CONDITIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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SYNOPSIS

This article seeks to contribute to the debate about the professional development of teachers, following the publication of the McCrone Report and subsequent settlement. It starts by identifying some key features, both negative and positive, of the current context of Scottish educational policy: here it is argued that the year 2000 can be regarded as an important watershed in the evolution of Scottish education. The middle section focuses on the recent history and current state of teacher education, taking account of political and professional views on both Initial Teacher Education and Continuing Professional Development. In the final part, an attempt is made to define the principles which should inform future policy on teacher development and to set out the conditions which have to be met if teachers are to be offered genuine professional enhancement. As part of this, the challenges to the major stakeholders in teacher education are considered.

INTRODUCTION

Writing as recently as1999, Willis Marker observed:

> …in practice professional development has been one of the poor relations of the education service. Teachers have not been willing to campaign for it at the expense of salaries or class sizes; the authorities have regularly had to sacrifice it to meet their statutory responsibilities; successive governments have advocated it without providing the necessary resources … Unless the situation changes, professional development for many teachers will continue to be an ad hoc low level activity, whose value they are sceptical of and which compares ill with that demanded by other professions. (Marker, in Bryce & Humes eds. 1999, p. 924)

Arguably the situation has already changed quite dramatically. The recommendations of the McCrone Report (Scottish Executive, 2000) and the settlement which followed offer the potential to alter the bleak picture which Marker describes. At a conference organised by the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS) in March 2001, the Minister for Education re-iterated the Scottish Executive's commitment to provide significantly improved development opportunities for teachers at all stages of their careers, from initial training, through probation and full registration, to the achievement of chartered status and beyond (Munro, 2001). A national framework for Continuing Professional Development is currently being produced and all the key stakeholders – the GTCS, Teacher Education Institutions (TEIs), local authorities, the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) and other teachers' organisations – are positive about the prospects. Against this background, it is worth asking a series of questions. What exactly is meant by professional development? How will future provision differ from the experience of the past? What are the implications for those given responsibility for developing suitable programmes of Continuing Professional Development? And how does this policy initiative relate to other initiatives in Scottish education?

In attempting to address these questions, this article will first suggest that Scottish education is at an interesting point in its history: recent events have highlighted certain defects in the system but they have also raised the possibility of moving forward in a more constructive climate than that which has prevailed in recent years. The article will then go on to look in some detail at aspects of Initial Teacher

Education (ITE)) and Continuing Professional Development (CPD) provision, including partnerships between TEIs and schools in initial training, and teachers' attitudes to their own professional development. This will lead to a discussion of the nature of professional knowledge, skills and values, and an attempt to specify the conditions which would ensure that the possibilities inherent in the McCrone recommendations are realised and that the dangers of an oppressive bureaucratic system of teacher control are avoided.

THE POLICY CONTEXT

The principal remit of the McCrone Committee was to make recommendations on 'how teachers' pay, promotion structures and conditions of service should be changed in order to ensure a committed, professional and flexible teaching force which will secure high and improving standards of school education for all children in Scotland into the new Millennium' (Scottish Executive, 2000, para. 1.2). That, in itself, would have made the publication of the report an important event. However, history is likely to judge the year 2000 as highly significant in Scottish education because of a number of other developments as well. The most obvious episode in this respect was the examinations crisis triggered by the failure of the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) to release accurate and timely results to many candidates and the fall-out from that episode (Paterson, 2000a). It led to resignations, sustained Ministerial embarrassment, and the unedifying spectacle of politicians, officials and members of the SQA Board blaming each other. It also led to a redefinition of the role of Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) who had been subject to growing criticism (Anon., 2000; Forrester, 2000) and who were finally perceived as having over-reached themselves. Their reluctance to accept any responsibility for the SQA debacle confirmed the view that 'HMI was an organisation incapable of humility' (quoted in Denholm, 2000a) and served to justify the political decision to reduce the Inspectorate to agency status. More generally the powers of the Scottish Parliament in relation to education (Paterson, 2000b) began to be asserted with increasing vigour, with the deliberations of the committee of enquiry into the SQA episode being given extensive media coverage.

Once the dust began to settle some fundamental questions about the status and self-image of Scottish education began to be asked in the educational press (see, for example, Denholm 2000b). The quality of stewardship exercised by the leadership class was subject to critical scrutiny: the members of that class were regarded by many as undeserving of the trust which had traditionally been placed in them. This process was given added impetus by the appointment of a new Minister, with a background in teaching, who from the start showed a preparedness to address some of the hard issues and challenge the complacency of the educational establishment (MacKinnon, 2001; Scobbie, 2001). Furthermore, within some sections of the educational hierarchy there were signs of a determined effort to present a new image. Most notably, the Association of Directors of Education (ADES), normally a deeply conservative force, sought to redefine its role in a way that would allow it to be more questioning of the policies of central government (MacKinnon, 2000).

It would be misleading to exaggerate these tendencies. What was happening was not a major power shift but a modest re-positioning. Nevertheless, there was a degree of movement in the system which had not been evident before. The significance of this was reinforced by the fact that some individuals and groups outside the traditional leadership class responded well to the examinations crisis. Teachers, headteachers and local authorities worked very hard on behalf of pupils to represent their cases and minimise the damage. Many middle-ranking and junior staff in SQA did likewise. Moreover, some of the concerns of teachers about Higher Still were vindicated, albeit belatedly. The clearest example of this was the representations

of the Scottish Association of Teachers of Language and Literature (SATOLL) which had repeatedly tried to draw attention to specific difficulties in English. Tony McManus and John Aberdein, Chairperson and Secretary of SATOLL, had presented a principled and consistent case about their concerns and the Association had produced a pamphlet which was sent to the Inspectorate (SATOLL, 1999). It was returned without comment. It must have given SATOLL members some satisfaction to have had their professional integrity recognised at last. Judith Gillespie of the Scottish Parent Teacher Council has also been an important figure. In a series of well-informed letters to the press (see, for example, *The Herald*, November 2, 2000 and December 21, 2000) she has asked the penetrating questions which have to be addressed if a repetition of the SQA crisis of 2000 is to be avoided. However, as late as April, 2001 alarm bells were continuing to ring (*The Herald*, April 20, 2001).

All of these developments were taking place while the recommendations of the McCrone Report were subject to debate and negotiation: they served as a backdrop to the argument that teachers had for too long been undervalued. While the immediate focus of the debate about McCrone was on salaries and conditions of service, it can be argued that the ground was being prepared for a more fundamental shift. That shift holds out the prospect of a new climate in which the culture of complacency and compliance which has characterised so much of policy-making in recent years can be challenged. The voices of teachers and others at the sharp end of the educational service can be raised with a somewhat better chance of being heard. This will not be easy, nor will it happen overnight. Furthermore, it will require teachers and teachers' organisations to examine many of their own assumptions about professionalism and professional development. Referring to the McCrone settlement, one observer with experience of both the teachers' and the management side of collective bargaining (the former admittedly at an early stage of his career) has commented: 'This is an opportunity which must not be missed. Teachers must be prepared to cast aside the straitjacket which they mistook for a suit of armour and welcome the greater professional autonomy which is now being offered to them' (Bloomer, 2001). What this might mean in respect of professional development will be considered in the final section of the paper.

So far it has been suggested that the events of 2000 created an interesting and potentially constructive context in which to explore these matters. The link between the political and the educational contexts should be noted. Lindsay Paterson, one of the most perceptive commentators on the Scottish scene, has argued that the existence of a Scottish Parliament has created the possibility, but not the certainty, of what he calls a new 'civic activism' (cited in Munn, 1997). It is to be hoped that, as part of this, there might also be a new 'professional activism' in the world of education. To understand the need for this, it is necessary to examine some of the current issues in teacher education and teacher professionalism.

ISSUES IN ITE AND CPD

Many of the recommendations that have emerged from the McCrone Report about teacher education and teacher development are ones that would gain widespread endorsement. For example, few would dispute the need for greater continuity between initial training, the probationary period and subsequent development opportunities. This raises interesting and challenging questions about the kind of content that is appropriate for different stages of career development. It is not uncommon for teachers of two or three years experience to say that they did not see the point of certain elements in their initial training at the time but that they have come to do so after an extended period in the classroom. Such observations point to the need to re-visit the timing of different forms of input. Again, there is general agreement about the need to offer better experience for newly qualified teachers in the shape

of a full year of stable employment, rather than the intermittent supply work which has been common in recent years. If the enthusiasm and commitment of newly qualified teachers is to be retained, their induction experience must be positive and rewarding.

These are relatively uncontentious aspects of McCrone. The criticisms of existing ITE courses in the report have provoked a more mixed reaction, partly because the evidential base on which they were made seems unclear, and partly because, as Gordon Kirk has pointed out (*Times Educational Supplement Scotland,* March 2, 2001), the Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) has approved all the programmes of teacher education in line with the Department's own 'guidelines' and lists of competences. Thus, if the courses are defective, SEED officials must accept a share of the responsibility for that state of affairs. What has now been proposed is a two-stage process of review: a short-term exercise looking at a very limited range of issues identified by the Executive, followed by a longer-term review of more fundamental matters. This seems to be a crude attempt to move to closure before a proper analysis has taken place. That analysis would require a more fundamental examination of the nature of teacher professionalism and a more searching review of the reasons for the limitations of existing courses than that offered by McCrone.

The weaknesses of existing provision in both ITE and CPD derive from a number of sources and historical pressures which do not feature in McCrone's analysis. Writing in the late 1980s, Gordon Kirk predicted that Colleges of Education (the precursors of University Faculties of Education) would be 'exposed to the hard scrutiny and control of the [Scottish Education Department]' (Kirk, 1988, p. 125). That prediction was amply fulfilled in the course of the 1990s and manifested itself in an increasingly dependent relationship that has been seriously damaging in its effects. Teacher Education Institutions in Scotland have traditionally been reactive to government policy rather than innovative. They have been weak in terms of creating their own agenda. When told to jump by government, they have simply asked, 'How high?' This has meant that the intellectual climate of debate about teacher education has been impoverished (Humes, 1995a). Teacher educators have taken on the deeply depressing discourse of officialdom – guidelines, benchmarks, competences (QAA, 2000) – largely without protest. Ronald Barnett has pointed out that 'Ideas of competences, outcomes, performance and activities sit uneasily with understanding' and has referred to the 'lost vocabulary' of analysis, critique, interdisciplinarity and wisdom in some areas of higher education (Barnett, 1994, p. 75). Other writers have referred to the disempowering consequences of 'technical rationalist approaches to professional development couched in terms of reductionist competences' (Bottery & Wright, 2000, p. 101). Despite this, teacher educators have failed to develop a convincing counter-discourse which might include concepts such as creativity, judgement, reflection and critical thinking. For example, in the Standard for Initial Teacher Education in Scotland (QAA, 2000), the list of 'Expected Features' which students should have by the end of their courses are prefaced by only two verbs – 'know' and 'demonstrate'. Teacher educators have also succumbed too readily to the anti-intellectualism of the Inspectorate and teachers' organisations. The elevation of 'best practice' as the touchstone of all policy initiatives has led to scepticism about what research can offer and a debased conception of professionalism as consisting of little more than following centrally-imposed directives. Professionalism as conformity is a weak and unworthy notion.

To make these points is not to deny that many staff working in teacher education have, in recent years, endeavoured to bring about worthwhile changes in course content and design. Often, however, these attempts have had to be expressed in an 'approved' language that is alien to the intentions of those delivering the courses.

This leads to intellectual dishonesty whereby the surface 'text' of course documents has to be deconstructed in a way that allows for a more liberal 'sub-text' to emerge. The chances of students receiving confused mixed messages are high.

Moreover, teachers in schools have often been highly ambivalent in their attitudes to the education and training they receive. On the one hand, they want teaching to be recognised as a profession, which implies a demanding and rigorous initiation process, and regular updating of knowledge and skills, similar to that enjoyed by other professions such as medicine and engineering. On the other hand, they are often dismissive of the value of training, whether at ITE or CPD stages, and inclined to elevate experience in schools (whatever the *quality* of the experience) above all else. This ambivalence is reflected in debates within the GTCS and teachers' organisations, such as the EIS. Kirk has referred to the 'culture of negativity' among teachers which sometimes causes them to present themselves as obstructive, 'the enemies of educational progress rather than its drivers' (Kirk, 2000b, p 11). However, now that the immediate issue of salaries and conditions of service has been dealt with, there is an opportunity to open up this territory for discussion. In effect, what is being suggested is that teachers sometimes undermine their own professionalism by their hostility to ideas, whether from research or other sources, and by doing so play into the hands of those who wish to control them.

In fairness to both teachers and TEI staff, these responses have to a significant extent been dictated by circumstances and the pressure of events. In a climate of staff shortages, heavy workloads and low morale, the priority has simply been to keep the show on the road. Anything else has been viewed as a luxury. In the case of TEIs, there has also been the fact that sometimes painful institutional mergers have been taking place which have occupied time and energy that might otherwise have been devoted to the kind of principled analysis that is being recommended (Kirk, 1999).

Another feature of the present arrangements which is less than satisfactory – and here McCrone does have something to say – relates to the partnership arrangements between TEIs on the one hand and schools and local authorities on the other. These have for too long been inadequately resourced and relied too much on goodwill and personal contacts. An earlier attempt to introduce mentoring for secondary training was unsuccesful because of poor management and a failure to listen to teachers' concerns (Humes, 1995b). If there is a genuine intention to improve the quality of students' placement experience, there must be an honest appraisal of existing provision and a realistic costing of what is needed to improve it. That will require significant movement on the part of *all* the stakeholders. The very uneven experience of partnership arrangements in England offers some cautionary examples, as well as insights into the benefits that can be gained from successful schemes: 'As a result of the partnerships that have been developed, there are now significant numbers of teachers in many schools, who have developed new skills in the analysis of professional practice and in staff training and assessment' (Furlong, 2000, p. 18: see also Furlong *et al*. 2000).

With regard to CPD, the favoured model has tended to be a tightly-controlled, centrally-driven approach, tied to government policy priorities. This has usually taken the form of the production of training materials – the 'death by overheads' syndrome (recently updated to 'death by Powerpoint') – which sell the approved line in a way that frequently fails to engage the interest, let alone the commitment, of teachers. A recent study has concluded that both new and experienced teachers have a limited conception of what CPD might offer and suggested that 'This is in part explained by the notion that all teachers have difficulty in accessing opportunities to debate issues surrounding professionalism, whether through a lack of time or opportunity, or through policy structures which do not encourage their participation' (Purdon, 2000, p. 57).

There are some honourable exceptions to this pattern. A few schools have taken the initiative in determining their staff development priorities independently of the pressures deriving from central and local government: the success of these ventures has depended on a management team prepared to lead by example and an open and democratic school culture. Again, accredited programmes of CPD leading to postgraduate awards provide some scope for diversity and choice, but the impulse to control and to define the field restrictively is still evident in local authority requests for non-award bearing courses and in the annual priorities for staff development announced by SEED.

Despite this, there are some encouraging signs emerging from the major collaborative project funded by SEED on the development of a national framework for CPD. It is at a very early stage but those involved say that they are approaching the task in a way that will provide scope for significant elements of choice, in the shape of Independent Study Modules and Work-Based Learning Agreements. However, a question that remains to be determined is 'Who decides on the relevance of course content and, in particular, on projects proposed by teachers themselves?' There is a case for saying that any intellectually and professionally challenging enquiry, provided it engages the teacher's interest, and even if it does not seem immediately and obviously relevant to the current policy agenda, can be defended as legitimate. Here the Minister himself can be cited in support of this position. Jack McConnell has observed that too many teachers proceed from school, to university, to TEI, then back to school, without wider experience of life: in contrast to this pattern 'diversity and variety are very positive for the teaching profession' (quoted in Scobbie, 2001, p. 6). If that is true of the initial education of teachers, it is an argument that can be extended to the post-initial stage. It provides a justification for saying that at least some CPD should not be narrowly focused on immediate inward-looking matters. It should be broad, divergent, novel in character, allowing teachers a chance to explore something new, something different, that will give them an alternative perspective on the everyday. That is much more likely to renew their intellectual engagement and professional appetite than the relentlessly earnest, well-intentioned but often dull diet that has featured on the CPD menu for too long. This point has implications for how teacher sabbaticals, if they ever come, might be used.

It also has implications for inter-professional training. If the aim is to encourage teachers to take a broader view then the case for development opportunities in association with other occupational groups is strong – e.g. other local authority and public service employees, such as social workers and health service staff. The recent report on the educational disadvantages suffered by children looked after away from home by local authorities supports the case for different professional groups learning together (Scottish Executive, 2001). Likewise, the rationale behind New Community Schools, with their inter-agency provision, further strengthens the argument for moving in this direction (Scottish Office, 1998).

In this section it has been argued that the hard questions about Scottish education that the events of 2000 prompted should provide the stimulus to re-examine the conditions in which genuine professional development can flourish. An attempt will now be made to define those conditions more precisely, and consider what they might mean for various stakeholders.

PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS AND VALUES

In describing the work of teachers, writers such as Eraut (1994) and Day (1999) attempt to explain the complex range of factors that lie behind their professional performance in the classroom. Teachers draw on the public knowledge of academic disciplines such as psychology, sociology and education. They apply that knowledge to practical situations which call for analysis and judgement. Furthermore, they

employ a repertoire of skills (communication skills, interpersonal skills, management skills) which demonstrate understanding of classroom dynamics, pupil behaviour and teaching and learning strategies. In doing so, they may rely on experience and intuition as much as formal knowledge. And, not least, they have to be sensitive to the ongoing events of the classroom as much as to the demands of the content to be learned: however carefully planned a lesson might be, something may occur which calls for a kind of response that could not reasonably have been anticipated in advance.

Eraut concludes from this that good professional practice depends on both 'expertise' and 'deliberation':

> [T]here is a need for professionals to retain critical control over the more intuitive parts of their expertise by regular reflection, self-evaluation and a disposition to learn from colleagues. This implies from time to time treating apparently routine cases as problematic and making time to deliberate and consult. It is partly a matter of lifelong learning and partly a wise understanding of one's own fallibility. (Eraut, 1994, p. 155)

Commenting on changing approaches to professional training over the last 30 years or so, Eraut also observes that occupational expertise used to be identified with professional knowledge involving a high theoretical content, regardless of whether such knowledge ever got used in practice. By contrast, recent approaches seem to assume that expertise depends mainly on experience and that further development of theoretical knowledge (beyond initial qualification) is largely unnecessary. He offers several explanations for this shift: 'the strong anti-intellectualization of the 1980s'; 'the failure to properly recognise theory in use'; and insufficient attention to the processes of interpreting and personalizing theory and integrating it into the existing conceptual frameworks of professionals (ibid., p.157).

With specific reference to teaching, these observations can be read as a direct challenge to develop new forms of professional development. These would involve promoting a better understanding (and use) of the relation between abstract theoretical knowledge, expressed at a high level of generality, and situated, experiential knowledge derived from particular contexts. The challenge can be taken further. It might be expressed in terms of encouraging teachers to try new ways of working, moving beyond the safe and familiar, even risk-taking. It would certainly involve subjecting one's own practice to rational reflection and critical scrutiny, informed by writing and research. It could also take the form of identifying areas of investigation, of interest to the individual, the department or the institution as a whole, and looking for evidence that might cast light on the situation. It might lead to interesting connections being made between the learning experiences of pupils or students and the experience of teachers as learners. Above all, it would involve questioning standard practices, interrogating orthodoxies, challenging the received wisdom of the system (see Quicke, 1998).

These principles need to be expressed in a more practical form as conditions which would allow for the maintenance and enhancement of professionalism. The items on the list that follows should be regarded as inter-dependent, not discrete components of professional development. This approach is consistent with that adopted by Joyce and Showers (1980) in their influential American study of the elements of effective training, which concluded that a *combination* of 'theory, demonstration, feedback and classroom application' (p. 379) was required. However, the set of conditions recommended here assumes a wider professional, institutional and political context than that considered by Joyce and Showers. No particular significance attaches to the order in which the items are presented: they express a mixture of practical, conceptual, intellectual, dispositional and managerial requirements.

Personal commitment and motivation. As Gordon Kirk has written, 'perhaps *the* hallmark of the professional teacher is that he or she holds open the possibility of enhanced performance, not as a response to political diktat, not as a form of compliance, not in fulfilment of contractual requirement, but as the expression of an inner professional commitment to improved practice'. (Kirk, 2000a, p. 51).

A focus on the relation between the learning of teachers and the learning of pupils. In recent years there has been a great deal of interesting work on the processes of learning, learning styles, key skills, etc. Many of the underlying principles apply equally to pupils and teachers. The link between professional development opportunities for teachers, their repertoire of teaching strategies and the benefits for learners needs to be kept to the forefront of discussion about the best forms of CPD provision.

Time and space. Teachers need to be given more opportunity to observe, reflect and read, perhaps to engage in small-scale research. There is no quick-fix to professional development. The emergence of so-called 'learning gurus' who claim to be able to bring about miraculous transformations in individuals and institutions should be treated with deep suspicion: they are the second-hand car salesmen of the educational world.

A supportive institutional environment in which a willingness to explore new ideas is valued and rewarded, not the subject of disparaging staffroom jibes. Such an environment will welcome the sharing of insights among colleagues for the benefit of the organisation as a whole.

Leadership by example, not by exhortation. Those who urge teachers to update their knowledge and skills must show a capacity for change themselves.

Access to suitable CPD opportunities. This will involve a range of provision, taking account of the varied needs of different localities. As part of this, the use of ICT as a means of making flexible provision for different groups of teachers will be important.

Recognition of the contested nature of educational aims and values. The Scottish tendency to seek a 'right answer' to every situation must be resisted. There has to be scope for variety, experiment and a sharp, critical edge to educational enquiry.

Opportunity for teachers to choose what they wish to learn. It should not all be prescribed, either from the centre or at local level. The providers need to be more responsive to the wishes of those on the receiving end of courses than they have been in the past. There will still be legitimate debate about the extent of choice but the principle of freedom must feature in provision – otherwise motivation will reduced.

Courses which are intellectually and professionally challenging. This means that courses need to acknowledge the validity of both formal, research-based knowledge and situated, experiential knowledge. By doing so, some of the limitations of the old theory/practice divide in teacher education may begin to be tackled.

Regular questioning of the discourse of professionalism. There are now serious issues of public trust in relation to all professional groups in society (e.g. lawyers, doctors). Easy 'feel good' rhetoric about altruistic public service is inadequate as a justification. Furthermore, teachers regularly encounter

> professional dilemmas which involve difficult questions of confidentiality, public duty and ethical standards. These should feature in programmes which aim to take the profession forward.

Taken together, these principles provide a focus for the kind of debate that should accompany the preparations for improved CPD provision in Scotland. Underlying many of them, and particularly the last four, are questions to do with the values that should inform professional thinking and practice. This is an issue to which the GTC Scotland has devoted some attention. In 1998 the Council produced a draft document for consultation, 'A Professional Code for Teachers' (GTCS, 1998), setting out core values (e.g., honesty, integrity, commitment) and a checklist of teachers' responsibilities. It is probably fair to say that there is nothing in this document that would cause concern, either to teachers or to the public. Equally, however, the document might be regarded as an excessively cautious interpretation of the social role of teachers. In this respect it contrasts with some of the statements to be found in a paper on ethical principles published by the Universities Council for the Education and Training of Teachers (UCET, 1997). The latter states:

> …teachers must … be willing to promote professional values, expertise and interest, by commenting publicly on education policy. This means speaking and writing openly about the implications of public policies for the practice of education.
>
> …teachers must … show independence of mind and action. This involves willingness to teach subject matter or use methods which are unpopular or officially frowned upon, if intellectual and/or vocational integrity so demand. (UCET, 1997)

Whereas the GTCS code offers a safe kind of social respectability, the UCET paper is, by comparison, intellectually and politically engaged. Scottish teachers need to take part in dialogue about where they wish to locate themselves in relation to these contrasting perspectives.

Other groups will also have a legitimate voice in the discussion about how to take the CPD agenda forward. There are many stakeholders in the field of CPD provision – schools and local authorities, Higher Education (HE) institutions (including new players such a learn.direct Scotland), private consultants. They will be competing for a share of the market. The size of that market should not be underestimated: the McCrone settlement will require a massive throughput of staff seeking chartered teacher status. From the government's perspective, the case for a mixed economy of providers is strong – partly to cope with the scale of the operation and partly to prevent over-reliance on any one provider with the monopoly risks that would entail. There are also likely to be partnership arrangements of the kind developed for the Scottish Qualification for Headship (SQH). The mix of local authority and HE input in SQH has been designed to ensure that the link between academic knowledge and professional context is strong. There is the additional factor that it is HE institutions that have the experience of accreditation within the Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework (SQCF). They are familiar with the quality assurance requirements that have to be met in respect of levels, assessment, credits, etc.

It is unlikely that there will be unanimity of expectation with regard to CPD outcomes. Central government will want to see tangible benefits in terms of policy priorities, especially with regard to standards and pupil achievements. Schools will want to direct efforts to the successful implementation of institutional development plans. Teachers' organisations and the GTCS will focus on enhanced status, reward and recognition, but both need to go beyond this. The EIS, albeit somewhat belatedly, is beginning to acknowledge the need for greater openness and accountability within

public services (EIS, 2001) and the GTCS has an important role in resisting both the narrow managerial interests of employers and the ideological interests of government (Weir, 2001). Parents will want to see evidence of improved ethos, discipline and motivation as a result of a re-invigorated workforce. Local authorities will want CPD to be consistent with the policy objectives for their particular areas – which will vary in different parts of Scotland.

Bringing all these expectations into alignment is not going to be easy. Nor is it entirely desirable. The point of closure on what constitutes legitimate professional development should never come. It should remain contested territory, subject to argument and debate. To say that is to challenge the consensus model, which has often been held up as an important feature of the Scottish educational system. The credibility of that model has been seriously damaged by the events of 2000. There must be a recognition of the creative potential of honest conflict, of the need to keep going back to first principles, of resistance to managerial and bureaucratic imperatives driving the agenda. The policies of control and containment which have characterised the last 20 years should be resisted, and teachers have to be encouraged to re-assert themselves in the decision-making processes that affect their professional lives. The SQA episode and its aftermath should give them the courage to do so. Giving voice to their own perceptions of their staff development needs should form part of that process. It has been suggested, however, that this will entail subjecting their assumptions about what it means to be a professional to critical scrutiny.

Two final points should be made. The first is to suggest that in considering what constitutes professionalism, it is important to ask 'What is it that teachers profess?' It is doubtful if most teachers would answer that question by saying that they profess a set of competences or a list of benchmarks. A more likely response is that they would appeal to values and principles concerned with such things as the worthwhileness of learning, their commitment to helping youngsters develop, their desire to help them achieve, their belief in education as a fundamental right, its importance for democracy and social justice (see Sutherland, 2000). Provision for CPD should allow teachers to explore these fundamental aims and values. It should be about much more than simply improving practical skills or updating information about official policies, important though these undoubtedly are.

The second observation is this. Nearly a century ago, John Dewey in his book *Democracy and Education* advanced a devastating critique of the 'aims and objectives' school of educational thought. He would, for example, have been singularly unimpressed by the levels, strands and targets of the 5-14 programme. He said that in the final analysis there was only one criterion against which the success of an educational experience should be judged: that was the extent to which it encouraged learners to go on learning and to engage in a process of continued growth. The phrase he used was a 'continuous reconstruction of experience' (Dewey, 1916, p. 80) . That is a good measure by which to judge not only the experience of pupils in schools but also the experience of teachers who are undertaking courses of CPD. There has to be intellectually engaged professional life beyond the course, the award, the achievement of chartered status. Otherwise what will be offered will be inert knowledge (or content-free 'skills') within an empty framework of credentialism, rather than the genuine professional enrichment which teachers deserve.

NOTE

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