She employs the vocative form of writing which Nicol (2008) refers to as: “thoughtful and suggestive, rather than declarative and final, [which] aims to show experientially rather than tell rationally” (p.319). Rather than providing remedies or making suggestions for changes to practice, MCPike (2001) encourages pedagogic reflection by asking the reader and herself questions:

In a world that allows such segregation, what are the children really learning and what is the school really teaching and reinforcing? The question may be one of "Who is really failing?" Is school a place to teach some children that they may have no identity and that there is no time for them, or do we as pedagogues wish to help each and every student actualize his "self" worth? (n.pag.).

Although both articles deal with themes of rejection and disregard, the tone and style of the two reports are very different. McPike's description of lived experience "open[s] up the question of the meaning of pedagogy" (Hultgren, 1990b, p.364). This has the effect of sensitising the reader to what an experience is like from the standpoint of another person. What both articles have in common is that the concepts of identity and self-worth used are related to the concepts of recognition, further indication of the synergy between IPA and Recognition Theory.

The Challenge of IPA

It became clear to me that using IPA would present a number of challenges, amongst them the phenomenological reduction. However, like Moustakas, van Manen redefines the Husserlian reductio as the requirement to reflect on:

one's own preunderstandings, frameworks, and biases regarding [one's psychological, political, and ideological] motivation and the nature of the question (van Manen, 2011, n.pag.).

In other words, both van Manen and Moustakas regard the reduction as a form of self-reflection on the part of the researcher. The subjectivity and positionality of the researcher are, of course, themes that qualitative researchers need to address and apply equally to phenomenological research and narrative research:

As qualitative researchers, we must educate and re-educate ourselves to practice detailed observation without reading in our own answers, our own biases. That process entails becoming increasingly more aware of our own 'eyeglasses', our own blinders, so that these do not color unfairly both what we observe and what we detail in writing (Ely, 1991, p.54).

As a counterbalance to my own biases I have tried to put the voices of the three teachers centre stage, allowing the reader to extract their own interpretation of the stories, while at the same time presenting my own interpretation according to the themes I identified. Interpretative researchers often refer to this aspect of the hermeneutic tradition as a double hermeneutic, that is, an interpretation of

an interpretation. This implies that the researcher is interpreting or making sense of stories that have already been constructed in a particular fashion by the research participants themselves as they try to present a coherent account of their experiences. Yet the idea of a triple hermeneutic is perhaps more appropriate (Smith & Osborn, 2008), given that the reader of the research is also engaged in interpreting the research report from their own frame of reference and extracting their own meaning from the text, which may or may not be similar to that of the researcher.

The attraction of van Manen's approach is that it offers considerable freedom for the researcher because: "there is no compelling reason for structuring a phenomenological study in any one particular way" (1997, p.168). Moustakas and Smith and colleagues, on the other hand, do offer the novice researcher very detailed guidance on the process of analysis, while yet making it clear that these are only guidelines and that in principle the researcher is free to define their own method.

Whichever method of phenomenological analysis I chose, I would still be working within the human science tradition which demonstrates a caring commitment for others, an important aspect of both IPA and human science pedagogy. It is also evident from the two articles analysed above, that both approaches are compatible with the concepts of Recognition Theory. The critical element of IPA is that IPA encourages us:

to become more thoughtfully or attentively aware of aspects of human life which heretofore were merely glossed over or taken-for-granted [and this] will more likely bring us to the edge of speaking up, speaking out, or decisively acting in social situations that ask for such action (van Manen, 1997, p.154).

The critical aspect of phenomenology develops when description is coupled with theory and this can have a powerful impact (Vandenberg, 1997). This aspect of phenomenology is in accord with the aims of my thesis. The main challenge I faced in adopting van Manen's variant of IPA was the need to create an evocative and even poetical report. Initially I had been beguiled by the evocative nature of McPike's (2001) study because it opened up for me new ways of understanding both the research process and its purpose. My

enthusiasm was to some extent dampened by the challenge of creating a written account capable of resonating with the reader and creating the anticipated empathetic and sympathetic response. As van Manen (2006) warns, this is a significant challenge and one that I might have to accept as being beyond my capability. I take comfort, however, from the fact that even the most prosaic of phenomenological writings may still aspire to make a difference through the application of critical theory.

There is thus a responsibility inherent in the phenomenological attitude as its purpose is to generate a critical and reflective understanding of lived experience. Another responsibility for any research project relates to the participants in the study, who have agreed to share their personal and professional experiences. This responsibility is explored in the next section on research ethics. In my study the ethical issues relate to confidentiality, to the need to protect participants from stress or harm, and to potential conflicts of interest which might arise from my dual role as researcher and consultant in a school where the headteacher was a personal friend.

Research ethics

The new headteacher of Daleswood School, Diana, was a former colleague and friend who took over the school shortly after the failed inspection. My relationship with her granted me “some of the status and privileges of being an insider to the school” (Smyth et al., 2000, p.111). This position of privilege might have weighted the balance of power between researcher and researched unfairly in my favour. It would, after all, have been difficult for staff and students to decline an invitation to work with me when it was Diana who had issued the invitation. Conversely, being introduced by the headteacher to members of the teaching and administrative staff as an ‘expert’ on student voice set up expectations of what I could achieve in the school that I was unsure of living up to. The comments of two researchers who had worked in a similar situation suggest that I was not “any outsider” (Thomson & Gunter, 2011, p.17, emphasis in original) but one who had been chosen by the headteacher.

Before starting my research, I had planned to keep the two roles of consultant and researcher distinct and parallel, but this proved to be more challenging than

envisaged. A useful methodological framework for identifying different aspects of the dual nature of the role of researcher/consultant is the concept of overlap Grimes (2011) and I adapted Grimes' table showing the "shifting continuum between two roles" (ibid., p.57) to help define my own situation (Appendix A).

As it turned out, most of my work as a consultant was with the students on the school council and I had very little contact with members of the teaching staff apart from Eleanor, the assistant head with responsibility for student voice, and the headteacher, Diana. Nor did I meet again with the participants after the summer of 2014. My meetings with Diana, which took place at least once a term over a period of two years, did however present an ethical challenge. I had made a promise to the headteacher in my introductory letter (Appendix B) to the effect that I would keep her up to date with my progress without breaching confidentiality. An incident in the interview with Chloe reminded me of the 'vulnerability' of the researcher (Behar, 1997). Chloe was telling a story of an injustice and I realised with a feeling of physical shock that if Diana knew of it, she would have been able to put it right. While it was clearly not possible for me to relate this story to Diana, I did however try to maintain researcher integrity without neglecting my duty of care to Chloe by encouraging her to tell Diana herself.

Maintaining confidentiality was perhaps the main ethical issue I had to deal with. The three volunteers had told their colleagues about their participation, which suggests that the need for confidentiality was not always uppermost in their minds, so the participants and I needed to be reminded that what was said in the focus group was said in confidence and should be treated with respect. This was illustrated by Chloe who at one point stopped abruptly in the middle of an anecdote about a student to confirm: "*This is confidential, isn't it?*", demonstrating that when group discussions are involved, confidentiality can be a concern for the participants. A further problem regarding confidentiality related not only to being circumspect in my meetings with Diana, but also outside the school, when talking to our mutual friends.

The example above regarding my response to the story of injustice told by Chloe rightly suggests that I was not an impartial outsider, as I was clearly not indifferent to the well-being of the three teachers, or to the school's

development, either as researcher or consultant. My feelings were similar to those of Thomson & Gunter (2011), who report that they felt not only responsible but also loyal to the school where they were researchers and friends of the headteacher.

Research Design

For many researchers in the field of education, finding a school willing to accommodate them can prove difficult (Ely, 1991) but I was fortunate in that Diana had been recently appointed headteacher of Daleswood School at the same time that I was drawing up my research proposal. She suggested a reciprocal arrangement whereby I would support the school in the development of student voice and the school would support me in recruiting teachers for my research. This made the decision to base my research in just one school an easy one. Interviewing teachers from just one school is not a problem when using IPA as methodology. In fact it allowed me to define the context of my research more precisely.

With the headteacher as gatekeeper, arranging meetings with students, teachers, the senior leadership team, governors and administrative workers promised to be very straightforward, and access to data about the school was also facilitated (Ely, 1991; Cohen et al., 2007). There was an element of risk for Diana and she was right to be concerned that a research report (albeit anonymous to any wider readership) might portray the school in a negative light. Introducing a researcher into the school at this very sensitive stage in the school's development, when it was just coming out of special measures, was not something to be undertaken without proper reflection. However, the risk of bringing in an outsider whose presence might seem an unnecessary complication to some members of staff was offset at least in part by having a consultant/researcher whom she could trust, and who was interested in supporting her agenda for change with respect to increasing student engagement in all aspects of school life.

I gave a brief presentation to the leadership team which explained my understanding of student engagement but it took some time to get my actual research underway, due partly to the busy nature of life in schools (Ely, 1991; Durrant, 2013), but partly to my lack of confidence in my role as doctoral

researcher. In taking on a small consultancy role on aspects of student voice at Daleswood School, I had engaged in the kind of relationship between the researcher and the researched which combines both reciprocal and asymmetrical features (England, 1994). In many cases, the researcher takes on the role of “a supplicant” (ibid., p.243) who is dependent on the researched for access to data. While the term ‘supplicant’ seems a little unusual, it encapsulates very succinctly how I felt during my first few months at the school, given that I often felt like an imposter, unsure how to position myself properly in this role (Ekins & Stone, 2012). When I did finally address the need to recruit participants, the senior leadership team suggested that I should lead an after-school continuing professional development (CPD) session on the topic of student engagement. (See Appendix C for an overview of the session). The invitation was aimed at new and trainee teachers in the school and their line managers, as I wished to recruit teachers in the early stages of their careers.

The session took place just after the summer half term break and towards the end I gave a brief outline of my research aims. I was a little disconcerted when assistant headteacher Eleanor reminded all those present that I was not only an expert but also a close friend of Diana and that Diana was very keen to see increased engagement with student voice in the school. Six teachers requested further information about taking part and I sent out information sheets (Appendix D) and consent forms (Appendix E) the next day. Despite Eleanor’s well-meant endorsement of my status, I have no reason to believe that those who volunteered felt pressurised into taking part. Rather, they had expressed a real interest in the topic of my research and because I had asked for help they were glad to be of assistance and they were looking forward to talking about their experiences of becoming a teacher. At an explanatory meeting the following week, the volunteers had the opportunity to ask questions and give informed consent to their participation. Two of them had been teaching for more than three years, the cut-off point for my definition of new teachers, and the only male volunteer was unable to take part as his supply contract at Daleswood was about to end, but the remaining three signed the consent forms¹¹. I gave each of them a copy of the focus group guidelines (Appendix F) and arranged a date for the meeting.

11. The headteacher Diana also signed a consent form.

It was useful that the three volunteers who took part in my study had already had the opportunity to gain an impression of my interest in democratic practices in schools as this helped them understand the purposes of my research. Indeed, in a phenomenological study, it is essential to have participants with experience of the topic of the research (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Although volunteers might skew the sample in a quantitative survey or an ethnographic case study, “no selection strategy guarantees that you will actually select the settings and participants that best allow you to answer your questions or achieve your goals” (Maxwell, 2012, p.95, emphasis in original). The idiographic approach of IPA means that smaller sample sizes are recommended and that “less is more” in IPA (Hefferon & Gil-Rodriguez 2011, p.757). A small number of participants in a phenomenological study is not the problem it would be, for example, in a study using grounded theory in order to generalise from a case study. A systematic literature review of fifty-two IPA studies identified the number of participants as ranging from one to thirty (Brocki & Wearden, 2006). There is also reference to three being a very useful number of participants:

For students doing IPA for the first time, three is an extremely useful number for the sample. This allows sufficient in-depth engagement with each individual case but also allows a detailed examination of similarity and difference, convergence and divergence (Smith & Osborn, 2008, p.57).

By a fortunate chance, I had achieved that useful number of informants.

Gathering the data

Despite the wide range of theories and methodologies which inform qualitative research, the type of data collection is often remarkably similar (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998a). Most frequent are observations, interviews, group discussions and analyses of written and spoken texts (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998b; Denscombe, 2010; Willis, 2007). In interpretative phenomenology, what is important is not so much the type of data, but the need for the data to give a rich account of everyday experience in order to provide an account of the meanings we give to our everyday lifeworld (van Manen, 1997, 2007a).

Rather than 'collecting data', a concept van Manen uses only reluctantly due to its positivist overtones, the researcher's aim is to gather stories and anecdotes which provide material to reflect on. As a methodological device, anecdotes prepare the ground for hermeneutic reflection and understanding of a phenomenon (van Manen, 1989).

Focus Group

I chose two standard formats for gathering data. I started with a focus group, which was followed a week later by individual semi-structured interviews. The two formats were used to investigate different aspects of the research topics. In IPA, focus groups tend to be used less often than individual interviews (Palmer et.al, 2010). However, there were good reasons for incorporating a discussion session into my research design. Focus groups can add to the depth of IPA by asking what kind of experience is being shared, why those experiences are being shared and where there is agreement and disagreement (Nigbur et al., 2012).

Other advantages of the group format are that it can help create an atmosphere of openness and trust, and the discussion that takes place can help participants clarify their own thoughts (Knipe et al., 2007). The format also feels familiar to teachers, who are generally used to discussing ideas and sharing personal responses in small groups as part of a school's CPD programme. In order to encourage the participants to talk freely I used the type of elicitation techniques which in my career as a language teacher had proven useful in creating a relaxed atmosphere. If participants feel safe enough to trust each other (and the researcher), then this allows them to express thoughts and feelings which might be kept private in a more formal setting (Catterall & Ibbotson, 2000). Using cue cards and game-like activities also devolves some of the power to the participants, giving them more ownership of the discussion.

There can still be a risk, however, that interviewees may feel under pressure to depict themselves in the best possible light in what they say, or to offer what they think will be perceived as the acceptable or desirable response to a question (Spector, 2004) and this was something I had to take into account. It was important to ensure that the teachers' self-esteem was protected at all times and that they did not feel challenged if their views or values were not shared by

the researcher or the other participants. I therefore made sure that the volunteers were aware in advance that topics would include their values and their personal experiences of becoming a teacher. Reminders were given at the start and during the focus group and interviews that participants had the right to withdraw, or to choose not to discuss topics or answer questions they felt uncomfortable with. I also reminded the participants of the need for confidentiality and for us all to respect the views of others.

Another potential threat to openness was that the three teachers might perceive me as “a kind of extension of the headteacher’s eyes and ears” (Thomson & Gunter, 2011, p.19). Nor could I take for granted that they would necessarily trust each other merely by virtue of being teachers in the same school. As it turned out, the three teachers did know each other, but they had little regular contact as they worked in three different departments in three different buildings and were therefore almost as much of an unknown factor to each other as I was to them. In order to counteract this potential problem, I included an ‘ice-breaker’ in the group session, which I believe proved effective in establishing an atmosphere of trust (Appendix G).

The themes I selected were intended to encourage discussion amongst the three teachers about their educational values and their individual experiences of being a new teacher in a school in special measures, based on the understanding that these experiences influence the kind of teacher they become (Cook, 2009). The discussion guidelines together with the topics and activities can be found in Appendices H and I. In the individual interviews, which took place after the focus group, the topics were the participants’ own experiences as schoolchildren, the influence of former teachers and the impact of their initial teacher education. There were also questions relating to what is often referred to as the ‘reality shock’ of the first years of teaching (Flores & Day, 2006; Stokking et al., 2003). Both the focus group and the semi-structured interview offered the flexibility to explore unexpected ideas and also pick up social and non-verbal cues, such as tone of voice and hesitations which can be a useful source of additional information (Opdenakker, 2006). The themes which developed in the discussion were also useful as points of reference in the semi-structured individual interviews.

Semi-structured individual interviews

For the interviews, I followed the standard procedure of using an interview schedule which gave enough flexibility to explore the unexpected while covering the four broad themes of my research questions: experiences at school; experiences during teacher education; experiences of being a new teacher and views on student voice and teacher voice (Appendix J). Each interview lasted about an hour and, with the permission of the participants, was recorded on a small audio device, as was the focus group discussion, and I transcribed the content myself.

In the next section on data analysis, I explain how my approach combined elements of the different variants of phenomenological analysis and how the critical reflection in my study has been enhanced by applying the concepts of love, right, esteem and solidarity to my data as a priori themes, following the method of template analysis (King, 2012).

Data Analysis

Stories of experience are not simply had, they are made (Eisner, 1992) and in the interpretative or hermeneutic tradition, the researcher interprets and presents a story already constructed by the participant, trying to express the meaning originally intended. While interpretative methods do not claim to provide empirically validated truths or objective accounts of participants' experiences, they can offer exemplars that are universally generalisable (Willis, 2007). Bridges (1999) suggests that research that bears no relationship to truth is unlikely to be of any real worth, so my aim in analysing the data was to create stories that are 'truth-like' and a research report that is not only trustworthy but also useful and interesting (Ely et al., 1997).

As I started to evaluate my data, I found that different approaches to analysis were important at different stages and ultimately my approach was eclectic. In the first stage I remained close to van Manen's (1997) holistic approach. This entailed familiarising myself with material from the focus group and the individual interviews by reading and re-reading the full transcripts many times over. While reading, I could often still hear the voices of the three teachers in my head, but I also listened to the recordings repeatedly to hear the tone of

voice, the hesitations and false starts, as well as the laughter and the sighs, which all add to the meaning of the experience.

In the second stage of analysis, I used a form of template analysis (King, 2012) to create a link between the data and Recognition Theory. The advantage of template analysis in IPA is that it uses themes which can be taken from previous research or from theoretical knowledge (Langdridge, 2008) rather than relying solely on emergent themes. The research is therefore “driven by theoretical concerns rather than simply the data” (ibid. p.127). In King’s method of template analysis, the researcher chooses a priori themes which are of interest in the research and then identifies the parts of the transcript relevant to the research questions and labels them accordingly. This method was useful for me as it allowed me to use the concepts of recognition as a filter in identifying those sections of the data relevant to my second and third research questions. An example showing how I used template analysis in relation to the concept of love can be found in Appendix K. King’s (2012) template analysis follows a systematic format, but is nevertheless compatible with van Manen’s selective method of data analysis (see p.61), which entails searching for evidence of selected themes.

In the final stage I wanted to make sure that my analysis was not only credible but also grounded in examples from the data. I therefore undertook a closer analysis of the texts based loosely on the methods recommended by Smith et al. (2009). An example can be found in Appendix L.

In summary, I started the process of analysis with van Manen’s (1997) holistic approach. This was followed by a selective approach, using both van Manen (1997) and King (2012) as guides. The more detailed approach proposed by Smith, Flowers & Larkin (2009) has also enriched my understanding of IPA, especially with regards to the use of language. When writing up the reports of the individual experiences in Chapter Four, I tried to follow Moustakas’ (1994) approach of staying close to the participant in order to paint a picture of a real person. This approach accords with van Manen’s requirement of presenting an empathetic and sympathetic account, while nevertheless following such an account with a critical reflection on the meaning of the experience.

What makes research trustworthy?

Hermeneutic phenomenological analysis thus has a threefold aim. It offers a descriptive summary of the participants' views, asking what a phenomenon is like (van Manen 1997; Smith & Osborn, 2008) but also aims to create a text which is both sympathetic and empathetic towards the participant (van Manen, 1997; Moustakas, 1994). Finally, the text is interrogated at an interpretative or conceptual level through engagement with theory (Larkin et al., 2006).

So far in this chapter I have explained how I justify not only the separate uses of Recognition Theory and IPA, but also the way I have combined the two in my research design. As a reminder, in this study, the descriptive element of IPA is related to my first research question:

What is the experience of becoming a teacher like for the three new teachers in this study?

The second research questions links the phenomenological description with the theoretical template of Recognition Theory, asking:

Do the categories of Honneth's Recognition Theory (love, respect, esteem and solidarity) enrich our understanding of the experiences of the three teachers in such a way that their experiences can be generalised beyond the context of their own school community?

The final research question addresses the much broader question of the relationship between Recognition Theory and the purposes and practices of education:

To what extent do the empirical findings of this study confirm the assertion that the normative concepts of Recognition Theory are capable of promoting a more humane and democratic form of education in schools?

In the following I assess my research according to Maxwell's (1992) realist approach to questions of validity. A realist approach is built on the premise that: "any attempts at describing and explaining the world are bound to be

fallible” (Scott, 2010, p.12). Maxwell (1992) therefore argues that “understanding is a more fundamental concept for qualitative research than validity” (p.281, emphasis in original) and he identifies five categories of understanding that are relevant to my research: “descriptive validity, interpretative validity, theoretical validity, generalizability, and evaluative validity” (p.284-285). In the following I consider each of these in turn.

Validity

Descriptive validity is concerned with the factual relationship between what the researcher saw and heard and whether the researcher is distorting the data or omitting aspects of the data with the intent of presenting a biased view of the findings. Given that my research has the purpose of examining the concepts of Recognition Theory, my analysis is of necessity selective, but I make no attempt to suppress data which might run counter to my argument.

Interpretative validity according to Maxwell (1992) refers to the meaning of the data from the point of view of the informant and relies heavily on verbatim reports. This relates to my first research question and there are parallels here between interpretative validity and IPA. In order to present a portrait of the participants which remains faithful to their person and their views, I include some quite lengthy verbatim extracts from the focus group and interviews in Chapter Four. For these I have used ‘abridged’ transcription (Corden & Sainsbury, 2006), which involves editing the text to create a written form of the spoken word, since natural speech does not always read well as a written text and may even cause readers to form a negative judgement of the speaker (ibid.). I have therefore also corrected the occasional malapropism or grammatically deviant form but have not made changes which would affect the meaning, tone or intent of the research participants.

The extensive use of verbatim extracts from the data gathered in my study contributes to the creation of a trustworthy account of the experiences of the three new teachers by allowing the reader to form their own view of the data. I have not however used respondent validation, sometimes known as “member checking” (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p.127) as a way of establishing credibility. Although at the outset I had offered the three teachers the chance to read my report, all three had left Daleswood by the time the first draft was complete and

I had no means of contacting them. This was unfortunate, as although it was not my intention to use member checking, it would have been courteous to share my findings with them, as a way of thanking them for their co-operation.

Generalisability is dependent on whether the findings may be useful and relevant for others in similar roles and contexts in making sense of a phenomenon. This relates to my second research question. I believe that even though the experience of each teacher in my study is unique, the interpretation of their experiences through IPA and the concepts of Recognition Theory will seem familiar and feel plausible to others working in the field of education.

Theoretical validity depends on consensus within the research community on the legitimacy of the application of the theoretical concepts used to characterise the phenomena under investigation. This relates to my third research question which goes beyond the experience of the three new teachers to raise questions about the purposes and practices of education and how they can be theorised in a way that is both comprehensible and fruitful. This criterion is met initially through the explanations of the basic concepts of Recognition Theory and IPA provided earlier, and is exemplified in the final two chapters.

Finally, Maxwell's category of evaluative or critical validity is relevant for research in the Critical Theory tradition as it is concerned with the legitimacy of the conceptual base for the findings. This also relates to my third research question regarding the applicability of Recognition Theory. In my research I use the theoretical concepts of recognition and misrecognition as a framework to identify anecdotes and statements that give an insight into the themes of self-confidence, self-respect, self-esteem and solidarity. As explained in Chapter One, these social-psychological constructs are the embodiment of the three Hegelian concepts of love, right and esteem, which translate into recognition in the form of love and affection, respect for individual rights, appreciation of personal achievements and solidarity. As these are themes already well-documented in educational research (see p.36) I believe the concepts of Recognition Theory offer a legitimate critical framework for my research.

In this chapter on methodology I have presented an overview of different forms of phenomenological analysis. To conclude, I summarise the synergy between my theoretical approach, which draws on Honneth's theory of recognition, and

a phenomenological approach, which interprets lived experience. The aim of empirical research using Recognition Theory is to identify acts of recognition and social pathologies of misrecognition. The aim of IPA is to produce a sympathetic text which recreates an experience and allows the reader to grasp what an experience is like. One cogent reason for reflecting on the lifeworld experiences of new teachers from a phenomenological stance is that this offers a new and different way of understanding their concerns, which in turn may promote a discussion of the implications of the issues raised. As a normative theory of social interaction, Recognition Theory is also concerned with everyday lives (Honneth & Stahl, 2010) and can thus provide a new and different foundation for examining and interpreting the experiences of those who teach and learn in schools.

The next chapter sets the scene for my research and introduces the actors. I describe Dalestown and Daleswood School and provide some biographical details about the three participants in my study, who were new teachers at the school while it was still in special measures. Working in a so-called ‘failing school’ is an interesting context for research as it offers the three teachers both opportunities and challenges which they would not perhaps have experienced in a school that was not going through a period of such rapid change. Chapter Four then presents a phenomenological account of the lived experience of the three new teachers, Amber, Bryony and Chloe.

Chapter Three

Setting the scene

This chapter opens with background information about the school context, one of the categories framing the model in Figure 1 on page 24. The second section relates to the category ‘personal biographies, values and motivation’ shown in Figure 1 and gives an insight into the schooldays of the three new teachers, Amber, Bryony and Chloe.

I also give a brief indication of their personal philosophes and their values with regards to school education. As suggested earlier, prior experience and personal values are often an influential factor in determining not only why teachers choose teaching as a career, but also how they interpret their role (Sachs, 2001; Marsh, 2002; Britzman, 2003; Flores & Day, 2006).

Teachers’ values and practices are of course shaped not only by their initial teacher training but also their induction period (Marsh, 2002; Cook-Sather, 2006). The final section of this chapter therefore looks at the context in which Amber, Bryony and Chloe were becoming teachers and introduces the concept of ‘this-ness’ (Thomson, 2002), which offers an insight into the way the three teachers make sense of their school context, and provides a link to the IPA-inspired texts in Chapter Four.

All three teachers were in their first three years of school teaching at Daleswood School, the state secondary comprehensive where I worked on an ad hoc basis as an (unpaid) consultant over a period of two years. The information about the school has come from data provided by the school and from Ofsted reports, as well as from conversations with the headteacher. The information about the town is drawn from local and national government websites¹².

12. In order to maintain anonymity, no reference is given for these websites or the census data on the following page.

Dalestown and Daleswood School

Despite pressure from central government to become an academy, Daleswood School is still under local authority control in the mid-sized town of Dalestown, which is within commuting distance of a large city. Dalestown grew considerably in the 1920s and 1930s as a dormitory town and expanded more rapidly in the 1950s. The area where the school is located consists mainly of council housing estates and the school occupies the original buildings of a former grammar school and a former secondary modern school, amalgamated in the 1970s to form Daleswood Comprehensive School. The buildings date from the 1950s and are a five minute walk apart.

In addition to a well-established Polish community, there has been an expansion in the number of residents from other ethnic groups in the town. Census figures from 2011 identify 44.4% of the population of Dalestown as having been born outside the UK. In the area surrounding the school, 6.7% speak Polish as their first language, followed by smaller numbers of speakers of Somali, Arabic and languages from the Indian sub-continent. This ethnic mix is reflected in the school itself, and the enrolment data show that students come from a wide range of ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds, with 59% of the students speaking English as an additional language at the time of my research.

The average unemployment rate in the town has risen at a higher rate than the surrounding areas, and was higher than the national average in 2012, the year the school went into special measures. Among those in work, the number of residents in low pay employment is also higher than the national average. At 12%, the town has more than twice the average number of households in England displaying three and four dimensions of poverty.

Daleswood School was inspected early in 2012 by the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). In line with the statutory framework for school inspection (Ofsted, 2011), the school was graded at Level 4 in all four inspection categories: achievement of pupils, quality of teaching, behaviour and safety of pupils, and leadership and management. Level 4 is the lowest of the four inspection grades and as a result the school was placed in special measures (see p.19). Immediate action was needed to address the issues highlighted by the

inspection report in order to avoid closure or compulsory conversion to academy status. Unsurprisingly, being labelled a ‘failing’ school resulted in a rapid loss of local trust in the school and a drop in student recruitment. A few years earlier Ofsted had described the school as a popular choice for parents in the town and in 2011 Daleswood was a larger than average secondary school, with 1445 students on roll in Years 7 – 13, and a Year 7 intake of 192. After the introduction of special measures, the enrolment figures for Year 7 dropped to 129 in 2012 and were lower still in September 2013 at 94. The Sixth Form, too, saw a large fall in student numbers, with only 98 students in Years 12 and 13 in 2014, compared with more than 300 three years earlier in 2011.

This decline in numbers has affected the comprehensive nature of the intake of Daleswood Comprehensive, with a higher proportion of children now coming from poorer households. According to the headteacher, this is due to the exodus of children from better-off homes, whose parents were able to get them a place at other schools in the area, schools graded ‘good’ or ‘outstanding’.

The 2013 Ofsted report described student attainment on entry to Year 7 as significantly lower than the national average, a factor often related to poverty (Braun et al., 2011a, 2011b; Francis, 2011). The number of students with special educational needs in the school rose from 16% in 2011 to 27% in 2014. Around a third of the students in the school are eligible for the pupil premium – additional funding given to schools in England to raise the attainment of disadvantaged pupils. However, to put these figures into context, while the levels of disadvantage at Daleswood School are above the national average, they are nevertheless lower than those in many inner-city schools.

A falling roll in a school means that the budget is tight (Stoll & Myers, 1998; Conlon, 1999; Calveley, 2005; National Union of Teachers, 2010). This was indeed the case at Daleswood and the number of staff had to be reduced. The number of teachers fell from 105 in September 2011 to 72 in September 2014. Several teachers were made redundant, but others left voluntarily, leaving key positions vacant. Recruitment and retention of teachers is a problem for many disadvantaged schools which serve a catchment area displaying multiple indicators of poverty (Dolton & Newson, 2003; Allen et al., 2012) and

Daleswood School is still struggling at the time of writing to recruit teachers as well as students.

A month after the Ofsted inspection, a change of leadership followed and the collaboration between the new leadership team and the local authority enabled the school to make rapid progress. The school was given clearance to employ newly qualified teachers (NQTs) in 2013 when an interim Ofsted report rated three of the four inspection categories as 'good'. Pupil attainment still required improvement as it was noted that too many students were not fully engaged in their learning. The most recent inspection, in July 2015, one year after my interviews took place, rated all categories of the school as good. In many ways, Daleswood was the ideal school in which to explore my questions of voice, recognition and social justice. Using Stoll & Fink's (1996) categories, the headteacher and senior team members rightly regard the school as a 'moving school' and I am grateful for the opportunity I was given to work alongside them on part of their journey.

The next section introduces Amber, Bryony and Chloe using material from the individual interviews and the focus group, touching on elements of their personal educational philosophies and outlining their own prior experience of education, their values and their motivation.

Introductions: Amber, Bryony and Chloe

Amber

Amber was the youngest of the three teachers. She joined Daleswood as a science teacher with Teach First, an educational charity whose stated aim is to put an end to inequality in education by placing graduates with leadership potential in schools located in areas of low income (Teach First, 2015). Arriving at Daleswood in 2012, Amber felt that she was well placed to understand what being in a school in special measures meant, as she herself had been a student in a failing school for much of her secondary education. The strength of Amber's feelings about her school is still palpable: "I hated school, I really, really hated it. I could not have been happier when I left". The

dominant theme in the story of her schooldays is one of being made to feel she did not matter and of being denied the academic success that was so important to her. At the end of Year 11, she enrolled at an FE college and then studied Sport Science at university. Teaching was not Amber's first career choice but during a gap year placement in a school, one of the teachers there convinced Amber that she was "made for teaching" and persuaded her to qualify through Teach First. She is fully committed now to teaching as a career, and is bent on ensuring that the students she teaches never experience the lack of support she herself had faced:

I would like to be able to do everything for my kids that I can to make sure they can at least access learning in one way or another. If I can help them – if I can provide just a little bit of a resource or a little bit of my time to help them, then that's a job well done for me.

Amber is ambitious and determined. She is meticulous in reflecting on what she does in order to do it better and models her teaching on the good practice she has learnt from others. Amber shares ideas on teaching and learning with a small group of colleagues, and they often pass on suggestions to the senior leadership team.

Amber appreciates strong leadership and aspires to a headteacher role. She has a running joke with Diana, the headteacher at Daleswood, for whose leadership style she has the greatest respect:

On my first day here Diana asked me into her office just to have a chat and she said: "So what's the ambition here, Amber" and I just looked at her chair and I went: "I want that". So in every meeting I've had with her now we've got this running joke of: "Where do you see yourself in five years, Amber?" and she'll look at her chair and say: "You're not having it yet!"

On the day of our interview I learned that Amber had just been offered the post of Key Stage 3 Science coordinator at Daleswood. Less than two years later, she has moved away from Daleswood, following further promotion.

Bryony

Having originally completed a PGCE for post-16 education, Bryony had already had experience of teaching Art and Design in further and higher education before she decided in her mid-30s to join the Graduate Teacher Programme, a school-based teacher training programme that has now been replaced by School Direct. Her own experience of school had been mixed. Bryony attended a Froebel primary school, and her positive experiences there have stayed with her for life. The Froebel model allowed her considerable freedom of choice and she was given the autonomy to decide for herself what she wanted to do and how to do it. Bryony is convinced that this helped her become self-motivating and well-organised. However, when her family moved to Wales she was sent to a Welsh-speaking school where she was bullied as an outsider. It was not until she moved to a bilingual secondary school that she began to enjoy school life again.

Of the three teachers, Bryony is the one who talks most about the importance of developing the whole child, describing the purpose of teaching as helping children become mature young adults who are able “to empathise more, able to listen to each other more”. She tries hard to motivate her students to overcome their low self-esteem and apathy towards learning:

The more I teach the more I think it all boils down to a few things like self-esteem. Because if they don't have self-esteem they're apathetic, if they don't have self-esteem they can't focus, they have no self-motivation and no yearning to learn something new and be interested in different things.

Referring to her own schooldays she talks about how she appreciated the chance to share ideas in discussions, despite the rather formal and traditional structure of the classroom where students sat in rows, the teacher talked and the students took notes. When she was clearing out some of her old school notebooks she began to compare the amount of work expected of her then and what students at Daleswood achieve now:

I was amazed how much writing I had done in those little notebooks and how neat all my writing was and just how much

we seem to have covered. There was one needlework notebook where I'd done so much work, our Year 10s nowadays seem to struggle with that amount of work and I'm wondering is that just because we were all better behaved or was there just a different technique that they used to teach and why was that?

Another dilemma for Bryony, as she herself admits, is that she struggles to find the right balance between maintaining good behaviour in the classroom and allowing the students the space to develop their creativity and autonomy. A further problem, one that affects Bryony's whole department, is the national decline in the take-up of Design and Technology subjects at GCSE and A-Level (Warwick Report, 2003), combined with the drop in student enrolment at Daleswood referred to above:

In my department we had eight teachers and we were a design and technology special school and now we're down to four teachers and I just see my department falling to pieces and it was such a strong department, they did such amazing things, they had such amazing teachers and it's really depressing at the moment, but I understand that that's not the school's fault really.

Bryony is an advocate of the value of creative subjects in schools and her response to current policies which promote "the hard academic subjects universities and employers value" (Gove, 2009, p.8; Russell Group, 2015) is coloured by her own experience of being persuaded to take 'academic' subjects at A-Level, when all she really wanted to do was to study Art:

Our country is admired all over the world for our creative ability but right now creativity has been put at the bottom of the pile in favour of academic subjects, but I think they're making a huge mistake – it is those kind of creative, individual things that we should develop with our children.

Bryony has since made a sideways move to teach Art in a larger school.

Chloe

Chloe's experience of schooling is worlds apart from both Amber's and Bryony's. She spent the first two years of secondary schooling in England, before moving to a selective, independent girls' school abroad. After taking her A-Levels, Chloe returned to England to complete a law degree and then joined a firm of solicitors. Some four years later she decided on a career change because of the stressful work, endless paperwork and unsociable hours:

It just got incredibly hard and I felt tired and really unhappy and tearful and I wanted a bit of a change. My family would go: 'You're coming home at three o'clock in the morning, you can't be doing this' but I had to because I'm stuck at a police station and it all got on top of me I think, so in the end I looked at career changes.

As she herself had loved being at school, she went back to university to complete a university-based PGCE (Postgraduate Certificate in Education). Chloe is passionate about working with young people and is a group leader in the Guides. When she was told in her PGCE interview that the relationship she would have with her students would be very different to that which she enjoyed with her guides she was taken aback, as she understood the comment to mean that the relationship would be less collaborative and that she would be required to be "more dictatorial" with her students – a kind of relationship that feels alien to her.

Chloe had spent her induction year at Oak School, an 'outstanding' school, and one of her colleagues there, who had worked previously at Daleswood, warned her: "*Don't go to Daleswood – it's horrible there, you would absolutely hate Daleswood*". Chloe did however move, motivated by the higher pay that Daleswood was offering, because she was buying a house: "*Otherwise I wouldn't have left Oak School because it's been consistently outstanding three times [laughing] and I kick myself sometimes!*"

She argues in favour of selective education and has some sympathy with the government, which she sees as being under pressure not only from international league tables but also from employers who demand formal qualifications which

enable them to discriminate between students of different ability. However, although she recognises the importance of parents' wishes, Chloe is becoming increasingly troubled by the unfair advantage that some parents have and the lack of a "level playing field", which she sees affecting those children who live in the poorer areas surrounding Daleswood School. She makes clear that this is a dilemma which she finds distressing and one she can see no way out of:

I had a different view of education before I came here. I always thought students should be getting good grades, they should all be going to university but now, having spoken about this to my colleagues, I think we are insufferable, like I probably was, in not allowing students to flourish in what they want to do.

Chloe says that she is not really interested in promotion, as she is fully committed to her role as class teacher and form tutor and cannot understand those who put on a show to "win favours with management". Chloe refuses to go down that route because for her:

it's about the kids, I really do think it's about the kids – it's not about climbing ladders and I think it's completely wrong the way people do that, I just don't think that's right. I don't know what it's like in other schools but I do find the hierarchy really weird and being able to compare it to a different profession
[whispers] I find it weird.

If she were to seek promotion in the future, her ideal job would be a role as pastoral leader, ideally in an all-girls school. Although Chloe loves teaching in the English Department at Daleswood, the contact with the children, and the solidarity in her department, she is not necessarily committed to a lifelong career in schools and is currently taking a break from teaching.

The impact of prior experience

Even this cursory overview of the three teachers' backgrounds shows the diversity of their prior experiences, both at school and in their route into teaching. The meaning their own school education has for them has influenced the way they initially define their own teaching values and practices, as can be

seen in Chapter Four. During their ‘apprenticeship period’, and each in their own way, Amber, Bryony and Chloe are trying as teachers to reproduce those aspects of their own education which they valued, while at the same time avoiding the replication of what they experienced as negative.

In Chloe’s case, she is convinced of the benefits of an all-round education like the one she received at her independent school and she is passionate about motivating her students to achieve the best they can academically, whilst also encouraging them to engage with extra-curricular activities and contests both individually and, more importantly, as a team. As a schoolgirl, she was in awe of her teachers, but would be concerned if her students felt scared of her, because the relationship she has with her students is the most rewarding aspect of teaching for Chloe.

Bryony is keen to replicate the Froebel philosophy and develop her students’ capacity for creativity, self-motivation and independent learning by encouraging them to believe in themselves, no matter what their home background. She is keen to get them to engage in the kind of “philosophical discussions” she enjoyed at secondary school and to develop their communication skills. She is also passionate about the importance of the creative arts in the school curriculum and is determined to support students who want to study creative subjects, thus swimming against the tide of the government’s prescriptive policies on GCSE and A-Level choices mentioned above, of which she is highly critical.

Amber’s role model is her English teacher, whom she describes as the only teacher who was willing to listen to her. Amber is determined that none of her students will ever be made to feel that they do not matter and that she will do all she can to support them in their learning. When she arrived at Daleswood at the start of her induction year, she was told by a member of the senior team regarding behaviour management: “*Go hard, or go home!*” and Amber is quite happy to be seen as a disciplinarian. Because of her personal experience of being a student in a failing school, she has an unshakeable belief in the importance of firm discipline and clear boundaries in order to make the school ‘good’ or ‘outstanding’ and to make students proud of their school.

The experience of ‘this-ness’ – working in a school in special measures

The final section in this chapter is based mainly on the discussion in the focus group, supplemented with material from the individual interviews. “This-ness” is the term used by Thomson in *Schooling the Rustbelt Kids* (2002, p.72) to represent the views of teachers who accept the status quo of schools in deprived areas as a restriction on what they can do or achieve. The context of Daleswood School, although it is not located in a post-industrial area, has striking similarities with the context of the disadvantaged schools in Australia’s ‘rustbelt’, which Thomson so powerfully depicts. She analyses the political and social context of the rustbelt schools with reference to Bourdieu’s theories of cultural capital and habitus, arguing that “formal education produces a hierarchy of differences” (ibid. p.5).

A hierarchy of difference is arguably characteristic of schools in England (Reay, 2006). However, the political mantra of “no excuses” (Wilshaw, 2014, p.5) means that poverty and social class have to a large extent been rejected by the government as causes of educational underachievement (Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission, 2014). This means instead that teachers are held to account for inequality in educational outcomes. The quality of teaching and leadership has been described as the most decisive factor in school improvement (Day et al., 2009) and this spotlight on teacher performance places teachers at schools like Daleswood under intense pressure not only to achieve government benchmarks but also to promote social justice and social mobility through education in a context which makes achieving those aims difficult (Braun et al., 2011a, 2011b; Francis, 2011):

Although models of outstanding schooling and correspondingly high attainment in areas of social disadvantage are held up as exemplars, demonstrating the potential achievability of excellent schooling and outcomes irrespective of context, there is no doubt that schools in areas of social disadvantage face a range of challenges that mean they have to work harder to secure these outcomes (Francis, 2011, p.14).

In many schools in disadvantaged areas, new recruits to the school are often less experienced teachers (Allen et al., 2012), as were the three teachers in my

study. Like the teachers in Thomson's (2002) rustbelt schools, Amber, Bryony and Chloe make references to 'this school' or '*a school like this*' or '*these students*'. Such phrases can be criticised as an excuse for lowering expectations of students, which is a form of social injustice (Thomson, 2002), but they can also be a coping mechanism, a way of dealing with the myriad everyday frustrations of school life by looking for explanations which are not teacher-dependent, such as student characteristics, or the lack of parental support (Braun et al., 2011a). Chloe referred several times to 'special measures' as placing limits on what she could achieve as a teacher: "It is hard in a school *like this where we're coming out of special measures and there isn't as much positive reinforcement for the students*".

Bryony had similar experiences:

There are lots of obstacles. I would like students to be able to go home, do some research, get all their ideas together and then bring them to school, it's called flip teaching isn't it, but our problem here is that a lot of our children don't even have a computer at home or they don't have the family background to support them so they haven't done it – that's my concern really with this type of school (Bryony).

For Amber pride in attainment and good behaviour is important but:

We've got kids that are very, very challenging and they don't get disciplined at home so we need to be that disciplinarian but we also need to be quite flexible (Amber).

All three identified problems with motivating students and encouraging appropriate behaviour:

You'll get these kids, typical teenage behaviour, where they just think it's cool to not be seen as a swot, the person who's studying all the time, so they just start letting things go when they're actually very clever people (Bryony).

Working at Daleswood has already changed Chloe's understanding of what it means to teach in a deprived area, yet she often feels

overwhelmed by a sense of injustice when she sees the problems some of her students face, though she can see no way out:

It is really hard to try and make them enthusiastic and I just think the kids have so many more distractions than I had when I was growing up and then, if their parents aren't on top of them, it is harder for the kids to be focussed (Chloe).

Bryony is angered by the lack of esteem given to the creative subjects at Daleswood and the impact this has had on the staff in her department, but one of her main concerns is that students do not value learning, something she attributes to their home background:

We tend to have very apathetic kids here with low aspirations. And you've just got a whole load of behaviour management to deal with in class instead of being able to get on with that lovely idea for a lesson you had (Bryony).

At the same time, all three teachers are loyal to Daleswood School, as the lively exchange of anecdotes about the different schools they know from teaching practice or other contact shows:

I like it here more than any other school I've ever taught in. I did my placement in Beech School and the pressure there was really intense and the Principal would come round and spot check your lesson (Amber).

I went to Beech School when I was doing cover. Those girls at Beech are really nasty. There was a lot of bullying going on between the girls there, very bad I found (Bryony).

I've been to Elm School [a school graded outstanding by Ofsted]. Their behaviour is not outstanding, their uniform is not outstanding, yet they are an 'outstanding' school (Amber).

Yes, I didn't like it at Elm School, I thought the behaviour was appalling. I did my PGCE at Elm and it was very regimented for

teachers, and here it's a bit more flexible, you're given ownership of your classroom here, which I quite like (Chloe).

Nevertheless, it seems that teachers in a stigmatised school like Daleswood face an uphill task. Amber summed up the general feeling of being misrecognised as a school:

What I'd really like to do is go out into the community and go to our feeder schools and speak to the parents that will not send their kids here and find out the reasons why. Are we still stigmatised by the special measures even though we're not in it any more? How does the community perceive the school? What do we need to do to make them more accepting of us and willing to send their children here? (Amber).

In the next chapter, the experiences of Amber, Bryony and Chloe of working as new teachers within the context of a school in special measures are interpreted using a phenomenological approach which aims to present what the experience is like from their standpoint. I make extensive use of verbatim extracts from the data gathered in the interviews and focus group in order to 'stay close' to the participant (Moustakas, 1994). As mentioned previously, this is not intended as an emancipatory or empowering use of 'voice' (Britzman, 1989), but rather in order to allow the reader to hear the voices of the three teachers directly and thereby enter into:

a relational understanding that involve[s] imaginatively placing oneself in someone else's shoes, feeling what the other person feels, understanding the other from a distance (van Manen 2007b, p.20).

Using IPA is thus a way of letting the essence of an individual experience become apparent. As explained earlier, IPA requires openness on the part of the researcher and a sympathetic and empathetic attitude. In the next chapter it is therefore not my intention to challenge the views expressed or to pass judgement on the values, opinions or practices of the three teachers, but to present a sympathetic and non-judgemental account of their experiences.

Chapter Four

Experiences of Recognition and Misrecognition

At the heart of this chapter are the stories of experience of Amber, Bryony and Chloe. The data were gathered in individual interviews and in a group discussion which involved all three teachers in the summer term of 2014. The first step in my interpretation of the data is aimed at understanding what a particular experience is like for each the three teachers and how they make sense of it (Nicholson, 1996). This is followed by a critical reflection on the experience portrayed.

In order to interpret the stories using the concepts of love, right, esteem and solidarity from Recognition Theory, I have augmented IPA with techniques borrowed from template analysis, which allow the concepts of Recognition Theory to be used as a priori themes when analysing the data (Langdrige, 2008). For each of the three, I have chosen an experience that relates to one of the concepts of Recognition Theory as an a priori template through which to view and understand the experience. For each teacher the theme is one which I feel exemplifies a distinctive element of their experience of being a new teacher. The interpretation I present is therefore inevitably coloured by my standpoint as a researcher who has an interest in promoting the concepts of recognition as a way of understanding school education.

For Chloe, the experience I have chosen is that of caring, for Amber, the experience of rising to a challenge, for Bryony, the experience of not being yourself. The allocation of a theme for each person does not of course mean that the theme or the underlying concept is unique to just that person, as there are elements of overlap in the anecdotes and stories of all three teachers. Indeed, this chapter concludes with the topic of ‘voice’, a notion very relevant to my research questions and to Recognition Theory, and one that is illustrated in an experience all three shared – the experience of not being listened to.

The themes chosen here do not represent all the multi-faceted and multi-layered aspects of their lives as new teachers, but, as will become clearer, the themes serve as exemplars of recognition and misrecognition in each of the teacher's lives and therefore relate to the concepts of self-confidence, self-respect, self-esteem and solidarity. Each description of the experience is followed by a reflection which relates to those concepts.

Chloe: The Experience of Love and Caring

'Love' is a word that comes easily to Chloe. She talks about her own schooldays in terms of love: she "loved" the traditional school she attended, she "loved" English Literature, and she acquired a "love of learning, learning for life". Here 'love' clearly means a strong liking. But when she uses 'love' to refer to people and relationships its meaning is more essential in Chloe's life as a teacher: *"I love being a form tutor – I can't imagine not being a form tutor. Nancy – she's an NQT [newly qualified teacher] – was going 'Oh I don't want to be a form tutor, I'm an NQT' and I went: 'What? That's the best thing!'"* When asked why it was the best thing, Chloe referred to the kind of relationship that a form tutor can develop with a tutor group, which includes the opportunity to get to know the whole child:

I like to know a bit about my students and I think that's important. I think the good thing about being a form tutor is that you get to see the whole of them. You have that relationship with kids – like my form, you know, I love my form, I absolutely do. You get to see them as a person.

The continuity of the relationship between students and teachers is also important to her as it brings the added satisfaction of seeing children develop. This continuity was part of her relationship with her own form tutor, whom Chloe describes as her role model:

Miss Black, my English teacher, was an absolutely outstanding teacher. She was super strict. I remember being petrified. She was our form tutor as well, so we loved her, but she was so strict.

Apart from the mix of fear and love, what is intriguing here is the link Chloe sees between being a tutor and being loved. Miss Black was loved not only because she was “firm but quite fair”, but because she inhabited the role of form tutor. The affection Chloe felt for her is dependent on the stability of the student-teacher relationship, as Miss Black was not only her form tutor throughout her time at the school, but also the teacher of Chloe’s favourite subject.

Chloe has been asking herself why she does not have the same “presence” as Miss Black, who had the seemingly effortless ability to make the class do as she wanted: “*But she was little! And I always think, ‘Oh is it my height?’ but actually she was little and she could make us do whatever she wanted us to do – it was brilliant*”. Chloe suspects that she herself might perhaps be over-indulgent with her tutor group: “*Oh gosh, I’m not strict. I love them, a bit too much maybe!*” Yet returning to the idea of fear mingled with affection, Chloe is unsure whether the students in her tutor group love her in the same way that she loved Miss Black: “*I think so, they’re really scared of me, it’s really funny*”. Chloe admits that she had underestimated the kind of power that the teacher can wield over students through rewards and sanctions. Yet she also wonders whether it is not fear but rather the high expectations she has of them that make the students in her tutor group want to do well and not let her down:

I strongly, strongly believe in rewards and I like the fact that they have achievement points and they are rewarded with behaviour points. As a form tutor I want that. I say to my form: ‘I want you to be better behaved throughout the day, because I want you to get positive behaviour points’ and they will do it. So it’s just being consistent and I don’t think all form tutors are.

The pastoral side of her role is central to Chloe’s conception of herself as a teacher. The interview was held in her classroom which is also her tutor group base, and Chloe jumped up to show me two laminated sheets on the noticeboard right next to the door and read them out to me. The two sheets form a contract discussed and agreed between Chloe and her tutor group. The contracts were unusual in that rather being merely the standard list of expectations of student behaviour, they had been produced collaboratively, and

they also set targets for the tutor. While the first sheet “8 X’s goal: To be the BEST tutor group in the WHOLE school” does include items of school policy such as respect for others and helpfulness, the second sheet: “Ms Scarlatti’s goal: To be the BEST tutor in the WHOLE school” is unusual in that it lists eleven targets for Chloe as form tutor. First and foremost was “Total pride in my group”. References to rewards and sanctions sit alongside more unexpected items, including the promise to listen to her students and carry out any promises she makes to them.

Three of the targets listed exemplify her commitment to giving students an all-round and enjoyable experience at school, namely “Fun activities”; “Organise fun inter-form competitions” and “Organise school trips”. Chloe is passionate about encouraging her students to take part in the inter-form competitions and other events and her own positive experience of being a member of a school house has had a perceptible influence on her priorities:

I do like the house system because as a team you’re working together to try and achieve something. We’re top of the league at the moment but it’s hard to keep them motivated – just to give them that sort of motivation. I definitely think I’m a positive reinforcement myself!

When I asked whether fostering competition was a good thing, given that so many students are excluded from receiving prizes, I was politely contradicted:

I don’t think there’s anything wrong with competition. No, absolutely not. Charles Darwin said we’re all in competition. In my old school the teachers were in the houses too, so there was competition for teachers to go ‘Right! We’re all in this’ and it really works and it’s really celebrated at the end of the year with a big trophy and I think it works.

For Chloe, this kind of event is important as a way of recognising achievement which is not linked to assessment grades, as it potentially offers students of “all different types *and abilities*” the opportunity to experience the cooperation and collaboration she values. At the independent school she attended, extra-curricular activities were known as “co-curricular”, a phrase Chloe uses to

highlight their importance as part of an all-round education. At the same time, Chloe is keen to reinforce good behaviour because behaviour points count towards a tutor group's standing in the inter-form competition.

Chloe contrasts the type of relationship she can have with students in lessons with the relationship she has been able to build up with her tutor group in form time. In lessons, the limited time available and the relentless focus on grades is contrasted with the more relaxed atmosphere of form time: "In form time we'll have fun, we'll *have jokes*. *In English it's much more like: 'Right! We're getting on with this now!'*" But in lessons too, she wants her students to be motivated, engaged and as enthusiastic about learning as she is and she showed me some of the innovative and interactive teaching ideas she uses on a regular basis. She enjoys a joke and "having a banter" with the children. One of the tasks in a feedback game Chloe often uses in her lesson is "Ask Miss a question" to which Chloe always adds jokingly: "Nothing personal mind you!"

She expresses genuine pleasure in working with children. Even the silly things students do and say seem to make them all the more endearing to her:

I love the kids, I absolutely love the kids. They come out with the silliest things. That makes me laugh, Like Joseph after school – for some reason he swore and I went: 'Joseph! First warning!' and he goes: 'Miss, it was Kim!' But it was so silly because they're like in Year 10, they're just doing it as a joke – I love them, they're just such good kids.

The tolerant affection with which she responds to the children is shaped by her own memories of being at school, when she too tested boundaries:

Kids are the same everywhere you go, it could be a private school or a state school. I was the same, you test boundaries everywhere, no matter where it is and then you know where the boundaries are and I love them, they're just so funny. I loved school so much I don't think I've forgotten what it's like at school and I say to them: 'Just don't you go there, because I sat at the back of the room and we wrote notes to each other so don't you think I'll not notice!'

She is also concerned for the emotional well-being of the students. When we were talking about the old adage ‘don’t smile until Christmas’ which circulated for many years in teacher training, Chloe countered:

I can remember in my PGCE they said something like: ‘Make sure you smile at students and say hello to every single student because you might be the only person saying hello to them all that day’ and I don’t want them to just face adults all day who are horrible to them.

The plight of students whose first language is not English (EAL students) affects her as she herself had not started learning English until she was at primary school:

It’s so hard. It’s just so demoralising. Because they want to do well. We had a student the other day who was crying – clearly an A* student in her country – she just came over only 6 months ago. She’s doing her GCSE in English and is obviously failing and she’s taking it really hard because she’s now gone from being a really good student to struggling. I find it incredibly hard to differentiate for different levels of English learners. I was an EAL student but I was 8 years old, but being told that in less than a year you’re doing a GCSE in English it’s just such pressure, it’s so difficult.

The rewards come when students achieve against the odds:

It is so rewarding when you do see progress like Irena, for instance, who’s learning English and she’s doing so well but because of her language skills I would have said in Year 9 that she would be on a grade D, but now she’s getting Bs and As – it’s not just about grades, it’s her progression in English, her confidence as well. All that’s been really nice to watch.

But then there are also the students who could do well but lack the motivation to achieve. After reading a newspaper article on the underachievement of white

working-class boys, Chloe decided to address the issue with two such boys in her class:

I was talking to Matt and Jason the other day and I said: ‘Do you two realise that because you’re white and you’re boys you’re doomed to fail? You’ve got to prove them wrong!’ and they were like: ‘No Miss, we’re not bothered’, but I went: ‘But you are going to prove them wrong! How dare you say you’re not going to prove them wrong?’

Working at Daleswood has started to change Chloe’s understanding of what caring for a student means. She sees the negative impact on students when what is valued and regarded as worthy in schools and society is beyond their reach:

We’re so worried about league tables. We’re having such a negative impact on the students, saying that they are failures if they don’t make the grades. We’re more about what we think is a success and failure. What we should be doing is saying: ‘This is your interest, you could do really well in this, let’s see how you can make this a success’. Instead we’re going: ‘No, you’ve got to study this’ and then afterwards we’re going: ‘You’re no good at this. You’re a failure’.

Chloe talks about the relative prestige of careers that require a degree like accountancy and law and others which require non-academic skills, and realises that the low esteem accorded to non-skilled or semi-skilled labour means that schools have lost “some sort of foundation that we could build on with students who are really enthusiastic about that kind of work”. Chloe is starting to question her previously taken-for-granted assumptions about the importance of getting good grades and going to university.

What has not changed, however, is Chloe’s view of the importance of extra-curricular activities. At Daleswood, she is often frustrated by the lack of commitment other teachers display to whole-school activities and inter-form competitions. She herself has set up a successful debating society but comments that some teachers don’t take as much interest. She is often

disappointed when she suggests joint activities and events which are then turned down by others, leaving her feeling that she has let her students down.

The role of the tutor in building up a relationship with the students in her tutor group has taken on special importance for Chloe. She was therefore devastated when shortly before our interview she had been asked to take on a different group:

They tried to change me to Year 10 and I nearly cried on Diana so she let me stay [shriek of laughter] because I've had them since Year 7 and then they tried to move me, and I was going: 'No! I want to stay with my form!' and then I nearly cried and Diana apologised and put me back. I couldn't imagine moving, because, yeah, they've been here since Year 7 – I can't imagine it. When I was at school my form tutor saw me through and I'd like to be a form tutor that sees them through.

Critical Reflection

The essence of Chloe's experience of being a teacher is captured in the related categories of love and caring. The category of love is used almost exclusively in Hegel's theory of recognition to refer to the love, mutual recognition and support experienced in the sphere of the family. When love and affection are seen as belonging to the private but not to the public sphere, then love as a form of recognition can be regarded as irrelevant in the field of education (Huttunen & Heikkinen, 2004; Murphy, 2010). Although teaching has been acknowledged as emotional labour (Hargreaves (1998; 2000), Hargreaves also suggests that while affection and care may be of relevance in early years and primary education, teachers in secondary schools tend on the whole to see their relationship as one of respect, not affection, a view shared by Giesecke (2001). Rather than seeing the relationship between teacher and student in terms of affection, Giesecke (2001) describes it as a professional relationship of pedagogic responsibility, restricted to a particular place and time, and warns of the dangers of awakening false expectations of a social and emotional relationship:

The teacher is neither mother nor father, nor even a friend, even though it may be the case that children often wish for a hint of motherliness or fatherliness in their teacher (p.121).

Yet the emotional bond Chloe has with her students suggests that a different view of professional caring is possible. The language Chloe uses in the interview is striking and shows the strength of her emotional attachment: *“You’ve heard me talk about my form group. I take real ownership of them – they’re my little kids, they’re my babies”*. It is not easy to reconcile the passion Chloe displays with Giesecke’s more measured approach. Her use of the terms *‘my little kids’* and *‘my babies’* are terms taken straight from the sphere of the family, not from the more narrowly delineated professional relationship Giesecke describes.

It would seem that finding and maintaining the right balance between the needs of children to have a teacher they can like and trust, the feelings of genuine affection that teachers may feel, and the requirement of maintaining professional distance is not easy. A way of understanding the relationship is to interpret the love Chloe describes as a form of caring “that does not in itself connote the closeness of long-lasting concern associated with family life” (Noddings, 2002, p. 178). Rather, caring is an appropriate response to the needs of the cared-for. This kind of caring is reflected in Chloe’s concern for her students to do well for themselves, both as individuals and as part of a group. As mentioned in the Introduction, Noddings describes the caring relationship as a reciprocal one which benefits both parties:

Caring involves connection between the carer and the cared-for and a degree of reciprocity; that is to say that both gain from the encounter in different ways and both give (Noddings, 2005, n.pag.).

Several empirical studies have identified that the pleasure of working with children often provides the motivation for becoming a teacher (Hebert & Worthy, 2001; Wilson, & Demetriou, 2006; Hericks & Keller-Schneider, 2012; Helsper et al., 2005). Children and young people also want to feel that their teachers like them (Hericks, 2009a). Working with children is certainly a motivating force for Chloe, for whom the relationship with the children in her

tutor group is “the best thing” about being a teacher. Her students make her laugh, and she enjoys the silliness of adolescence and ‘having a banter’.

But the strength of Chloe’s feelings is more than just pleasure and has something important to add to our understanding of the nature of caring in the pedagogical relationship. Chloe’s emotional response to the threat of losing contact with her tutor group is shaped by her commitment to a group of students to whom she has been arbitrarily allocated. Her affection is genuine but it did not develop out of affinity but out of contiguity and responsibility. In the same way that we do not choose our families, teachers generally do not choose their tutor group, they are assigned to them. The affection Chloe has developed for her charges would doubtless have been just as strong had she been allocated a different group of children. In that sense Chloe’s ethics of care is an expression of “professional solidarity across the generations” (Prenzel, 2013, p.75), a form of recognition highly relevant to teaching.

A convincing explanation of this strength of feeling is that the act of taking on responsibility for children’s education and well-being can engender genuine feelings of love and affection (Prenzel, 2013). Due to the interrelationship that Prenzel identifies between responsibility, caring and affection, her argument is that recognition through love is applicable not only to the private sphere but also to teaching. Prenzel’s view thus contradicts the widely-held understanding that ‘love’ is not relevant to the field of education referred to earlier (Huttunen & Heikkinen, 2004, Murphy, 2010). Prenzel (2013) also believes that “the experience of caring manifests itself in a desire for justice” (ibid., p.33), because feelings of affection lead to the reciprocal desire for the well-being of the other, as well as justice for the other, a further link between caring and Recognition Theory.

Chloe demonstrates an incipient awareness of the need for social justice in her concern for the EAL students preparing for a GCSE in English, or through the way she addresses white working-class boys’ lack of aspiration, or through concern with the ‘failures’. Chloe’s ethics of care can therefore be interpreted in terms of both ‘caring-for’ and ‘caring-about’ students (Noddings, 2005). High expectations can also be a way of recognising students’ potential (Giesecke, 2001) and are thus an expression of a form of respect. But, as

Noddings (2011) suggests, if the aspirations that students are encouraged to develop are not to disintegrate into a damaging form of misrecognition, then they must be based on a reasonable expectation of success, as Chloe is coming to realise. Chloe is troubled by the fact that she cannot cater for all the needs of those she cares for: “I really feel my hands are tied. I feel I should be able to provide opportunities for them but *I sometimes feel that I can’t*” which leaves her feeling inadequate.

Chloe’s sense of responsibility for her students is a form of recognition summed up in her words as “*valuing each other and really working as a team*”. This has led her to believe not only that all students should have the right to experience being valued, but also that it is her role as tutor to promote the kind of solidarity and team spirit she herself had experienced at school. The moral acceptance of the need to care for others (Honneth, 2011a) means that the emotional investment teachers make on behalf of their students is important in their understanding of the relationships they have with their students (Lynch & Lodge, 2002). The meaning of the relationship Chloe has with her students defines the essence of what being a teacher means to her to. The affection she demonstrates is an essential part of her understanding of the pedagogical relationship. Her remarks resonate with a strong sense of the personal responsibility which for Noddings (2002) is the hallmark of the truly caring professional as opposed to the professional accountability demanded in an age of performativity.

Amber: The experience of rising to a challenge

When I met Amber towards the end of her second year of teaching her enthusiasm for her career choice remained undimmed, supported by a love of science and a desire to make a difference to young people’s lives. Amber’s enjoyment of teaching shines through her story and is summed up in the comment she made at the end of our interview: “*I think you’ve pretty much got the gist that I love this job*”. Amber joined Daleswood after completing a six-week training programme with Teach First. The promise of Teach First to its recruits is that they will be given the opportunity to “transform the lives of the young people who need it most” (Teach First, 2016, n.pag.). Much of what

Amber talks about in the focus group and the interview shows that this is a mission she shares. She also believes that her own experience of being a student in a school in special measures makes her well-suited to putting the Teach First vision into practice.

The school Amber attended in the city where she grew up had been made subject to special measures when she was in Year 8, her second year there. The school's intake was drawn mainly from the estate on which she lived and Amber describes the school in graphic terms: "My school kind of got all the riff-raff, as it were, of the kids that couldn't get into the other schools because we were out of their allocation area". The school was still in special measures when Amber left at the end of Year 11 and she attributes the long-term problems faced by her school to neglect by the authorities and a lack of decisive action to improve conditions in the school:

My school kind of went under the radar for a very long time, because there were so many schools in the local area it kind of got overlooked. The procedures you have now for being in special measures – if you're not out within two years you either get converted to an academy or the school is closed down – they didn't do that with my school.

There were problems with recruiting and retaining permanent teachers:

Aside from all the social stuff that was going on, I had a supply teacher in science the whole time I was at school. The teachers kept changing, there were no consistent faces. It was really quite hard to get to know a teacher and break down those walls.

What troubled Amber more than any social problems in the school was the turnover of teaching staff. She felt neglected by her teachers: "I was one of those kids that always wanted to ask for help, so I was never afraid to ask for support or anything and quite often the teachers refused". One teacher in particular made her feel that she did not matter: "When I finally did get a solid science teacher, they hated my guts and they weren't supportive". The lack of support had an impact on her studies:

I started to backtrack a bit because I didn't know how to push myself that little bit more. My Mum couldn't help me – she barely scraped her O Levels. She'd help me as much as she could but when it got to GCSEs she struggled and I had nobody else to turn to and the first place I thought of was 'Oh, my teachers', but then my English teacher left when I was in Year 10. I was absolutely devastated because I had no-one then [sigh] and it was just an uphill battle from the word go.

Yet what Amber says she did gain from her schooling was resilience:

You learn how to hold your own when you're deemed the riff-raff, when you get other schoolkids that are from supposedly outstanding schools coming up to your school gates with knives, you do learn how to handle yourselves in certain ways.

After leaving secondary school at the age of 16 Amber attended a college of further education, but she did not have the GCSE grades required for an A-Level course. For Amber, being on the vocational BTEC¹³ track felt like failure and she attributes this failure to the steady stream of supply teachers at her school which had left her with gaps in her knowledge of the basics of science. Yet although in her eyes the BTEC route was a second-best option, the course she switched to opened up new and exciting possibilities:

In the BTEC in Sport Development and Fitness I was doing we did a lot of sportsciencey modules and we were in the lab and on the treadmills, doing all the testing and I really enjoyed it! And I thought: 'Actually, I'm going to do this as a degree'. It's obviously more science than sport and I was like: 'Oh this is fantastic' and 'Science is like the best thing ever'. With my degree I can either teach PE or Science and I thought: 'You know what, I'm going to go down the science route'.

13. The BTEC (Business and Technology Education Council) Level 3 Diploma is a vocational school leaving qualification. Though formally the same level of qualification as A-Levels, it is sometimes regarded as being of lesser value.

Through her BTEC course, Amber developed a passion for science and a love of learning. However, her BTEC qualifications were not A-Levels, often referred to in England as the ‘gold standard’ in school qualifications (Ball, 2013), and this meant that Amber was only able to gain a place at a low entry university. Amber makes it clear that she wants to be recognised for her academic success, not for her sporting prowess and even now, as a science teacher, she still craves the seal of approval of A-Level qualifications in science:

I want to be on that solid academic side rather than the sporty side. I would like to actually have on paper A-Levels in Biology, Chemistry and Physics. They are in the pipeline and I will have them at some point.

Amber was encouraged to join the Teach First programme, but she suggests that her six week summer training with Teach First was poor preparation for the realities of school life:

We didn’t do classroom practice, we didn’t do behaviour management. The first time I stepped into a classroom I had no idea what I was doing. Content: not a clue, apart from my own education. How to structure a lesson: not really one hundred percent on that. Behaviour management: I had no idea. So I don’t feel the six weeks I had at the beginning of Teach First really prepared me for what to expect.

However, arriving at Daleswood straight after the Teach First summer school, she attributes the fact that she immediately felt at home there to her own experience as a student: “As soon as I walked in the door I knew exactly how these kids are, which is why I loved it here so much”. Her understanding of what it is like to be in a school in special measures has made her confident in her ability to put things right. She is now in a position where she can put into place what she refers to as “procedures”, namely the discipline and support which had been inadequate in her own school. The importance of doing things the right way runs like a leitmotif through Amber’s anecdotes and goes beyond merely creating an orderly atmosphere for learning. Amber is resolved that she will never be the kind of teacher who ignores requests for help, or the one who

denies children the right to learn. As a teacher she wants her students to share her love of learning and she challenges herself to be the best teacher she can be by working tirelessly and reflectively to improve on what she does. Every evening she reviews the day's lessons, using Moon's (1999) model of reflective practice, which she claims is the only really useful thing she gained from the Teach First summer school:

I've got Moon's template constantly in my head and at the end of a bad lesson, or you know a kid kicks off, I ask myself what's going on with this kid, what could I have done better, how am I going to action it for next lesson and I constantly do that. Using a reflective model drastically improved my practice because I can see my own problems and I'm very willing to change.

In this way Amber challenges herself to improve her practice as a teacher. She is keen to learn from others and enthusiastically describes the impact of observing one very interactive lesson taught by her mentor, the Head of Science, in which the students were in control of their own learning:

I was like: 'Wow! Huh! This is teaching at its best here'. It was just wonderful to watch because he'd trained the kids really well and they just got on with it, which was amazing, absolutely amazing!

She also learns from student feedback, for example, asking students for comments on their first lesson with her:

Some of my Year 10s, they said it was good because I was so enthusiastic and I was really helpful but they said: 'Miss, the lesson was dire' – or 'moist' as they like to say. I didn't get that feedback from them until about a month in, till I was confident I knew these kids and could trust them and when I did ask for it, I went: 'Ah, the lessons have been boring for the last month, need to do something about that'.

Since starting at Daleswood, Amber has concentrated not only on improving her teaching, but also on managing behaviour. Her first experience of being a

form tutor exemplifies her approach to tackling this challenge. Although teachers in their induction year at Daleswood are not normally required to be form tutors, Amber was asked to take on a tutor group half way through the school year, without realising the full implications of what the role entailed. In common with many other teachers (Cleave et al., 1997), Amber felt unprepared for this role:

I had no preparation for being a form tutor whatsoever. One of our teachers went on maternity leave at Easter and they had no form tutor and I was already attached to the year group so I'd go in and out of tutor groups in the morning just supporting, signing planners, that sort of thing, and then their Head of Year approached me and said: 'I want you involved with Year 9 next year as a tutor'.

Amber soon realised that the tutor group had a well-earned reputation for disruptive behaviour and she describes her engagement with them as a battle:

It was a battle – they're a difficult bunch of kids and I didn't anticipate that in a million years. Three weeks of me being their form tutor and I just had a sea of emails: 'Your students have been disruptive in my lesson', 'Your students have done this' and all of a sudden the accountability hit me and I was like: 'OMG! What do I do next?'

Amber approached the problem with typical resolve and the determination to do what was right. She asked for guidance from the Head of Year, who talked her through procedures. Amber turned these into a flow chart which she still keeps on her desk and follows to the letter:

My form – they're off their heads completely. But in the morning they're regimented. In the morning, they know that if they can't line up in silence I will immediately turn into Miss Anger Jenkins [a play on her name] because that's not what we do: 'You line up in silence, you come in in silence, you read your book until I give you the next instruction. Can't do it? –

get back out'. And we have to keep doing that – it's a nightmare
– but we just have to be consistent.

Amber assumes that a 'no excuses' behaviour management policy will help her students develop the autonomy to manage their own behaviour. She describes herself as "rigid" in using what she calls the "fantastic phrase" she had learned from a colleague: "Be that as it may, a member of staff has asked you to do *something and you haven't followed instructions. Therefore you* are going on report".

As mentioned earlier, all three teachers hold the view that many Daleswood students lack discipline at home and that this accounts for students' unacceptable behaviour in school. Amber believes that in this kind of situation teachers need to be disciplinarian in order to restore order. She has developed strategies and systems to improve behaviour and she is proud of what the school has achieved in a very short time:

They're not proud to be students here which I think is a real shame because to be honest, when I first started, I was embarrassed by our students because they just couldn't behave themselves, but now when I walk down the street I wear my name badge round my neck all the way home with pride.

Amber expresses slight regret for her original fantasy image of herself:

There is a part of me that still wants to be that nicey-nicey teacher, but actually I've seen much better results in all my classes when I'm disciplinarian.

Reflecting on her first year of teaching, Amber again highlights the challenges Teach First presents:

My first year especially was – well not hell, but it wasn't the easiest. Trying to write 6000 word essays and teach 35 out of 50 lessons over a fortnight was so, so hard and then having to manage your teaching load is hard enough as it is without adding assignments and PGCEs and going to lectures outside of

school hours so that was ridiculously hard and I would not recommend Teach First to anybody.

But Amber is not ‘anybody’ and she is clearly proud that she was accepted onto the programme and that she is one of the few in her Teach First cohort who continued teaching after their induction year. She also takes intense pride in the fact that she was seen as an atypical recruit to the programme:

When I got there my first lecturer turned round to me and went: ‘You don’t really fit the profile, do you? You don’t fit the profile of being from a middle/upper class background of participants going to Oxford, Cambridge, Kings College, London. You come from the University of NN, and you’ve done a sports science degree, you’re not a tick-box candidate for Teach First’ and he was a bit shocked that I’d done it actually.

Amber interprets his surprise as a form of recognition, because the recruitment strategy of Teach First is to target high-achieving graduates from high-ranking universities (Teach First, 2016). Despite her background, Amber has broken the mould and been deemed worthy of a place on the programme. By emphasising how tough the programme is, Amber again demonstrates that she has risen to a challenge: *“I would not recommend Teach First to anybody if they didn’t have resilience and perseverance”*. She also emphasises the fact that Teach First recruits are sent out into schools in challenging circumstances after only a bare minimum of training, and with no knowledge of the pastoral aspects of being a teacher. This supports her belief that her success as a teacher and form tutor is a result of her personal commitment, resilience and self-reliance.

The challenges Amber has faced bring her the rewards of overcoming them, but when asked what keeps her going as a teacher, her answer echoes Chloe’s:

Ultimately my love of this job comes down to my interactions with the kids and the teaching aspect of just being in the classroom, developing my lessons, doing practicals, marking their books. I think it just comes down to the kids.

This, of course, is the dominant theme in Chloe's story, but unlike Chloe, Amber does not describe love as the driving force in her career, despite the pleasure she gains from working with children and her affection for them:

I love the kids, all 200 of them that I teach this year and the 200 I taught last year. I just love every single one of them. They just – they make the job – I even quite enjoy marking their books, just so as to see what insightful things they've come out with.

Instead, Amber builds her story around the various challenges she herself has faced, but she also demonstrates the kind of tough love which she believes is what the students at Daleswood need.

Critical Reflection

Amber's challenge during her schooldays was a challenge to survive against the background of her life on a council estate where there was no choice of school and she and the other children were seen as "riff-raff". Her school went "under the radar" and was almost permanently struggling with staffing problems, unable to employ "solid teachers" who had time to listen to and support the children. As a new teacher, the challenge was to go into the classroom after only six weeks' training, and a few months later, as a form tutor, to cope with taking on a difficult tutor group half way through the school year without any clear idea of her "accountability". The challenge of working with the young people at Daleswood was to make them "proud of themselves". The challenge to her sense of identity was to give up the image of herself as the "nicey-nicey" teacher and accept that it felt "pretty good" to be a disciplinarian:

I've seen much better results in all my classes when I'm disciplinarian: I'm very rigid: 'I'm not going to be flexible with you, you are going to follow the school rules, it's as simple as that'. I think I've got my students to a stage when I can take a step back. I don't have to tell them in a lesson any more I just give them the look. I've developed that teacher look. I just give them the look and they just look at me and go: 'That's a first warning isn't it Miss'.

Although Noddings (2002, p.189) accepts that it is quite right and proper to infer the need for “acceptability”, there is a risk inherent in Amber’s approach to achieving acceptability that the demand for unquestioning obedience denies students the opportunity to have their viewpoint heard. This approach to behaviour management not only restricts students’ chances to express their own needs but also conveys the message that no justification is required for behavioural norms (Noddings, 2002), denying students a voice in matters that concern them. Amber, however, is of the firm opinion that her own right to a good education was disregarded in part through poor behaviour management and she is determined that no student she teaches will be refused that right. She is thus driven by a keen sense that a strict regime of discipline is the right thing for her students.

In terms of recognition, there are two themes of interest here. Firstly, by depicting her schooling and teacher training as fraught with difficulties, and by describing herself in effect as an untrained teacher who has through her own initiative developed the skills to become a good teacher, Amber now has the confidence to say: “*I’m not blowing my own trumpet here but I’m not a bad teacher, I’m actually alright*”. The story of challenge is also as a story of Amber’s resilience, personal ambition, and it illustrates her commitment to her students and her determination to be an outstanding teacher. Through her story Amber is proving her worth as a way of compensating for the image reflected back to her by her teachers, an image of a herself as a young person not worthy of academic esteem.

What Amber does not lack is self-confidence. She refers to challenge as something positive: “I love a good challenge, I like having my hands full with lots of things to do”, yet the word she uses most often is not ‘challenge’ but ‘battle’. Her GCSE years were: “just an uphill battle from the word go”. Giving up the fantasy image of the kind of teacher she wanted to be was “a real battle”. When she now half-jokingly but also quite poignantly describes herself as the “*world’s biggest battle-axe*” this means she has given up the image of herself as: “that teacher every student loves, that is just so wonderful and pleasant all of the time and is just so relaxed about everything”. Managing the tutor group she took

over half way through her NQT year was “an absolute battle – *it’s still a* battle now, not so much now because they know not to push my buttons” and she has “battled” to get the students in her tutor group to take on responsibility for their own behaviour. Yet when I asked her how she felt about this she laughed and said “Pretty good actually! [Really?] Really I do. Yes”

Seen through the template of recognition, there are a number of themes in Amber’s story which can be linked explicitly to Recognition Theory. In relation to the theme of challenge, Amber tells her story as one of a struggle for recognition in which the disrespect and injustice she experienced as a schoolchild represent the misrecognition of her legitimate needs and rights.

In Recognition Theory the first sphere of recognition is love, initially experienced as primary care in a supportive and loving home background. The love experienced through having one’s needs met and being nurtured as a young child supports the development of self-confidence (Honneth, 1992). Arguably, the bedrock for Amber’s self-confidence and resilience was provided by Amber’s mother, who had always made it clear to Amber that whatever path in life she chose, her mother would still be proud of her, and would support her unconditionally.

The concepts of love, right and esteem are thus all relevant to Amber’s story, but the most salient is that of being seen as worthy of esteem. Amber tells her anecdotes and gives her opinions in a straightforward, matter-of-fact way. When talking about her schooldays, her often blunt language paints a vivid picture of what school was like for her. She often uses the technique of reporting her own inner dialogue with herself and her conversations with others. This adds to the impact of her anecdotes about her schooling and teacher training and gives them credibility, leaving little room for questioning or doubt, as she tends to gloss over any inconsistencies which might draw attention away from the main story. Whether or not Amber’s science teacher really did dislike her, or whether he was simply under too much pressure or too busy to give her the attention she needed, is less important than the fact that Amber was made to feel that she did not matter. The overwhelming sense in Amber’s description of her schooldays is the feeling of being let down. She

believes she did not achieve the GCSE grades she needed because there was no-one at school or at home to help her with her schoolwork. She was falling behind in her studies and she attributes this to not being listened to by her teachers and not being given the academic support she asked for. What this means for Amber is that she felt denied the esteem, care and support she believed she had a right to. Her school, and indeed the entire school system failed to meet her legitimate needs. In the terms of Recognition Theory this is a form of disrespect which equates to misrecognition and is thus an injustice (Honneth, 2000).

Although Amber does not refer directly to social justice, she is aware of the implications of being regarded as “riff-raff”. She and the other children from her estate were “*the kids that couldn’t get into the other schools*”. They had no choice as to which school they attended and there are strong reminders here of the way Thomson (2002) describes the educational inequality that affects children and families who live in areas of disadvantage, referred to earlier (see p. 89). Despite Amber’s disparaging comment about the behaviour of the students from the “supposedly outstanding schools” who turned up at her school gates with knives, she feels at a disadvantage when comparing her education with that available to children in more affluent areas. Amber does not question what is increasingly understood as a false dichotomy between academic and vocational qualifications (Voice, 2015) and has perhaps been seduced by government and media hyperbole of ‘top’ universities, and the ‘hard academic subjects’ valued by employers (Gove, 2009). As a result she gained little self-esteem from attending a low-entry university and studying sport science and she feels she still has to gain recognition as an academic. She has therefore started studying for a master’s degree, and intends to compensate for her BTEC qualification in sport science by taking A-Levels in pure science.

The determination with which she rises to a challenge, and the recognition she is given for this, promotes her self-esteem. She is determined to succeed as a teacher and to do what she can to make sure her students do not “miss out” as she did. She wants to do what is right:

I don't want my kids to be afraid to ask me questions, and I don't want to be that teacher who turns round and says: 'I can't help you right now'.

Although Amber makes it very clear in the focus group and the interview that she feels her school and her teachers failed her, this was not the whole story. In our interview another story emerged as a throwaway remark about being a prefect. When pressed for more detail, Amber told me that she had played on a number of school sport teams and was put in charge of the netball team. It was because of this that by the time she left secondary school at the age of 16, Amber had become a sports leader, a peer mentor and a prefect, and had joined the University of the First Age. She was in fact "quite well regarded by the school". But this story does not have the same meaning for Amber as her story of disrespect. This has much to tell us about what society considers to be of value in terms of school education. Amber has succumbed to the hegemonic message that only 'academic' qualifications are of value. Honneth (1994) points out that respect must be of a kind that is meaningful to the recipient if it is to promote self-esteem. The recognition Amber gained as a sports leader and prefect was less meaningful to her than academic success and was not enough to compensate for her feeling of being second-rate academically. It is this sense of misrecognition that influences Amber's interpretation of her education and of her own value.

Esteem is the third category of Honneth's Recognition Theory and self-esteem is achieved by being held in esteem by others (Honneth, 1994). Amber's anecdotes and stories can be interpreted as an attempt to prove herself worthy. By emphasising the very real challenges she faced and the battles she fought, Amber heightens the value of her achievements and successes, which stand out all the more clearly against the backdrop of the battles she describes. By telling her story as one of self-reliance and resilience, Amber creates her own worth, and the anecdotes she tells of rising to a challenge illustrate her struggle to be recognised.

Resilience is "the mysterious and elusive quality that explains why some people are able to withstand massive disadvantage and yet still succeed" (Chapman Hoult, 2012, p.1). Like the adult learners Chapman Hoult is referring to, Amber

is justifiably proud that she has been able to break out of the cycle of disadvantage and become the first in her family to attend university. She is now seen as the expert on all educational matters in her family, advising her mother on which school to send her brother to and inspiring her sister to apply to university. Day & Gu (2102) suggest that resilience is something that can be learned as a tool to improve the quality of teachers and to help them withstand the pressures of teaching. Yet Amber's story suggests that her resilience may well not be something she has learned. In the language of Recognition Theory, it has developed out of the self-confidence she has gained through the primary form of recognition: the unconditional support her mother has given her.

Amber's search for recognition has in many ways been a struggle against the odds, and one that has demanded considerable energy and commitment. She has earned esteem from her former colleague's recognition of her potential as a teacher; from the genuine appreciation and thanks she receives at parents' evenings; from the Head of Year's urgent request for her to join the tutor team; from Diana's tacit acknowledgement that one day she will indeed be a headteacher; from her students' good-natured response to her '*teacher look*', and from her Teach First tutor's suggestion that in getting a place on Teach First she has defied the odds.

There are similarities between Amber's experience and the experiences of non-traditional learners in higher education which Fleming (2016) also refers to as a struggle for recognition. All the forms of recognition referred to in Amber's story act as 'satisfiers' which keep Amber "resilient and optimistic in an increasingly demanding and increasingly vital job" (MacBeath, 2012, p.6). Yet despite her enthusiasm and her resilience, Amber too feels the strain:

This whole working till you're 65 thing, I'll be lucky to make it till I'm 40 at the rate I'm going, because you're putting everything into it. By 10 o'clock in the evening I'm fast asleep because physically and mentally I'm so drained from dealing with kids all day and practicals and kids setting their hair on fire and trying to climb out the window and you know just ridiculous stuff and you just do burn out by the end of the day, especially the winter terms you get

burn-out very quickly because obviously they're very long, it's dark, you get a bit sad.

How the level of commitment that Amber displays can be maintained over a lifetime of teaching in an educational system that demands so much of its teachers is a question that needs to be addressed in the face of the challenges so many dedicated teachers face.

Bryony: The experience of not being yourself

The problems with behaviour management at Daleswood that Amber refers to take on a different meaning in Bryony's story. Before she came into school teaching Bryony had completed a PGCE in post-16 education and had worked for a number of years in further and higher education, so she was not new to teaching. Nevertheless, like many new teachers she was still at what has been called the fantasy stage of becoming a schoolteacher (Bullough, 1989) when she joined Daleswood School shortly before it went into special measures, and she had a rose-tinted image of what it would be like:

I wanted it to be like I would walk into a room and all the kids would just be talking happily about whatever I asked them to talk about [rueful laugh] and they would be learning from each other and they'd be having nice long philosophical conversations about things and of course they'd be producing fantastic work, and they'd be happy and moving forward.

This vision encapsulates Bryony's reasons for becoming a teacher. Her description of her first lesson at Daleswood, however, shows up "the dark side of the fantasy" (Bullough, 1989, p.16):

I'll never ever forget my first lesson because the person who came to watch me was the Head of Department and there were these Year 7s and there was this Art room and I was standing there gently talking about all these things that they needed to do and there was just a howl of noise over me. They couldn't even hear me, there were rulers being flicked and the Head of

Department just stood there watching me and he looked at his watch and I could tell from his body language that it was like a massive big disappointment.

The mismatch between her image of herself as schoolteacher and the reality of the classroom was difficult enough to cope with, but she felt it all the more keenly because she was being observed by her line manager. Bryony is aware of the irony of the situation and has crafted a story out of it. Her “gently talking” against the students’ “howl of noise” means that not only was Bryony not being listened to, but that her voice could not even be heard above the noise of a Year 7 class who had taken over control of the classroom. The experience left her doubting her own ability:

I felt really crushed and like ‘Oh no! What am I doing? Why have I come to do this teaching? How am I going to cope?’ It was a complete – that’s what it felt like – just a complete disaster of a lesson.

The skills she had gained in her previous career in further and higher education seemed invalid in a classroom of lively Year 7 students and her own experience of being a schoolchild had not prepared her for such disrespect:

We would never dream of saying anything rude to our teachers or just answering back. That would never happen – very, very occasionally perhaps and when it did happen you were really shocked that somebody would have the cheek to stand up against their teachers. There was a lot more respect – and a lot more distance, I think, between a teacher and a child. You knew where the boundaries were.

Reflecting on her first year at Daleswood she goes on to say that the students thought “*I was a bit of a soft touch and they could just walk all over me*” and she finds it hard to come to terms with this form of disrespect. Although the feedback Bryony has received from her colleagues about her teaching style since then includes positive comments about how the students enjoy being with her, they also confirm her own concerns about her ability to establish control:

What happens is that when I get stressed out my voice will go somewhere up into a high pitched voice that doesn't match me.

Bryony compares her voice unfavourably with that of her husband, who is also a teacher:

He's naturally got a very deep voice and he just needs to look or to say something and they'll all stop, just like that. It's subtle things, he'll just look at them in a certain way, he doesn't need to say much but they will still be really quiet.

Describing that first phase of teaching, she also compares herself unfavourably with other teachers:

They were just louder in my classes and I'd walk into another person's class and they would all be sitting there quietly doing things and yet in my class they were all talking really loudly and they seemed to answer me back or they seemed to think they could just do what they want.

Bryony identifies the underlying problem with maintaining order in the classroom as her dislike of confrontation:

I try to avoid confrontation as much as possible and I probably let them get away with things early on too much and so then it goes on to the next stage quicker than it should. I struggle with the empathy side and the disciplinary side and how to balance them in the best way. I wish I could just have a magic wand so that I could just step in there at the right moment in the right way.

When things get out of control, she gets stressed and angry and the students then take her even less seriously:

Some of the children end up laughing at me and some of them are just so shocked they don't quite know how to take me.

The physical expression of Bryony's feelings of being under stress and out of control is the "high pitched shriek" that she does not recognise as her own voice, but she is learning to change her response to the stress:

I am learning as I go along and I think the calmer and more determined I am then they know 'that's it' without me panicking and going up to that high-pitched voice, so it's coming, slowly.

Bryony describes herself as someone who is normally very patient and will always have the time to listen to what a child has to say: "*I can't not listen to them. I can't help it. I can't help just replying there and then, responding to the children*". She is responsive to the different needs of different children, in part because she has a teenage son who gets very agitated after a long day in school, so she has considerable empathy with those children who fidget in class and can't keep still:

If they're fidgeting, I don't want to rock the boat too much so if they're working and I'm happy with what they're doing but they're still fidgeting or chatting then I'll let them get away with it, whereas probably I need to really lay down the rules a lot more and put an absolute stop to that behaviour somehow.

She realises that it can seem to the students as if she is being inconsistent:

I find that I get swayed, maybe because I like to look at students on a more individual basis. You can't always just follow the same rules because you've got to make allowances sometimes for some people, but if other people in the class see you doing that, then they're going to think you're unfair.

Bryony's teaching philosophy is to respond flexibly to the needs of the students as they arise and to "go with the flow of the lesson". She believes that when she deviates from the lesson plan to respond to those needs, the lesson is generally more successful but she has not yet developed the confidence to do this when being observed:

Normally you would go with your instincts about what was needed and often my lessons work out much better when there isn't an Ofsted person there because when there is an inspector I'm so worried.

Being observed takes Bryony out of her comfort zone (Stark, 1991) and when she is being observed, she starts to behave in a way that feels unnatural to her. Worry and fear prevent her from 'being herself' as a teacher and this in turn affects student behaviour:

If an Ofsted inspector is standing there I can't pick up that natural instinct that I usually have and the children see a change in me and they don't behave in the way they usually do.

The teacher that the inspectors observe is not the same teacher Bryony is when not being observed. Her strengths go unrecognised in the observation situation, and behaviour management problems, the aspect of school teaching which Bryony knows she struggles with most, surface during an inspection. Bryony identifies a mismatch between her preferred style of learning and the way she organises her work and the pressures of performativity she is under when expected to teach an observed lesson, which she compares to the anxiety she felt in examinations when she was at school:

It's interesting ... how we've still got things we probably haven't grown out of ourselves [short laugh] and I was just thinking about the Ofsted experience and the whole thing that I still have when I'm put under extreme pressure. I don't work very well at all, I tend to panic and I get into a state, whereas I tend to work better with a kind of long-term process where I think things are a bit slower and I can see what I'm aiming for and I take my time and I like to do it really well and plan really well.

Looking back on her first lesson, Bryony talks about how she has changed since then:

I think then I just was terrified when they started not responding how I had expected. I was really terrified of the whole class.

What's changed from then is that now they know that I'm the one in charge, it's not them that's in charge, it's me that's in charge and I make that very clear. I always make it very clear that this is my room that they're entering so that they know the boundaries. They can't just come in and do what they want, they have to ask my permission. Little things like that have made a huge difference.

Critical Reflection

For beginning teachers, being observed during their training and induction period is often accompanied by feelings of anxiety at being judged according to externally set expectations of performance standards (Hultgren, 1985). Amongst those expectations is the view of teaching as an act that: "emphasise[s] the mastery of technical skills which tend to separate the act of teaching from the person who is doing the acting (teaching)" (Hultgren 1985, p.35). It is therefore not unusual for evaluation and observation to be seen as a threat to self-identity, which results in "a sense of powerlessness" (ibid., p.43) that engenders negative feelings about the self. These negative feelings are evident in Bryony's loss of self-confidence as she struggles to find a way of coping with the intense focus on classroom practice and close monitoring of teaching, learning and behaviour that accompanies the process of coming out of special measures. Those feelings are compounded by the additional pressure of knowing that so much depends on external evaluation of the school during that process.

As a teacher in further and higher education Bryony had had no problems with classroom management, but joining Daleswood just before it went into special measures she was faced with discipline problems for which she had no coping techniques. Finding an entirely satisfactory way of dealing with classroom management that meets both her values – which include the importance of listening and recognising each student as an individual – and the demands of school is a sensitive issue for Bryony and one that threatens to damage her confidence in herself as a teacher. The concept of self-confidence can be understood in terms of the notion of a 'true self'. Some recent studies in the

field of psychological philosophy have suggested that we are attached to the “ideal of ‘being yourself’” (Knobe, 2005) and that this ideal of a ‘true self’ plays an important role in many areas of everyday life (Newman et al., 2014). This seems to be the case when Bryony talks about “not being herself” or not being able to follow her “natural instinct”. The feeling of not being in control of a class is one of the dissatisfiers MacBeath lists (see p. 6) and this also contributes to Bryony’s loss of confidence and self-esteem.

Bryony has a natural affinity with children, and the patience to be always willing to listen to what children have to say. Her aim is to develop the “whole child” but what she feels she is being asked to do in the context of a school coming out of special measures is to change not only the way she interacts with students in order to gain control of the classroom but the way she is. Other new teachers face similar problems, as Bullough’s (1989) study of a first-year teacher shows:

The wise teacher is tough and conservative, two qualities that ran counter to Kerrie’s self-image and that proved later to be a source of considerable tension as she struggled to come to terms with her authority in the classroom, a problem common to all beginning teachers (p.22).

Being authoritarian runs counter to Bryony’s personal philosophy of education and what she values in the student-teacher relationship. Not only are the values she holds about school education being challenged, her self-confidence and self-esteem are called into question. It is not only being judged by others that diminishes Bryony’s sense of self – she has also failed to live up to her own image of the kind of teacher she intended to be. This raises questions about the way that teachers are often expected to conform to a certain image of what a good teacher is like before they can receive recognition (Cook-Sather, 2006).

In the final section of this chapter, I turn to a theme that resonated with all three teachers and on which they were all had strong views, that of teacher voice.

The experience of not being listened to

In the focus group session, the question How is teacher voice articulated and listened to at Daleswood School? resonated with all three teachers. Almost before Bryony had finished reading out the question on the cue card she jumped in immediately with a response:

I have to say I'm absolutely livid at the moment because we're going to lose one of our subject areas and there was no consultation. I mean we were just told: 'That subject's not going to run any more' and if we'd been told beforehand we could have thought of ways to keep it so that we could meet everybody's needs (Bryony).

The way the school hierarchy operates makes the three teachers feel as if they are in trouble if they say anything out of place, or as if, like a child, they are having to ask a grown-up's permission:

Amber: You have to keep checking the hierarchy don't you.

Bryony: Yeah, because if you don't then you're going to be in trouble. It's: 'Oh, you shouldn't be speaking to me, I'm not the person you should have spoken to first, and I'm like: 'Ooh, sorry!'

Chloe: Here, I feel like a schoolkid half the time and I have to go and ask permission for certain things.

The hierarchical nature of schools came as a particular shock to Chloe who, as mentioned earlier, found the hierarchy "weird". In the law firm where she had worked for several years, she was unused to being treated as an inferior:

As a lawyer I'd never worked with this hierarchy before. As long as you've passed your exams and you're qualified as a lawyer you're respected. My boss was on an equal level to me in the law firm. You'd have different types of cases maybe, but you're both adults and you're both equal. We're all adults and we're all qualified and we should be trusted and instead, here,

there's this watchdog. I feel like I'm low in the pecking order,
there's so much reinforcement that you are lower down (Chloe).

She refers a second time to her feeling of being made to feel like a child, describing her attempt, together with a colleague from the same department, to organise an educational visit for a Year 10 class:

We tried to arrange a few school visits and one of the ones we wanted to do was on a Saturday and it seemed like we were asking for a favour, when we were the ones giving up our Saturday for the students, it was like being looked on as a naughty kid (Chloe).

She experienced the same feeling of not being listened to when she tried and failed to set up a cross-curricular project with the History department when she was teaching World War I poetry around the same time the History department was covering the World War I period. This confirms for Chloe the difficulties of getting herself heard, and this leaves her disillusioned and disheartened: *"You just get to the point where you think you might as well not bother"*.

Like Chloe, Bryony had worked in a different field before becoming a schoolteacher and she too refers to the more democratic structure of further and higher education. As a tutor she had not experienced the kind of hierarchy with which she now struggles as a new schoolteacher:

I used to work in colleges and higher education, and it wasn't the same as it is in secondary school, there aren't those layers of people that you always have to go to, from the top to the bottom. It seemed more democratic because the tutors, they'd all talk to one another on the same wavelength. Here it seems you have to speak to that person, and if you don't speak to that person then you're going to be in trouble and I've struggled with that sometimes and I have got into trouble about that (Bryony).

Amber uses the striking term 'chain of command' when referring to what happens at Daleswood:

As Bryony was saying we are the last people in this school to know anything. I think communication breaks down and that is the reason we don't feel empowered as teachers because although we can say something to the head of department or Senior Leadership Team that doesn't always filter up to Diana and vice versa. It's just that the chain of command isn't clear, so when you do have an issue you don't know who you should give it to or if you do tell one person you don't know whether it gets passed on so sometimes I just don't feel like I'm heard (Amber).

For all three teachers, there is a mismatch between their expectations of being treated as equal partners and their lack of voice. They feel that their commitment to their subject area and to their students should be recognised as justification for their inclusion in discussions and decision-making:

We have a culture of giving kids ownership and responsibility, but it's very autocratic in schools for us as teachers. You would think we're the ones that would be negotiated with and be consulted, whereas actually we're the ones who are marginalised and not consulted (Chloe).

There's no consultation with us teachers: How do we think it would work better, for example (Bryony).

In addition to relating anecdotes that illustrate particular examples of not being listened to, Amber, Bryony and Chloe also refer to not being "in the loop" with regards to getting feedback on decisions, or not being informed quickly enough about matters that are of importance to them or their students. Because of the strong sense of responsibility all three feel towards their tutor groups, they are frustrated when they have trouble getting information about what is happening with their students. They feel they are the last to find out anything (and again Amber uses a military metaphor):

It's just the crucial things we need to know about the kids. We deal with them on the frontline, we're the ones having regular contact with the parents, so why is it that we don't know the crucial information? I've put my foot in it quite a few times

with parents because I've phoned home and said: 'This has happened' and they've just gone: 'You're the third phone call I've had about this today'. You know it's things like that when I feel like a bit of a muppet but thankfully I've built quite good relationships with parents so they just laugh at me, but yeah, we are the last to find out anything and we're the last people to be asked how to change something (Amber).

Chloe and Bryony both concur:

Yeah, it drives me insane I don't even know anything about my kids (Chloe).

Yeah, I don't know anything about mine. I have to go and ask my head of year: 'Please can you tell me what's been going on in that meeting you had with that child's parents because I would like to be involved'. You know, I see those children every day (Bryony).

And the kids would come to us first [murmurs of assent] because we're their form tutor (Chloe).

Yeah and we can't then provide what the kids need because there's a missing link between us and them (Bryony).

Critical Reflection

Voice is linked to recognition (Couldry, 2009) and when teachers feel listened to in their everyday lives in schools they know that their right to be heard is recognised and this is a 'satisfier'. In the Introduction and in Chapter One, teacher voice was introduced as a metaphor for being valued by "giving teachers a say" (Rudduck, 2004, p.2). Yet it has been claimed that 'voicelessness' is a defining characteristic of the teaching profession (see p. 42). For new teachers, the problem of voicelessness seems even more acute, because they lack the authority of positions of responsibility within the school hierarchy (Lynch & Lodge, 2002).

When the cue card on teacher voice was read out in the focus group, it was interesting that there was no discussion about what the phrase ‘teacher voice’ meant. The responses showed that the term was meaningful to all three of the teachers and all three interpreted the question of voice within a hierarchical school structure. What was surprising was the visceral strength of the emotional response with which Amber, Bryony and Chloe shared their feelings of not being listened to. Their comments suggest that compared with more established teachers, new teachers are not regarded as having the right to speak. Amber graphically refers to the status of new teachers, as being “at the bottom of the food chain” and Chloe’s feeling of being “*low in the pecking order*” was echoed by the other two.

What emerged as a central theme in my research is that not being listened to gives new teachers the feeling that their voice is not equal to the voices of other teachers. Amber, Bryony and Chloe share the expectation that they, as qualified teachers, should have equal rights, but their expectation is thwarted by “the existence of unwritten and implicit rules at school” (Flores & Day, 2006, p.239). The unwritten rules are characteristic of the hierarchical structure of schools, where it is not clear in advance who has the right to speak and when and to whom (Fielding, 2001). In Recognition Theory, the experience of not being listened can be associated not only with the category of respect for rights, but also with the theme of being esteemed as a worthy member of a particular community. As mentioned earlier (see p.100), teaching is ‘emotional labour’ and because of their emotional investment in their work, “teachers also inevitably experience a range of negative emotions when ... trust and respect from parents, the public and their students is eroded” (Flores & Day, 2006, p.221).

I have defined the value of voice in several ways. Firstly, listening to the voices of real teachers talking about real experiences is important epistemologically as a means of providing insights into lived experience (Elbaz, 1991). Secondly voice is a metaphor for the right to speak and the right to be heard (Rudduck, 2004). Thirdly, and closely linked with the second point, is the importance of voice in promoting the solidarity that comes from being recognised as a valued member of the community. Solidarity develops from entering into dialogue with others on matters of shared interest (Honneth, 1992). An understanding of

democracy as an intersubjective and reciprocal process in a school community should entail the right for all members of the community to be heard and would include the duty of all members to grant that right to others. This is similar to the notion of “reciprocal responsibility” envisaged by Fielding (2004, p.308) through which members of the school community can “meet one another as equals, as genuine partners” (ibid., p.309). Fielding (2001) makes it clear that if students in schools have the right to be heard, then this right must also be extended to teachers:

The development of student voice at the expense or to the exclusion of teacher voice is a serious mistake. The latter is a necessary condition of the former: staff are unlikely to support developments that encourage positive ideals for students which thereby expose the poverty of their own participatory arrangements (p.106).

New teachers’ knowledge does not come from long years of experience. However, although it has been argued that the first years of teaching represent a kind of professional apprenticeship (Hericks, 2009), it would be difficult to construct an ethically acceptable argument which claims for that reason that new teachers’ voices should not be listened to. Amber, Bryony and Chloe claim the right to be included in decisions about the everyday life of the school. When the three teachers express concern in the focus group and interviews it is often about the practicalities of school life, “their knowledge of their students, available resources, and the obdurate practicalities of their work” (Kirk & MacDonald, 2005, p.224). Amber suggests that even on these topics their voices are not heard: *“I get the whole: ‘You’re just an NQT thing – what do you know?’”*

Referring to the challenges faced by children in their relationship with significant adults, Moustakas (1995) believes that “none is more devastating than the continual experience of not being listened to, not being recognized, not being understood” (p.148). There are striking parallels between the childhood experience Moustakas describes and the comments that the three teachers make in the focus group about the lack of recognition they are accorded as new teachers. All three express feelings of being made to ‘feel small’, of not being

recognised as an adult with professional understanding and skills. If children are frequently made to feel they are not listened to, the experience can lead to self-doubt and undermine children's self-confidence (Moustakas, 1995). The experiences recounted by Amber, Bryony and Chloe raise the question of whether this applies equally to the well-being of adults.

The notion of teachers' well-being was introduced in terms of satisfiers and dissatisfiers (see p.6). One of the headteachers interviewed by Bangs & Frost (2012, p.4) goes so far as to claim that staff well-being is "a moral and legal imperative" in schools. If that interpretation is accepted, then teachers' well-being in their workplace can be considered as a right. Referring to Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*, Smith (1989) states that for Hegel "rights claims ... are thought to be morally necessary in the sense that without them we would have no grounds on which to attribute to the person an absolute and irreplaceable dignity" (p.3). It is this notion of right as a form of dignity that in Honneth's Recognition Theory is linked to the development of self-respect. Both Honneth (1992) and Smith (1998) follow Hegel in regarding mutual recognition as the basis for ethical life (*Sittlichkeit*). From Honneth's critical standpoint, lack of recognition is seen as an injustice occasioned by denying respect to another person and failing to recognise them as worthy.

In this final section of Chapter Four, I have returned to one of the main concepts in my thesis, that of voice, to examine the relationship between being listened to, self-respect and self-esteem, using 'voice' as a metaphor for the right to be listened to and the responsibility to listen. Whereas Hegel (1820) refers to rights at the level of the state, in other words the rights of citizens in a democracy, Honneth extends this to other forms of community in a post-traditional society (2000).

The theoretical underpinning of this section derives from a definition of self-respect which, according to Honneth (1992), develops out of the experience of being accepted as a member of a community with equal rights to all other members of that community and from an understanding of voice as a value (Couldry, 2010), which is connected to the concept of self-esteem. Being listened to fosters self-respect and self-esteem, both of which are essential not only for personal well-being, but also for professional lives. In their

professional lives, teachers gain a sense of solidarity from being equal partners in a community, and solidarity for Honneth is also a form of esteem. Lack of recognition for their voices is a form of disrespect that Amber, Bryony and Chloe show that they have experienced as new teachers when they claim that they are “at the bottom of the food chain” (Amber) or “the ones who are marginalised” (Chloe) or that “*there’s no consultation with us teachers*” (Bryony). They attribute the lack of recognition for their voices to the way school functions as a hierarchy. This raises the question for schools of how the structures of school hierarchy might need to change in order to recognise the right of new teachers and indeed all members of the community to have their voices recognised and create the solidarity which binds a community together. In the next and final chapter I draw together the main strands of my research project, and revisit my three research questions.

Chapter Five

Findings and Reflections

In addition to the four experiences illustrated in Chapter Four, other themes relating to recognition emerged out of my data. The themes of values, motivation and the notion of a humane and democratic school, shown in Figure 1 on page 24, were touched on only briefly in Chapter Four, so they are revisited in the first half of this final chapter. I then return to my research questions and discuss my findings in relation to each question. Of interest here are those ‘gems’ when I had felt a shock of surprise at what had been said in the interviews and the focus group (see p. 61). Smith (2011) suggests that these moments take the researcher out of the realm of their preconceptions and offer new insights, and this was indeed the case in my research. The way Chloe and Amber describe new teachers as being “marginalised” and “at the bottom of the food chain”, and Amber’s cry from the heart: *“I just don’t feel like I’m heard”*, proved to be pivotal moments in the research process and helped alter the course of my investigation away from the role of voice in the classroom towards an exploration of the lived experience of new teachers and their struggle to have their voices heard in the school as a whole.

Engagement with theories of voice and recognition in my research has allowed me to develop a clearer understanding of the ethical aspects of education. Dewey’s (1916) philosophy of education, Hart’s (1992, 2008) advocacy of the importance of young people’s participation in democracy through citizenship education and Couldry’s (2010) evaluation of the importance of being listened to as a form of social justice have all contributed to this understanding. Having applied the concepts of love and caring, respect, esteem, and solidarity to my data, I believe my assertion that Recognition Theory is a productive way of understanding the practices of school education in the 21st century has been validated. Because of its association of the human need for recognition with growth, well-being, freedom, equality and social justice, I suggest that Recognition Theory provides a framework which encompasses themes of

democracy, citizenship and voice within the categories of recognition at both a theoretical and a practical level.

By extension, the normative concepts of self-confidence, self-respect, self-esteem and solidarity in Honneth's Recognition Theory can act as ethical foundations on which democratic and humane schools can be built. The prerequisite for this, of course, is that teachers must be given the opportunity, the time and the space to engage with ethical theories of education, and they themselves must be made to feel that they matter (Fielding, 2001; Rudduck, 2004; Fielding & Moss, 2011).

The struggle for recognition as a vital human need, and the notion of misrecognition as a form of social injustice, have proven helpful in understanding the experiences of Amber, Bryony and Chloe. The title of my thesis '*Teacher Voice*' and the Struggle for Recognition – Investigating new teachers' experiences, values and practices in a school in special measures' refers not only to values but also to the context of a school in special measures, which suggests that the experience of becoming a teacher in a 'failing' school differs from that of starting out as a teacher in a 'good' or 'outstanding' school. When I met the three teachers in the summer of 2014, Daleswood School had come out of special measures, but our discussions indicated that the context of the school still presented the three teachers with particular challenges.

Working in a school in special measures: teacher morale and solidarity

In one of my meetings with the headteacher, Diana, she had talked about staff morale and the way that being in special measures had divided teachers into different factions who were not supportive of each other. The changes introduced at Daleswood after the 2012 inspection also seemed to some teachers to demand too much of them: "The teachers think I am against them. *That's not true, but I will always put the children first*". The experiences of teachers at Daleswood must therefore be seen against Diana's mission of making the school a place that first and foremost meets the needs of its students.

Chloe and Amber had started work at Daleswood in the autumn of 2012, so were aware that they were applying to a school in special measures, but Bryony

had joined the previous year, and had experienced the period before and after the failed inspection. Each of the three had taken a different route into teaching, indicative of the changing landscape of initial teacher training referred to in the Introduction. Furthermore, based on their prior experience, their values and their training, each has a particular and unique view of what schools, teaching, teachers and students are, or should be, like. What they have in common is the context in which they were starting out as teachers, though even here there are subtle differences which affect the way they make sense of their context.

The experience of Chloe and Amber, both of whom teach core subjects in the curriculum, is arguably different from that of teachers who, like Bryony, teach subjects such as media, and creative and performing arts. The value accorded to different subjects can easily affect the way students and parents approach GCSE and A-Level choices and this is something which Bryony can attest to, both as a student who was persuaded not to study Art at A-Level, and as a teacher, where to her dismay she sees talented students being encouraged to choose ‘academic’ rather than ‘creative’ subjects at GCSE.

There are nevertheless similarities in the way all three teachers view Daleswood School, which they attribute to its ‘this-ness’ (see Chapter Three). As Chloe remarks, her life as a teacher would have been very different at Oak School, the outstanding school where she had completed her induction year. In the focus group, the discussion moved from the impact of special measures, to morale, and then on to solidarity, a concept which leads back to Recognition Theory.

For Amber and Bryony, disruptive student behaviour coloured their first impressions of Daleswood. The need to improve behaviour was paramount, as Amber saw for herself on her first visit to the school, referring to the “chaos in the corridors”. She therefore readily accepted the pressure on teachers to make students “accountable for everything” through the consistent use of sanctions. During the focus group Amber recalled the advice that had been given to her when she started at Daleswood: “*Don’t go in and be nice teacher, favourite teacher, just go in and kick butt*” and there were murmurs of agreement from Bryony and Chloe when she added “*Basically, that’s all these kids need at the moment to get us out of special measures*”. In order to come out of special

measures, all three felt constrained by the need to “tick boxes” and “perform, perform, perform, perform” (Bryony).

Apart from the urgency of the expectations placed on teachers in the school and the immediate loss of esteem through being publicly named as a failing school, other effects of special measures are longer-lasting. Because student recruitment fell (see Chapter Three), the cohorts currently studying GCSE and A-Level courses are considerably smaller than in the past and this has meant that twelve more members of the teaching staff were made redundant in 2016, four years after the failed inspection. Amber’s comment is interesting here as she seems to assume that teachers were leaving voluntarily, which she interprets almost as a form of betrayal: “everybody jumped ship – and that was it”. All three reflect on the damage this causes to staff morale: “*There’s very low morale at the moment in the Maths Department – they’ve only got two members of staff in September, down from nine to two!*”

The discussion on morale continued, sparked by a comment that the Chief Inspector of Schools, Wilshaw, had made some two years earlier in 2012, which Chloe slightly misremembers as “*if there’s high morale teachers aren’t doing their job*”¹⁴. This led to lively expressions of disagreement not only with the comment itself but also with the way Ofsted operates. They all agreed that high teacher morale has a positive impact on student morale and encourages teacher collaboration and collegiality: “*When you’re happy you’re able to plan really fantastic schemes of work with your department, and it spreads, so high morale is really important*” (Bryony).

Amber contrasts the atmosphere in her department before and after a change of leadership: “*now we are so supportive of each other and we’re always helping each other out in any way we can*”. Chloe simply added: “**I love my department. I’d have left ages ago if it weren’t for my colleagues**”.

14. The actual comment as reported in The Guardian on 23 January 2012 was “A good head would never be loved by his or her staff”, he added: “If anyone says to you that ‘staff morale is at an all-time low’ you know you are doing something right” (www.theguardian.com/education/2012/jan/23/chief-inspector-schools-michael-wilshaw)

Collegiality, one of MacBeath's 'satisfiers' (see p. 6), can be interpreted as a form of solidarity. All three teachers have developed a strong sense of loyalty to the colleagues in their own department, yet all express some dissatisfaction at the lack of collaboration and cooperation across the school, turning once again to the theme of not being listened to and complaining about the lack of consultation with teachers.

Not all the experiences of coming out of special measures are negative, however. In addition to the solidarity in their departments, Amber, Bryony and Chloe have learnt a great deal about the practicalities of teaching and behaviour management. Although Amber talks about her shock on her first visit to Daleswood, two years later her pride in what the school has achieved and what she herself has learned through sharing good practice is all the greater: "All the *CPDs we've had of different things to implement here have just been absolutely fantastic*. ... I am very proud to be part of this process" (Amber).

Recognising student voice

There is little in the accounts of Amber, Bryony and Chloe on the theme of student voice. Yet all three had agreed to help me in my research in part through an interest in student voice. In the interviews they showed an incipient awareness of the importance of education in promoting social justice, but Bryony was the only one who had had personal experience of a school council during her own schooldays. She had attended student protest meetings and taken part in a sit-in demonstration, though she was on the sidelines, since the school council members tended to be the: "*more gregarious types that didn't mind speaking in front of other people*". Interestingly, Bryony is the only one of the three who linked teacher voice with the role of the teacher unions as a means of effecting change, even though she was disheartened at the lack of a unified front, which meant: "*you just feel like you're fighting a losing battle unless everybody gets up and puts their foot down*".

Amber and Chloe have a traditional understanding of student voice in terms of student councils and decision-making by majority vote. Chloe was unaware of the work of the student council at Daleswood, but had suggested to her form group that they should start a petition when they complained about the rule of wearing blazers at all times. Amber refers to the formal strategies in place for

students to be heard, such as the school council and the prefect system, but thinks that student voice is not listened to often enough and that the decisions made in the council are not “filtered down to the teachers”. Bryony agrees with this, but reminded the others of the time when school council members spoke at a staff meeting, which all agreed had been interesting and useful, though Chloe added: “*We don’t get much of it, do we?*” Bryony, however, regularly taps into student voice with her form group “if they are given the opportunity to give *their opinions on things, it’s really good, they really enjoy that and there’ll be a buzz of noise as they try to decide this and that*”. The general view expressed was that more consultation was needed with students, but Amber and Chloe tend to understand consultation as a formal process carried out by others rather than something they facilitate in their own classroom.

Values, motivation and rewards

In common with many other teachers, Amber, Bryony and Chloe have come into teaching with a set of values that includes their responsibility for caring for the students, but there was little indication of the reciprocal nature of mutual recognition between the three teachers and their students in the data I gathered, nor any sense that they expected it.

Meeting the children’s needs is a motivating force for Amber, Bryony and Chloe, and like Diana, they seem to put the students’ needs before their own. However, they tend to infer those needs, rather than finding out from the students what they themselves feel they need, and this means that their relationship with their students is not truly reciprocal in the sense of Noddings’ (2002) concept of ‘caring-for’. It is not clear from my data whether Amber, Bryony and Chloe feel recognised by their students, but they do feel rewarded when they are recognised as having ‘made a difference’. At the end of the focus group meeting, Chloe said apologetically: “*I feel like we’ve been grumpy and horrible. [Laughter]. Yeah, sorry! There’s loads of positive things. We make it sound like we don’t love our job.*” Amber and Bryony were quick to affirm that they did indeed love their jobs, interrupting each other in their eagerness to agree, and all three pointed out that any dissatisfaction they felt came from the hierarchical structures of schooling and from government policies and interventions, and not from their work with the children.

For Chloe, caring is a responsibility she takes very seriously. Her concept of caring centres on the need to prepare her students for future life, and her way of achieving this is to encourage them to love learning and to provide them with a good all-round education which promotes their ability to work with others as a team. She enjoys having a joke with her students and takes great pleasure in their company. Other rewards for Chloe are her delight when her EAL students achieve against the odds, or when a disaffected teenage boy becomes actively engaged in her lesson. She is troubled by the apathy of those students who are “not bothered” about achieving good results, but this has led her to question her previous views on the recognition accorded to different subjects by the government, universities and employers. Chloe is becoming aware of the injustice done to students who do not achieve in ‘academic’ subjects and who, as mentioned earlier, are therefore often regarded as failures (see p.99). She expresses frustration at the lack of a level playing field for the children from the catchment area of Daleswood School. She is also unhappy that teachers lack the time and energy for the extra-curricular activities which Chloe sees as essential if all students are to gain some form of recognition.

Bryony was the one who struggled most with the mismatch between her ideals of a child-centred education and the demands of working in a school in special measures. Her ideal of listening to children and allowing them to develop their autonomy and creativity is thwarted by poor behaviour and the need to ‘perform’ in terms of behaviour management and measurable outcomes. Nevertheless, she tries to address the issues that matter to her in order to turn around children’s lack of self-esteem and self-confidence and their apathy towards education. For example, she encouraged her tutor group to enter a national writing competition. When they said they would stand no chance against “some kid from a grammar school” Bryony responded by having: “a long conversation about why they thought they were different, why do they think their brains are different, what was stopping them from trying” and this did motivate some students to enter the contest. Bryony also gains recognition when she has helped a child to achieve their dreams:

I’ll never forget one girl in particular. She came running up to me: ‘Miss, I’m so happy to see you, I’ve got a place at [prestigious School of Art] and I’m so pleased that I got in’. It’s

just so nice when you can see them setting out along a path that you've helped foster their enjoyment in.

While Chloe interprets caring for her students as a form of responsibility, Amber feels she is “accountable” for ensuring that her students’ behaviour is acceptable and that her lessons allow students to “access learning”. Amber is driven by the desire to do what is right by her students, expressed in her wish “to be able do everything for my kids” (see p.83). She infers students’ need to develop self-discipline and pride in themselves and believes that by showing her students the boundaries of what is acceptable behaviour they will develop autonomy. She accepts without question her duty of care for her students and measures herself against Ofsted criteria for outstanding teaching by systematically reviewing her lessons at the end of the day and reflecting on how to help students with their learning. Amber’s rewards are the esteem she gains when parents recognise that she is doing a good job:

This year at parents’ evenings, the parents of kids I taught last year would come over, a big hug: ‘So nice to see you’re still here!!’ ‘How was your first year?’ and when I tell them about my journey, they’re like: ‘I didn’t know you grew up on a rough estate like ours – we’d never guess now looking at you, I bet your Mum’s so proud!’

The three research questions – findings and evaluation

Accounts of teachers talking about real experiences have the potential to personalise and humanise the issues that arise in the life of the classroom or the school (Elbaz, 1991). The vicarious experience provided by listening to the voices of others or reading accounts of their experience can bring about critical reflection which leads to solidarity (ibid.). This is related to the first of my three research questions: What is the experience of becoming a teacher like for the three new teachers in this study? The formulation of this question reflects the influence of interpretative phenomenological analysis in which the researcher’s task is to create a sympathetic account which allows the reader to empathise with the participants.

Mindful of Ashby's (2011) remark that it is often the researcher who benefits more from research than the participants and of Denzin's criticism that many researchers drown out the voices of their participants (1995), it was my aim for the voices of the three teachers to be heard through the use of verbatim quotations. While it is indeed the case that as a researcher I am using those stories for the purposes of my thesis, I have tried to show that Amber, Bryony and Chloe are real people talking about real experiences, who deserve the solidarity that comes from a sympathetic response to their opinions and actions. My aim has been to create what Denzin (1995, p.323) calls "user-friendly" texts that allow the reader to enter the world of the participant. I believe interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) has been an appropriate way of presenting lived experience in that it offers the reader the opportunity to reflect on what the experiences mean, perhaps challenging the interpretation of the researcher. The stories of experience related in the focus group and interviews show that in many ways the experience of working as a new teacher in a failing school can be regarded as a struggle for recognition. Analysing those stories using Honneth's reworking of the Hegelian categories of love, right and esteem relates to my second research question, which is concerned with the application of theory to practice: '*Do the categories of Honneth's Recognition Theory* (love, respect, esteem and solidarity) enrich our understanding of the experiences of the three teachers in such a way that their experiences can be generalised beyond the context of their own school community?'

While the experience of working in a school in special measures, as related by Amber, Bryony and Chloe, shows that the induction period for new teachers in a 'failing' school is different from that of teachers in 'good' or 'outstanding' schools, many of the themes that emerged in my data in relation to the second research question do show similarities with the experiences of other new teachers reported in the literature (see p.19). Interpreting the challenges the Amber, Bryony and Chloe faced through the concepts of self-confidence, self-respect, self-esteem and solidarity suggests that these experiences can be understood at a more general level. Most strikingly, my data have shown that the new teachers in my study all feel that their voices carry little weight in the school hierarchy and that their experience and their views are not valued. This runs counter to the common assumption that the asymmetrical power relations

between teachers and students that are the norm in the school hierarchy mean that teachers' voices are "immensely more powerful" than students (Fielding, 2004, p.309). My findings suggest rather that the school hierarchy also misrecognises the voice of some teachers, a finding similar to that in Lynch & Lodge's (2002) report on equality and power in Irish schools (see p.41).

Given that the current system of putting a school in special measures almost inevitably leads to disrespect towards and misrecognition of the teachers working in 'failing' schools, and based on the experiences recounted by Amber, Bryony and Chloe, a further inference from my study is that a more humane way of addressing the problem of schools that are judged to be failing in England should be found. As MacBeath (2012) points out (see page 19) teachers like Amber, Bryony and Chloe are doing their best in difficult circumstances, and therefore deserve recognition for this, a position that is supported by my data.

The final research question asks: To what extent do the empirical findings of this study confirm the assertion that the normative concepts of Recognition Theory are capable of promoting a more humane and democratic form of education in schools? It is a question to which there can be no definitive answer. There is, however, much in the idiographic accounts of Amber, Bryony and Chloe to suggest that the hierarchical nature of schooling in England is not conducive to the vision of a democratic and humane school. The hierarchy they describe leads to a lack of recognition not only of teachers' voices, but also of students' voices.

Amber, Bryony and Chloe tend to express the purposes of education in broad terms of 'making a difference', a phrase also used by the Department for Education with respect to the role of teachers (DfE, 2015). When Amber defines what she sees as the aims of education, the terms she uses are reminiscent of the different functions of schooling Klafki (2002) identifies (see p.4):

We want our students to contribute to the economy, to be good citizens who contribute to their communities, just generally to be nice, well-rounded individuals – in an ideal world of course.

While notions of democracy and equality may be latent in her phrase “good citizens”, they are not made explicit and there is no clear understanding of how Amber’s vision might be achieved. As a result of my research, I believe that a working knowledge of Recognition Theory would have the potential to help teachers develop their understanding of recognition as an effective way of helping young people become ‘good citizens’.

In the Introduction, I stated that one aim of this thesis was to provide theoretical and practical support for my assertion that Recognition Theory is a productive way of understanding the practices of school education that can lead to change (see p.14). Relevant to this is Carr’s (1995b) claim that educational theory is not just an applied theory but a critical one, which can transform practice by improving the way practice is experienced and understood through reflexive thought on the values and concepts which underpin everyday educational practice. Given that the purpose of Critical Theory is to bring about change, what, then, are the implications of my findings?

I believe my thesis opens up a number of avenues which merit further investigation, not only in the academy but also in schools and initial teacher training. Whereas my small-scale study based on the experiences of three new teachers has shown that the concepts of recognition can add to our understanding of life in schools, there is considerable scope for research projects on a much broader scale. While my research focuses on teachers’ lives, Amber’s experience of being a student in a failing school also indicates that everyday practices of misrecognition, such as not being listened to, can have a long-lasting impact on a person’s sense of self-worth. A large-scale project on the lines of the Australian survey into student well-being referred to on page 40 could well provide similar findings on the importance of recognition and misrecognition in the student experience of school education in the UK.

Given the current teacher recruitment and retention problems facing schools in England (see p.18), it would also be fruitful to investigate the experience of other new teachers in different types of school, as well as teachers at different stages of their careers. Investigating their experiences of being recognised or misrecognised within their school communities, and in the wider community, would provide insights into what might need to change in order to retain new

teachers in the profession, as well as offer the opportunity for sharing good practice.

It has been noted that Recognition Theory is not widely-known in the field of education (Murphy, 2010) and most teaching professionals will not be familiar with its substance. There is therefore scope for relevant sections of my study which illustrate the concepts of Recognition Theory to be published in journals and other media whose main target audience consists of teachers and teacher educators in initial teacher education and professional development.

Final thoughts

As a result of my research, I believe that Recognition Theory has the power to contribute to an understanding of how the vision of a humane and democratic school (see p.5) could be put into practice. Recognition is both a vital human need and a means of achieving a form of social justice which incorporates the “maintenance of an intact form of life” (Honneth, 2006, n.pag.). This intact form of life is one which incorporates the notion of personal fulfilment and can thus give the phrase ‘making a difference’ a more precise meaning, since personal fulfilment refers to a young person’s own aims in life, something which Chloe had referred to as a factor often overlooked by teachers (see p.87).

For teachers, the concepts of recognition and misrecognition are consonant with the satisfiers and dissatisfiers MacBeath identifies (see p.6). With respect to students’ experience of school, there are similar links between Recognition Theory and the normative, ethical functions of schooling Klafki defines (see p. 4), which underpin the notion of a humane and democratic school, one of the strands that make up my thesis. Recognition is also relevant to the kind of citizenship education which promotes young people’s participation in the life of the community (Hart, 1992; QCA, 1998). Recognition Theory could thus also provide an effective foundation for the Department for Education’s (2014) SMSC programme of promoting spiritual, moral, social and cultural development in schools (see p. 36).

Critical Theory aspires to bridge the gap between theory and practice.

Understanding recognition as a vital human need means that those who work and learn in schools have a legitimate expectation of being treated with “reciprocity, recognition and respect” (Thomson, 2011, p.21). These new ‘three

Rs' might well come to represent the essence of recognition theory in the field of education, given the similarities and overlap between these concepts and values which are already well-established in the field of education, as has already been noted on page 36. However, while Thomson's three Rs could provide an easily memorable way into the theory there is a danger that recognition might merely become the latest 'buzz word' in education, popular for a short time but then discarded before it has had time to become firmly embedded. This could be avoided if teachers' practices were rooted in a theoretical understanding of the relationship of education to ethical values. The decline of philosophy of education in initial teacher education referred to earlier would therefore need to be reversed if new teachers are to develop an informed understanding of educational ethics which would allow them to critically review not only their own practice but also government policies on education. In the same way that Couldry (2010) argues that in neo-liberal societies we are living with a crisis of voice, the neo-liberal principles of the market economy have created a society in which there is arguably also a crisis of recognition. In an article entitled 'Post-democracy? Degeneration. The Struggle for Recognition in the Early 21st Century'¹⁵, Honneth identifies the degeneration of civic and democratic norms in current Western capitalist societies:

Social conflict arises when the promise of recognition is violated. Today social conflict has degenerated because the struggle for recognition has lost sight of its moral foundations (2011b, p.37).

In this article Honneth paints a bleak picture of 21st century society in which esteem is increasingly granted according to the level of one's income, inequality is reflected in the lack of a level playing field in education and it is becoming more difficult to access recognition in the three spheres of the family, legal rights and the economy (ibid.). There is a sense of disillusionment in his description of 21st century society, which is echoed by McLaren (2015). Throughout his writings, McLaren has been committed to the role of education in transforming those structures in society that reproduce inequality, driven by

15. German title: Postdemokratie? Verwilderungen. Kampf um Anerkennung im frühen 21. Jahrhundert

an ideal of a truly just and democratic society. Yet reflecting on his life's work in a postscript to the most recent edition of *Life in Schools*, even McLaren (2015) admits "I cannot be a part of a collective delusion that social justice will win in the end. It may well not" (p.261).

In the face of the hegemony of neo-liberal ideology, my third research question of how Recognition Theory might contribute to the process of social change needed to develop a more humane and democratic form of education is therefore almost impossible to answer without falling into the trap of simply reiterating utopian visions of the past. Utopian visions of a more just and more democratic world are not in short supply, but the task of achieving a "real utopia" (Fielding & Moss, 2011, p.1) is not to be underestimated.

One answer would be to subject government policies to the immanent critique of Critical Theory, policies such as those relating to the role of schools in promoting "fundamental British values of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect" (DfE, 2014a, p.5), in order to ascertain whether those policies are effective in achieving their stated aims.

A second answer is to re-ignite the informed public debate on the ends and means of education that Fielding (2008) calls for, both in the public sphere and within schools. It is forty years since Callaghan launched his Great Debate at Ruskin College and twenty since Blair gave his Ruskin lecture on education (see p. 44). Twenty years further on, it is time for the next great debate. However, the relationship between society, democracy and education is a contested one and there is no guarantee that such a debate would bring about consensus or lead to change in schools. In their report on power and equality in schools in Ireland Lynch & Lodge (2002) point out that:

while inequalities may be reproduced in the education site
they are also reproduced and generated in the fields of
economic, socio-cultural and political relations outside of
school. School is a major player in the inequality game but by
no means the only one (p.197).

Although Hericks (2009) agrees that in the long term what is needed is an ongoing professional conversation about the goals and forms of a good education, he also argues that an individual teacher in the classroom can do

much towards creating a positive school culture, and he sees a role for Recognition Theory in this process. A third answer is therefore that individual teachers or individual schools themselves could decide to make incremental changes based on the principles of Recognition Theory with the aim of creating a whole school culture based on reciprocity, recognition and respect. The everyday praxis of mutual recognition would also make space for new teachers' voices to be heard and for them to be recognised as valued members of the school community.

Arguably, we are living not only in a neo-liberal 'age of measurement' (Biesta, 2010), in which there is a 'crisis of voice' Couldry (2010), but also in age characterized by a crisis of recognition (Honneth, 2011b). Couldry (2010) cites the economist Milton Friedman to the effect that change only comes at times of major crisis, and when those times come: "the actions that are taken depend on the ideas lying around" (Friedman, M., 1962, *Capitalism and Freedom*, p.xiv, quoted in Couldry, 2010, p. vi). Couldry therefore concludes that our task as researchers is to keep ideas of democracy and social justice alive.

In this thesis, I have followed Honneth in arguing that reciprocal recognition is an essential human need and an essential component of just and democratic societies. In conjunction with interpretative phenomenological analysis, it is also a means of critically evaluating lived experience. Extended to include Noddings' ethics of care, Recognition Theory also justifies and theorises the values that teachers already hold, while at the same time suggesting that those values can be achieved through everyday acts of recognition.

In the field of education, Dewey made it his life work to keep the idea of democracy alive by promoting democracy as something that must be "constantly discovered and rediscovered, remade and reorganized" (Dewey, 1937, p.182). My empirical investigation into the stories of recognition and misrecognition told by Amber, Bryony and Chloe, who have set out on their professional lives as teachers in a school in special measures, demonstrates that Recognition Theory also has much to offer education. In concluding this thesis, I therefore submit that Recognition Theory is an idea worthy of being kept alive.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Relationship and overlap between roles of consultant and researcher

Consultant	Overlap	Researcher
Becoming familiar with the school and the school context	Ethical concerns as friend of headteacher	Getting to know the teachers
Working alongside senior leadership supporting policy development	My role as expert or as learner	Listening to teachers, also as a “critical friend” if required
Providing CPD to support school development	Impact of CPD on research process and/or school practice	Creating conditions for recruiting volunteers
Conversations with headteacher and leadership team	ethical dilemma of insider knowledge	Hearing the teachers’ point of view
Working with Assistant Head and Student Council to improve effectiveness and visibility	Student expectations of my role. Assistant Head’s expectations of my role. Limitations of my role	Hearing the students’ point of view
Reports to headteacher	Self-reflection	field notes
Formal and informal meetings with students and staff, formal and informal observations.	Voice – who is speaking who is listening	Highlighting issues of teacher voice and student voice with participants
Audits and coaching	Reflexivity	Data collection and analysis

Appendix B Letter to Headteacher of Daleswood School

November 2013

Dear Diana

Thank you for agreeing to allow me to undertake a research project for my doctoral thesis at Daleswood School.

I just want to confirm the details of our recent phone conversation and to give you some additional information. You already have a copy of my research proposal, which has been approved by the Doctorate of Education Programme Committee at Canterbury Christ Church University.

We agreed that you would facilitate access to relevant groups in your school, particularly new teachers, so that I can explain my project to them. We are clear that teachers' participation should be voluntary and they should not feel pressurised into taking part. I attach the introductory leaflet that I propose to give to interested members of your teaching staff.

In addition, you have allowed me access to school documents which outline the school's policy on student voice initiatives and student leadership and your plans for developing this area. We also agreed that there may well be some scope to work with existing policy development groups, and with the student council, but that my role would be clearly defined as that of a volunteer "critical friend" and not as a paid consultant, to avoid any conflict of interests. We also discussed the idea of a "student voice audit" to help evaluate current practice at Daleswood School, which would not be part of my research project but which might provide useful insights for you and your senior leadership team.

The ideal time to start my research project would be the beginning of the Spring Term, but this is subject to Canterbury Christ Church University's approval of the Ethics Review Committee. This is to safeguard all members of your school community and I attach a copy of the form, which may need amending in the light of feedback from the Committee. As discussed, I would be in contact with the school over a full year and would like to hold interviews and/or focus group discussions, each session lasting about one hour. The times would be negotiated with the participating teachers but would probably be after school and, with your permission, take place on the school premises. Any meetings with student council members would not take them out of timetabled lessons and would ideally take place as part of their regular council meetings.

A central part of the Ethics Review process is the assurance of confidentiality for the participants, which means that in my written dissertation neither they nor the school will be identifiable. It also means that I will not be able to divulge individual details of the content of discussions to you, but I will endeavour to keep you up to date with the progress of the project without contravening the requirements of the Ethics Review.

Thank you again for agreeing to support my project and please pass on my thanks to the board of governors.

With all best wishes

Appendix C

Daleswood School CPD Session on Student Engagement ("Student Voice")
Wednesday 14 May 2014

Programme

Starter activity: What do we associate with "student voice"?	5 minutes
Starter, introductions and rationale	10 minutes
Audit of current practice	15 minutes
Priorities and next steps	20 minutes
Introduction to my research project A beginner's guide to consulting students on teaching and learning	5 minutes
Summary and feedback on the session	5 minutes
Tips for novices	optional extra

Appendix C cont.

Daleswood School 14 May 2014 - Opportunities for student engagement
Which of the following aspects of school life are students consulted on or actively engaged in?

1 = always; 2 = sometimes, in some places; 3 = not as far as I know

	Our students play an active role in	1 -3
1.	formulating rules and regulations	
2.	organising social activities (eg dance shows, charity fundraising events)	
3.	writing the school mission statement	
4.	preparing the school prospectus	
5.	creating displays	
6.	choosing furniture and colour schemes	
7.	deciding on classroom layout	
8.	caring for school environment (green spaces, classrooms, litter, recycling)	
9.	deciding where to sit in class	
10.	deciding who to work with in class	
11.	choosing textbooks and other teaching materials	
12.	deciding on lesson content	
13.	giving regular feedback to teachers on teaching and learning	
14.	deciding on rewards and punishment	
15.	deciding when (or whether!) home learning should be done	
16.	choice of homework task	
17.	suggesting enrichment activities	
18.	school uniform	
19.	food and drink in canteen	
20.	other:	
	Total	

Extension activity 1: add other aspects of school life which you think should be on the list

Extension activity 2: tick in the right hand column those things which you think should be a priority for your school, put a cross next to those items which you do not think are appropriate at the moment

(List adapted from Michael Fielding)

Appendix C cont.

Daleswood School ~ Action Plan ~ Consulting with Students on Teaching and Learning Discussion Activity

Current practice

1. What do you do already?
2. How could what you do already be improved?
3. What new practices could you introduce?
4. What old practices could you discard?

Planning for change

5. What do you plan to do?
6. Who will be involved?
7. What support/training/resources will you need?
8. What will be your timescale?
9. What milestones will you expect?
10. How will you evaluate success (methods/criteria)?

Appendix D Information sheet for adult participants



“Teacher voice” – “Student voice”: Investigating new teachers’ values and practices on teaching and learning

A research project

January 2014 – December 2014

Information for teachers at Daleswood School

This leaflet is to tell you about my research project and to ask you to consider taking part in a focus group and interview

Key points

This research is being undertaken as part of a Doctorate of Education and will form the basis of the thesis.

The aim of the research is to explore how new teachers’ values regarding student voice initiatives (for example consulting with students about teaching and learning) are shaped and put into practice in the early years of teaching.

Participants will ideally be completing their induction year, or their initial teacher training, or be in their second or third year of teaching.

There are no guaranteed benefits to participants but hopefully you will find the sessions enjoyable and potentially useful – perhaps some of the discussions might help you clarify your ideas about “student voice” or give you space to reflect on your values as a teacher.

Participation is voluntary and procedures will be in place to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. There will be one focus group discussion and one or two individual interviews each which will last about one hour.

If you are interested in taking part, please continue reading and then get in in touch by email or phone. My contact details are: XXX

Appendix D Information sheet for adult participants cont.

The researcher

My name is Gillian Smith. I have been a teacher of French and German in state secondary schools in England and a Head of Sixth Form, when I also taught General Studies and Critical Thinking, and an Assistant Principal in a school in London. Since retiring in 2010 I have worked as an educational consultant. In that role I have visited Daleswood School a number of times and have met some of the staff, students and governors. Since 2011, I have been a postgraduate student on the Doctorate of Education programme at Canterbury Christ Church University. I am grateful to the headteacher and the school governors at Daleswood School for supporting my research project and giving me the opportunity to approach you to ask for your help.

Purpose of the project

I want to investigate what teachers, especially new teachers, understand by the term “student voice” – which I myself tend to use as an umbrella term for all kinds of democratic practices in schools. The main focus will be the value new teachers place on initiatives such as consulting with students about teaching and learning in the classroom and how this links in with their views concerning the aims of education. Furthermore, what has shaped new teachers’ views and values – for example what they experienced during their own schooldays and how their teacher training shaped their views and practices. Narratives of the experiences of new teachers will be at the heart of my thesis, and the potential readership consists of other teachers interested in reflecting on the values and practices inherent in the teaching profession.

Who can participate in this project?

I am hoping to recruit a small number of new teachers who are completing their initial teacher training, their induction year, or who are in their second or third year of teaching. Members of the senior team will also be asked to support the project by providing background information on school policy. The student council will also be invited to get involved in the project.

Procedures during the research

I will be using interviews and a focus group discussion and aim to include some of the creative techniques that I used as a modern language teacher to get people talking, such as ranking and sorting tasks, pictures and cue cards, which can be more fun and more enlightening than traditional interviews. I am very aware of the many demands on teachers’ time and do not want to overburden you, but I do hope to meet with you two or three times, with each session lasting about an hour. The interviews and discussions will be recorded and together with my notes will form part of the data for my doctoral thesis. The recordings will be transcribed and extracts from your ‘stories’ will be summarised in narrative form. Direct quotes from the transcripts will be used, but all this will be written up anonymously, so that readers of the thesis or any extracts from it published elsewhere (e.g. in an academic journal) would find it hard to identify you or the school.

Appendix D Information sheet for adult participants cont.

Will doing the research help you?

There are no guaranteed benefits to those taking part in this research. However, I hope you will find the sessions enjoyable and potentially useful. It might be that some of the discussions help you clarify your ideas about “student voice” or give you space to reflect on your values and identify any tensions between your values and the multiple and often conflicting demands made of teachers nowadays. Participation might also provide part of your evidence of meeting some aspects of the teachers’ standards or the requirements of your ITT course or induction year. If you are taking part in one of the existing school focus groups such as the XXX Group, then your thoughts might influence the development of school or departmental policy. Should you wish to set up a small “action research” project with your own students, I would be very happy to support you in this.

Feedback to participants

The final thesis will be available in the university library at Canterbury Christ Church University. Participants are also welcome to an electronic copy. Please let me know if you would like one.

Sample topics include:

- your reasons for becoming a teacher
- your experiences since becoming a teacher
- your teacher training course and how well prepared you felt for life as a teacher
- what you understand by the term “student voice” and “teacher voice”
- whether you experienced or took part in student voice initiatives when you yourself were at school and how this has shaped your views and values as a teacher
- what value you place on democratic practices in the classroom and the school

Taking part

Participation is voluntary. Even if you initially decide you want to take part, you can drop out at any time during the project, by telling me directly, or letting my supervisor at the university know. During the discussions/interviews you are also free to decide not to answer a question or take part in a particular discussion activity. If you have any concerns or complaints about the way I run the research project, then please either let me know directly or get in touch with my supervisor or your headteacher. I will ask you to sign a consent form confirming that you wish to take part and that you understand the aims of the research and how it will be carried out.

Potential sensitive topics

My research seeks to explore - in a non-judgemental way - participants' views, opinions and values and how these affect practice and the usual rules of group discussions (e.g. showing respect for the views of others, being a good listener) apply. However, talking about personal experiences of school, both as a student and as a teacher, might include some sensitive topics. For example, it can sometimes be a challenge if you feel that your views are not shared by the researcher or by other group discussion members. So if you feel in any way uncomfortable with a topic, then you have the right to break off the discussion or move it to an area you feel more comfortable with.

Appendix D Information sheet for adult participants cont.

Confidentiality - Who will know that you are taking part in the research?

The headteacher and the governors have given permission for me to approach you, and they support this research project. Some members of the senior team and, if you are an NQT, your mentor will also know you are taking part. If you take part in group discussions then obviously the other members of the discussion group will know.

In group discussions I will make it clear to all members of discussion groups that the meetings are confidential and that each participant, including myself, is expected to respect the opinions and privacy of others. I myself will not be “reporting back” to the headteacher, your line manager or the school governors on what individual teachers have said. An exception to this confidentiality is if the discussion takes place as part of a minuted school meeting such as staff meetings or departmental meetings, when the usual school procedures for disseminating information will apply. However, within your school, it is possible that other members of the school community will hear ‘on the grapevine’ that you are taking part and ask you about it, as the topic is one which interests many teachers. If so you may choose to talk to your colleagues or students about your part in the project, while always respecting the privacy of others.

The interviews and discussions will be recorded and kept securely in a place not accessible to the public.

The project has been reviewed by the Education Faculty Research Ethics Committee at Canterbury Christ Church University.

Appendix E Adult Research Participant's Consent Form



Adult Research Participant's Consent Form

Name of Researcher: Gillian Smith

Title of Project: "Teacher voice" – "Student voice": Investigating new teachers' values and practices students on teaching and learning

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the project description for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time. If I withdraw from the study I may ask that any data provided by me as an individual should not be included in the report
3. I understand that any personal information that I provide will be kept strictly confidential
4. I further understand that
 - interviews and group discussions will be audio-recorded, and relevant extracts of the transcript notes will be used in the doctoral thesis and any other publication arising from the research
 - participants will be referred to by a pseudonym in all publications
 - participants are required to respect the confidential nature of the contributions others make to group discussions unless explicit permission has been given by other participants for disclosure

I agree to take part in the above study

Participant

First Name Family Name

Please choose one or more of the following as a means of contacting you:

() School Email:@XXX.org.uk

() Home Email:

() Mobile phone:

() School phone: XXX Extension:

() Home phone

Participant

signature.....**Date:**.....

Researcher: Gillian Smith

Signature:

Date: 21 May 2014

Email: XXX

Telephone: Home XXX

Mobile XXX

Copies: 1 for participant; 1 for researcher

Appendix F

Focus Group Guidelines for focus group session

Discussion Guidelines

We will be talking in the focus group about personal experiences and opinions on the notion of values in education and how students and teachers do or do not have agency in shaping their educational lives.

Your opinions are important, there are no right or wrong answers and your views may be different from others in the group.

I will be recording the discussion and making notes in order to remember what is said, but the conversation is confidential. When transcribed there will be no reference to your real name.

I'd like to remind you about the need for keeping our discussions today confidential. Let me remind you as well that you may choose not to answer any questions which make you feel uncomfortable. Also, your participation is voluntary, which means you are free to leave the project at any time.

Some "group discussion" requests:

- Please speak up so that everyone, including the recording device, can hear you.
- Preferably only one speaker at a time – please take turns.
- Please listen carefully and show respect for the views of others.
- Make yourselves comfortable – I hope you will find the session interesting and enjoyable.

Appendix G

Focus Group Ice-breaker activity: Diamond Nine ranking task

Statements on Diamond Nine cards

1. The aim of education is the knowledge not of facts but of values
2. Education is a process of living and not a preparation for future living
3. The object of education is to prepare the young to educate themselves throughout their lives
4. The goal of education is the advancement of knowledge and the dissemination of truth
5. The function of education is to teach one to think intensively and to think critically. Intelligence plus character - that is the goal of true education
6. Schools should ensure that all students are learning and are reaching their highest potential
7. We want schools to prepare children to become good citizens and members of a prosperous economy
8. The ultimate end of education is happiness and a good human life
9. Education is about creating employable individuals as well as good exam results

Provenance of the statements (some of which have been slightly adapted)

1. William Ralph Inge
2. John Dewey
3. Robert M. Hutchins
4. John F. Kennedy
5. Martin Luther King, Jr.
6. Estyn
7. Bill Gates
8. Mortimer Adler
9. City & Guilds

Appendix H Discussion Guidelines and Cue Cards

1. Discussion Guidelines (5 minutes)

- We will be talking today about our personal experiences and opinions around the notion of values in education and how students and teachers do or do not have agency in shaping their educational lives.
- Your opinions are important, there are no right or wrong answers and your views may be different from others in the group.
- I will be recording the discussion and making notes in order to remember what is said, but the conversation is confidential. When transcribed there will be no reference to your real name.
- I'd like to remind you about the need for keeping our discussions today confidential. Let me remind you as well that you may choose not to answer any questions which make you feel uncomfortable. Also, your participation is a voluntary, which means you are free to leave the project at any time.

Some “group discussion” requests:

1. Please speak up so that everyone, including the recording device, can hear you.
2. Preferably only one speaker at a time – please take turns.
3. Please listen carefully and show respect for the views of others.
4. Make yourselves comfortable – I hope you will find the session interesting and enjoyable.

2. Topics (50 minutes)

Activity 1 Ranking task (5 minutes) and discussion (10 minutes)

Purposes of education – current debate (Times articles) “I just want the best for my students – I don't care what Ofsted says”

Activity 2 Concepts Lucky Dip (20 minutes)

One teacher picks an envelope with a chocolate and a cue card, starts the discussion on what it means to him or her then opens up to general brainstorming session. 3 minutes max per concept

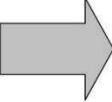
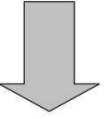
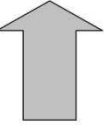
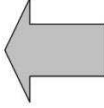
1. Democratic education – Can schools like Daleswood be truly democratic?
2. Aiming for good and outstanding – At Daleswood what do teachers and students need to do to be judged good or outstanding in all Ofsted categories at the next inspection?
3. Coming out of special measures – What have teachers and students had to do/change to come out of special measures?
4. Student voice: How is student voice articulated, heard and acted on here?
5. Teacher voice: How is teacher voice articulated, heard and acted on here?
6. Ethos of Daleswood: How would you describe the ethos and mission the school?

Activity 3 Tell us about... (a board game with dice and figures)

3. Conclusion (5-10 minutes)

- feedback on session
- reminder of confidentiality
- arrangements for next meetings
- thanks

Appendix I Focus Group Task 3

START 	<i>Discussing teaching and learning with students</i>	<i>Staff Meetings and CPD</i>	<i>Students' attitudes to learning at Daleswood</i>	<i>Coming out of special measures</i>	<i>League tables and target setting</i>	
<i>What you don't enjoy about being a teacher</i>		TELL	US	ABOUT		<i>What you enjoy about being a teacher</i>
	<i>Working together</i>	<i>The current politics of education</i>	<i>Lesson observations, Ofsted, performance management</i>	<i>Form reps and school council at Daleswood</i>	<i>Students giving feedback to teachers on teaching and learning</i>	

Appendix J

Interview schedule for semi-structured interviews

Schooldays

1. How would you describe the secondary school you attended? What were the relationships between teachers and students like?
2. What opportunities were there for students to become involved in things like form reps and a student council? Were you involved in any student voice/student consultation initiatives? Why/why not? Do you think the voice of students was taken seriously? What influence did student voice have in the school, if any? What was your view of those students who did/didn't become reps or prefects?
3. Did teachers involve students in decision making in the classroom – for example about what tasks you would do, or in what order, or a choice of activity, or seating arrangements or working in groups with a partner? How did you feel about that?
4. Did students try to have an influence on those things? Did you personally feel that you were listened to and taken seriously as a student? If not, did that bother you at all?
5. Can you give some examples of what the best teachers did? And what about those who were not so good? Do you find yourself teaching or behaving in the same way at all?
6. In what ways did teachers discuss teaching and learning with you? (eg how to learn, what was going well in the course and what wasn't). Do you think there should have been more discussion on this?
7. Were there any teachers who were role models for you? Are any of their values and behaviour and teaching style reflected in your ideas of what a good teacher should be or do?

Training

1. When did you first start to consider becoming a teacher? What were your reasons?
2. What is your personal "philosophy of education" (child-centred, traditional, instrumental) ? What principles do you apply to discipline and behaviour management (eg "don't smile before Christmas")?
3. How were you prepared for the task of building relationship with students? How important is it for you to build up good relationships with students and how would you describe a good relationship?
4. Did your training course focus equally on theoretical and practical aspects of teaching?
 5. Did you learn anything about student voice initiatives when you were training? If yes, in how much depth?
6. What about topics like AfL, reflective practice, co-construction of learning, activity learning, learning by experience etc., were things like that covered at all?
7. How well prepared did you feel at the end of your training?

Appendix J cont.

Teaching

1. What did it feel like when you first stepped into a classroom as a teacher?
2. People often talk about “surviving” the first year of teaching – was survival how it felt to you?
3. How would you describe your teaching style when you first started teaching? In what ways has the way you teach changed since then?
4. When you think of why you became a teacher, to what extent have you been able to achieve your aims?
5. Have your values regarding the purposes of education changed in any way? To what extent are you able to put your values into practice?

Consulting students

1. What values underpin the way you shape your career, your classroom practice, your relationships with students their parents; your colleagues?
2. Describe the kind of teacher you would like to be in relation to consulting with students on all aspects of teaching and learning? How close are you to that? To what extent do you help or show learners how to learn – can you give some examples? How do or how could you create a dialogue with students about teaching and learning?
3. What is your view of the power relationship between students and teachers? Can you be a figure of authority and yet share power with your students? Is it possible or desirable to introduce democratic practices into your teaching routine? What about respect: - students for teachers and vice versa?
4. How do you develop a culture where learning is valued and even enjoyed (cf reports into underachievement of white working class from families where education is not valued). How do you break that circle?
5. Being a form tutor – how important is it to you and how is the role different from your teaching role?
6. How do you view student voice initiatives like students as researchers, form reps, etc. Can classrooms be democratic places?
7. Assuming that most students have not yet developed autonomy as learners, how can you promote that autonomy. Or is spoonfeeding for exam success unavoidable? Does engaging student voice in the process of teaching and learning have any part in increasing autonomy?
8. What in the terms of school structure and the structure of the English educational system might support or hinder you from doing that?
9. Is there a clash between what you are expected to do (by the school, by the education system) and your personal values? How do you come to terms with that? To what extent do you feel you can put your values into practice?

Teacher Voice

1. Is the voice of the teacher neglected?
2. To what extent do you think that teachers can be change agents?
3. What keeps you going as a teacher? What are the most rewarding aspects? What are those things that make you want to chuck it all in and choose a nice desk job?

Appendix K - Sample Sheet of template analysis

Chloe Template Love

1. Love of school

1.1 Love of learning

- 1.1.1 Independent learning
- 1.1.2 Traditional teaching methods as an aid to learning
- 1.1.3 Focus on achieving good grades
- 1.1.4 Intelligence valued
- 1.1.5 Motivation

1.2 Love of school

- 1.2.1 Friendships
- 1.2.2 Participation

Teamwork and collaboration

Teamwork and competition

1.3 Extra-curricular

- 1.3.1 All-round achievers
- 1.3.2 Emancipation within bounds
- 1.3.4. Preparation for life

2.1 Student – Teacher Relationships Caring

- 2.1.1. caring-for
- 2.1.2 caring-about
- 2.1.3 love
- 2.1.4 inferred and expressed needs
- 2.1.5 responsibility

2.2. Student – Teacher Relationships Behaviour Management

- 2.2.1. “effortless” authority
- 2.2.2 strictness
- 2.2.3 sanctions and fear of sanctions
- 2.2.4 boundaries
- 2.2.5 rewards
- 2.2.6 collaborative rules
- 2.2.7 bending the rules
- 2.2.8 “rebellion”

4. Becoming a teacher

- 4.1 Preparedness
 - 4.1.1 role models
 - Love and awe
 - 4.1.2 being mentored
 - Being misrecognised
 - 4.1.3 motivation and aspirations
 - Relationship with girl guides
 - 4.1.4 expectations
 - Replicate own school experience

Appendix K cont.

Sample Sheet of Template Analysis p.2

4.2 Reality

4.2.1 being “insufferable”

Lack of level playing field

Parental expectations

4.2.2 behaviour management

Getting the right balance

Being strict

4.2.3 don’t smile before Christmas

5. Being a Teacher

5.1. Values

5.2. Teacher-teacher relations

5.2.1 Solidarity

5.2.2 Own Department

5.2.3. Relationships with other colleagues

5.2.4 in awe of headteacher

5.3 Rewards of caring

What are they for Chloe???

Appendix L Sample Analysis Pages Amber

<p>1. <i>G Oh you went to an FE college. Why did you go to an FE college?</i> 'cause my school didn't offer a sixth form and the local sixth form was in special measures and I didn't fancy that after spending 5 years in a school that was in special measures.</p> <p><i>G Yes you said you were in a special measures school</i> As soon as I walked in the door I knew exactly how these kids are [ah . so] which is why I loved it here so much</p> <p><i>G So how do you feel being in a special measures school?</i> I actually felt really positive about it um I love a good challenge, I like having my hands full with lots of things to do and coming here with no training in teaching whatsoever being told, here's your timetable, here's your class go and teach it's kind of like Wow Ok. It's had its struggles but the increasing consistency across the school has made my life a breeze this year. My NQT year has been really really easy in comparison to last year it's been wonderful.</p>	<p>feeling familiar with situation feeling at home, not an unknown quantity therefore ?– positive emotional response, positive response to challenge, feeling of knowing being in control regarding what needs to be done, can get down to the task in hand and opportunity to show her qualities by achieving something worthwhile that others might find daunting.</p> <p>Reiterates lack of training for position, yet by second year in control sense of pride at her achievement</p> <p>Reiterates fact that she achieved despite attending school in special measures</p> <p>Assumptions about what the kids are like – labelling them??</p> <hr/> <p><i>Language</i> Wow loved it it's been wonderful as soon as I walked in the door repetition in really really easy a good challenge having my hands full made my life a breeze this year.</p>	<p>Experience of rising to a challenge identifies problems takes action comfortable in her ability to rise to the challenge enjoyment of challenge success after tough first year – now fully in control!?</p>
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Appendix L Sample
Analysis Pages Amber
cont.

<p>2. <i>G And you did Teach First?</i> I did yes <i>G So how was that how was your – what was it 6 weeks’ training in the summer or?</i> Yes <i>G [laughing] is that enough to start somebody off?</i> No, because we didn’t do classroom practice, we didn’t do behaviour management. We looked at the theory of pedagogy so it was kind of like doing a PGCE condensed into 6 weeks where you just look at the theoretical side of education um child protection issues and it was all a bit – I don’t want to use the word wishy-washy but I don’t know how else to explain it and it was all kinda [in stagey voice] let’s hold hands and tell each other how we’re feeling about this experience, are we anticipating what is going to happen. First time I stepped into a classroom was here in my first lesson which was scary as hell because I had no idea what I was doing. Content: not a clue, you know apart from my own education, how to structure a lesson: not really one hundred percent on that; behaviour management, the policy kept changing, I had no idea, so I don’t feel the 6 weeks I had at the beginning of Teach First really prepared me for what to expect.</p>	<p>achievement against the odds critical of 6 weeks training sceptical of ‘let’s hold hands’ – doesn’t believe it’s any help at all when it comes to actual teaching situation</p>	<p>resilience down to earth scepticism about wishy-washy and touchy feely</p> <p>feeling of being unprepared after 6 week Teach First course</p> <p>emphasis on not knowing what she was doing - on not having been properly ‘briefed’ – having to rely on self</p>
	<p><i>Language</i> wishy-washy scary as hell staccato list: not a clue ... I had no idea not a clue apart from my own education</p>	

Appendix L Sample
Analysis Pages Amber
cont.

<p>3. G So you were scared – you walked through this door in this room Yeah G What did you DO then? You were feeling really really nervous, you must have prepared something? I was so excited as well. So I've got this lesson, I've looked at my very first lesson I ever taught and it's hideous [laughs] but I run, the first things I did, was I set up my own policy in my classroom. In my classroom you must abide by these rules um and that's what I ran through for the first lesson and then it was a kind of an introductory here's a little bit of an activity I want to know what you know already about Biology um showed them a couple of very short video clips, got them to summarise those and then said Ok from those videos what can you pick out that you already know and things that you didn't um so my first lesson was – it felt Ok but in comparison to the lessons I teach now it's just shocking [laughs]</p>	<p>set up my own policy first thing</p> <hr/> <p><i>Language</i> it felt Ok but in comparison to the lessons I teach now it's just shocking</p> <p>the first things I did, was I set up my own policy in my classroom. In my classroom you must abide by these rules um and that's what I ran through for the first lesson feedback from students</p>	<p>excited and scared sets boundaries disciplinarian – lays down the law – no discussion Amber is in control pride in achievement/improvement still remembers exactly what she did in her first lesson</p> <p>willing and confident to ask for feedback – but here only from selected students</p>
<p>4. G Did you get feedback from students on that first lesson? Yeah, some of my Year 10s - they said it was good because I was so enthusiastic and I was really helpful but they said Yes Miss the lesson was dire – or moist as they like to use</p>	<p><i>Language</i> some of my Year 10s - they said it was good because I was so enthusiastic and I was really helpful but they said Yes Miss the lesson was dire – or moist as they like to use</p>	<p>the lesson was moist – Amber quite chuffed at this term – it identifies her as someone who understands student-speak confidence and trust – how are these two linked?</p>