

This thesis investigates teachers' *perceptions of continuing professional development* (CPD) in Germany and Sweden with a questionnaire study comprising a total of 711 mainly lower secondary teachers. Three conceptual terms are elaborated and explained. Teachers act in a *CPD marketplace* that is constituted by several *sources of knowledge* which offer opportunities for teachers' development. How teachers act in the marketplace is a key part of their *CPD culture*. The study reveals similarities in the two cases regarding the importance of colleagues as well as informal development activities, but there are also significant differences. In order to understand the differences, it is argued for an extended focus on the impact of the national context, in terms of socially and historically significant structures and traditions of the teaching profession. The thesis focuses on a crucial aspect with a particular explanatory value for differing CPD tendencies in various national contexts: *Autonomy* from a governance perspective.

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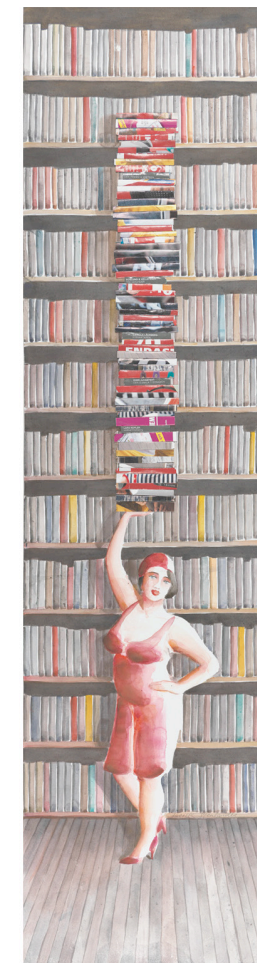
Wieland Wermke

Development and Autonomy

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Conceptualising teachers' continuing professional development in different national contexts

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Doktorsavhandlingar från Institutionen för
pedagogik och didaktik 16

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"Den enorma betydelsen av en hjälpende hand" (right)

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Für Mutti und Papi und Jolla

Abstract

This thesis investigates teachers' perceptions of continuing professional development (CPD) in Germany and Sweden with a questionnaire study comprising a total of 711 mainly lower secondary teachers. Three conceptual terms are elaborated and explained. Teachers act in a *CPD marketplace* that is constituted by several *sources of knowledge* which offer opportunities for teachers' development. How teachers act in the marketplace is a key part of their *CPD culture*. The study reveals similarities in the two cases regarding the importance of colleagues as well as informal development activities, but there are also significant differences. On the one hand, German teachers can be described as more active in their CPD than their Swedish colleagues in relation to particular aspects of their profession such as assessment, and more suspicious of knowledge from elsewhere, on the other.

In order to understand the differences, I argue for an extended focus on the impact of the national context, in terms of socially and historically significant structures and traditions of the teaching profession. The thesis focuses on a crucial aspect with a particular explanatory value for differing CPD tendencies in various national contexts: *Autonomy* from a governance perspective. This phenomenon, which does indeed change across time and space, is investigated from a socio-historical perspective in both contexts, building on Margaret Archer's analytic dualism of structure and agency, and a dual pronged model of teacher autonomy. The latter distinguishes *institutional autonomy*, regarding legal or status issues, from *service autonomy* related to the practical issues in schools and classrooms. Since these dimensions can be either extended or restricted, different categories evolve which enable us to understand the differences between the two cases.

Finally, by using the findings on the German and Swedish teaching profession, a theoretical framework is presented that relates the certain forms of teacher autonomy in particular national contexts to likely CPD cultures that teachers share.

Included articles

Article 1:

Wieland Wermke (2011), Continuing professional development in context: Teachers' continuing professional development culture in Germany and Sweden, *Professional Development in Education*, 37 (5), 665–683.

Article 2:

Wieland Wermke (2012), A question of trustworthiness? Teachers' perceptions of knowledge sources in the continuing professional development marketplace in Germany and Sweden, *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 28 (4), 618–627.

Article 3:

Eva Forsberg and Wieland Wermke (2012), Knowledge sources and autonomy. German and Swedish Teachers' continuing professional development of assessment knowledge, *Professional Development in Education*, 38 (5), 741–758.

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This thesis was part of a long journey, both geographically and developmentally. In geographical terms, I moved from Germany to Sweden, starting a new life which would probably not have occurred without the PhD project. In developmental terms, I might refer to a particular process of growing up, which may well have happened regardless. However, even if the journey obviously never comes to an end, I can say that I have learned a great deal in so many ways.

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....and now I let it go.

Contents

1. Introduction	10
1.1. Problem and aim.....	10
1.2. Approach	13
1.3. Outline of the thesis.....	14
 Part I: Investigating teachers' continuing professional development in two national contexts	
2. Research on teachers' continuing professional development.....	21
2.1. International research on teachers' continuing professional development	21
2.2. German and Swedish research on teachers' continuing professional development.....	25
3. An empirical investigation of teachers' CPD in two national contexts.....	31
3.1. A comparative approach.....	31
3.2. Teachers' professional culture.....	33
3.3. Teachers' continuing professional development culture.....	35
3.4. German and Swedish sources of knowledge for CPD	37
3.4.1. The German case	38
3.4.2. The Swedish case	38
4. Design of the empirical study	41
4.1. Method.....	41
4.2. Data collection and sample.....	43
4.2.1. Investigating a German and Swedish teaching profession.....	43
4.2.2. Technical issues of sample and data collection.....	44
4.3. Instruments	46
4.4. Ethical concerns	55
5. Results of the empirical study: three articles.....	59
5.1. Article 1: Continuing professional development in context: Teachers' continuing professional development culture in Germany and Sweden	59
5.2. Article 2: A question of trustworthiness? Teachers' perceptions of knowledge sources in the continuing professional development marketplace in Germany and Sweden.....	60

5.3. Article 3: Knowledge sources and autonomy. German and Swedish Teachers' continuing professional development of assessment knowledge	61
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Part II: Teacher autonomy and development in two national contexts

6. Conceptualising teacher autonomy	65
6.1. The dualism of structure and agency	65
6.2. Conceptualising teacher autonomy in time and space	68
6.2.1. The issue of professional autonomy	68
6.2.2. Conceptualising teacher autonomy	70
6.2.3. Two dimensions of the teaching profession	73
6.2.4. Restricted/extended service/institutional autonomy	76
6.2.5. A two-dimensional model of the teaching profession's institutional and service autonomy	77
6.3. Autonomy and the dualism of structure and agency	79
7. The autonomy of German and Swedish teachers	83
7.1. Recent developments regarding German and Swedish teacher autonomy	84
7.1.1. The German teaching profession up to 2000	84
7.1.2. The German teaching profession after 2000	86
7.1.3. The Swedish teaching profession after 1990	87
7.1.4. The Swedish teaching profession after 2000	91
7.1.5. Interaction on and structural elaboration of German and Swedish teacher autonomy after 2000	94
7.2. Traditions conditioning German and Swedish teacher autonomy	97
7.2.1. Traditions of the German teaching profession	97
7.2.1.1. Secondary school teachers and the new humanistic concept of <i>Bildung</i>	97
7.2.1.2. Elementary school teachers and the didactic tradition	99
7.2.1.3. Didactics and human science theory of education	100
7.2.2. Traditions of the Swedish teaching profession	102
7.2.2.1. The comprehensive school reform	102
7.2.2.2. Social engineering and corporatism	104
7.2.2.3. Curriculum theory and didactics	107
7.3. German and Swedish teacher autonomy from a socio-historical perspective	110

Part III: Relating teacher autonomy and development

8. Conclusion and discussion.....	117
8.1. Teacher autonomy and development.....	117
8.2. Teachers' continuing professional development cultures re-analysed:.....	118
8.2.1. CPD in context.	118
8.2.2. A question of trustworthiness.....	120
8.2.3. Autonomy and knowledge sources.....	123
8.3. Teacher autonomy and development: A theoretical framework	125
9. Svensk sammanfattning.....	129
10. References	145
11. Appendix	163

Figures

Figure 1: CPD culture, CPD marketplace and sources of knowledge	36
Figure 2: Archer's morphogenetic/static cycle with its three phases	67
Figure 3: Extended/restricted service and institutional autonomy and various forms of governance	79
Figure 4: Archer's morphogenetic/static cycle and teacher autonomy	81
Figure 5: Autonomy of the German and Swedish teaching profession from a governance perspective	95
Figure 6: Governance of the German and Swedish teaching profession.....	111

Tables

Table 1: Items: CPD in the last school year	47
Table 2: Items: Importance of sources of knowledge for teachers' CPD	48
Table 3: Items: perception of sources of knowledge	49
Table 4: Items Relationship between school governance and CPD	51
Table 5: Items: Important of sources for teachers' knowledge to assess and about assessment.	52
Table 6: Items: CPD activities on different aspects of assessment	52
Table 7: Items: Developmental climate in a school given by the behaviour of the principal	53
Table 8: Items: Developmental climate in a school by the behaviour of the teachers.....	54
Table 9: Extended/restricted institutional and service autonomy.....	76
Table 10: Teacher autonomy and CPD	126

1. Introduction

1.1. Problem and aim

In recent years, teacher quality has been in focus in international school politics as an important factor for school efficiency. The competence of teachers is no longer judged only on the quality of the teachers' initial qualifications and certifications, but also on the continued development of their teaching skills. This view is supported by research emphasising certain normative expectations of what constitute "effective" teachers and teaching (Slee et al. 1998). Teachers are expected to continue their education throughout their careers in order to adapt to the changing needs of a society and its children (Day and Sachs 2004a). However, while there is a great deal of interest in teachers' continuing professional development (CPD), alongside high expectations of teachers, considerable conceptual work remains to be done in this field. There are numerous case studies on individual CPD programmes and models, but these are mostly isolated one-off studies that rarely contribute to a cumulative build-up of knowledge or develop a cohesive theory of teachers' continuing professional development (Bolam and McMahon 2004). This situation results in conceptions that are often redundant and only differ in terms of the terminology used (Sprinthall et al. 1996). One aspect of teachers' CPD that is greatly neglected is the question of the impact of the national context [Guskey (1995) echoed in Bolam and McMahon (2004)]. Rather, CPD is treated as a phenomenon that is universal, at least across the Western world, and it is often simply stated that studies in different national contexts produce the same results. This is seen as proof that there exist universal principles for teacher development [for example: Avalos (2011)]. Consequently, models for successful school and teacher improvement are imported and exported as commodities from apparently developed to apparently developing countries, while the respective status can be seen in the league tables of large-scale international studies (Steiner-Khamsi 2004). However, after the implementation of successful models from elsewhere, there is often some surprise if these do not work in their new context. A situation that is then blamed on teachers' inability to change and/or animosity to reforms. This thesis is motivated by the problem of a lack of awareness of the relevance of the national context for teachers' CPD, resulting in a deficient theoretical conceptualisation of this aspect in international research.

I will investigate teachers' perceptions of CPD in Germany and Sweden. I argue for an extended focus on the impact of the national context, in terms of

the socially and historically significant structures and traditions surrounding the teaching profession. Here the thesis' first aim emerges:

1. The thesis aims to gain an understanding of German and Swedish teachers' perceptions of CPD in relation to the nation specific particularities of the two cases.

This aim will be dealt with by the following research questions:

- 1.1 What do German and Swedish teachers do and what have they done in their CPD from their perspective, and what do they perceive as appropriate sources for their professional development?
- 1.2 What impact does school governance have on CPD from the teachers' perspective?
- 1.3 What differences and similarities exist between both teacher groups' CPD?
- 1.4 How can the differences and similarities be explained by the nation specific particularities of both cases?

The thesis aims not only to state the importance of the national context for the shaping of crucial aspects of the teaching profession by presenting two different cases and their particularities, it aims also to go a step further and propose a theory of the relation of CPD cultures to different national contexts. Here, I argue that a crucial aspect that might have particular explanatory value for differing teachers' CPD in various national contexts is *teacher autonomy*. The teaching profession, in particular, is marked by its dependence on an organisation of the state: the school. Teachers' work takes place between their classroom activities and the expectations and constraints placed upon them by state and society. Consequently, teachers have to balance pedagogical practice with organisational constraints dictated by public governance. In order to cope with their assignment and all dilemmas and risks related to this, teachers need a certain scope of action. They react to pedagogical problems in the classroom and balance these problems against their function and organisational frame, as defined and controlled by state governance. In my understanding, the *scope* that teachers potentially have in this context constitutes their autonomy.

Here the thesis' second aim emerges:

2. The thesis aims to investigate the explanatory value of nation specific teacher autonomy for particular nation specific CPD cultures.

The second aim leads to the following research questions:

- 2.1 How can teacher autonomy in different national contexts be displayed in order to provide analytical and explanatory value for nation specific differences and similarities in teachers' CPD?
- 2.2 How have particular forms of teacher autonomy developed in both cases?
- 2.3 Which theoretical conclusions can be drawn from both cases' autonomy and CPD in relation to both phenomena in various national contexts?

However, regarding the issue of autonomy, I will investigate this phenomenon from a governance perspective. This entails the scope of action that the state distributes to teachers by laws and regulations, independently of how and to what extent this scope is used. I consider aspects of the teaching profession which the profession itself is *allowed* to define. Autonomy does not mean simply freedom, but rather "the quality or state of being self-governing". More specifically, autonomy is "the capacity of an agent to determine its own actions through independent choice within a system of principles and laws to which the agent is dedicated" (Ballou 1998, p.105). Consequently, an autonomous profession does indeed have rules, but the scope for shaping, maintaining and controlling those rules is elaborated in relation to state governance. This is the perspective from which I will consider teacher autonomy, and questions concerning what the teaching profession is allowed to define, from a governance perspective, will be examined by investigating different kinds of curriculum evaluation (Hopmann 2003), where curriculum evaluation defines how the aims of the curriculum are to be achieved and by whom the achievement is evaluated (Broadfoot 1996). In this way, curriculum evaluation regulates the teaching profession's scope of action.

Finally, my focus on national particularities, their impact on the teaching profession and possible conceptions contributing to analyses of its influence, do indeed include several limitations. Later in my argument, I will analytically proceed from the assumption of collective nation-specific teacher cultures to an environment from which the individual teacher can indeed deviate. However, this latter case will not be the focus of this work. The categories presented in

this thesis are therefore limited in their explanatory value to a macro (school system) level. Moreover, the categories are aimed, in terms of Max Weber's ideal types (Weber 1980/1914), at the construction of hypotheses on the nature of reality. While they cannot be perfect, they may be used as analytical tools to strengthen and extend discussions.

1.2. Approach

This thesis investigates teachers' perceptions of and participation in CPD. Emphasising perception over practice enables us to work with quantitative methods. With the application of a questionnaire study, I will examine teachers in two national contexts, Germany and Sweden, and try thereby to sketch an outline of a nation-specific teacher culture. Since there are indeed also different subcultures among teachers, at least between teachers teaching different age groups (Luhmann 2002; Feiman-Nemser 1991; Terhart, 2001), I will focus mainly on lower secondary teachers in this study.¹ I argue that what teachers report about their perceptions and thoughts concerning CPD expresses what they see as appropriate CPD and the relation they have to various CPD knowledge sources. The quantitative approach will be combined with a comparative case study strategy (Ragin 1987; Schriewer 1990; Steiner-Khamsi 2010; Schriewer 1999a). By contrasting national cases in such a configuration, differences and similarities become visible, for example in the form of a nation-specific CPD culture which manifests in similar reported perceptions and beliefs concerning appropriate practices (Schein 2005). Different contexts become devices for understanding different cultures; socio-historical reasoning comes into focus. This requires investigating the specific and complex systems of interrelation and interaction within the specific cases (Schriewer 1999b), in which both *time and space* are important dimensions (Novoa and Yariv-Mashal 2003). The interpretation of empirical data must deal not only with different forms in different contexts (space), but also with time, by relating these local configurations to their historical emergence (time).

This thesis aims not only to point to the importance of national context by offering examples, but by elaborating on teacher autonomy and CPD, it aims also to gain more theoretical understanding of how differently formed national contexts and different forms of teachers' CPD are related. This requires a thorough understanding of teacher autonomy, in terms of both its crucial role in the profession, and its changing form across time and space. To this end, a deep contextual study of the teaching profession in both national contexts, Germany and Sweden, will be necessary. Moreover, in order to analyse the possible systematic relation between CPD and autonomy, which is a crucial aspect of a teaching

1 "Mainly" refers to the nature of the study's sample, presented in chapter 4, which also includes some elementary teachers in Sweden and some upper secondary teachers in Germany. However, my reasoning in this thesis will focus above all on lower secondary teachers.

profession's national context, I argue for viewing both phenomena dichotomously, in terms of *structure* and *agency* (Archer 1995). This vantage point enables us to view teachers as agents. Although they act in certain structures, these structures do not determine them (*ibid.*); rather, teachers act within the bounds of given structures and the interactions in which teachers are involved results in the new structures or affirmation of old ones.

Finally, on the choice of my cases: I argue that it is interesting to compare teachers from Germany and Sweden since they differ in relation to the construction of the school system, fundamental educational values, governance regimes, teacher education, and even CPD. At the same time, however, before 1945 there is some common history, and both countries have also been influenced by world politics (Meyer 2009). With respect to teacher autonomy, there are restrictions on the scope of action in both countries' systems, but these are of a different kind (Cortina et al. 2003; Lundgren 2005). This generates differences and similarities both in CPD and autonomy that might allow for improvement through plausible socio-historical conceptualisation of the relation between these two aspects.²

1.3. Outline of the thesis

The thesis is structured in three main parts. In part one, I present an empirical study on teachers' CPD in Germany and Sweden that has developed over three separately published articles. In part two, I elaborate on teacher autonomy from both a comparative and a socio-historical point of view. In part three, the CPD study's findings will be related to perspectives on autonomy. I analyse teachers' different nation-specific cultures in light of different forms of teacher autonomy and present an outline of a theory on the nexus of teachers' CPD and autonomy.

Part I commences with the second chapter. Teachers' continuing professional development as a field of research is outlined, starting with an international overview, then proceeding to probe the lack of awareness of *contextuality* of teachers' CPD. Furthermore, both the Swedish and the smaller body of research in the field in Germany is very much influenced by Anglo-American research, although European and American teacher cultures are quite different. While many Swedish studies do show a greater awareness of the contextuality manifested in individual schools and municipalities, they do not focus on national context. From this lack of research into teachers' CPD, comes the motivation

2 Such a case study design requires a certain amount of subject knowledge – at the very least knowledge of the languages used in both cases. This can be achieved through trans-national research teams or – as in individual projects like this – through a background in both cultures. My own background, as a German national with a German university degree who has lived and worked in Sweden for almost five years, has enabled me to understand both cases in terms of their cultural, social and historical particularities.

for a comparative study of continuous professional development of teachers in two different national contexts.

Chapter three comprises conceptual considerations on how teachers' CPD and their perception of the field can be investigated empirically. It starts with an introduction of the comparative vantage point of the study on teachers' CPD by presenting a comparative case study approach that guides the study's construction and the analyses of its findings. Then, conceptual terms such as *CPD culture*, *knowledge sources* and *CPD marketplace* will pave the theoretical way to an empirical study. It is argued that teachers act as agents in a *regulated CPD marketplace*, together with other agents such as state departments and agencies, educational researchers, colleagues, teacher unions, professional associations and private companies. These entities offer knowledge to teachers in formal as well as informal ways, for instance in the form of courses, books, manuals, the Internet, conferences, and working groups. The term *knowledge sources* is used to capture both the agents and what they supply to the marketplace. There is a plethora of opportunities for teachers to engage in CPD. In different countries, the structure of the marketplace and choices available to teachers differ according to how the educational system is shaped and regulated by the state. Opportunities are enclosed within this framework, and teachers make decisions about the sources they use in order to develop their knowledge. Teachers' choices can be seen as expressions of what they perceive as usable, appropriate and important sources. In addition, these are seen as a crucial part of teachers' CPD culture, as teachers' professional culture develops from collective beliefs and strategies that constitute its culture, while this culture has also emerged historically from teachers' agency.

In the fourth chapter, the design of the study is described. Firstly, the construction of the quantitative questionnaire study is outlined. The focus is on crucial aspects of cross-national studies, the validity and reliability of the questionnaire, as well as ethical considerations and the issue of missing values. Furthermore the two samples of the study will be described, comprising in total 711 mainly lower secondary teachers from the state (*Bundesland*) of Berlin in Germany and the county (*län*) of Stockholm in Sweden. Part I ends with chapter five presenting comprehensive summaries of the results of the three articles published from the study. The articles answer the research questions related to aim one in different ways, *1.1. What do German and Swedish teachers do and what have they done for their CPD from their perspective and what do they perceive as appropriate sources for their professional development; 1.2. What impact does school governance have on CPD from the teachers' perspective; 1.3. What differences and similarities exist between both teacher groups' CPD; 1.4. How can the differences and similarities be explained by the nation specific particularities of both cases?* The first article investigates teachers' continuing professional development culture by examining teachers' perceptions of sources of knowledge and of how different instruments of school governance impact

their CPD. It finds that Swedish and German CPD cultures can be clearly distinguished from each other. The findings are, among other things, interpreted by the different qualities of teacher autonomy in both national contexts. These differences are due to historical and cultural traditions in both cases. The *second article* investigates teachers' perceptions of sources offering knowledge for teachers' CPD. It argues that a knowledge source's trustworthiness is relevant when teachers decide for or against a source from the available opportunities in the CPD marketplace. The article finds that trustworthiness, while important in both contexts, is not relevant for Swedish teachers to the same extent as it is for German teachers. The similarities are related to the importance of trust in the teaching profession overall, while the differences can again be interpreted in terms of the different degrees of autonomy teachers enjoy in each country. Finally, the *third article* focuses on teachers' CPD of assessment in Germany and Sweden. It finds, among other things, that German teachers are obviously more active in their CPD on assessment. Since assessment is closely related to the issue of autonomy, the article argues that the greater extent of CPD in Germany can be related to educational reforms in Germany that constrain teachers' autonomy. Thus, their more intensive CPD can be seen as a defence strategy, making their knowledge visible and reflecting the reforms through CPD. The apparently more passive Swedish teachers that have undergone a longer process of de-professionalization contrast the German case.

Part two of the thesis, starting with chapter six, considers the phenomenon of teacher autonomy, seen as a crucial factor in the shaping of teachers' CPD cultures described in part one. Part one relates the findings on teachers' CPD cultures in general to different contextual particularities in Germany and Sweden. In order to gain a more systematic and theory-informing understanding of the influence of the national context on teachers' CPD, the more general investigation of the impact of national context is narrowed down to systematic considerations of the phenomenon of autonomy. However, in order to combine both aspects in a systematic manner, a thorough elaboration of the phenomenon of teacher autonomy from both a theoretical as well as a historical perspective in *both* national contexts is necessary. Here, I build on Margaret Archer's (1995) dualistic perspective on structure and agency as introduced at the beginning of the introduction. I will argue that teacher autonomy, provided by state governance, can be seen as a structure that conditions teachers' continuing professional development. The latter is thereby a form of agency within the teaching profession that results either in an affirmation of existing autonomy structures or in a new version of them.

Autonomy will then be defined more clearly to make it analytically applicable to both an international comparison and the description of national change in terms of structure and agency. A model containing different categories will be elaborated that relates different forms of curriculum evaluation to different

forms of autonomy attributed to the teaching profession in different contexts. This model presents two dimensions of autonomy with different qualities (restricted and extended). The first concerns *institutional* components of the profession such as collective function, collective rights and collective duties, while the second comprises the practical issues of teachers in schools and classrooms, meaning the profession's *service* component. In reality both dimensions are not always easily distinguished, but here they provide suitable analytical properties for comparison. I will argue that state governance can define the teaching profession's scope of action regarding these dimensions, and through this dual-pronged model four different categories evolve. One presents *extended institutional*, but *restricted service autonomy*, another, *restricted institutional*, but *extended service autonomy*. These categories are contrasted in terms of whether each of the two dimensions is extended or restricted. The different interrelated categories of the elaborated model aim to make differences between various national autonomy-structures analytically comprehensible in order to understand autonomy as a changeable phenomenon. In terms of structure and agency, a particular form of autonomy in one context can be described by a certain category then related to different forms of interaction (agency). The latter can result in an elaboration of autonomy (structures) corresponding to another category within the model. In conclusion, chapter six answers research question 2.1. *How can teacher autonomy in different national contexts be displayed to provide analytical and explanatory value for nation specific differences and similarities in teachers' CPD?*

In chapter seven, in a meta-analysis of literature about the teaching profession, both national contexts will be investigated regarding the development of teacher autonomy over a certain time. This relates to research question 2.2. *How has teacher autonomy in both cases developed?* The thesis will examine which traditions and structures have guided the development of the German and Swedish teaching professions' scope of action. I try to explain how the interaction of different agents results in various forms of autonomy which in turn condition new interactions, arguing that different configurations of the phenomena – expressed in the introduced categories – enable only certain kinds of agency. In other words, due to certain scopes of action, teachers react in certain ways. This can be seen, for example, in the empirical study in part one of the thesis, in terms of continuing professional development cultures.

Part three aims to tie the previous parts together systematically focussing on research question 2.3. *What theoretical conclusions can be drawn from both cases' autonomy and CPD in relation to teachers' CPD and teacher autonomy?* Here, in chapter eight, the relationship between CPD in different contexts and teachers' autonomy will be dealt with in theoretical terms. I will discuss which configurations of autonomy, historically emergent, dictated by state governance and, indeed, described by a certain category within the model, will likely result in a particular CPD culture which can be investigated empirically.

Part I

Investigating teachers' continuing
professional development in two
national contexts

2. Research on teachers' continuing professional development

In this chapter I will discuss relevant research on teachers' continuing professional development. I do not have the ambition to present an exhaustive list of research findings here, but I aim to draw a picture comprising the main particularities of this field of research, focussing on the most prominent rationales and my own stance towards these findings and conceptions. My approach to understanding the field started with a keyword search on Swedish (*Libris*), German (*FisBildung*) and international, mostly Anglo-American (*EBSCO*) dominated databases. I also used more systematic knowledge from handbooks and research review articles as well as research review chapters of related theses.

2.1. International research on teachers' continuing professional development

Regarding research on teachers' CPD, there exists an ever-extending landscape of studies. Moreover, this field has several different names, often with similar or overlapping meanings (Bolam and McMahon 2004). Staff development, human resources development, professional development, teacher development, as well as in-service teacher education and training or lifelong learning are just some examples that often are used synonymously with the term – CPD – applied in this thesis. There also exist related areas that are sometimes difficult to distinguish from this field, for example teacher learning, initial teacher education, induction, all of which examine a teacher's path from teacher education into the school, as well as educational leadership. For these reasons, I will start this review section by discussing the reasons behind my choice of the field's name as well as the borders of the field from the perspective of this thesis. Following Day (2004b), I consider teachers' CPD as describing “all the activities in which teachers engage during the course of a career which are designed to enhance their work” (p.3). This implies that I will neither investigate how teachers develop during teacher education and induction, nor how they learn to teach. *Engagement* means for me teachers' active and conscious decisions in order to enhance their work and working conditions. This issue remains valid – in different qualities and quantities – throughout their entire careers. It can be argued that it is a continuing development directed at professional issues, a *continuing professional development*. Since this is a study investigating two different na-

tional cases, the field must also be defined in the respective languages. Traditionally, the phenomenon of interest has been called *Fortbildung* or *fortbildning* in Germany and Sweden respectively,³ with both words having essentially the same meaning. These are probably translated best by the English term continuing education. Since these terms have often been associated with too narrow a perspective in both countries, especially with one-spot formal afternoon courses, with *Kompetenzentwicklung* and *kompetensutveckling* respectively, other terms have evolved in the last few years. The former pair can be translated as competence development, and encompass many more possibilities as well as the teachers' own active agency in continuing professional development.

In this thesis I also want to use this extended outlook on teachers' CPD. For this reason I extend earlier definitions in order to portray teachers as agents, enabled and empowered to consciously choose from existing alternatives for development and problem solving in their everyday work. This includes formal and informal settings as well as formal and non-formal development. Formal development is characterised by the following features, though not all have to be present in every case: a prescribed learning environment, an organised learning event or package, the presence of a designated teacher or trainer, the awarding of certification or credit and the external specification of the outcomes (Eraut 2002). The knowledge handled here is explicit. Non-formal development is not characterised by those features, but is nevertheless directed towards a certain systematic aim, such as the improvement of a particular practice or situation (*ibid.*). Examples of formal settings include courses organised with a special purpose, as in organised CPD programs. Courses and working groups are also related to explicit building of knowledge that is shared and reflected upon with others. Reading books, observing colleagues and learning while doing are all of a non-formal nature. The latter results in rather implicit knowledge. Consequently a broader definition of CPD is crucial. Day's (1997) is very useful:

[Continuing professional development consists, W.W.] of all natural learning experiences and those conscious and planned activities which are intended to be of direct or indirect benefit to the individual, group or school and which contribute, through these, to the quality of education in the classroom. It is the process by which, alone and with others, teachers review, renew and extend their commitment as change agents to the moral purposes of teaching and by which they acquire and develop critically the knowledge, skills and emotional intelligence es-

3 In both national contexts, the terms have to be distinguished from "Weiterbildung" and "vidareutbildning" respectively. Whereas "fortbilden" means the development and consolidation in its own subject or field, the person who attends "Weiterbildung" aims to gain a certificate that extends their formal competences. The most prominent example for such activities is when subject teachers study a new school subject that was not part of their initial teacher education.

sential to good professional thinking, planning and practice with children, young people and colleagues through each phase of their teaching live (p.7).

A focus on teachers' perspectives and an inclusion of formal and non-formal settings enables us to see teachers as agents of their own development, with more or fewer opportunities to develop. However, an investigation of non-formal development is not straightforward because such development is often invisible. Here teachers need to be asked what they consider appropriate. Prerequisite for such an approach is trust in teachers regarding their self-reported CPD; their reported activities and beliefs must be seen as representation of what they – in their role as professionals – see as appropriate and useful.

After defining the field, the next question concerns the existing research findings and conceptions from the perspective of my study. However, even after all the constraints are made, the field of research is still not easy to comprehend. There is a plethora of, first of all qualitative, case studies that investigate teachers' CPD. The existing research is highly contextualised and regrettably often exists next to but does not relate to other works, as Sprinthal stated in (1996). This has resulted in many programmes and models which claim to be new and innovative. But, as Bolam and McMahon state in the *International handbook of continuing professional development* (2004), such claims are rarely true. In the best case they coin new names for well-known phenomena (Sprinthal et al. 1996).

Fortunately in recent years, tremendous work has been done in cumulative knowledge building, gathering findings together and conceptualising teachers' CPD, resulting in a number of handbooks and reviews. Initially, teachers' continuing professional development was part of research on teaching or teacher education (Houston 1990; Richardson and Placier 2001; Saha and Dworkin 2009; Sikula 1996; Wittrock 1986), but more recently, international handbooks have been published that focus solely on teachers' (continuing) professional development (Day and Sachs 2004a; Day 2012; Guskey and Huberman 1995; Villegas-Reimers 2003). The researchers involved in these handbooks are the exploratory cartographers of the field, mapping the territory, identifying landmarks and offering orientation. Bolam (1999) proposes four different categories of CPD literature: (i) the knowledge-for-understanding literature, which includes theoretical and critical policy analyses; (ii) the knowledge-for-action literature, which includes evaluations of CPD programmes; (iii) the policy maker literature, which includes evaluations of national and international policy statements; and finally (iv) the practitioner literature, which includes both reflexive and practical methods. This distinction helps both to understand the field and – equally importantly in the case of my thesis – to identify the aspects where my study can contribute to a further understanding. I will not investigate teachers' experiences, formed and transformed through one or several specific CPD programmes (iv); I will neither contribute to an understanding of how CPD policy is emerging and displayed in policy agendas (iii); nor will I investi-

gate the impact of CPD on teachers' practice, behaviour or beliefs, or on pupils' performances (ii). My thesis aims to contribute to a further understanding of CPD as a part and process of teacher practice – both regarding its conditions and its shape in various national contexts. Moreover, I try to examine it as a phenomenon that portrays the relation between the teaching profession and state governance. These objectives refer more or less to Bolam's first category, but also aim to introduce the teaching profession's active agency regarding the shaping of national CPD fields.

Literature reviews and handbooks argue that blind spots remain in the research on CPD. For example, more CPD tailored concepts and theories, among other things, are needed. Furthermore, they cite a need for more research on the effect of various conditions on the formation of CPD, provided by the contextuality of teachers' work and development (Kelchtermans 2004). In particular, more research is needed regarding the national context of CPD (Bolam and McMahon 2004). The collective knowledge of the handbooks makes a call for a further conceptualisation of the field. Bolam and MacMahon (2004) renew Guskey's (1995) argument that the powerful and often ignored influence of context consistently thwarts efforts to find universal truth in professional development. This thesis aims to address the latter request by conducting a comparative study of teachers' CPD culture in two national contexts, and by an interpretation of the resulting differences in socio-historical terms. Comparisons can be viewed as devices that enable us to see both the universal mechanisms that influence teachers' CPD as well as the nation-specific variations thereupon. This requires methodological approaches and conceptions that describe teachers' CPD from the teachers' own perspective and investigates and compares it as a product of its particular context.

Some suggestions have already been made for comparing teachers' continuing professional development in various national contexts. The OECD (1998) proposes, different categories that enable a comparison of CPD in different countries. These are: content of programmes, resources for teachers' development, aspiration of teachers for developing (such as career opportunities) and evaluation. This approach provides categories which allow us to understand various states' framework for teachers' CPD. Comparing the national framework of CPD in different contexts can also be done by way of the likely most prominent distinction in research on CPD: there are independent CPD, CPD related to the individual school, and CPD related to the expectations of state and society in terms of reform and change (Altrichter 2010; O'Brien 2011). Relating this distinction to the categories of the OECD it is interesting to ask which opportunities are actually available to the individual teacher. The questions which need to be asked, then, concern how much teachers are allowed to determine the content of CPD, what resources are available, how much their own aspirations are taken into account, and how much their voice is considered in the evalua-

tions. Here, different configurations are possible, total individuality in their CPD, CPD in relation to the necessities of the school framed by expectations or norms of the colleagues and the principal, as well as a total commitment of teachers' CPD to external goals in systems with a perspective toward development mostly as a reform facilitator. To this end, a prominent distinction between *top-down* and *bottom-up* has been used [as an early example: Darling-Hammond (1990)]. The former indicates changes imposed by the state, the latter, changes owned by the profession.

Another OECD work *Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS)* (OECD 2009) investigates lower secondary teachers' beliefs and practices as well as continuing professional development from the teachers' own perspective. The results related to CPD have been re-analysed by Scheerens and colleagues (2010). It can be stated that an approach which investigates teachers' perception of their own CPD – in terms of what they have done over a certain time, why they were unable to attend more, what impact they attribute to certain activities or what wishes they have for others – is a very productive way to gain more knowledge from inside schools and classrooms. From their own perspective, teachers are indeed active in their CPD, but mostly in non-formal settings. Furthermore, a comparative approach reveals the national impact on teachers: it can be shown that there are different national patterns of CPD in participating countries, pointing to the existence of different CPD cultures. While the analyses are still at a very descriptive and exploratory level, it is clear that not only do the individual and school background, but also national context play a key role. Neither Sweden nor Germany was included in this study. However, the teachers' union in Germany (*Gewerkschaft für Erziehung und Wissenschaft, GEW*) financed the conduct of an independent study using the OECD's instruments (Demmer and Saldern 2010). This study demonstrated as productive the approach of asking the teachers' about their perceptions of CPD.

2.2. German and Swedish research on teachers' continuing professional development

Concerning the importance of national context on CPD, it has also to be examined what, in particular, German and Swedish research has had to say concerning CPD. It has been stated that there is only scant research on teachers' CPD in Germany (Lipowsky 2004; Scheunflug et al. 2006), but this is no longer true. Today the field has become a focus, and comparing Lipowsky's update (2010) of his prominent German review of CPD (2004), more German research contributions are observed. However, research findings interested in CPD in particular are still few. Before this shift, statements about teachers' CPD ended mostly with the somewhat melancholic claim that CPD does not play a greater role in teachers' professional careers as is claimed in recent handbooks on schooling and teacher education (Terhart 2004; Blömeke 2009; Daschner 2009).

For a considerable time CPD was seen as the individual endeavour of teachers, one that could mostly be characterised as focussing on pedagogical content knowledge, supported by state and also non-government institutions through offering afternoon courses which took place after the close of the school day, but since the 1990s, CPD has been seen rather as a collective issue, encompassing the entire staff of a given school. This is shown in the emergence of so-called school-internal CPD (*Schulinterne Lehrerfortbildung, SchiLf*), in which the CPD focus shifted from individual to collective and school related endeavours. This is why issues of cooperation have come increasingly into focus [for a review see Gräsel et. al. (2006)]. In particular, in research on CPD, the long standing lack of interest in teachers among educational researchers becomes visible. Universities have neither been interested in offering significant CPD for teachers, nor in seeing the school as an experimental area for research into teaching and learning, as Buchholtz (2010) states. As described above, research on CPD was not part of the agenda at all. This situation, however, already describes particularities of the national context. German teachers' CPD has obviously been quite independent from other stakeholders in the school system, such as the state or educational researchers, for some time. It is no surprise, then, that this field was of little interest, which is why it remains today as under-illuminated, even after the attitude towards the importance of CPD has noticeably shifted.

The most recent research on teachers and teaching concerns primarily an investigation into teacher education and teacher competences (Lipowsky 2006; Allemann-Ghionda and Terhart 2006; Baumert and Kunter 2006; Brunner et al. 2006; Tenorth 2006; Blömeke et al. 2011; Blömeke et al. 2008, 2010; Terhart 2001, 2002). It remains to be seen what sustainable impact this development will have on CPD research. Moreover, the research that exists at this point mostly considers teachers' formal development and not their non-formal activities. Some steps have been taken, but much more has to be learned in this respect. Such an approach could, as Heise (2007) shows, alter the depiction of German teachers as development-hostile. Teachers develop actively, but prefer to do so in isolated and non-formal settings. Especially when compared with other professions, such as lawyers or doctors, teachers are *not* less active in their CPD endeavours, and this finding was affirmed in 2010 by the German implementation of TALIS study instruments [see above, Gagarina and Saldern (2010)], which clearly stated the importance of reading professional literature and informal dialogues with colleagues for German teachers. Richter and colleagues (2011) were able to show in their study that informal and formal CPD activities are a crucial part of teachers' lives. However, the patterns change the longer teachers are active in their profession, with the informal and isolated CPD activities becoming more important over time. Here, subject content and pedagogical content knowledge are most relevant. Finally, an interesting new

approach in the German speaking countries which – as will be shown below – is prominent in the Swedish case, also regards teachers CPD as support system for school governance (Fussangel et al. 2010).

In opposition to the longstanding lack of interest in the German case, there exists a long and vibrant tradition of research on teachers' CPD in Sweden. In this case, the issue has been a major concern of school policy. Interesting historical reviews on the relation of CPD and school development and their function for state governance can be found in Linnell (1999) and also in Carlgren and Hörnqvist (1999). In fact, CPD has long been seen as a crucial instrument for the promotion and implementation of reform. Since Sweden also has a long and vibrant reform history, as will be shown below, teachers' CPD was often the focus of research and development. CPD, related to the implementation of the comprehensive school reform (concluded in 1962), was mainly related to frequent and extensive schooling experiments (Carlgren and Hörnqvist 1999). CPD was very important in implementing the new comprehensive school system. Educational research played a key role in these processes because it investigated and defined what was considered good and modern education (*ibid.*). Research findings were transferred from the 'lab' into practice and trialled in campaign form – in terms of earmarked resources – mostly via so-called study days⁴ at the schools (Linnell 1999). CPD became work of school development. However, researchers were also able to observe that this kind of CPD hardly had any impact on teacher practice. From the 1980s school development, meaning CPD as a collective issue directed at the development of staff and school, became central in Sweden. Through its focus on local structures, it was related to the decentralisation of schools that commenced during this period. Still, it was organised as a series of campaigns. Even when the results were hardly positive [summary in Linnell (1999)], a lot was learned about the influence of the particular context, provided by the school and municipalities, and also how official reform aims were reshaped by teachers according to their own requirements and opportunities (Carlgren 1986; Rönnerman 1999). Comparing this situation with the German case illustrates just how much state interest in teachers can accelerate research in a particular field.

During the implementation of the curriculum of 1994, CPD campaigns began once more. The objectives of the reforms concerning teachers' and schools' participatory curriculum-making and local development again provided opportunities to learn about the impact of context on teachers' CPD. Linnell (1999), for example, while comparing CPD in terms of the new curriculum in four different municipalities, which due to the reforms gained a great degree of independence in school governance, was able to show that in all contexts the issue was shaped differently and in none at all were the intended outcomes produced.

4 Study days were organised into full day CPD activities that were held at the individual school, mostly comprising an invitational lecture and workshops focussing on the content of the lecture.

Considering the rather disappointing results of decentralised CPD, trends towards recentralisation were not surprising (*ibid.*). However, these results are already historical. From a contemporary perspective, it can be seen that the campaign-based character of Swedish CPD governance remained, but was still a totally contextual endeavour in the various municipalities. Both states and municipalities frequently launch new models and programmes that are also often evaluated by educational research. This does indeed produce a huge amount of data. Case studies are the main focus and the data are of a qualitative nature, which does not always contribute to general theory building concerning how CPD functions and what impact the context has. On the other hand, a situation such as the Swedish one offers a laboratory for testing a plethora of models and concepts. Whether this is in the best interests of the teaching profession remains as an empirical issue.

The most recent CPD campaign focuses much more on individual CPD, again by providing opportunities to extend subject matter and pedagogical content knowledge (*läraryftet*) (Eurydice 2008).⁵ Many teachers now have the opportunity to upgrade their subject or pedagogical content knowledge or to commence a research education and gain a doctoral degree alongside their regular work in schools. Deeper and more conceptual insights into the impact and theoretical mechanisms are not yet available. Still, the collective, school-developmental component has taken the form of various joint development endeavours between researchers and teachers in schools, including action research, learning studies, research circles etc., as Lindholm (2008) presents in her thesis concerning different forms of collaboration between researchers and teachers. The guiding idea is to help teachers to develop their own practice alongside authentic problems. A further objective is that teachers develop a professional language and methods for systematic development. Lindholm reports positive feedback from teachers regarding the projects, but it has also become clear that in all versions of the various observed meeting forms, researchers had a dominant role. Here, there is a danger that other professionals might objectify teachers and their problems, which, in contradiction to the actual aim of the CPD activities, might be an obstacle for teachers' professionalization.

However, the teachers involved in such programmes very often improved their practice – at least from their own perspective – and experienced the work with researchers very positively. According to the plan, these teachers are assumed to act among their colleagues as change agents. It remains to be seen whether teachers want to take on such roles, and whether they will be welcome in the contexts of the individual schools. Berg (2011) shows in her study that even the most passionate teachers in their CPD programme did not want to act

5 On the terminology of the different domains of teacher knowledge read below in chapter 4 on the particularities of didactics.

as change agents among their colleagues. Regarding the joint work efforts of different professional groups in school development and CPD, Lind (2000) presents an interesting study that shows how such projects often become arenas for inter-professional interaction. CPD becomes an expression for various professions' intentions in terms of securing and gaining status through closure and alliances [see Selander (1989)]. Such a perspective, which regards teachers as professional agents who interact with other professionals in and through CPD and thereby builds particular structures, e.g. a certain degree of autonomy within the profession, is a productive approach that has been proved at the micro level in various case studies. My study aims to develop an approach to investigating CPD as an expression of the teaching professions' interaction with other professions at a macro level.

In conclusion, whereas in Germany research on teachers' CPD is still poorly developed, there is a plethora of research on teachers' CPD in Sweden. It follows that the Swedish section was larger than the summary of the German research. At this point in time, the picture is interesting insofar as it provides some insight into the nation-specific particularities of the national CPD marketplaces. In Germany, CPD has for a long time been an individual endeavour for teachers to undertake alone, and today carried out by the individual schools. It makes sense, therefore that there was little interest in research into this area. Very recently, this has begun to change, with growing state interest in the issue. Today, teacher competences are the primary focus, along with the question of how these can best be developed. In Sweden, CPD has long been seen as crucial for the implementation of school reforms, at least from a governance perspective. This interest has also accelerated research into the phenomenon itself, where various research findings show the impact of the local context (by the individual school or municipality) on teachers' CPD. Moreover, relationships in CPD are often a focus in Swedish research, considering relations between entities such as teachers and state, teachers in their various contexts, teachers and researchers etc. Finally, however, there exist no comparative studies which focus on the impact of different national contexts on teachers' CPD in either Germany or Sweden.

3. An empirical investigation of teachers' CPD in two national contexts

The following chapters present an empirical study of teachers' continuing professional development in different national contexts. The study uses a comparative case study approach that builds on an empirical quantitative questionnaire study. This approach and its implications will be presented first, after which, three conceptual terms are elaborated further and applied to the empirical study. These terms are *teachers' CPD culture*, *CPD marketplace* and *sources of knowledge*. Central to their construction is their empirical value for comparative studies of teachers' CPD. The results of the study, grounded on the above mentioned considerations, are presented in three different articles, which are summarised at the end of this section. In the articles which present the results of the study, Swedish and German teachers' perceptions of CPD are discussed and analysed as expressions of teachers' reactions to the task imperatives of their profession and the structures provided by their work in a state organised institution: the school. Here, a comparative approach with a socio-historical perspective is of particular value.

3.1. A comparative approach

The classical definition of comparison as a social scientific method can be found in Durkheim's work at the beginning of the last century [in: Philips (1999, p.16)]:

We have only one way of demonstrating that one phenomenon is the cause of another. This is to compare the cases where they are both simultaneously present or absent, so as to discover whether the variations they display in these different combinations of circumstances provide evidence that one depends upon the other. When the phenomena can be artificially produced at will by the observer, the method is that of experimentation proper. When, on the other hand, the production of facts is something beyond our power to command, and we can only bring together as they have spontaneously produced, the method used is one of indirect experimentation, or the comparative method.

This indeed points to a natural science perspective on social science, and therefore promotes an understanding of social science that can be treated as a closed laboratory system (Danermark et. al. 2002). Nevertheless, the act of comparing

a case where a certain factor is absent/present with another case where a certain factor is absent/present is a productive starting point for investigating particular phenomena and relations. Different mechanisms may reinforce or neutralize each other, and a potential chain of cause and effect may take different forms. In the words of Edgar Morin [in Schriewer (1999a), p. 53-54]:

Like causes can give rise to different and/or divergent effects.

b) Different causes can give rise to like effects.

c) Minor causes can entail quite major effects.

d) Major causes can entail quite minor effects.

e) Some causes can give rise to opposite effects.

f) The effects of antagonistic causes are uncertain.

Complex causation is not linear: It is circular and interrelated; cause and effect have lost their substantiality, causes have lost all their pervading power, effects all their embracing dependencies. They are relativised by one another and are transformed each into the other. Complex causation is no longer just deterministic or probabilistic, it creates, rather the improbable.

Moreover, all theories of reality are related to existing observer conceptions. The observations made by the observers are “mediated actions” (Wertsch 1991). Broadfoot (Broadfoot 1999) emphasizes this view:

Individuals construct their personal, and national identities through a stock of narratives which are the result of particular historical and cultural contexts. Such “mediated action” is the product of the interaction of a range of mediational means – cultural tools which both facilitate and constrain how individuals engage with the situation in which they find themselves.

Teachers’ professional culture has emerged historically and is influenced by the national culture. Its shape at a certain point in time can be observed empirically, e.g. as individuals’ shared perception of crucial aspects of their environment. However, the question remains of how the influence of the national culture and the history of the professional culture can be conceptualised.

Schriewer (1999a, p. 58f) presents a combined comparative research approach containing “generalisation” and “respecification”, meaning firstly an “act of establishing general terms and secondly eliminating different alternatives of these in concrete settings”. The generalising operation is closely connected to a profound knowledge of the “subject area” of interest and thereby determines which alternatives are possible, or in other words which options from the general cause-effect chain exist and are able to be investigated. This process is indeed highly theory oriented. The “specificative operation” examines the general relations and possible options in the constraints of the particular context. However, “a conditional analysis of this kind may in turn embrace two perspectives. It can emphasise, firstly, the decisions taken in favour of particular solutions – and, by the same token, against other problem solutions. It can also

focus, then, on the consequences, and follow-up problems resulting from such decisions.” (ibid, p. 59). Here, time and space are relevant for our understanding. The investigation of different configurations which lead to different patterns requires an historical perspective (ibid.). This means that the explanation of the particular emergence of certain phenomena should be sought in historical developments which made a particular configuration possible while preventing another (ibid.).

Therefore, the comparative method is a case-study method, which views the entirety of a case and the circumstances of its emergence in certain conditions (Ragin 1987). In fact, only small N comparisons are possible (ibid.). A concentration on complex interrelations in the cases also means that the case-study approach has both a theory building function as well as a theory challenging function. The point of theory generation should be stressed in particular, as social science must aim to generalise, i.e. the comparison should aim to be “theory informing” (Broadfoot 1999), which means that from the specification, an advance to the formulation of general terms must be made, at least in the form of formulating hypotheses.

3.2. Teachers’ professional culture

The relevance of the national context – frequently emphasised in this thesis – does not mean that the teaching profession, viewed from an international perspective, does not also share same patterns that are needed to construct meaningful comparisons. The similarities comprise imperative tasks related to the function of the teaching profession and the school. During the emergence of mass education, an *ecology of schooling* (Lortie 2002/1975) or a *grammar of schooling* (Tyack and Cuban 1995) developed around the relation of one teacher responsible for the learning of between 20 to 30 learners – which remains true at least in the Western world. This phenomenon can be used for the conceptualisation of a professional culture of teachers. I argue that these similarities make it possible to describe a shared professional culture among teachers and consequently the impact of the national context on that culture. Simply put, a conception of a professional culture would make it possible to first describe something like a “universal teacher” and then analyse how the national context might result in relevant and significant deviations from this construct. The question is, then, *what is shared and what is not and why*.

It has been argued, in other empirical research on teachers, that the behaviour and beliefs of teachers can be described in terms of a shared culture (Acker 1990; Broadfoot et al. 1993; Feiman-Nemser and Floden 1986; Hargreaves 1994; Lortie 2002/1975; Terhart 1996, 2001).⁶ The main idea behind the con-

⁶ Between 1970 and the 1990s there was a golden age in the Anglo-American research realm of studying the teaching profession in terms of a professional culture. Such studies often used quantitative methods and reasoning in order to define an average teacher from which the indi-

cept of a shared professional culture is the assumption that the same tasks and working conditions condition the development of individuals' beliefs, practices and perceptions regarding a certain collective phenomenon called collective culture. This culture is dynamic; its members adopt it and develop it (Terhart 1996). Schein (2005), as already cited above, describes culture as

[...] a pattern of basic assumptions – invented, discovered or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and integration – that has worked well enough to be considered valid and therefore has to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems (ibid., p. 18).

In this thesis it is argued that not only the work task itself and its handling from within a certain group, but also context, meaning structures in which the work takes place, have an influence on this culture. Considering the teaching profession, the conditions under which teachers work differ with regard to factors such as socio-cultural characteristics, school types or school governance. In this way, different cultures can emerge (Feiman-Nemser and Floden 1986). However, the assumption of a shared culture of teachers is seen as necessary in order to examine the influence of context on teachers' work. The comparative approach in this thesis will draw on national differences and similarities and therefore assume a shared culture at this level.

One particularity of the teaching profession is the numerous dilemmas teachers have to handle (cf Lortie 2002/1975; Luhmann 2002), for example, teachers have to cope with the question of equity in education among pupils who all come from different backgrounds. The balance of group and individual needs must be taken into consideration continually. Work in the classroom is highly independent in its patterns but is strongly dependent on the environment of the school and the school system. There is always an *uncertainty* that teachers must cope with in their work (Rosenholtz 1989): uncertainty in a profession which needs emotional commitment but does not have any external gratification. In most cases, teachers cope with these dilemmas in an appropriate way, and similar patterns evolve that form the foundation of a shared, context-specific professional culture of teachers.

vidual teachers in different contexts were said to deviate. They present empirically applicable approaches and conceptions that are still, between 20 and 30 years later, used in empirical research on the teaching profession.

3.3. Teachers' continuing professional development culture

In this thesis one particular aspect of teachers' professional culture is in focus: teachers' continuing professional development. It is argued that this aspect is of particular interest because an investigation of teachers' relations to other actors producing knowledge can contribute to an understanding of the teaching profession in different contexts. All new input, for example CPD, is judged in terms of whether it fits into this vulnerable and complex (because conflict ridden) system of teachers. Teachers can defend against unwanted changes by literally closing the classroom door. This makes CPD an interesting issue, because understanding it can contribute to an understanding of which knowledge from elsewhere can succeed in becoming part of a teacher profession in practice and which cannot. Here it is argued that teachers' CPD is part of their professional culture, and given the same working conditions and tasks, teachers develop a pattern of basic assumptions on appropriate CPD, which is dependent on the specific context (Day and Sachs 2004). For a long time, conceptions of teachers' CPD were limited to short-term, after-school courses and in-service development with pre-cast content and models aimed mostly at preparing teachers for top-down reforms. This is no longer a viable way to see teachers' continuing professional development since today, CPD not only includes in-service education and training in form of organised programmes but also every self-determined and systematic development such as the independent reading of books and journals, attendance at university courses, programmes and conferences as well as interaction with colleagues and principals (Villegas-Reimers 2003). It is argued here that teachers themselves are agents in a *CPD marketplace* with a plethora of opportunities and spaces for individual development. Regarding Day's (1997) definition introduced above, CPD can be described as consisting

[...] of all natural learning experiences and those conscious and planned activities which are intended to be of direct or indirect benefit to the individual, group or school and which contribute, through these, to the quality of education in the classroom. It is the process by which, alone and with others, teachers review, renew and extend their commitment as change agents [...] (p. 7).

This thesis follows Day's notion, even though it is normative, on the one hand, because he provides a much broader understanding of teachers' CPD. On the other hand, this definition incorporates teachers' perspectives on CPD and also the opportunities they have for their own development. This agency is grounded on a corporate identity, but must not be organised. However, even out of primary agency there emerges a particular power that influences interaction. Teachers must face certain tasks and certain organisational constraints, must manage conflicts, want to have certainty and assurances and aim to develop their professional identity. Furthermore, to see teachers as agents gives us the opportunity

to view CPD as organised into a marketplace that offers a plethora of opportunities to gain knowledge in different forms offered by different institutions. This marketplace is regulated by the state and such a regulated marketplace concept gives us the opportunity for comparative studies on teachers' CPD.

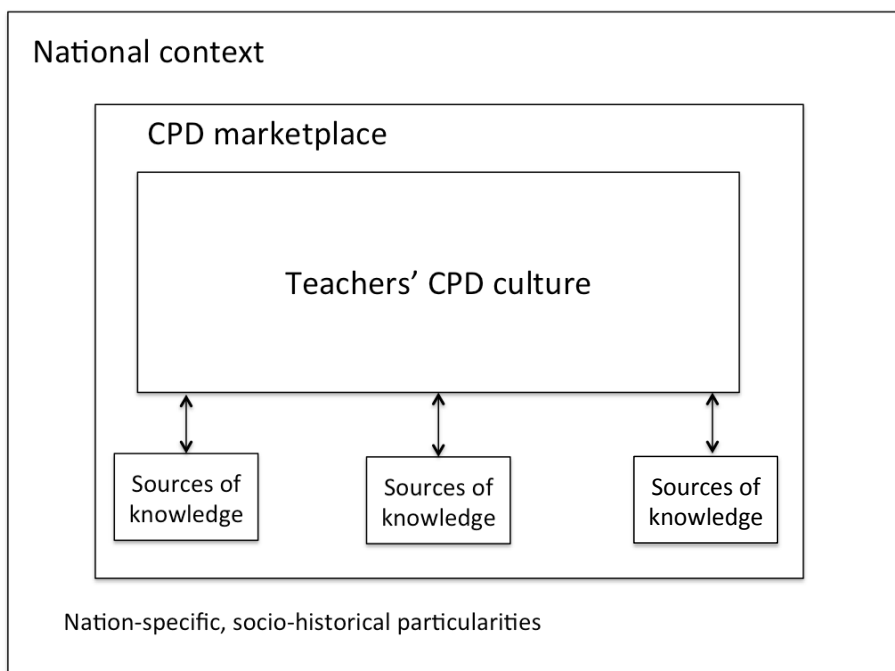


Figure 1: CPD culture, CPD marketplace and sources of knowledge

Figure 1 shows teachers in a context-specific *CPD marketplace*. They share beliefs about appropriate CPD, strategies in the marketplace and relations to *sources of knowledge* that produce knowledge for schools and teachers. This is their *CPD culture*. In the marketplace itself, there is a great number of opportunities for teachers to learn and acquire skills enabling them to solve problems and to improve their work. Teachers read scientific books, textbooks, best practice examples, they download and read policy documents or attend courses. I argue that the culture expresses their agency. In this thesis I focus on where teachers gain their knowledge from. The institutions⁷ are described as *sources of knowledge* for teachers' CPD. I argue that these can be described as other agents' means in interactions. By their roles as sources of knowledge, agents attempt to influence schooling and the teaching profession in order to achieve

7 For clarification, the term "institution" is used in a plain and simple sense as a kind of organisation which serves a certain (societal) purpose with established regulations (Oxford American Dictionary 2011).

certain aims. Prominent sources include: universities, institutions responsible for school governance, textbook publishers, teacher unions and associations, private and state institutions offering CPD to teachers, and indeed the teachers' own colleagues.

Both teachers and the CPD marketplace they act on are embedded in a national context with certain particularities such as regimes of school governance and, related to that, the autonomy the teaching profession has in a particular context. Historical and cultural aspects determine the context. Here the perception and choices of teachers in the CPD marketplace can be seen as the teachers' reaction to structural conditions.

My research process was constructed in the following way: As a first step, the beliefs and practices of teachers in different contexts were investigated and described in relation to the opportunities and structure of the CPD marketplace. Teacher behaviour might be described by different attributes, including whether they were more receptive or more reserved towards certain sources of knowledge or towards CPD in general, and whether they preferred close governance or autonomous working and development. This step was carried out empirically and may illuminate the beliefs and attitudes of teachers and contribute to a deeper understanding of teachers' CPD as agency. In a second analytical step, the findings were related to the particularities of a context. Here the comparative design is seen as very fruitful, not for showing universal truths, but rather for investigating the specific and complex systems of interrelation and interaction in the particular cases. This makes a comprehensive description of context necessary, both in terms of the socio-historical particularities of the cases investigated (this is done in the articles and in chapter 7 of this thesis), and in terms of a description of the marketplace, in other words in terms of which opportunities to develop actually do exist. Prominent sources of knowledge that constitute the Swedish and German CPD marketplace are presented below.

3.4. German and Swedish sources of knowledge for CPD

In the following, the sources of knowledge for teachers' CPD in Berlin and Stockholm will be presented. More detailed contextual description of both cases can be found in the three articles as well as in chapter six. Here, a comprehensive description of the specific opportunities in the German and Swedish CPD marketplaces will be the focus. All named sources' websites are listed in the appendix, in 10.2.

3.4.1. The German case⁸

In Berlin, as an example for the German system, the state organised institute for teachers' professional development (*LISUM*) is a very important provider for teachers' CPD, although it no longer offers courses to teachers directly. Such state institutions have for a long time been an expression of a centralised CPD landscape in Germany. As a result of a policy shift, CPD courses are now decentralised and organised at the local authority level. However, in reality, the structure of teachers' CPD in the form of afternoon-courses remains the same, and teachers still consider this institution a main actor in their CPD. On the body's website, teachers find reports, manuals and articles on the state tests and curriculum. LISUM is part of the *Senate Department* for school, science and research. The Senate Department is responsible for school governance, and as such has to promote changes through channelling CPD. It offers courses which introduce new reforms. On their website, all the governance documents and information regarding reforms is available, and teachers and principals frequently receive newsletters, handouts and recommendations.

At the *universities*, teachers can find recent research on instruction and schooling for teachers. There are also opportunities to attend lectures and courses, but these are not addressed to teachers and are therefore not easy to find. In addition, they are often held during teachers' working hours. *Textbook publishers* produce instruction materials and teacher guides. Their offers include journals and books with articles presenting example lessons and teaching models. There are websites where teachers can download single lectures or working material. Textbook publishers also organise courses. All these offers have to be paid for by the teachers themselves. The textbook publishers work together with expert teachers and universities. The *teacher union* (German Education Union, *Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft*) and the Secondary school teacher association (*Philologenverband*) offer courses to its members. They also produce journals with school-related content.

3.4.2. The Swedish case

In Sweden, teachers' continuing professional development is market-regulated (Drakenberg 2001). The *university departments* of educational science, pedagogical content knowledge in the various subjects and academic subjects are the most important actors in the teachers' CPD marketplace. The *National Agency for Education (NAE)* views itself as a knowledge institution (Lundahl 2006) for the decentralised and result-governed school system. The NAE produces information on schools and for schools related to curriculum and instruction. Teach-

⁸ A comprehensive summary on the opportunities in Germany can also be found in: (Fussangel et al. 2010).

ers can download or order reports, commentaries and guidelines to get help in the use of documents and national tests.

Textbook publishers in Sweden produce textbooks, learning materials and journals for teachers. They work closely with teachers as authors and as transmitters of information and offer free courses to promote their products. In Sweden there are two teacher unions: the Swedish Teacher Union (*Lärarförbundet*) and the National Union of Teachers in Sweden (*Lärarnas Riksförbund*) and almost every teacher is a member of one of the two unions. Both view themselves as responsible for teachers' CPD. Members are sent journals that present issues relevant to schools. Finally, since municipalities and school principals have financial resources for teachers' development, there is also a marketplace for private *companies* that arrange lectures and courses for teachers. They engage researchers or expert practitioners.

4. Design of the empirical study

Here the design of the study and the construction of questionnaires will be described. The empirical content of the study builds on a quantitative approach, investigating teachers' perceptions of their continuing professional development in two different national contexts, Sweden and Germany. The development of the questionnaire builds on expert interviews.

4.1. Method

One possible way of investigating teachers' CPD culture is to observe teachers' CPD directly, but this entails great cost (Adey et al. 2004; Brophy and Good 1986). For this study, only a qualitative approach, focusing on just a few cases, was possible. The price of this approach is the lack of an understanding of CPD as a collective phenomenon. For such an understanding, a quantitative approach would be necessary to construct possibilities of development from which the empirical cases can indeed deviate (Terhart 1992). At the same time, cultural factors could be formulated and tested. A quantitative approach would ask teachers what they do and have done in their CPD, and probe their perceptions of appropriate offers for their development. Still, this approach also constrains the explanatory value of the findings. Several researchers point to the discrepancy between teachers' answers in interviews and questionnaires and their actual behaviour in practice. Hofer (2002) points out that teachers, when questioned formally, are concerned with "identity work", i.e. they present not what they do but what they see as appropriate. Here I argue that this expression can still describe important aspects of teacher culture. Schein's (2005) definition of culture, used in this thesis, emphasizes the patterns of basic assumptions – invented, discovered or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and integration. Teachers' expressions in interviews and questionnaires about their practice can also be seen as an explicit construction of patterns and perception of appropriate practice, and therefore as an expression of the prevailing culture. Because of this, a quantitative questionnaire study was seen as a suitable method for making collective patterns of teachers in different contexts visible.

Cross-cultural studies require strict rules concerning the construction of research instruments. This study followed the recommendations of Broadfoot et al (1993) on the conduct of such studies. To ensure comparability, the design of

the questionnaire was accompanied by semi-structured expert interviews (Flick 2005; Mayer 2006) with teachers and school leaders, as well as with representatives of knowledge sources for professional development (i.e. educational science, didactics, publishers of school books and educational journals, school administration and teacher unions) in both Sweden and Germany. Furthermore, the project's concept, questionnaire development and questionnaire translation – teachers received the questionnaire in their language – have been frequently discussed with Swedish researchers at Uppsala University and German researchers at the Humboldt University Berlin. Doing so made it possible to develop a questionnaire that depicted the reality of the CPD marketplace while still ensuring its comparability in both countries. Firstly, expert interviews were conducted with representatives of institutions that offer knowledge for teachers (i.e. educational science, didactics, publishers of textbooks and educational journals, school administrations and teachers' unions) in both Sweden and Germany.

The expert interviews are seen as complementary to a literature study in order to gain understanding of teachers' "CPD landscape" in both countries. The question were which sources of knowledge offer which opportunities to teachers; how and by whom CPD activities and materials are developed; with which partners the sources work together, how they communicate their offers to teachers as well as how they meet their expectations, and finally, how they evaluate their work. I also conducted expert interviews with teachers and principals. This step was a crucial part of the questionnaire development. Contents of the interviews will not be analysed in this thesis or elsewhere. Rather all were experts and consultants in the development of quantitative reliable and valid instruments in order to achieve the latter aim. I discussed with the experts if conceptions seen as theoretically important for my understanding of teachers are appropriate to describe their CPD.

As described above, the research questions are addressed with a quantitative design using a questionnaire survey. In the questionnaire, the CPD culture of teachers is understood as a summary of what they report to do and have done in their professional development and what attitudes they have toward different aspects of professional development. The questionnaire has been tested in one school each in Stockholm and Berlin. Teachers were asked which questions they did not understand, which aspects they thought were missing and which questions might jeopardise teachers' integrity.

Finally, the design of the questionnaire was also elaborated with specialists of the German centre for surveys and methods and analyses in Mannheim (*GESIS*). Here, questions of appropriate scales and correct formulations and the order of questions were addressed, contributing to the overall validity. One example was the avoidance of a middle point on the scale for respondents who are reluctant to decide. Moreover, the design of the questionnaire aimed to avoid

exacerbating any frustrations of the respondents. Here, a careful ordering of the questions (easy questions first) or accounting for leaving-out-options, such as the possibility of answering with “I don’t know”, also increases the validity of the data.

4.2. Data collection and sample

4.2.1. Investigating a German and Swedish teaching profession

When presenting German teachers as a monolithic group, some explanatory words on the federal structure of the Germany are necessary. In the Federal Republic of Germany, education is a federal state (*Bundesländer*) matter. This situation results in regional differences. However, since the *Länder* work together on educational issues and are obliged to harmonize their systems, the main structures, such as school governance, and crucial traditions and trends are quite similar (Tenorth 2008). This is why German teachers *in general* will be the main focus here. Furthermore, when speaking about one teaching profession, the division of the German school system into different school types with different kinds of teachers must be mentioned. The school system has separate paths for pupils performing at different levels. Depending on which *Land* they come from, children are instructed together at an elementary school (*Grundschule*) up to the 4th, 5th or 6th grade. According to their academic performance, judged by elementary school teachers’ grading and recommendations, and including parental involvement, the pupils are assigned to different school types. The central idea is that homogeneous groups form the best foundation for successful education (Diederich and Tenorth 1997). However, I argue that secondary teachers at least are quite similar in Germany. Furthermore, they have been dealt with as a collective group in other works (Terhart 2011) and their CPD opportunities are formally the same (Fussangel et al. 2010), even when there exist differences in the realities of each different state. For to these reasons, the thesis will build its considerations around secondary teachers of the state Berlin only .

In contrast to Germany, the Swedish system is built on the model of a comprehensive school with one school for all children, from preschool classes to the 9th grade. After comprehensive school (*grundskola*), almost all Swedish pupils continue their education at an upper secondary school (*gymnasium*). This lasts three years and is divided into different programmes that either prepare pupils for vocations or for further university studies. Furthermore, since Sweden is not a federal state, state-related educational acts and regulations are valid for teachers throughout the whole country (Eurydice 2008; Daun et al. 2004). However, through a decentralised school system, the Swedish municipalities (in total 290) differ in terms of their regulation. As will be explained below, the framing of a combination of state and municipality regulations is a particularity of the Swe-

dish teaching profession. Therefore the possibility of differences between teachers working in varying municipalities contributes to an understanding of contextual issues.

4.2.2. Technical issues of sample and data collection

Concerning the conduct of the questionnaire study and the choice of sample, I drew upon the literature on sample sizes for studies with multilevel structures. Even if the research questions consider only national differences, the structure of the quantitative data must nevertheless be accounted for. This is important because reporting national differences always requires an investigation of whether effects cannot be better explained by properties of the individual school or individuals taking part in the study.

Blalock (1984) recommends a sample with many level two units (schools), but not so many level one units (individuals) in order to investigate grouping effects in multilevel samples. Maas and Hox (2005) investigated the effect of sample size and structure on the quality of the certain estimates (correlations, variances and errors) in a simulations study. For the smallest sample they investigated, 30 level two units with at least 5 level one units, correlations and variances of the level two effects were correct.⁹ According to this, I aimed to acquire a sample of 30 schools in both countries, with between 5 and 10 teachers per school. From school lists, which are available on the Internet, I drew a randomised sample of 70 schools (which provided lower secondary education) per city. The target groups for the first sample were secondary school teachers at different types of schools offering lower secondary education (*Haupt-, Real-, Gesamtschulen* and *Gymnasien*) in Berlin and teachers from 6th to 9th grade at comprehensive schools (*mellan-/högstadiet, grundskolor*) in Stockholm. The guiding principle behind the choice of lower secondary teachers was to have a sample of teachers who focus on subject teaching in their daily work. Thus, the differences described in the pedagogical focus, between primary and secondary school teachers and the differences between the German *Gymnasium* and Swedish *gymnasiet*,¹⁰ where the latter also offers occupational training, can be ignored. Furthermore, teachers who live in big city areas have access to all sources of knowledge and can therefore assess a broad spectrum of them.

At the outset, I wrote an email to the schools with a project description and an affirmation of the anonymity of the data and the questionnaire. Since only one school answered positively to my request, I rang the principals and asked

9 Only the standard errors had a downward bias of 8.9 percent, which the authors assessed as acceptable.

10 As will be shown below, upper secondary teachers do have a slightly different culture (more subject oriented) than their colleagues at the lower levels of the Swedish school.

them again. To improve the response rate, I donated 50 Euro or 500 SEK to the school to express my gratitude for the teachers' efforts. Regarding research, (Stadtmueller 2009) small incentives not related to performance, are the most effective methods for increasing response rate. Small incentives have no impact on the validity of results because respondents do not recognize the incentive as reward for a particular performance they are obligated to. Still, the researcher demonstrates a kind of appreciation for the support he or she received. Furthermore, incentives given in advance produce a "bad consciousness" in respondents if they do not "deliver something" for a reward they already received (ibid.).

However, in both countries, it was tremendously difficult to reach the targeted amount of data. I had even to rely on a snowball sampling (Goodman 1961), meaning that principals who were interested in the project recommended me to other colleagues. In the end, I was able to get 30 principals to present the study to their teachers and ask them to answer the questionnaire. If the response rate in a single school was too low, I rang and asked the principal to promote the project again. Even so, one school in Stockholm did not return a single questionnaire, and thus the sample comprises only 29 schools, but in each school not less than 5, and in most of the schools more than 10 questionnaires, were returned. On average, 14 teachers per school answered the questionnaire. The data collection was conducted in autumn 2008. The collection of the second sample was related to an evaluation project of teachers' CPD in a municipality near Stockholm (discussed below in the municipality study). Besides questions about local and national CPD projects, the study used the same questionnaire as the first sample. The target group was all the teachers in this municipality teaching preschool classes to grade 9. The school administration in the municipality was responsible for the data collection, the author of this thesis for coding and rating. The study was conducted in spring 2009.

Finally, the first sample comprises 201 teachers in the county of Stockholm, *Stockholms län*, and 217 teachers in the federal state of Berlin. The response rate was 50% in *Stockholms län*, and 40% in Berlin. The second sample comprises 294 teachers, meaning 76% of all teachers in this municipality attended the survey. The Swedish teachers in both samples have also been compared with each other (Wermke and Frisch forthcoming). I can point out that both samples are very similar and this can be seen as an argument for the instrument's validity and reliability. However, both samples have been used only in article two (A question of trustworthiness). In the others, the empirical data come only from the first sample.

This results in an imbalance of Swedish teachers. Both sample populations were analysed together in order to lend greater statistical power to the analyses conducted. Furthermore, tests of variations were conducted and no notable differences could be discerned between Swedish teachers' CPD preferences across the different sample populations. Still, analyses have also been conducted sepa-

rately within both subsamples, and even these results show strong similarities. Finally, since there was a focus on differences in both countries, there has been no attempt to make 50/50 allocations or weightings. Furthermore, country is regarded as a distinguishing variable.

In terms of missing values in all parts of both surveys, there was more than five percent in only a very few instances and under seven percent overall. According to Graham et al. (2003), five percent is the threshold for the decision for or against an imputation of missing values. Below this borderline no bias or severe loss of analytical value can be expected. For these reasons, I decided against an imputation of missing data. Concerning the perception of different sources of knowledge, teachers could answer: "don't know" if they did not know of a certain source. The small number of internal missing values can be seen as evidence of survey instruments that have been constructed appropriately (Rost 2007).

Finally, on the limitations of the sample in terms of the value of the study: the samples are not seen as representative, but accidental. Principals were able to decide if they and their school wanted to take part in the survey, and if the principal was willing to present the study to his or her teachers, they in turn could decide whether they wanted to take part in the survey. This constrains the explanatory value, as it does also for the second sample, which is limited to just one municipality. Because of these limitations, the thesis is only of exploratory purpose.

4.3. Instruments

In following, the questionnaire instruments used for the study are described in detail. The basis of which aspects of teachers' CPD are included follows considerations about CPD as an empirical problem outlined in section 6.1. The aim is first of all to collect data on teachers' perceptions of CPD regarding what opportunities and limitations exist, and what necessities for CPD they identify. These sections are accompanied by control questions that aim to investigate whether or not the measured effects exist at levels (such as school or individual level) other than at the assumed national level. The questionnaire is divided as follows: (1) the opportunities found in this marketplace and how teachers use them; (2 and 3) perceptions of sources of knowledge; (4) how teachers react to different modes of school governance by using CPD; (5) teachers' CPD regarding a concrete and central aspect of teachers' work, in this case assessment; (6) the school climate regarding teachers' CPD; (7) Personal properties and information regarding the individual teachers' professional career. The questionnaire was accompanied by a questionnaire for principals with organisational questions regarding the individual school.

The articles which present the results of the empirical studies in this thesis are based on different parts of the samples. Therefore, the quality of the scales, either by confirmatory factor analysis or Cronbach's Alpha is reported for each of the different sub-samples. Only the instruments will be described.

What teachers do for their CPD

After studying the CPD marketplace for teachers and carrying out the expert interviews in both countries, a list of opportunities teachers have for their professional development was formulated (Table 1). Teachers were asked which of these opportunities they used in the last school year, how often and whether the use was voluntary and self-determined. This list is based on the definition of CPD as self-determined action that comprises much more than afternoon seminars with top to bottom knowledge transmission (see above). It consists of the most prominent opportunities teachers have for a self-steered improvement of their work and instruction.

-
1. Attended universities' courses
 2. Attended NAE/Senat Dept. Berlin's courses
 3. Attended LISUM's courses
 4. Attended private PD companies' courses
 5. Attended unions' courses
 6. Textbook publishers' courses
 7. Cooperation with colleagues
 8. Cooperation with researchers
 9. Attended congresses, fairs
 10. Used Internet general
 11. Used Internet unions
 12. Used Internet NAE/Senat Dept. Berlin
 13. Used Internet universities
 14. Read handouts, articles, books from NAE/Senat Dept. Berlin
 15. Read scientific books and articles
 16. Read handouts, articles, books of textbook publishers
-

Scale: 1= never occurred; 2= rarely occurred; 3= sometimes occurred; 4= frequently occurred

Table 1: Items: CPD in the last school year (without CPD organised in your school)

This part also attempts to provide a summary description of teachers' CPD marketplace in both contexts. As argued above, there are only a few sources that produce knowledge for teachers and offer it to teachers through different channels. The sources are: universities, state institutions of school governance that produce knowledge about schools such as the National Agency of Education in Sweden and the Senate Department in Berlin/Germany, state and private institu-

tions offering continuing professional development for teachers, teacher unions, textbook publishers and indeed the teachers' own colleagues. Books, the Internet, courses, projects or congresses are only channels which the sources use, not sources themselves. Such a perspective makes it possible to reduce the many opportunities teachers have to a smaller number of sources. The marketplace can be described by relations teachers have to sources and the distance or proximity those sources have to teachers. The answers teachers give can also provide evidence about teachers' CPD preferences, e.g. if they prefer to develop in groups (using courses or co-operations) or by themselves (by reading books or using the Internet).

Which sources teachers think are important

Item 1: How important are the following sources of knowledge for your pedagogical and psychological CPD (e.g. classroom management, knowledge about child development, theory of learning, specific problems (such as drugs, alcohol, violence))?

Item 2: How important are the following sources of knowledge for your CPD regarding the content of your subjects (e.g. new academic knowledge areas, new research results, theoretical models)?

Item 3: How important are the following sources of knowledge for your CPD regarding the pedagogical content knowledge in your subjects (e.g. media literacy, new media for your subjects, instruction models)?

Sources of knowledge: Universities; Institutions of school governance (National Agency of Education (NAE) in Sweden/Senats Department for Research, Science and Education (Sen. Dept.) in Berlin/Germany; LISUM (only Berlin/Germany); Textbook publishers; Union; Private companies offering CPD for teachers (only in Sweden); own colleagues and principal

Scale: 1=unimportant; 2=rather unimportant; 3=rather important; 4=important

Table 2: Items: Importance of sources of knowledge for teachers' CPD

These sources of knowledge are used in the next parts of the questionnaire, in which teachers were asked to describe which sources of knowledge they think are important for their CPD. Still, regarding the importance of knowledge sources, different domains of teacher knowledge need to be considered. Different sources of knowledge might not be equally important in different domains. From an international perspective, various authors have elaborated on different facets of the professional knowledge of teachers (Bromme 1992; Grossman 1990; Grossman et al. 1989; Shulman 1986). All these conceptions propose

three interrelated domains as the basis of teachers’ instructional practice. Although the borders are rather fuzzy, this framework has proven its heuristic usefulness in numerous studies.

The three domain are: (i) *content or subject matter knowledge* (describing knowledge of content and substantive structures of the subjects as well as its syntactic structures); (ii) *pedagogical-psychological knowledge* (including knowledge about learning environments and instructional strategies, classroom management, and knowledge of learners and learning); and finally (iii) *pedagogical content knowledge* (knowledge about the transfer of content knowledge). The focus here is on the overarching conceptions of teaching a subject, knowledge of instructional strategies and representations, knowledge of students’ understandings and potential misunderstandings as well as knowledge of curriculum and curricular materials (Borko and Putnam 1995). Teachers were asked about the importance of various sources of knowledge in these three domains. Their answers were finally reduced to a scale: *Importance of a source of knowledge for teachers’ CPD*. Items are summarised in Table 2 and further developed in article one (CPD in context) and article two (A question of trustworthiness).

How teachers perceive certain sources of knowledge

Item 1: The provider of CPD is competent regarding my problems as a teacher as well as school relevant problems.
Item 2: The provider of CPD understands and has sympathy for my particular problems as a teacher.
Item 3: The provider of CPD has respect for my work as teacher and my professionalism.

Sources of knowledge: Universities; Institutions of school governance (National Agency of Education (NAE) in Sweden/Senate Department for Research, Science and Education (Senat Dept.) in Berlin/Germany; LISUM (only Berlin/Germany); Textbook publishers; Union; Private companies offering CPD for teachers (only in Sweden); own colleagues and principal

Scale: 1= disagree totally; 2= rather disagree; 3= rather agree; 4= agree totally; “don’t know”, scales from all valid answers that not were “don’t know”

Table 3: Items: perception of sources of knowledge

When teachers decide on a certain source to develop their professional knowledge, how they perceive it is very important. On the one hand, there are several offers but little time to use or even test them, and on the other hand,

since their profession makes them so vulnerable, teachers must feel secure before they can put their trust in a source. Teachers need to trust a source before they use it. Bryk and Schneider (2004) put forward four criteria which positively affect the development of trust: (i) competence (the trust in another person's ability to contribute positively to reaching a certain goal), (ii) the perception of another person's personality and emotions (e.g. through actions which reduce the vulnerability of the other person (Kelchtermans 2005) (iii) respect (the acknowledgement of a person's particular role, considering and appreciating that person's concerns), and (iv) integrity (obeying certain ethical and moral rules, authenticity, reliability and accountability).

Teachers were asked how they assess various sources in terms of these aspects. It should be noted that the questionnaire asked about the providers of CPD knowledge, since sources of knowledge can not be assessed for competence, understanding or respectfulness. Consequently relational trust in a source describes how teachers think about the provider who is related to the source of knowledge. Furthermore, in this international comparison, only the first three aspects could be investigated because it was not possible to demonstrate teachers' perception of "integrity", connected to moral and ethical rules as a value usable for both cases. Questions about moral and ethical concerns are rather difficult to gauge, since this goes too deep into the different expectations of various actors with regard to the moral function of teachers. Here, it is assumed that teachers in both countries perceive the sources they are asked about as wanting the best possible for the children and society while following ethical rules in their material and instruction. Items are displayed in Table 3 and developed further in article 2 (A question of trustworthiness).

How instruments of school governance affect teachers' CPD

The thesis also focuses on the influence of different forms of school governance. In part 4, teachers were asked how they experience the influence of different forms of governance. The items are shown in Table 4. Schools' and teachers' work are steered by documents like curricula, curriculum tests, resource distribution, teacher education and responsibilities. Since, as described above, education in Germany is governed on a federal state level, the term national curriculum test (NCT) is obviously not correct for those tests that assess students' attainments in terms of the goals of the curriculum on a national level. In this case, teachers were asked about curriculum tests for the federal states, but since the meaning is the same, the term national curriculum test will be used in the comparison, to make text and figures readable.

In this part, teachers have been asked to assess hypotheses on the influence of different governance instruments on teachers professional on a scale between 1 and 4. The hypotheses formulate influences of steering instruments on teachers' CPD. This is developed further in article one (CPD in context).

-
1. Open, competence-based curricula allow development after its own leanings.
 2. Open, competence-based curricula require frequent CPD.
 3. NCTs should exist for every subject.
 4. NCTs generate positive competition, which fosters school development
 5. NCTs require frequent CPD.
 6. NCTs provide indications for instruction.
 7. Superintendents should steer teachers' CPD.
 8. Universities should play an important role in teachers' CPD.
 9. Schools should have regular CPD plans.
 10. Teachers should co-ordinate their CPD with each other.
 11. Principals should be allowed to force teachers to undertake CPD.
 12. Emphasis on performance and assessment in TE generates fear to open one-self.
 13. TE contains too little pedagogical knowledge, therefore pedagogical CPD is most necessary.
 14. TE contains too little subject knowledge, therefore subject-oriented CPD is most necessary.

Scale: 1= disagree totally; 2= rather disagree; 3= rather agree; 4= agree totally

TE=teacher education CPD= continuing professional development; NCT= national curriculum tests

Table 4: Items Relationship between school governance and CPD

Teachers' CPD in assessment

In the fifth part, the focus was on CPD described by way of an example. that means an important part of the teaching profession which also describes the relationship between the teaching profession and governance by the state: assessment and evaluation. Here it was focused, on the one hand, on how teachers relate their own assessment knowledge to their experiences and professional development throughout their career, and on the other what teachers do actively in order to develop their knowledge for and about assessment. I distinguished between formal and non-formal CPD learning. Examples of formal CPD are courses organised with a special purpose, as in teacher education or in organised CPD programs. CPD can also take more informal forms, such as reading books, observing colleagues and, indeed, learning by doing. These items are reported in Table 5.

-
1. Experiences as student or parent
 2. Experiences as teacher
 3. Cooperation with colleagues
 4. Teacher education
 5. Organised professional development activities
 6. Self study
-

Scale: 1= unimportant; 2= rather unimportant; 3= rather important; 4= important)

Table 5: Items: Important of sources for teachers' knowledge to assess and about assessment.

In a second part of the questionnaire the focus is on teachers' CPD practice regarding assessment. For this reason, various important aspects have been chosen that are on the assessment agenda in both countries.

Item 1: How often in the last school year did you attend CPD regarding the assessment of individual student performances in school year 2007/2009, not including marking processes in the following form?

Item 2: How often in the last school year did you attend CPD regarding the assessment of the individual schools in the following form?

Item 3: How often in your entire career year did you attend CPD regarding international large-scale studies (PISA, TIMSS or PIRLS) in the following form?

Forms of CPD: Formal courses at universities or state institutions for teachers' CPD; Courses in the own school; Working groups and cooperation with colleagues teaching the same subject; Working groups and cooperation with colleagues teaching in the same grade

Scale: 1= never; 2= once or twice; 3= three of four times; 4=more than four times

Table 6: Items: CPD activities on different aspects of assessment

Teachers have been asked how often and in which settings they handled these aspects of their CPD. These questions are indicators of teachers' activity and the sources of assessment knowledge they use for their CPD. Here the focus is only on formal learning opportunities, because only in such settings can the frequency of attendance be measured and compared. In addition, explicit knowledge about assessment in the following settings were of primary interest: courses at universities, courses at the teachers' own schools and working groups with colleagues either working in the same grade or instructing the same subject.

Firstly, the focus was on CPD in assessment of individual students (Table 6, item 1). It is important to note that we were not interested in the discussions teachers have on grading of certain students as part of their daily practice. The systematic development of teachers' competences in assessing individual students were emphasised. Secondly, in decentralised and market regulated school systems, another factor has gained importance in teachers' work (Table 6, item 2). Since schools have to compete for resources and students, the judgement of schools' efficacy has become an important issue for teachers. To this end, we asked how and where teachers develop their competences in assessing school efficacy and development. Finally, with the establishment of league tables as arguments for political decisions and the influence of international organizations on national education policy (Steiner-Khamsi 2004), a third issue needs to be considered regarding assessment questions: we must address an understanding of international large scale studies of student assessment (PISA, TIMSS etc.) (Table 6, item 3). The construction of all items is further elaborated in article three (Autonomy and knowledge sources).

CPD in the individual school

Although the focus of the project is on national differences, it was important to control for whether the assumed differences did not occur on other levels, i.e. between teachers working at different schools and teachers having different features, as professional experiences. These instruments do not, however, appear in the articles.

-
1. The principal supervises if teachers regularly attend CPD courses.
 2. The principal organizes sound CPD activities for the staff.
 3. The principal shows appreciation for teachers openly.
 4. The principal sets an example by working hard with his/her CPD
 5. The principal provides a good deal of resources for teachers' CPD
 6. The principal is interested in how the teachers develop their competencies.
 7. The principal supports teacher in their wishes and aims for CPD.
 8. The principal lets purposefully teachers attend certain CPD courses.
-

Scale: 1= disagree totally; 2= rather disagree; 3= rather agree; 4= agree totally

Table 7: Items: Developmental climate in a school given by the behaviour of the principal

Important variables concern the working context of the teachers. Of particular interest was the professional development climate in the schools. Here two scales were employed. One measures the activity of the principals to encourage, support and affirm their teachers in their professional development efforts (Table 7), while the second measures the behaviour of colleagues concerning their professional development activity and their efforts of support and affirmation (Table 8). These scales relate to research on professional learning commu-

nities in schools, which describe these aspects as important for the development of a positive development climate in schools (see above). The scales are drawn largely from Hoy and colleagues' research on school climate (Hoy et al. 1996; Hoy and Sabo 1997; Hoy and Sweetland 2001).

Some important effects of the school level include the location of the school and, related to this, the composition of the student body. Students' background influences their educational needs, and different student compositions affect the practices and perceptions of teachers (Raudenbush et al. 1992). Research has even shown that the size of schools has an influence on the school climate. Smaller schools have a more positive school climate (Rosenholtz 1989). For the context of the schools, a short questionnaire for principals was employed. The composition of the student body is described in terms of the percentage of students from families with low or high social economic status as well as from families with immigrant backgrounds.

-
1. Active teachers motivate their colleagues.
 2. Teachers who are active in their CPD are respected among their colleagues.
 3. Teachers attend CPD together.
 4. Teachers build groups in order to discuss pedagogical problems or school development.
 5. There is a pleasing development climate in the subject departments.
 6. In the subject departments the teachers co-ordinate their CPD with each other.
-

Scale: 1= disagree totally; 2= rather disagree; 3= rather agree; 4= agree totally

Table 8: Items: Developmental climate in a school by the behaviour of the teachers

CPD and the individual teacher

Personal variables concerning the individual teacher which might have an effect on teachers' CPD, are: (i) the amount professional experience – according to models of life cycle (Huberman 1989) and professional cycle (Berliner 1988) the teachers' practice changes over their careers, and here I assume changing habits in professional development, (ii) subject – different school subjects have different cultures which might influence the teachers' CPD (Jönsson 1998; Scheerens 2010), or (iii) other necessities for development, e.g. other sources of knowledge. Furthermore, teachers' gender and career stages (were they in leadership positions or were they responsible for their school's development) were investigated.

The use of several control variables was necessary, in order to investigate whether the assumed nation-specific impact was both relevant and significant, in particular regarding the influence of other contextual and personal variables. In multilevel analyses, which have not been reported here, it was possible to see

that, regarding the studies' instruments, the most and some ways only significant variable was the country in which the teacher worked. Furthermore, the opportunity to have at least two Swedish samples made it possible to prove the plausibility of the hypotheses of a nation-specific CPD culture. Analyses of both samples show that, although the local context of teachers varies greatly, the variance among the Swedish teachers was smaller than it was between German and Swedish teachers. A deeper analysis of Swedish teachers' CPD culture is reported in Wermke and Frisch (forthcoming).

4.4. Ethical concerns

All social researchers share a number of ethical concerns. These are variously defined and differentiated; as, for example, a series of obligations to society which all researchers must fulfil, obligations to funders and employers, to colleagues, and to subjects [...] or as three major scientific norms that should govern all social research – beneficence (maximizing good outcomes while minimizing unnecessary risk or harm), respect (protecting autonomy of persons), and justice (ensuring reasonable, non-exploitative and carefully considered procedures with fair distribution of costs and benefits). Other divisions exist, with emphases dependent on both disciplinary orientation and, perhaps most importantly, national concerns. (Freed-Taylor 1994, p.323)

These words introduce the broad and significant field of research ethics, defining the boundaries of social science research.¹¹ While I submit myself to all of these concerns, I will not discuss how I have handled all of them here. Instead, I will highlight some of the ones which are most relevant to my research project: the handling of empirical data and my own perspective in the comparative analyses on the teaching profession.

In my empirical study I had to deal mainly with three issues, the anonymity of the participants, the security of the participants and the confidentiality of the data. There are different regulation for obtaining a research permit in both countries. For the survey in Berlin it was necessary to apply for a research permit, and at the *Senate Department of Berlin* the questionnaires were approved after they demonstrated that they follow ethical guidelines, concerning mainly the anonymity of the questionnaires and the confidentiality of data. Here researchers can also receive guidance on which project designs are possible and which are not. In Stockholm, no official permit for surveys with teachers was necessary, but the same ethical rules must be followed (Vetenskapsrådet 2006) in order to guarantee the survey participants' integrity and anonymity.¹²

11 For an exhaustive elaboration on ethical concerns in social science research see: (Dench et al. 2004).

12 Regarding Swedish regulations, an ethical examination of a social science research project is necessary when it touches on sensitive personal data of the respondents, such as sexual, philosophical, religious, or economic questions. This was not the case in this project.

How was I able to guarantee these issues? All questionnaires were, indeed, anonymous. For the Stockholm-Berlin, the participation in the study was voluntary. Principals and teachers decided whether or not they wanted to take part in the survey. In the municipality study, the survey was conducted in agreement with the school administration and the principals, here teachers were expected, but not forced, to answer the questionnaires. Teachers always had the opportunity to leave questions out. Furthermore, issues around the security of teachers' identities were also addressed in the pre-test of the questionnaires in two schools. Teachers had to comment as to whether they felt that questions could reveal their identity or whether answering questions could result in problems for their work. Finally, all answers were in the end only reported regarding two groups of teachers, one Swedish and one German. It is impossible to recognize either individual teachers or schools.

Moreover, in the analyses and interpretation of my data I had to deal with two ethical dilemmas concerning my own perspective. In the introduction to this thesis I have motivated the choice of my two cases by, among other things, my personal background of as a German living in Sweden since 2008, which increases my understanding of both countries' structures. This is in some sense an anthropologist's view on research:

Anthropology, or anyway social or cultural anthropology, is in fact rather more something one picks up as one goes along year after year trying to figure out what it is and how to practice it than something one has instilled in one through "a systematic method to obtain obedience" or formalised "train[ing] by instruction and control. [Geertz 1995 in Lederman (2007)]

However, this positive sense also points to an ethical dilemma I had to address in my comparative study. In my considerations about my methodological approach, I argued that theories are expressions of (culturally) mediated observation, which has consequences for my research process. Since I am German and was socialised in a German education system, my view, at least in a German-Swedish comparison, cannot be totally neutral, which means that I might perceive particular empirical events through learned patterns on what is appropriate and what is not. Spending a longer time in the second country of comparison – now over four years – is seen here as an advantage in making these internal patterns visible by contrasting them with others. An outside-in view thereby becomes a productive device for understanding structures and related agency. Still my perspective must be acknowledged, as a German studying Swedish and living in Sweden while researching Germany. Therefore, the context of this study is crucial for the judgement of it.

Regarding my research design, I constructed one that controlled the production of instruments and analyses as well as interpretations the whole time. Throughout the study process I involved researchers from both countries as well

as some from other international backgrounds, in order to reinforce the reliability, validity and plausibility of my work. To this end, the scientific community provides crucial networks such as research groups, research seminars and conferences. Furthermore, my approach assumes that my theoretical conclusions are only the best possible truth from my perspective and that there also exists a possibility of fallacy. Consequently, my thesis does not raise ultimate truths, but contributes to the field of research with informed reasoning about reality for a further understanding of the phenomena investigated.

The perspective issue leads me to another dilemma I have had to cope with: the investigation of one profession (teachers) while being member of another (university researchers). Here again, different factors might be seen as appropriate in each context,¹³ which requires a particular sensitivity in my research process. On the one hand, I built my instruments with the active participation of teachers. On the other, I try to claim a perspective that sees research neither as therapy nor as the process improvement (Lederman 2007) of any problems with schooling. I see myself as an observer who aims to gain an understanding of the teaching profession and its inner mechanisms. For this reason I trust teachers' answers in my questionnaire and see those as representations of what they regard as appropriate or otherwise. Nor am I interested in a "school free pedagogy" (Simola et al. 1997), meaning that I try to understand teachers' practice as the best possible within the constraints of mass schooling (Tenorth 2006). Consequently, I see teachers as professionals who handle specific inherent conflicts in a society with given resources, and for this reason have certain incentives and a scope of action that they ultimately try to defend.

Again, I state that my reasoning does not offer an exhaustive picture of teachers that describe how they behave in both examined contexts. Although objectification of the teaching profession cannot be avoided, since I research teachers and also need the respect of my study, I can still claim that my findings make my perspective transparent and only in terms of two particular phenomena that are crucial.

13 The German sociologist Niklas Luhmann (2002) illustrates the difference between both: the researcher needs doubt, the learner, security.

5. Results of the empirical study: three articles

In this section, the main results of the three articles of this thesis are presented. For copyright reasons, this commentary will be downloadable only without the article. The print version will contain all three articles in the appendix. The titles contain the full bibliographical details for download. The articles answer the research questions: 1.1. *What do German and Swedish teachers do and what have they done in their CPD from their perspective, and what do they perceive as appropriate sources for their professional development;* 1.2. *What impact does school governance have on CPD from the teachers' perspective;* 1.3. *What differences and similarities exist between both teacher groups' CPD;* 1.4. *How can the differences and similarities be explained by the nation specific particularities of both cases?*

5.1. Article 1: Continuing professional development in context: Teachers' continuing professional development culture in Germany and Sweden

In Professional Development in Education 2011, 37 (5), 665–683

This article analysed an important part of teachers' *CPD culture* by investigating which sources of knowledge teachers prefer for their CPD and how the school system affects teachers' CPD. It was able to show that the idea of a *CPD culture of teachers* is a productive way to describe what teachers do and think about their development in certain national contexts. Teachers have certain attitudes towards sources of knowledge and they act as agents in their CPD. They choose certain offers and reject others. They also decide to undertake certain forms of learning: either alone or in courses, with colleagues or other persons. CPD cultures differ in several aspects significantly in Sweden and Germany. Regarding continuing professional development, it does matter whether a teacher is German or Swedish. The learning of German teachers takes place more often in isolated settings and short-term courses. Swedish teachers are more group-oriented and attend university courses for longer periods. Some knowledge sources for teachers' CPD in the school system have a great influence on teachers. In both countries, teachers rely mostly on their colleagues. The results of the article are aligned to the findings of other studies, in particular regarding the CPD cultures of teachers in Germany. Especially, the German

TALIS study (Demmer and Saldern 2010), which was conducted only slightly earlier than the thesis' study, also reports on the importance of courses and workshops, informal dialogue with colleagues, but – and this significantly more than in other TALIS countries (Scheerens 2010) – read professional literature. In the study of Richter and colleagues (2011) it was shown that during a German teachers' career, isolated CPD by reading professional literature become more important, while collaboration and in-service training activities become less relevant. The Swedish findings were able to be confirmed by applying the questionnaire investigating another sample (see 4.2. Data collection and sample). The sample of this study was part of the analyses in article two. A comparison of what teachers did is reported in Wermke and Frisch (forthcoming). As described earlier, the patterns of CPD in both samples were very similar.

Regarding other actors within the CPD context, however, highly significant differences exist. Swedish teachers are much more open to other sources. Teachers put more trust in institutions like the National Agency for Education and the universities. In Germany, these relationships can be described as rather lacking. German teachers only trust their colleagues and those sources that are close to them, which might generate a more conservative attitude towards the acceptance of research and reform. Furthermore, a producer-customer relationship in CPD apparently generates a climate among teachers that is more receptive to ideas from outside the school. This can be seen both for the relationship of the actors in the Swedish market-regulated CPD landscape and for the relationships between textbook publishers and teachers in Germany.

Regarding school governance, German teachers can be described as more autonomous. The elaboration of new structures is still debated. The impact of national curriculum tests and open, competence-based curricula is much higher in Sweden. Here, teachers wish to be guided much more in their CPD. Deficiencies in basic teacher education and needs for continuing professional development are not related to each other for German teachers.

5.2. Article 2: A question of trustworthiness? Teachers' perceptions of knowledge sources in the continuing professional development marketplace in Germany and Sweden

In Teaching and Teacher Education 2012, 28 (4), 618–627

The findings of the article showed that trustworthiness of a certain source of knowledge is a highly relevant predictor of a knowledge source's importance to teachers in Sweden and in Germany, however, the strength of trustworthiness as predictor differs from source to source. In particular, trustworthiness is crucial

to the importance of universities for teachers' CPD. The same is true for the importance of school governance (NAE/Senat Dept.) as a source of knowledge. The established relations for textbook publishers and teacher unions and associations are strong, but weaker than for school governance and universities. For the importance of the colleagues for teachers' CPD trustworthiness obviously is only one among other important predictors.

The second step of the articles' analyses involved an examination of the importance of what country a teacher works in. Trustworthiness has a different influence on the importance of a source of knowledge in both countries. In particular, for German teachers, trustworthiness of a source of knowledge is a stronger predictor than it is for their Swedish colleagues. Although trustworthiness does indeed play a significant role for Swedish teachers, the importance of a source of knowledge is obviously dependent on other factors that cannot be explained by the models presented here. The explanatory value of the analyses is thus increased. The findings lead to the conclusion that national context has great influence. German teachers demonstrate a need to trust a knowledge source more if they consider it important to their CPD. This is true for each tested source of knowledge. Even though trustworthiness of a source still has a relevant and significant effect on Swedish teachers' CPD compared with their German colleagues, for them there is not the same need for trustworthiness of a source.

However, the design for measuring the trustworthiness of sources was highly exploratory in nature. The data concerns teachers' perceptions in 2008 and 2009. Since this time, it is possible that perceived trustworthiness might have changed as a result of various events and reforms. I see this article as example of an investigation whether an understanding of trustworthiness on the criterion of relational trust can lead to significant and relevant results. The focus was not a comprehensive description of both cases, but an investigation of perceptions of trustworthiness as a crucial mechanism in teachers' CPD in different national contexts. Interesting differences between national cases emerged. I could see the results as examples of the mechanisms of trust and the emergence of trustworthiness at a certain point in time in certain national contexts.

5.3. Article 3: Knowledge sources and autonomy. German and Swedish Teachers' continuing professional development of assessment knowledge

Eva Forsberg and Wieland Wermke. In *Professional Development in Education*, 38 (5), 741–758

In our analyses, we identified both similarities and differences between the importance teachers from the two countries attributed to various knowledge sources about assessment, and also between their respective activities in the

CPD marketplace. Similarities were found in relation to teachers' formation of general assessment knowledge, participation in CPD on assessment knowledge, and the frequency with which some knowledge sources are used. The results pointed to a teaching profession in which experiences as a teacher and cooperation with colleagues stand out as the two most relevant sources for teachers' assessment knowledge, followed by various forms of self-study. Less important are organised CPD activities, teacher education and experiences as pupils or as parents to pupils. Data showed that only a few teachers participated in university courses, whether these considered assessment, evaluation or international testing. It is also notable that teachers report that various knowledge sources were seldom used more than once or twice over the school year. In sum, non-formal learning activities, especially practice-based ones, seem to be a common feature of the assessment culture. This is in line with the general professional culture of teachers.

The design of the study made it possible to analyse differences in assessment cultures between contexts. We identified a number of differences. Throughout, a greater number of German teachers believe that the knowledge sources included in the study have also influenced their understanding of assessment. This is further strengthened if we turn to CPD activities and knowledge sources focusing on assessment, evaluation and international comparative testing. Regardless of focus, German teachers more frequently use all knowledge sources, with the exception of school-based courses. While international comparative testing appears to be a negligible factor among Swedish teachers, it is highly represented in the German system. Other differences are related to what kinds of sources are most commonly used. While Swedish teachers prefer school-based courses, German teachers tend to work together with colleagues, especially those teaching the same subject.

Part II

Teacher autonomy and development in two
national contexts

6. Conceptualising teacher autonomy

It is necessary to investigate some further theoretical considerations in order to understand teachers' continuing professional development and to combine it with teacher autonomy. I argue for a thorough consideration of the relation between structure and agency by adopting aspects of Margaret Archer's theory,¹⁴ and promote the construction of an analytical device that enables to display the correlation of different forms of teacher autonomy with particular CPD cultures. I also argue that the findings of the study on teachers' CPD cultures can be understood in relation to the context of the historical development (in Archer's terms: *morphogenesis/morphostatis*) of the teaching profession. This development will be related to teacher autonomy provided as structure by state governance and also to other government interactions that elaborate structurally. I argue that teachers' CPD offers the possibility to participate in the interactions in the structure of the teaching profession. Moreover, CPD is conditioned by this structure and thus the different CPD cultures found in this empirical study can *also* be explained by teacher autonomy. In this chapter, I elaborate on Archer's reasoning and present a model comprising the various interrelated categories of teacher autonomy that make her approach applicable to my comparative and socio-historical analyses. Here I deal with research question 2.1. *How can teacher autonomy in different national contexts be displayed in order to provide analytical and explanatory value for nation specific differences and similarities in teachers' CPD?*

6.1. The dualism of structure and agency

Archer's proposal for the relation of structure to agency is an *analytical dualism*. She does not ask which *determines* which, but instead divides structure and agency into two related, though different entities that can be or rather must be

14 Indeed, Archer is not the only one to suggest models that deal with the relation of structure and agency and deny ontological conceptualisations that either argue for a superior meaning of agency or of structures in social processes. Anthony Giddens' structuration theory (Giddens 1984) proposes that agents and structures mutually enact social systems, and social systems in turn become part of that duality of structure and agency. Giddens argues for ongoing feedback-feedforward processes, but cannot make an analytically neat distinction of what in both entities impacts what. For a critique of Giddens see: (Archer 1988). For more about the social science dualism of structure and agency see: (Lundquist 2007; Danermark et al. 2002).

examined separately (Archer 1995, 1988). Such a view, in the words of Persson (2008), emphasizes

that society is formed and re-formed on the basis of a dynamic interplay between structure and human agency. Regarding this approach the society does not have a predetermined static or idealistic form, because it is a product of human conflicts and bargaining. Furthermore, this approach implies an ontological assumption about structure and agency as analytically detachable, internal and dynamic related, as well as changing over time. (p.39, my translation)

Structures refers to the organisation of the agents' relations in terms of rules, norms and regulations, definitions of functions or the allocation of privileges, while *agency* means human actions and participation in interactions which lead, intentionally or unintentionally, to new structures or to their affirmation (Archer 1995). These considerations culminate in a model containing three phases: Firstly, there is a social structure that conditions agents' actions through constraints and incentives which enable and promote certain actions. In these structures, agents' interactions are imbedded. Finally, the interactions result in a transformation or reproduction of a new respective old structure. This is called structural elaboration (ibid.) and is an analytical model which enables the investigation of how structures impact interactions between various agents in a system, and how the interactions manifest in the elaboration of new structures or the reproduction of old ones. The relations are depicted in Figure 2. The model itself is called a morphogenetic/static cycle, however, the cycle is a helix, because old cycles are followed by new cycles. Very important for this thesis are the neat analytical distinction between structure and agency. The dimension of time is a crucial part. All stages build upon each other; there can be no point in time T3 without T2, and no T2 without T1. Analytically, T4 becomes the new T1, beginning a new cycle – thereby continuing the helix – and bearing the structures elaborated between T3 and T4. There is no period at which society is unstructured (ibid.), and structures have a causal impact on agents, actions and interests. Some agents hold a desire to change structures, while others do not. Structures are elaborated on continuously, whether intentionally or unintentionally.

The structures provide a framework in which interactions take place. Structures condition (inter)action, but do not determine it (Archer 1995). Agents' intentions lead to different actions, wishes and perceptions. Structures are, analytically, products of interactions (ibid.; Danermark et. al. 2003). This means, from an empirical perspective, that, for example, perceptions of teachers can be investigated, analysed and interpreted within given structures that have emerged historically. The elaboration or reproduction of new structures thus unfolds in the future. They can only be examined from a point in the future, at which time they have already become historical.

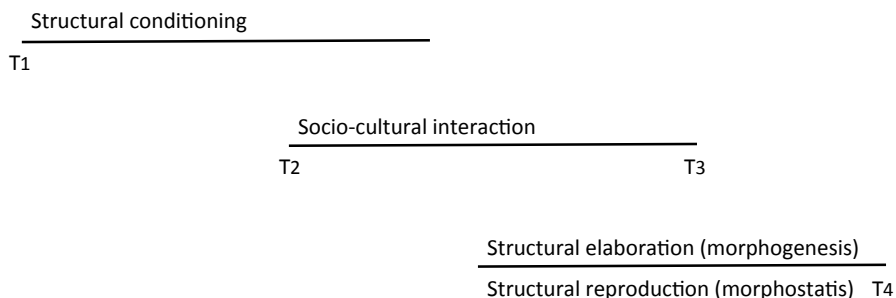


Figure 2: Archer's morphogenetic/static cycle with its three phases
(Archer 1995, p. 157)

The elaboration of structures can be observed through agents' projects, meaning the aims and objects they want to achieve, try to achieve or have achieved (Persson 2008; Danermark et al. 2003). The concept of a project, the question of whether it must be explicit, and of how the project is dealt with, raise questions about a more nuanced view on agency. According to Archer (1995, 254f, also in Danermark et al. 2003) the group of *agents* is defined as a collective that has a particular structural position. She distinguishes two groups of agents: On the one hand there are *corporate agents*, which are organised on the basis of a shared project. These are mostly already institutionalised: unions, state administrations, universities can all be agents in a particular structure, and they have a shared strategy which they follow in a systematic manner (ibid.). On the other hand, there are so-called *primary agents*. These are not organised, though they nevertheless form a group, since they share the same situation and may have the same interests. But these interests are not articulated in a programmatic way; nor are they somehow organised to follow their interests strategically and systematically. They also have a certain power which influences interactions.

Teachers can be seen as examples of both agent groups. Teacher unions or associations are corporative agents that organise teachers. They pursue their interests, for example the improvement of status, salary and working conditions, in a systematic, strategic and also institutionalised manner. A strong teaching profession might be characterised by its institutionalised corporative structures, and even civil servant teachers have institutionalised representation. However, teachers are also primary agents. As primary agents, teachers have to be seen as a group sharing similar – though not identical – characteristics as well as wishes and intentions. They are passive and their actions are not systematised. Though they have intentions, they do not formulate a shared project to achieve their interests. Primary agents are the target group of corporative agents that in turn are active in interaction processes and have certain objectives (ibid.). Corporative agents aim to change or affirm the structures, which condition teachers'

work. Examples of such agents are, as above, teacher unions or associations, and also the state administrations, universities as well as agents with economic interests, such as commercial textbook publishers and CPD companies. Teachers, as primary agents, also possess power even though they are not organised (ibid.). This means that even when they are passive and unorganised, teachers as a group can deny follow certain developments. An expression of such power is *teachers' professional culture*.

Regarding the interaction of agents, it may be pointed out that the teaching profession, as a corporative agent, interacts passively or actively with the state and with other stakeholders in the educational system in order to define the conditions, i.e. rights and duties, of its profession. The object of interaction is not only the profession itself but also concerns the definition of the teachers' role in the society.

6.2. Conceptualising teacher autonomy in time and space

I view teacher autonomy as a crucial part of the structure that conditions the teaching profession's agency, meaning their participation in interactions with other agents in the structure of their profession. I argue that their CPD can be understood as a form of agency, which is embedded in complex contextual interrelations. However, in order to be able to consider more on this, the phenomenon of teacher autonomy needs to be elaborated further in order to make it analytically comprehensible and empirically applicable. In the following, I will propose a model that comprises different interrelated categories of teacher autonomy from a governance perspective.

6.2.1. The issue of professional autonomy

From the 1960's, sociological concepts concerning professions and professionals have been adapted to international education research in order to examine teachers and teaching (Terhart 2001). With this approach, professions emerge from occupations that are concerned with socially important tasks, thereby performing a crucial function in society (Terhart 2011). The most prominent classical examples are doctors and lawyers, who are responsible for the physical health and legislation of the society. With the emergence of such professions, modern societies have dealt with the risks that occur in their citizen's everyday lives, aiming to achieve social stability. I will not discuss all aspects of teachers' professionalism in detail, or elaborate on why and how teachers are professionals, but I do, however, state that I will follow Terhart's (2011) reasoning about teachers being fully professional, rather than Brante's (2008) suggestion of teachers as semi-professionals. Brante's argument is, first of all, aligned with other sociological research, that teachers are necessarily embedded in the orga-

nisation of the state in order to execute their professional duties. Teachers have only a partial influence on the formation of these organisations, and consequently, teachers do not fulfill all requirements of a full profession. However, this reasoning overlooks their analytical value, because there is a necessity that teachers act in the framework of that organisation not as a restriction but as crucial part of the profession, one in which profession and organisation complement each other (Pfadenhauer and Brosziewski 2008). Terhart builds his argument with reference to Evetts' (2003) considerations concerning professions, which are more applicable for the current work:

Professions are essentially the knowledge based category of occupations which usually follow a period of tertiary education and vocational training and experience. A different way of categorizing these occupations is to see professions as the structural, occupational and institutional arrangements for dealing with work associated with the uncertainties of modern lives in risk societies. Professionals are extensively engaged in dealing with risk, with risk assessment and, through the use of expert knowledge, enabling customers and clients to deal with uncertainty. To paraphrase and adapt a list in Olgiati et al. (1998), professions are involved in birth, survival, physical and emotional health, dispute resolution and law-based social order, finance and credit information, educational attainment and socialization, physical constructs and the built environment, military engagement, peace-keeping and security, entertainment and leisure, religion and our negotiations with the next world. (p. 397)

This perspective focuses on the risk and dilemma handling of professionals, as this also relates to other persons (*clients*). This includes the requirement that the working processes of professions can never be completely routinised, for example by mechanical or linear solutions. Each case to be dealt with is somewhat different (Luhmann 2002; Luhmann and Schorr 1999; Pfadenhauer 2005; Pfadenhauer and Brosziewski 2008). The issue of teacher autonomy evolves in this field of tension. Regarding the autonomy of the professions, however, some considerations concerning their relations with the state are also necessary. Brante (2008), as well as Svensson and Evetts (2008), distinguish between an Anglo-Saxon (Anglo-American) and continental approach to professionalization. In the latter, professions evolve in relation to state building, having been entrusted by the state with the above-mentioned risk handling tasks. Consequently, their autonomy is defined by the state, and professionals act responsibly towards their tasks in a given framework. It is the state that judges whether the profession acts according to the defined expectations. This first approach developed in a marketplace, and these professionals are autonomous in a classical sense in terms of having more freedom of choice regarding their professional means. Consequently, what we, in our continental European context, would call professionals are, in an American context, bureaucrats. This is why Lipsky's (2010/1980) considerations on "street level bureaucracy" were such a success in European research on professions. What he describes for bureaucrats

in the USA is also productive for the conceptualisation of professions in continental Europe. For Lipsky, teachers are street level bureaucrats, while in continental Europe they are regarded as (semi-)professionals, namely having a certain discretion related to a certain status. However, the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-American professionals are related to state and society by their accountability. This means that state and society are customers which judge the quality of the profession's performances. Although both kinds of professions are converging, the differences are crucial for the further development of the theoretical framework of this thesis. In both the cases compared teacher autonomy is evolving first of all in relation to the state, but it is today also related to the marketplace. There occur more hybrid forms, because both forms are in the process of converging (Svensson and Evetts 2008), which can also be seen – more or less – in the cases presented.

Moreover, it is very important to point out that autonomy does not mean simply freedom. Here, not surprisingly,¹⁵ nursing science provides a productive approach for conceptualising professional autonomy. Definitions of autonomy are formulated by use of concept analyses (Ballou 1998; Holland Wade 1999; Keegan 1999; Varju and Suominen 2011). In the following I will ground my own on that of Ballou (1998, p. 105), who defines autonomy “as the quality or state of being self-governing.” For her, autonomy is “the capacity of an agent to determine its own actions through independent choice within a system of principles and laws to which the agent is dedicated.” On the one hand, autonomy means self-governing and therefore is a governance issue, but on the other hand, the definition points also to the fact that the autonomous agent must have the capacity to be autonomous, that means having certain rules and regulations that enable self-governing. Consequently, autonomy conditions agency but also needs particular prerequisites of the latter in order to exist. If there is no capacity for self-governing, there is no need to regulate a group's autonomy by governance. However, we could not call this group a profession then. Since teachers are seen as a profession here, autonomy as governance phenomenon is in focus, that is part of an existing conditioning structure, as it will be explained below.

6.2.2. Conceptualising teacher autonomy¹⁶

The teaching profession, in particular, is marked by its dependency on or complementary relationship to an organisation: the school (Pfadenhauer and

15 This is due to the fact that nurses have to defend their autonomy not only against doctors, and due to this relation, often are defined as semi-professionals.

16 The section between 6.2.2. and 6.2.5. has been submitted to *Journal of Curriculum Studies* in an extended version as Wermke, W. and Höstfält, G. Contextualising teachers' professional autonomy in time and space

Brosziewski 2008). Teachers' work takes place mainly between their pedagogical classroom work and the expectations and constraints of local and national authorities. Consequently, teachers have to balance pedagogical practice with organisational constraints dictated by others. Here, teachers need a *certain scope of action* which they can use by applying own rules and regulation. They react to pedagogical problems in the classroom and balance these against their function of stabilising and developing society by the transfer of appropriate knowledge to pupils. The framing of teachers' work through the organisation of the school (system) and the handling of the contradictions in this configuration becomes an integral part of the teaching profession (Luhmann 2002). Being a teacher therefore involves a constant trade-off. In my understanding, the scope that teachers have for dealing with this trade-off constitutes their autonomy. The scope of action is indeed built not on total freedom but on the capacity – provided by self-determined rules and regulations as well as resources – of the profession to handle the issues in an appropriate way. From the governance perspective applied in this thesis, this means the opportunities teachers have to gain, maintain and control crucial aspects of their profession in relation to state governance. This conditions teachers' actions but does not determine it. Moreover, a focus on governance regimes does not imply that the individual teachers in the individual schools act precisely in the manner intended by the regime of governance. It is simply assumed that they must relate to this given frame.

Teacher autonomy, as the relation between teachers' pedagogical work and its governance, is dealt with under the issue of *curriculum evaluation*. Curriculum evaluation concerns the “ill-defined” problem of learning, meaning that there is no rigorous effort-product relationship (Hopmann 2003; Luhmann 2002). In a meritocratic society, it is necessary to define issues of curriculum evaluation and to find solutions to cope with this problem in order to control competition in mass schooling and to ensure resource allocations based on equality and equity (Broadfoot 1996). Curriculum evaluation means the measurement and control of the achievement of appropriate knowledge. It is part of curriculum administration to define appropriate knowledge in schooling and the administration of its transfer to pupils in mass education (Hopmann and Haft 1990).

I will illustrate this issue with two possibilities for curriculum evaluation described by Hopmann (2003) that are related to conceptualisations of governance regimes regarding input or outcome controlling (Recum 2006). Curriculum evaluation can be handled in two different ways: 1) through defining desired learning products and the production of valid instruments for reliable measurement of their achievement by the pupils (*product evaluation*), and 2) by developing a strong and “well-defined” teaching profession that is in charge of evaluating pupils' performance and learning processes. Teachers have gained the competence to do this – dealing with all the comprising risks – through a state-regulated teacher education, and the state also regulates schooling in a standard-

ised way (*process evaluation*). In the latter case, autonomous professionals evaluate pupils' performances against curricular goals. They legitimate their work not by products, but by the use of a specific professional language of *didactics*¹⁷ (Hopmann 2003). Didactics is a part of teacher education that is often also examined by the state. It focuses on the development of the subject content that is formulated by the curriculum. The focal point is the dominance of the teacher and the subject. The teacher is responsible for elaborating the intrinsic value of a subject for the education of pupils (Künzli 1998). Centralised curricula make these professionals independent of expectations other than those prescribed by the state. Didactics empowers teachers to be reflective practitioners but also to standardise their practice and reflection on it (Kansanen et al. 2011b). By doing so, it contributes to teacher autonomy. Evaluation of teachers' work mostly happens within peer groups in the schools, which means within the profession. Consequently, the society must trust teachers and their judgements (Hopmann 2006).

In decentralised and outcome-controlled structures, a product evaluation is utilised. Teachers in the schools are expected to evaluate pupils' performances in terms of an apparently well-defined problem definition (Hopmann 2003). Professionals in other school-related fields, such as scientific and administrative, formulate criteria and targets that learners must meet with the help of teachers. This may result in a loss of autonomy within the teaching profession. However, a result-oriented profession has the advantage that the individual teacher gains more freedom in their pedagogical decisions in the classroom. As long as the results are appropriate, teachers are fairly autonomous in their methods. If related to Brante's (2008) and Svensson's and Evetts' (2008) distinction between an Anglo-Saxon and a Continental type of professions, process evaluation corresponds to the latter type and product evaluation to the first, and thereby express a converging trend towards the Anglo-American realm.

Two aspects become obvious in discussing Hopmann's (2003) conceptualisation regarding the issue of teacher autonomy: 1) Process evaluation builds on professional responsibility, and product evaluation on the accountability of the profession. Both responsibility and accountability are thereby crucial factors of autonomy. Hoyle (2008) describes them in the following:

17 The German and Swedish term *Didaktik* itself is an untranslatable concept. "The most obvious translation of *Didaktik*, didactics is generally avoided in Anglo-Saxon educational contexts, and refers to practical and methodological problems of mediation and does not aim at being an independent discipline, let alone a scientific or research programme" (Gundem and Hopmann 1998b, p. 2). However, the suggestions of Hopmann and Gundem to use *Didaktik* (in correspondence to *Bildung*) did not gain general acceptance (Kansanen et al. 2011b). Although there are these irregularities in translation, in German and Nordic research the most common English translation of *Didaktik* is didactics. Here I will follow this *common practice*.

There are limits to accountability in teaching and the distinction between *accountability* and *responsibility* (...) remains valid: professional responsibility reaching the areas that are to diffuse to be accessible to measures of accountability. But responsibility is predicated on *trust*. (p. 300, my italics)

Both express a kind of control of the profession. Responsibility in favour of accountability toward externally defined goals and results becomes a key characteristic of an autonomous teaching profession: the profession regulates itself. An example is the regulation by peers and teachers of a given school concerning whether teachers meet or do not meet appropriate standards. These practices are established in a code of ethics, describing how a good teacher ought to be (Sabbagh 2009), and are also displayed in a professional culture (Schein 2005). Code and culture are often implicit (Terhart 2008), but they exist and display teachers' self-governing by the capacity to define their own rules.

2) Two perspectives on teacher autonomy need to be considered: one perceives the teaching profession as an institution and the other sees teachers as professionals in classroom and schoolwork. I will elaborate a model in the next section.

6.2.3. Two dimensions of the teaching profession

There exist several works that conceptualise the dichotomous character of teacher autonomy (Alexandersson 1999; Berg 1993; Frederiksson 2010; Helgøy and Homme 2007). However, it is noticeable that there are often normative ideas that value collective teacher autonomy higher than individual teacher autonomy (e.g. Berg 1993; Helgøy and Homme 2007), instead of seeing them simply as equal analytical categories. Furthermore, I argue that there exist difficulties with the boundary that divides both dimensions analytically. These can be seen as phenomena regarding the individual school where the single teacher is the individual; the school faculty is the collective (Berg 1993). But this lacks a perspective on the whole teaching profession. We could also focus on a teaching profession that can have collective and individual components (Helgøy and Homme 2007). But my question regarding these models is where the school – as the level of practice – is to be found. Of more analytical value for my purposes are conceptions that point to the two-dimensionality of the profession, but are not stuck in the individual-collective dichotomy. Frederiksson (2010) proposes a vertical/ horizontal distinction, describing the relation between teachers and institutions of state governance. He investigates teacher practice – or what teachers report as being appropriate practice – and shows that for the Swedish case an increasing vertical and decreasing horizontal autonomy results in, first of all, a fragmentation of the profession in different forms of professional identities. This has consequences for teachers' possibilities to participate in interaction in order to change or defend certain structures. However, here I will pursue yet another proposal to describe this two-dimensionality. Hoyle (2008) proposes

a distinction between the teaching profession in both an institutional¹⁸ and a service component:

One I would [...] term the *institutional* component of professionalization connoting the collective aspiration of an occupation to meet and sustain certain criteria: strong boundary, academic credentials, a university connection, a self-governing professional body, practitioner autonomy, a code of ethics and so forth. The other I would now refer to as the *service* component connoting the process whereby the knowledge, skill and commitment of practitioners is continuously enhanced in the interests of clients. Although these two processes are often presented as proceeding *pari passu*, this need not necessarily occur. Their divergence has long been the focus of critics of the teaching profession. (p. 287–288)

Consequently there is an institutional component or, as I will use synonymously here, *dimension* of professionalization, “connoting the collective aspiration of an occupation to meet and sustain certain criteria: strong boundary, academic credentials, a university connection, a self-governing professional body, practitioner autonomy, a code of ethics and so forth.” (ibid., p. 287). Secondly, there is a service component/dimension of professionalization “connoting the process whereby the knowledge, skill and commitment of practitioners is continuously enhanced in the interests of clients” (ibid., p. 288).¹⁹ Service – and I argue this is the advantage of this distinction – comprises both the individual teacher practice in classroom and also the practice of the school. It means simply the practical dimension of the profession. Thereby it also incorporates the issue of school autonomy [examples of this: Altrichter and Rürup (2010), Holmgren et al. (2012), Honig and Rainey (2012), Ingersoll (1996)].

Hoyle (2008) uses a distinction regarding processes which describe the aspiration of teachers to gain particular benefits in order to improve their status by higher salaries, the existence of corporate representatives, and, indeed, also autonomy. In this process it becomes crucial how the individual professional relates to the society, state and, the other professions as institutions. Using the example of England and Wales, he describes first the institutional professionalization of teachers through their autonomy from the church – a process also valid for the German and Swedish case (Tenorth 2008; Richardson 2004). After this, the situation changed through the emergence of policies of accountability. The institution is weakened by reducing teacher autonomy, marginalization of teacher associations, weakening of links with the academy in terms of initial

18 The term “institution” is used in a plain and simple sense as a kind of organisation which serves a certain (societal) purpose with established regulations (Oxford American Dictionaries 2011), see FN 7.

19 In certain contexts, terms such as clients and service are today associated with New Public Management ideology. However, this is not the case here. I refer to terminology of research on professions, where service and client are rather neutral.

training and continuing professional development and so forth (Hoyle 2008). However, the teachers also gained more autonomy in their actual practice:

It can be argued that deprofessionalization has occurred on the institutional dimension but one can be less categorical in relation to the service dimension. It is perhaps paradoxical that teachers have increasingly engaged in professional development activities that, though they may have enhanced their skills and thus been of benefit to pupils, have been at odds with traditional criteria of the profession, particularly those relating to academic knowledge. (ibid., p.290)

I argue that the two dimensions not only relate to the process of professionalization of teaching, but are also useful for describing crucial aspects of the particular features of *a profession* in comparisons of teachers at various historical times and in various national spaces.

Here, I focus on teacher autonomy, the scope of action related to the imperatives of teaching as well as the control of teaching practice by the state. Both the profession as an institution and the individual professional in their provision of service can have a certain scope of action. Since I argue that teacher autonomy is composed of both an institutional and a service component, I will refer here to these components as *service autonomy* and *institutional autonomy*. However, we may query whether there is indeed a clear border between the two dimensions in reality. I do not ask this question, but argue instead that the distinction is analytical in nature, helping us to understand what distinguishes the practical issues of a profession and its institutional aspects, such as teachers' rights and legitimation. This relates a micro level (service) to a macro level (institution). Furthermore, since this thesis restricts its focus to a governance perspective on teacher autonomy, it will not and cannot reason about how autonomous the individual teacher, embedded in her/his context, feels and acts, but it can express potential opportunities that teachers might have.

At least from a governance perspective, the teaching profession can have greater service autonomy, but institutional autonomy may be constrained in the same context. This configuration can be reversed, or both dimensions can be either constrained or unconstrained, depending on the context. It then becomes necessary to distinguish between different qualities of autonomy, as I propose: *extended* or *restricted*. Both restricted and extended autonomy must be defined as two extremes on a continuum. Since we are dealing with the dilemma of teacher autonomy, as it has been described above, there is no right or wrong way. There are no all-encompassing, magic solutions, but multiple and various attempts to deal with the particular problems. Consequently, in the issue of autonomy, the *contextuality* of the profession plays a major role, because the described dilemma can be handled in different ways, depending on time and space.

6.2.4. Restricted/extended service/institutional autonomy

The teaching profession can be described as having either extended or restricted autonomy. In order to illustrate the application of the model and its relations to a governance regime, I match these categories – extended or restricted service or institutional autonomy– with the abovementioned theoretical considerations of Hopmann (2003) on *process and product curriculum evaluation*, that formed the starting point of my investigation. Table 9 concludes what the different forms of autonomy have for practical substance.

	of the teaching profession as an institution	of the teaching profession in service
Restricted autonomy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - State-regulated standards and measurement (product evaluation) - Accountability - Legitimation through efficiency regarding the achievement of goals and results - Principal = admin. manager (controls teachers) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regulated application of resources, content of schooling, and teacher professionalization (process evaluation)
Extended autonomy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sovereignty in defining standards of schooling - Responsibility - Legitimation through didactics - Control/standardisation through collegiality (professional culture/code of ethics) - Principal = head teacher (controls and integrate teachers) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Freedom of choice over the content of instruction, application of resources, and professionalization

Table 9: *Extended/restricted institutional and service autonomy*

The *institutional autonomy* of the teaching profession is *restricted* in regimes that evaluate the curriculum by teachers' products, as other agents/professionals decide what is appropriate knowledge and how it must be evaluated. Efficiency is then the foundation of accountability, describing the teaching profession's relation to the state and society (Svensson 2008). A profession with restricted institutional autonomy, on the other hand, is characterised by a school leadership where principals working exclusively in administrative positions. As managerial professionals they control the output of their teachers as well as the resources that teachers have at their disposal for achieving set goals. It seems clear, however, that school leadership that is not part of the profession itself

weakens the position of the teaching profession overall. This is due largely to the crucial role the school principal plays in the representation and communication of the school goals to the local and national society, as well in the integration of the loosely coupled system of individual professionals in the school (Hoyle 2008; Weick 1976). However, in such configurations the individual teacher enjoys *extended autonomy* in constructing his or her *service*, in terms of freedom of choice of content and methods as well as means of professionalization. Indeed, the individual decisions must follow the rationale of efficiency in the achievement of goals and results.

Governance regimes that draw on process evaluation are characterised by a teaching profession with *extended institutional autonomy*. The profession itself defines standards from a state curriculum in terms of individual competence as well as how the achievement of the standards is to be evaluated. Teachers legitimate and motivate their actions through didactic reasoning. The profession, by teacher educators, peers and principals, also contributes to a regulation of the members' standardisation. Consequently, the autonomous profession, as an institution, builds its status on the constraining of teachers' service autonomy. Teachers are controlled by their peers through "collegiality" (Svensson 2008). That comprises a "code of ethics" (Hoyle 2008), and a "professional culture", which means attitudes and experiences about appropriate practice (Schein 2005). The code of ethics is the foundation of the responsibility that describes the teaching profession's relation to the state and society (Hoyle 2008; Svensson 2008). These are required to trust the teaching profession and its members to act as expected. It must be noted that, even in this case, teachers also act in accordance with efficiency standards, defined by the profession as an institution. In professions with extended institutional autonomy, the school principals are head teachers, members of the teaching profession acting in terms of the same type of didactic reasoning as their staff. However, in such regimes the *service autonomy* is *restricted*. This means state regulation of the application of resources – for example by earmarking of funding and distribution of teachers to schools – and also of content of schooling as well as teacher education and continuing development.

6.2.5. A two-dimensional model of the teaching profession's institutional and service autonomy

To gain a comprehensive perspective on the autonomy of the teaching profession's individual and collective components, I argue that extended and restricted autonomy must be seen on a continuum. This is due to the characteristic dilemma of teacher autonomy. Teachers' scope of action must always be balanced between pedagogical practice in the classroom and the organisational constraints of mass schooling. There are multiple solutions, always related to their

context. Table 9 does not display this continuum-type character. For this reason, a two-dimensional model is presented below, in Figure 3.

Both institutional and service autonomy are related to each other, with *various categories* evolving. Furthermore, the focus is the teaching profession as part of a mass schooling system, where the teachers act in a certain type of regulated school system and among colleagues embedded in the same configuration. The first dimension (x-axis) describes the profession's institutional autonomy. At one end of the continuum it is extended, as it is in governance regimes which have process-related evaluation of the curriculum. At the other end, institutional autonomy is restricted, as it is in regimes that build their control on evaluating teachers' results. The second dimension (y-axis) is a continuum between extended and restricted service autonomy. Since this is a two-dimensional model, the y-axis sits in relation to the x-axis. In regimes built on process evaluation of the curriculum, the teaching profession is characterised by extended institutional autonomy, but the profession's service autonomy is restricted (category/quadrant II). In regimes drawing on product evaluation the configuration is inverted (category/quadrant IV).

These configurations are contrasted with forms of the teaching profession with an extended institutional autonomy where also the profession's service is characterised by extended autonomy (category/quadrant I). However, this configuration is not possible when regarding the teaching profession as a crucial component of mass schooling, because teachers would then somehow be freelancers: they would not be related either to the control of the profession itself or related to any organisation, in effect making individual contracts with their pupils. This is most likely the case if there is no systematised mass schooling system. At the other extreme end are strongly restricted teachers, forced to conform or to be industrial workers in education (category/quadrant III). Such regimes of governance become valid when the state regulates and controls goals, results and resources as well as methods of schooling. In these contexts, other professionals such as scientific or administrative workers provide methods and content that are assumed to improve teachers' efficiency regarding goals and results that are not defined by the teaching profession either. When defining deprofessionalisation as loss of autonomy (Stenlås 2009), then, it is true in this category.²⁰

20 As Stenlås (2011) points out, there are indeed several definitions of deprofessionalisation: "This is not an exclusive statement in research, that teachers have been 'deprofessionalised'. However, different researchers associate the term with different meanings (Densmore 1987, Lawn & Ozga 1988, Holmes 1991, Bottery & White 1996)." (p.13, my translation). He illustrates this even more clearly with examples from Swedish research, where "Falkner (1997) diagnoses a risk for 'teacher proletarianization' and Lindbald (1997) argues [...] for teachers' perception of a lower status and less recognition from outside, meaning 'deprofessionalisa-

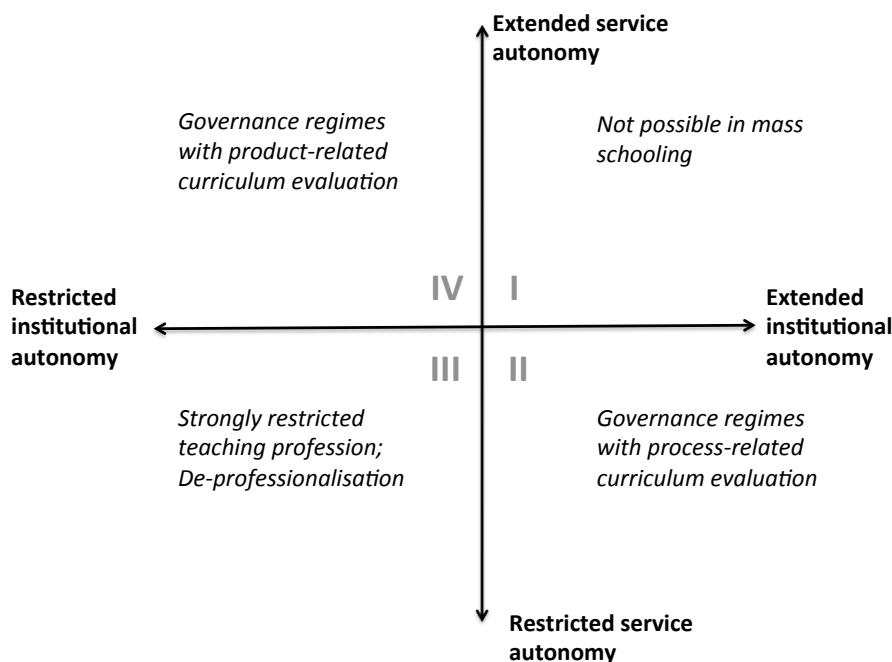


Figure 3: Extended/restricted service and institutional autonomy and various forms of governance

6.3. Autonomy and the dualism of structure and agency

In conclusion, it can be said that extended and restricted service and institutional autonomy are determined by who is allowed to define and control crucial aspects of the teaching profession – teaching profession or other agents, in other words, its scope of action in terms of self-governing. Teacher autonomy evolves around these aspects, taking different forms and conditioning the interaction of involved agents in the process. The two cases, Germany and Sweden, will be compared regarding these aspects from a socio-historical perspective. I will focus on interrelations with different forms of curriculum evaluation. However, teachers' initial education and continuing professional development also play a certain role. Through teacher education and continuing professional development (CPD) a shared knowledge base and professional culture is emerging. Through governance of this field, the state can have an impact on the teaching profession, which has consequences for teacher autonomy. In this vein, the role of school principals is also very important. I argue, based on my previous considerations, that the following four issues are the substance around which teacher autonomy is emerging:

tion''' (ibid., my translation). In this field of tension, I see Stenlås' suggestion as a very applicable definition for my purposes.

- *Curriculum evaluation*
- *Teacher education*
- *Teachers' CPD*
- *Educational leadership in schools*

There are both similarities and differences in these issues across each of the two national cases. Furthermore, other crucial processes such as *decentralisation/centralisation* or *marketization* shape these factors.²¹ The developed model of autonomy enables the description of teacher autonomy through comprehensive categories, describing analytically how the phenomenon relates to the national context (space) and also how it changes over time. However, these categories are analytical in nature, they simplify and generalize reality in order to make them and the related model amenable to empirical research. The categories provide a kind of ideal type (Weber 1980/1914) to which the empirical findings can be related.

I argue that the issue of teacher autonomy as a conditioning structure of teachers' agency, in Archer's sense, becomes more applicable through the model which, as a theory-in-field, helps to categorise developments and events in a comprehensive way. The categories entail the possibility that agents must take part in interaction, the significance of which is presented by an adjusted Archerian morphogenetic/static cycle, in Figure 4. In terms of Archer's reasoning, a historical perspective is necessary in order to distinguish both entities. Chronologically, first of all, there is structural conditioning, meaning, for this thesis, a particular configuration of teacher autonomy assigned by state governance. Secondly, in these conditions, interactions take place that can be investigated empirically, for example by professionals' perceptions or actions, here related to the scope of action teachers have in order to take part in interactions on issues related to them. Moreover, Archer's conceptions of agency as primary and correlative are productive because these contribute to a further understanding of teachers' opportunities and constraints in the interactions around the issue of their autonomy. The question then concerns what organised (in terms of correlative agency) and not organised teachers (in terms of primary agency) have done or are able to do in order to gain, maintain or defend their autonomy. Thirdly, from these interactions new structures evolve or old structures are reaf-

21 The above-mentioned Stenlås (2009, 2011), investigates the shaping of teacher autonomy in Sweden in terms of various factors such as decentralisation, goal and result governing, managerialism and marketization. His categories and mine can be seen both as equivalent and complementary. This is also true of the metaanalyses of literature on the last 20 years school reform in the Swedish case. However, my inferences on teacher autonomy are a little more prudent, due also to the comparison of Swedish teachers with another national teaching professions.

firmed. Teachers can reaffirm the autonomy they have, extend it or agree to have it restricted.

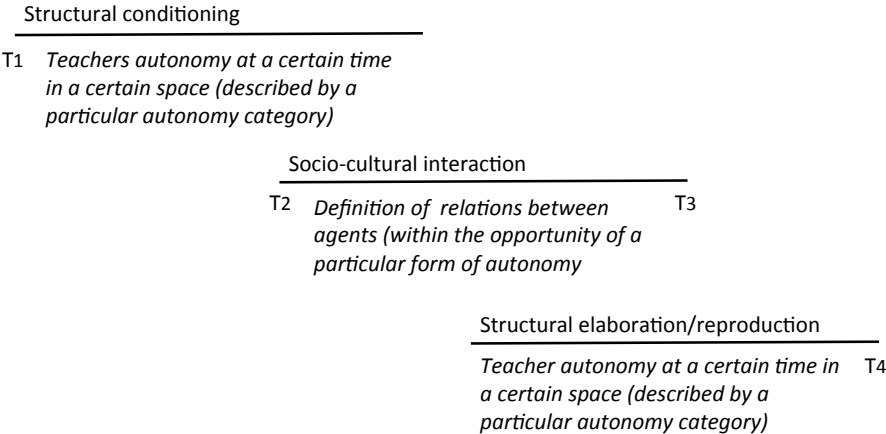


Figure 4: Archer's morphogenetic/static cycle and teacher autonomy

In the next chapter, the issue of autonomy will be analysed in both national cases from the vantage point of the presented considerations. How, for instance, is teacher autonomy as a governance issue shaped by the interactions of different factors – such as curriculum evaluation, teacher initial and continuous education and school leadership (T2–T3); and how are these interactions conditioned by existing autonomy structures (T1–T2)? Finally, have these led, or might they lead to the elaboration of new structures in terms of teacher autonomy (T3–T4). Such a historical perspective is tremendously important in order to understand the influence of nation-specific teacher autonomy on teachers' CPD. Teacher autonomy is not a static phenomenon, it changes historically in response to interactions among agents involved in the school system.

In order to make these complex interrelations visible and comprehensible, an extensive study of the development of teacher autonomy in Germany and Sweden from a comparative and historical perspective is necessary. The elaboration of German and Swedish teacher autonomy will be analysed by using the conception of structure and agency established above in combination with the categories provided by the present model of autonomy.

7. The autonomy of German and Swedish teachers

In this chapter I will focus on the ways in which different forms of teacher autonomy have evolved into their current forms in both Germany and Sweden. The issue of autonomy in the different contexts will be elaborated from the conceptions and terminology presented in the previous chapter. Teacher autonomy is seen here as a governance phenomenon, meaning that it describes the scope of action that the teaching profession has within its field. It is a crucial factor in conditioning teacher interactions, for instance their CPD. However, autonomy is not a static phenomenon. As it forms a key part of the structures of the teaching profession, it has also changed and adapted over time and has been challenged in interaction. In order to understand the specific relations between autonomy and CPD, we must firstly understand how historical and nation-specific particularities have conditioned the interactions of various agents structurally, and how teacher autonomy emerges and evolves in interaction. I argue that a thorough understanding of teaching in general and teacher autonomy in particular across both contexts, in terms of both time and space, illuminates the relation of autonomy to other factors such as teachers' continuous professional development. The two-dimensional model of autonomy and its different categories will be utilised in order to display the possible forms of teacher autonomy shifting across time and space due to interaction and structural elaboration. I will first present the recent developments in the field, then discuss relevant traditions that also condition these and contribute to an understanding of the interactions that take place.

The presentation of the two cases' socio-historical context regarding teacher autonomy is mediated through the perspectives on structure and agency outlined above, as well as through a construction of teacher autonomy which enables its classification in different categories. Consequently, this section constitutes a metaanalysis of literature. This choice results in leaving out particular aspects and focusing only loosely on others, with the primary focus on the issue of autonomy in relation to the theoretical stance described above. Therefore my background description provides only one of several possible understandings of the situation of German and Swedish teachers, which is itself also arguable. However, this understanding guides my choice of literature. The main issue probed in this section concerns how various crucial aspects of a school system might have influenced teacher autonomy. As presented above, these are *modes*

of curriculum evaluation, the role of school principals, teacher education and, indeed, teachers' CPD. My analytic proposals for both cases will be compared and logically extended, with these logical extensions providing devices for a systematic reasoning on the relation of teachers' nation-specific CPD (as in part 1) to their nation-specific autonomy. This draws on the aim of conceptualising the impact of the non-static phenomenon of autonomy on teachers' CPD. This chapter replies to research question 2.2. *How have particular forms of teacher autonomy developed in both cases?*

7.1. Recent developments regarding German and Swedish teacher autonomy

7.1.1. The German teaching profession up to 2000

From the perspective of extended/restricted institutional and service autonomy assigned by state governance, German teachers could traditionally be described as having a rather restricted service autonomy, but an extended institutional autonomy. The state (in the *Bundesländer*) was responsible for the formulation of curricula and syllabi (Cortina et al. 2003). These documents were characterised by a strong focus on subject content. From these frameworks teachers developed the content of their instruction through didactical reasoning (Klafki 2000a).²² Furthermore, the teaching profession possessed the authority over judgement on student performances and also over their own instructional methods. However, peers in the individual schools, i.e. colleagues and the principal, checked the individual teachers' work. In practice this meant that both aspects were not allowed to deviate too much from the average practice. Large deviations had to be approved by colleagues. Regarding instruction and assessment, teachers were accountable to the principal of the school or to the superintendent (*Schulrat*), who was somehow responsible for harmonising the schools within a single municipality (Schwänke 1988; Terhart 2008). The principal was the pedagogical leader of the staff, meaning that he or she was head teacher and, ideally, an expert teacher with many years of classroom,²³ though not always with administrative, experience (Terhart 2001).

22 The model and its development into the critical constructive *Didaktik* (Klafki 1998) will not be discussed here in detail. For illustrative reasons here are its five aspects: 1. Significance of the example; 2. Significance for the present situation of the pupils; 3. Significance for the future of the pupils; 4. Structure of the content; 5. Methods of teaching (Didactic analysis, *didaktische Analyse*).

23 This situation was expressed by the term "primus inter pares", that means that the principal was the first of his or her teachers, but having the same status.

German teachers were tenured civil servants (*Beamte*), with a particular relation to the state which is the teachers' employer (*Dienstherr*). This implies that the state regulated, examined and certified teacher education (*Staatsexamen*). In addition, the state as the employer, assigned newly graduated teachers to the individual schools. Teachers were not allowed to simply move between schools according to their own whims (Terhart 2001). From an autonomy perspective this might be seen as a severe constraint of teachers' scope of action, but viewed through the described two-dimensional model, only service autonomy is restricted. The teaching profession enjoys an extended institutional autonomy through their civil service status, which protects the profession from outside interference, such as that imposed by parental or municipality stakeholder expectations (Hopmann 2003; Weniger 2000/1952; Schwänke 1988). The profession itself took on full responsibility for controlling its members, resulting in constraint of the individual teacher and school practice.

The state-examined teacher education was separated into three parts. The first two culminated in exhaustive graduation examination, conducted and assessed by the state (Blömeke 2009; Terhart 2004). The first part was based mainly at the university and took the form of academic subject education, in the case of secondary teachers, in two subjects (*ibid.*). Educational components, such as subject related and general *didactics* (*Fachdidaktik* and *Allgemeine Didaktik*), were marginal, and school internships were only directed towards getting to know their future position (Merzyn 2002, 2005; Terhart 2004, 2011). Graduation after the first part, which for secondary school teachers was equivalent to a university masters degree, entitled one to enter the second part of teacher education (*Referendariat*). This part lasted between one and a half and two years and was fully dedicated to the didactical and practical education of future teachers. It was divided into a practical component at schools, supervised by a mentor teacher, and a theoretical part in the form of teacher seminars guided by state-certified expert teachers (Terhart 2004).²⁴ The assessment of teaching skills by the seminar heads concerned different demonstration lessons of the pre-service teachers. This, alongside the prevalence of didactic reasoning, by e.g. Wolfgang Klafki's didactic analysis (Klafki 2000a) as a masterplan for lesson planning, led to a standardisation of teachers' service. This can indeed be seen as a restriction of autonomy in this dimension. After an average of ten years (Terhart 2004) teachers had finally been fully educated. The third part of teacher education comprised teachers' continuing professional development (*Lehrerfortbildung*). It was mandatory, but was left largely up to teachers as to the forms it took. This apparently resulted in a situation in which CPD did not play a relevant role in teachers' careers (Blömeke 2009; Daschner 2009; Terhart 2004). Teachers' CPD was offered and administered mostly by state-regulated

24 Pre-service teachers experienced this part as very exhausting due to a tremendous workload and segmentation (up to three different seminars and teaching responsibility in the schools) (Katzenbach 2005; Schubarth and Pohlenz 2006).

institutions for teacher development (*Landesinstitute für Schule und Medien*), in the form of afternoon courses, guidelines and materials for teachers' development. The poor attendance in official CPD programmes and courses was quite obvious. Still, there is not a great deal of empirical data on how teachers developed outside of such offers (Heise 2007). However, from the 1990s, as described above, there was a shift from individual CPD in the form of optional courses to a more collective endeavour for the whole school in the form of study days [school internal CPD, (*SchiLf Schulinterne Lehrerfortbildung*)] (Buchholtz 2010).

In conclusion, up to 2000, the academic subject-based first part of teacher education and the second and third parts, arranged and assessed by experienced expert teachers, were the pillars of the profession's extended institutional autonomy. Teachers were tenured civil servants, examined and certified by the state. This constrained, by the same token, the service autonomy of the teachers through a standardisation of their education and practice.

7.1.2. The German teaching profession after 2000

The first decade of the new millennium has been characterised by tremendous reform efforts. With the shock over the low ranking of German pupils in international large scale studies of student performance such as PISA ("PISA shock") (Ertl 2006) and changes to the higher education system due to the Bologna process (Blömeke 2007), the old structures were brought under question, and are now being addressed by different agents. School governance and teaching education have been changing, but these changes are still under implementation. Regarding the latter, the first part of teacher training has now become a Bachelors degree with the subjects in focus, followed by a pedagogical Masters (ibid.). Both are examined at the universities. The second part of education (*Referendariat*) has remained unchanged. Regarding the regime of school governance there have also been significant changes (Recum 2006). Traditionally, the state governed the input of the school system through consistent distribution of resources and teacher education, thereby regulating the process of schooling. Today, there is a shift towards output and product controlling. This means, on one the hand, the implementation of central curriculum tests and central examinations (*Zentralabitur*)²⁵ in all German states. On the other hand, schools have gained more autonomy in service. Principals are allowed to use parts of their resources more freely and employ more teachers according to the schools' preferences. They also have increased responsibility for their staff's development.

All this implies that teachers and schools today are more accountable for their pupils' performances in test and central examinations. Administrative

25 Central examinations had been used in certain states even before the described reforms.

and scientific experts define appropriate knowledge standards, competences, and how their achievement can be measured. The application of curriculum testing has become a crucial aspect of school governance. From the theoretical perspective of the thesis, the teaching profession today faces an intensive interaction period around the governance of schools and the definition of the teaching profession in terms of rights and duties. From a governance perspective, institutional autonomy is becoming more restricted; other agents in the interaction try to define now what appropriate knowledge is, and how it is to be measured and assessed. However, there has also been an extension of the service autonomy of the profession. As long as the product, in terms of pupil performances, is appropriate, the choice of methods, structure, and content of instruction is autonomous.

However, the reforms are still under implementation, and important aspects of the traditional structure remain untouched. Teachers are still tenured civil servants. Although such reforms are intended to promote the results of schools through competition, results of standard testing are not public and there is no market-regulated school system where the schools receive resources based on the number of pupils enrolled. In addition, the reforms are keenly debated and it can be seen that a teaching profession, in terms of a new public management ideology, apparently does not work well for German civil service teachers (Terhart 2011).

7.1.3. The Swedish teaching profession after 1990

With the policy of decentralisation in the 1990s new structures were elaborated that conditioned interactions over subsequent years (Forsberg 2011; Jarl et al. 2007; Lundgren 2011a; Englund et al. 2012; Stenlås 2011). Responsibility for teacher employment and salary was transferred from central state government to the municipalities. This shift was accompanied by a strong marketization of the school system. Due to freedom-of-choice reforms, parents and pupils were entitled to choose schools and were not required to enrol at the nearest school within the municipality. Technically, every pupil was given a voucher for his or her education, and these vouchers finance the schools. This implies that school resources were dependent on the number of pupils enrolled and that they therefore competed in a school marketplace. This marketization also led to an increasing number of independent schools, whose establishment has been accelerated by the possibility of running schools for profit. By evaluating how they achieve particular formulated goals and results, schools were controlled and regulated by the state, and consequently the state formulates what appropriate knowledge and competences were and how to measure whether they had been achieved (Englund 2012; Norén 2003; Forsberg and Lundgren 2009; Erixon Arreman and Holm 2011b, 2011a; L. Lundahl 2011; Lundahl et al. 2010; Rönnberg 2011).

Regarding the theoretical model of this thesis, the restriction of institutional autonomy was accompanied by extended service autonomy. There were few regulations imposed as long as the goals and results were achieved. Moreover, goals and results were defined openly in the curriculum and syllabi. Teachers in the schools were expected to act as active curriculum makers in order to interpret the formulated goals for implementation in the local context of the school (*deltagande målstyrning*) (Lindensjö and Lundgren 2000; Lundgren 2011a). Therefore, teachers were assumed to work together in particular with colleagues who taught the same age group in order to form a coherent and comprehensive education of the pupils that is not segmented only into school-related subject knowledge.

The distinction between goals and results needs further explanation. *Results* pointed to certain competences that the pupils should have gained by a certain point of time (*mål att uppnå*). These could be measured by national curriculum tests. *Goals* related to a *Bildungs* task of schooling (*mål att sträva mot*) (Carlgren 2012). Here the formation of the pupils into holistic democratic citizens is the focus. The role of teachers and schools was to form self-determined and valuable citizens of a democratic society. The schools and teachers were responsible for the achievement of the goals. These goals could not be measured by national tests, they were rather idiosyncratic and individual (Carlgren 2009a). However, the national tests' function was both monitoring the school system from a state perspective in order to recognise issues that have to be dealt with as well as a diagnostic and methodological tool for teachers to compare and adjust their own achievements in terms of pupil performances across the whole country. Goals and results were formulated by the state, but the (subject) content, meaning how to achieve these goals, were up to the service level. Regarding the theoretical considerations of this thesis, logics of *accountability* (results) and *responsibility* (goals) were incorporated. According to the former, the role of school leadership was reshaped and in the new system, the principal had many more administrative and managerial tasks, such as assessing the achievement of the goals and results in relation to the resources the school for current and future students (Jarl 2007). Pedagogical issues, due to a greater emphasis on administrative and managerial tasks, are moved to the background.

The state created specialised institutions, at which educational researchers, in cooperation with experienced teachers, construct national curriculum tests (NCT, *nationella prov*). Research-based school governance was a very important factor. Decentralisation, accompanied by the freedom of choice policy, needed to be stabilised and somehow regulated by the acquisition of as much robust data as possible. Choices to be made, and practice to be implemented was supposed to be grounded on expert reasoning. With these reforms, the former board of education (*Skolöverstyrelse*), an expression of centralised school governance, was replaced by a so-called "knowledge institution", the National

Agency of Education (NAE, *Skolverket*).²⁶ The new agency was responsible for the construction of curricula, syllabi and national texts, but also performance assessment. Later, in 2008, a school inspectorate agency was founded (Forsberg and Lundahl 2012; Lundahl 2009). Furthermore, through extensive information and guidance material, the agency and related institutions were expected to support school development and steer curricula and reform implementation in schools and municipalities (ibid.). However, the state was not the only agent the teaching profession had to deal with. Decentralisation resulted in a situation in which teachers had to relate to and act in two different frameworks. They received a “double mandate” (Nihlfors 2012). Teachers were pressed between the expectations of the state, on the one hand, and the municipalities or private owners of independent schools on the other. The municipalities were often unprepared for this new responsibility, and treated the school and its particularities much as they did other services, such as health or administration (Stenlås 2011). Furthermore, the expectations on teachers being reflective practitioners and active curriculum makers showed the structural problem of blurred responsibilities. It was not clear what rights and responsibilities teachers had (Alexandersson 1999).

In 2001, there was a teacher education reform that implemented a corporate teacher education for all forms of teachers who built on a comprehensive and shared pedagogical and didactical education with an integrated school practice (Hartman 2012; Linde 2003; Richardson 2004). Even before 1980, subject teacher education of elementary and secondary teachers at the compulsory school level (*grundskollärare*) had become rather focused on generalised education regarding the academic subjects, meaning that teachers teach a wider range of subjects, such as natural science or social science instead of being specialised in individual academic subjects such as biology, chemistry or physics (S. Marklund 1989). Instead, the relation to school practice had become stronger, in terms of a strong pedagogical and subject didactic (pedagogical content knowledge) focus.²⁷ This might have resulted in a strengthening of a shared pedagogical knowledge base, but at the price of weakening the academic subject knowledge, which might earlier have ensured a particular autonomy on the basis of academic expertise in the subject.

However, the 2001 reform aimed also to strengthen the academization of teachers’ pedagogical knowledge base. As part of the Bologna process, teacher education was expected to form preparation for continuing education at a research-based Masters level (Höstfält and Wermke 2011). Previously, teacher education had been located autonomous institutions responsible for teacher

26 Often in English also referred to as Swedish National Agency of Education

27 This development has not been valid to the same extent for upper secondary teachers (*gymnasielärare*, school years 10–12). Here the specialising on two subjects related to an academic subject education remains (Richardson 2004). However, this thesis will only focus on comprehensive school teachers (*grundskolläre*).

education at universities or university colleges – or in the case of Stockholm at an independent teacher college (*lärarhögskolan*).²⁸ There mainly former teachers were responsible for the methods education of teaching students (Morberg 1999; Hartman 2012). This culture disappeared as new structures were elaborated. I argue that such autonomous institutions – even culminated in an independent teacher college – of teacher education and first of all the responsibility of expert teachers for method education contributed to standardization (and probably conservatism), but also to the strengthening of the institutional autonomy of the profession. It was therefore a pillar of teachers' institutional autonomy as an expression of the fact that the teaching profession owned and transferred their professional knowledge to teacher students. After the demise of the board of education (*Skolöverstyrelsen*) an open space emerged regarding the definition of appropriate teaching,²⁹ which has since been occupied by educational research, and no longer by the teaching profession. The latter now defined what teacher professionalism was. The elaborated structure was, in other words, a top-down academization that restricted the teaching profession's institutional autonomy and thereby decreased the profession's opportunities for active participation in further interaction in the existing structures.

Teachers' CPD was also transformed by these processes. The rather generalist subject education of teachers was also matched to the guiding ideas of continuing professional development (CPD), in order to avoid the transmission of what was seen as decontextualised subject knowledge, teachers were expected to upgrade their knowledge constantly in relation to changing requirements of the society from a local, national and global perspective on their subjects (Drakenberg 2001; Linde 2003). For this reason, an extensive number of resources for CPD were provided. Moreover, CPD was market regulated in order to promote a greater number of opportunities for teacher development. The universities, responsible for initial teacher training, became an important actor in the marketplace for teachers' CPD (Drakenberg 2001). However, the new, integrated system of initial and continuing teacher training also resulted in a plethora of opportunities for becoming a teacher (Frederiksson 2007). Consequently, there were no longer standardising effects resulting from teacher initial and continuing education. This may have opened the profession's service level to new kinds of thinking, to change and reform, but at the same time, it may also

28 Between 1956 and 1968 teacher colleges were established in Sweden. With the higher education reforms of 1977 all, except the teacher college of Stockholm, became organisationally part of universities (Richardsson 2004). However, I argue that such institutions – indeed in different organisational forms – are a illustration for a teacher expert – teacher educator culture that was prevalent in Sweden for a longer time.

29 The new National Agency for Education (*skolverket*) was from its foundation much smaller than its predecessor, also in scope. Furthermore, as mentioned, the municipalities did not have the competences to deal with the new responsibilities (Stenlås, 2009).

have weakened the teaching profession and thereby constrained institutional autonomy. These changes may have contributed to a weakening of teachers' opportunities for agency by weakening a shared corporate identity.

In contrast, from the 1950s to the 1980s, CPD was centralised and mostly organised in the form of development days at the individual schools, a total of five days per school year [today 13 (Nilsson 2006)]. Moreover, subject teachers received extra resources for independent CPD in their subjects (S. Marklund 1989). So called CPD consultants (*fortbildningskonsulenter*) played an important role as reform facilitators (*ibid.*). They were responsible for the adjustment of the local CPD to the state government's reform ambitions. The most prominent form of CPD governance was campaigning in favour of various models with the help of earmarked resources (Linnell 1999). Due to the beginnings of the policy of decentralisation from the late 1970s, there was a shift from CPD as an individual endeavour to CPD as school development. However, it was observed that this form of CPD governance had only a slight impact on teachers' work, and subject teachers at first retained their individual understanding of CPD (*ibid.*). It can obviously be argued that, although there was a great focus of state governance on CPD as a reform facilitator, teachers retained their professional culture, which obviously was a sign of their extended institutional autonomy. However, it has also been argued that this form of CPD also produced a particular sort of expectations that CPD is delivered, related to a kind of passiveness (Eriksson et al. 2004), that later on supported the implementation of the great changes.

7.1.4. The Swedish teaching profession after 2000

Since 2000, international large-scale comparisons of pupil achievement such as PISA or TIMSS have become increasingly important to Swedish policy making. Sweden had previously participated in such investigations, and was even an active stakeholder in developing such approaches (Pettersson and Wester 2011). However, recent tests had shown decreasing performance among Swedish pupils. At the same time there was also a change in government that ended the social democratic hegemony. Educational policy became a vehicle for the new conservative administration to distance itself from its predecessor (Höistfält and Wermke 2011). These large-scale tests were stigmatised as the result of "bad" social democratic school policy (Carlgren 2009b). Furthermore, the diversity of schooling as a consequence of the decentralisation reforms of the 1990s threatened equity and equality in schooling (Lundahl et al. 2010). The ambitious reforms had obviously also overextended conditions for teachers and schooling. Teachers felt increasingly insecure and sought more guidance. Carlgren (2009) calls the processes of the 1990s a kind of "shock professionalization" from decenniums of centralised governance to a participatory curriculum creation that teachers were unable to cope with. I might question whether this was due only

to overextended conditions for teachers or also due to structural problems in the reforms [on this see e.g. Alexandersson (1999), Stenlås (2011)]. Regardless, these developments can be seen as an expression of teachers' weakened agency and constrained opportunities for participating in interactions concerning their own profession.

However, all this has led to the elaboration of new structures with new forms of teacher autonomy. Since 2008, the conservative government has increased the evaluation of schools through an extended system of school inspectorate and national curriculum testing by including more subjects and more age cohorts in the testing procedure, and today by using the results much more extensively in assessment (Forsberg 2011; Rönnberg 2011). Teacher education must now be certified by the NAE. Comprehensive teacher education returned to its traditional distinction of teachers into different types in 2011 (Höstfält and Wermke 2011). Now, the traditional distinction once more divides teachers for different levels in teacher education. Subject focus has once more been strengthened for comprehensive schoolteachers, but the subjects in comprehensive schools are still organised, regarding a generic principle, into blocks instead of individual academic subjects. Moreover, there is no teacher college or partially autonomous institutions of teacher education anymore. Teacher education today is mostly incorporated into academic departments at the universities, resulting finally in a marginalisation of the teacher educator culture that defined itself as part of the teaching profession. This concluded a process that had already begun with the above mentioned teacher education reforms: Academic professionals have taken over teacher education completely (Hartman 2012).³⁰ This contributed to a further restriction of the teaching profession's institutional autonomy, in terms of ownership over the substance of what is transferred to novices in the profession. Meanwhile, in the schools, with the most recent curriculum reform (also in 2011), the syllabi have become more highly structured and detailed. Curricula and syllabi are accompanied by extensive commentaries and guidance on how to use them and how to use pupil assessment. Although these are only recommendations, it can be assumed that many teachers experience them as regulating and guiding. Even if this is often experienced as positive, it still restricts teachers' service autonomy. Teachers' CPD is organised even more into a campaign form and is more exhaustively funded (Eurydice 2008). State, municipalities and principals govern teachers' development issues and often standardise it. The opportunities for individual school based CPD of the 1990s have today often been replaced by CPD for the whole staff in the individual municipalities on core issues that are seen as crucial in order to achieve the expected

30 Which is at least valid for the bigger universities in the country. It is an empirical question how and how much the situation has changed at smaller colleges with responsibility for teacher education.

goals and results [for example: Sandahl (2009)].³¹ This was probably also a result of the municipalities' obligation to have CPD plans, implemented by law in 1999 (Rönnerman 2004).

Finally, since 2000, the trend towards marketization of the school system has accelerated (Englund 2012). In a school system where parents and pupils independently decide where to start or continue education, the state can promote this freedom-of-choice by distributing a voucher to every pupil. Pupil movement from one school to another means financial gain for one and loss for the other, and loss of pupils jeopardises the existence of a school. Moreover, such forms of governance transform the identities of all stakeholders including teachers and principals (Norén 2003). Clients are now customers with increased rights (Brante 2008; Svensson 2008; Frederiksson 2010). Teachers are one group of knowledge providers among others, with no particular state secured status, and they have to represent their school in a competition with other schools. Since the pupils' vouchers are valid for independent as well as public schools, and since there are also opportunities to run profit-oriented schools, competition has increased, particularly in urban areas. Competition means that the schools with the best arguments attract the most pupils and thereby meet the challenges of the school marketplace (*ibid.*).³² The strongest arguments are indeed adequate pupil results, displayed in both NCTs and the average level of pupil grades. However, this might promote the dominance of strategies that direct pedagogical practice to achieving exactly such arguments as decreasing standards for better grades or overextending preparation for national tests (Lundahl and Waldow 2009; Cliffordson 2008; Stenlås 2011). Furthermore, the attraction of more pupils to successful schools might result in other schools being unable to attract the same number of pupils.³³ Other arguments besides pupil achievement are also crucial, such as special pedagogical or subject focus as well as specific facilities available. Even these arguments entail a certain danger. Schools that attract more pupils have better economic resources which empower them to upgrade the opportunities to learn and, indeed, attract more pupils (*ibid.*). In addition, traditionally strong unions that were hitherto pillars of extended insti-

31 With the existence of great financial resources on the CPD marketplace today, the emergence of a new kind of service can be observed. Today there are many different lecturers and educational consultants that can be ordered by principals and superintendents. Since the latter often not have the same focus than their teachers, and the private companies indeed often have one-fit-all solutions (Stenlås 2009), their impact on the development of teachers competences and schools quality can in some cases be questioned.

32 Such schools often attract also the best teachers and thereby strengthen the described effect.

33 That also might result in schools ending up in a negative trend. One additional risk is segregation in the meaning that high performing pupils gather in a few schools known for their high performing environment. The accumulation of high performing pupils might produce better results that, at the same time, attract more pupils. This regards pupils' performances, but related to this there is also a danger of socio-economic and cultural segregation (Norén, 2003; Lundahl et. al. 2010).

tutional autonomy lost influence due to the decentralisation of teachers' work (Persson 2007, 2008), since teachers now bargain over their salary individually with the principal and are dependent on the individual school's market-related situation.³⁴ Consequently, marketization restricts the institutional autonomy of the teaching profession. A professional teacher logic is perhaps left in place semantically (Hoyle 2008) in order to legitimize schooling and to make arguments in the marketplace. However, marketing becomes just as important in their work as pedagogical aspects (Erixon Arreman and Holm 2011b, 2011a). Rather than teachers' judgement, the judgement of the marketplace becomes increasingly relevant.

From the perspective of this thesis, in the newly elaborated structures, the teaching profession's autonomy has been restricted in teachers' service, as institutional autonomy has been increasingly restricted since the 1990s. This has several causes. It can be argued that through decentralisation and marketization the number of agents who have an interest in schooling and various kinds of power, has increased. At the same time, teachers' corporate agency has weakened, for example by excluding the traditionally strong unions from bargaining over working conditions such as salary and the transfer of state responsibility to municipalities. Since teachers have become simply primary agents and no longer share a strong corporate identity, other more powerful corporate agents have captured the teaching profession's previous claims and restricted teacher autonomy in both dimensions.

7.1.5. Interaction on and structural elaboration of German and Swedish teacher autonomy after 2000

In the following I compare recent developments in Germany and Sweden related to teacher autonomy. From a governance perspective, the German profession can be described as having traditionally extended institutional autonomy and restricted service autonomy. In very recent years, this configuration has been brought into question and a policy shift can be observed which aims to restrict the profession's institutional autonomy, while extending teacher autonomy in service. In Archer's (1995) terms, the German case can be described as being in a period of the interaction of structures that were elaborated at the beginning of 2000. Teachers form part of this bargaining process. Through its civil servant status and strong representations the teaching profession still has a strong corporate identity. It remains to be seen which sustainable structures will be elaborated in terms of the teaching profession's autonomy. Furthermore, from the perspective of state governance of teacher autonomy, the German case historically

34 Here the same logic regarding better pupils might become obvious: better teacher accumulate at certain schools with higher performing pupils and better financial resources.

exhibits much less change. Therefore, the Swedish case appears to be more complex in this area.

The Swedish teaching profession can be described today as being restricted by state governance in both institutional and service autonomy. This can be seen as a product of the interactions that took place after the radical reforms that started at the end of the 1980s. As a result of these reforms, the Swedish teaching profession shifted from having extended institutional autonomy but restricted service autonomy, to extended service autonomy at the price of restricted institutional autonomy. In Archer's terms, it can be claimed that today the interactions that took place after the reforms have been concluded and new structures have been elaborated, resulting in a teaching profession with autonomy restricted in terms of both institution and service. The changes described are displayed in Figure 5.

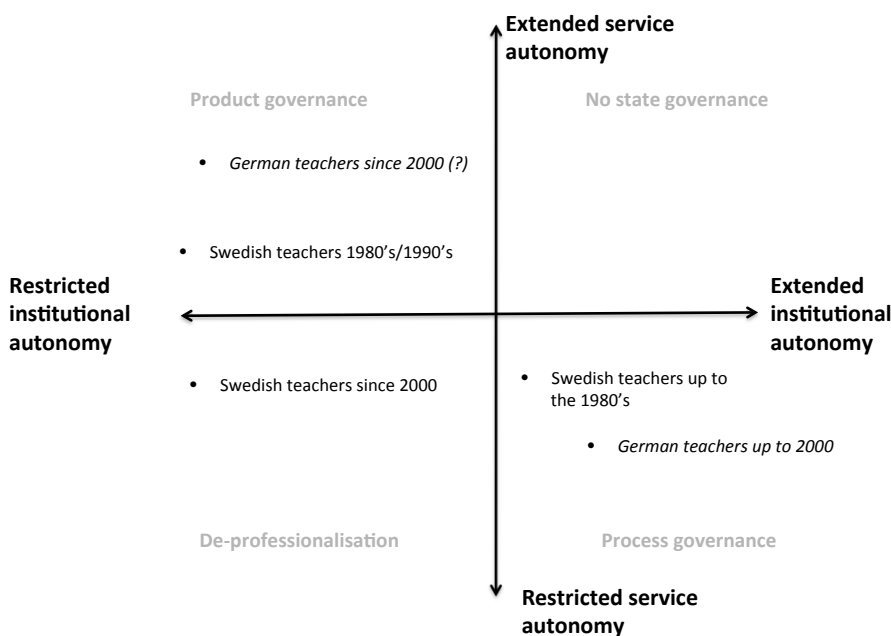


Figure 5: Autonomy of the German and Swedish teaching profession from a governance perspective

It can be shown that service and institutional autonomy are able to be adjusted by various means: this is the status that defines the teaching profession's frame by way of curriculum evaluation, meaning who is allowed to make requirements of teachers or which possible inappropriate expectations teachers have to defend their profession against. As the Swedish case shows, decentralisation and marketization also have a relevant impact on the profession's autonomy. These restrict institutional autonomy, but might relieve the profession's service in schools and classrooms from standardising constraints. The role of the princi-

pals is also related to this. Principals, as head teachers, contribute to an extension of institutional autonomy, but as members of administrative or managerial professions they contribute to a restriction of institutional autonomy. Both kinds of principals can, through their prominent position between teachers and administrators, contribute to a restriction or extension of the profession's service autonomy. A trend towards of restriction can currently be seen in many Swedish schools.

However, it appears that if institutional autonomy is weakened, service autonomy becomes rather fragile. If teachers lack a collective voice and an autonomous institution they are easier to conquer by other forces or agents within the school system. This might result, in the long run, in deprofessionalisation by restricting both institutional and service autonomy. In terms of passive primary and active corporative agency, it can be argued that the extended institutional autonomy of the teaching profession is evident when there exist strong corporative agents that represent teachers as well as when teachers have a strong corporate identity. In such configurations, teachers have a greater impact on interaction processes which relate to the conditioning structures of their profession. A restriction of institutional autonomy, even when related to an extension of the profession's service autonomy, might weaken teachers' opportunities for development and the maintenance of a corporate agency. They become simply primary agents with less power, and their voice therefore has only a minor impact in further interaction processes.

A further point of focus is obviously the manner of construction of teacher education in terms of teacher autonomy. It might be argued that strong corporative agency builds on strong shared norms as well as a somewhat standardising education, which contributes to the creation of corporate identity. Here, it is crucial to define who has ownership of teacher education and which knowledge is central. I have argued that institutions such as the second teacher training phase (*Referendariat*) in Germany and the Swedish tradition of teacher colleges (*lärarhögskolor*) contribute or have contributed to the institutional autonomy of the profession by a standardisation of practice, but they have also constrained teachers' opportunities in service. The total liquidation of the institution of teacher colleges (autonomously or part of university) and the abandonment of a teacher educator culture built around expert teachers can be seen as one reason for the restriction of the Swedish teaching profession's institutional autonomy. Another aspect of teacher education's impact is its focus on either generalist or specialist academic subject knowledge. I argue that specialist academic subject knowledge contributes to both institutional and service autonomy in the teaching profession. Clearly defined subject knowledge is much easier to defend than more vaguely defined multidimensional and educational fields such as learning or development. The use of academic subject knowledge as an opportunity to maintain autonomy can be seen in the German case. Finally, teachers' develop-

ment during the career (CPD) is also important for the understanding of the profession's autonomy. However, here the questions to be asked are similar to issues surrounding initial teacher education: in particular, who has ownership of the education and to what extent are teachers able to choose their CPD for themselves.

7.2. Traditions conditioning German and Swedish teacher autonomy

In the first part of this analysis, the historical dimension of the governance of the teaching profession in both national contexts has emerged. The structures and teaching professions themselves are undergoing change or being reaffirmed through interactions. If we understand teacher autonomy as an issue in development, we should further investigate the relations of the various agents to the teaching profession. However, not only are regulations an aspect of the structures, but particular traditions also play a role. In order to understand the recent development of both national teaching professions, a historical view on crucial traditions in Germany and Sweden is necessary. Traditions, it might be argued, have existed much longer than the recent changes, and have been established over several morphogenetic/static cycles. They condition all interaction by having a crucial impact on what is possible to elaborate or why certain changes might radical and why they may not work. Such a view must investigate further explanations of *how* teacher autonomy develops in various contexts and *why*. The aim of this section is to provide plausible socio-historical examples that illustrate the development of the German and Swedish teaching professions in relation to their autonomy. In the traditions described, particular kinds of relations become apparent.

7.2.1. Traditions of the German teaching profession

7.2.1.1. Secondary school teachers and the new humanistic concept of *Bildung*

Since the beginning of the 19th century, a systematization of secondary schooling (*Gymnasium*) is evident, in particular in Prussia, the largest and most influential state in Germany. From this time the *Gymnasium*, and only the *Gymnasium*, was permitted to award pupils with secondary school diplomas (*Abitur*) which in its turn entitled pupils to continue their education at universities in order to prepare for higher civil service positions. Consequently, it was the school of the elites of the Prussian state. Education at secondary school was related to a so-called new humanistic idea of *Bildung*. So defined, *Bildung*³⁵

35 "*Bildung* is a noun meaning something like "being educated, educatedness". It also carries the connotation of the word *bilden*, "to form, to shape". *Bildung* is thus best translated as "for-

indicates the development of cultural and moral values as well as the knowledge of the individual. The focus is the particularity (*Eigentümlichkeit*) of the individual's personality as the unique basis of his or her character (Klafki 2000b; Lüth 2000). As the intellectual founder of the new humanistic *Bildung* in the Prussian education system, Wilhelm von Humboldt abandoned the utilitarian educational ideas of the *Enlightenment*. In addition, he pointed out the problems of governing the development of *Bildung* by the state (Benner 2009). "The state cannot govern *Bildung*, economy or morality. State governance would only harm the sensitivity and the creative power of the individual human being, as well as the morality and *Bildung* of the society. In a public education system the formation of the human (*Menschwerdung*) should be prioritised over vocational and citizen education." (Humboldt in Benner 2009, p.53, my translation). After the classical languages and German, history, mathematics and geography were emphasised. Such knowledge was expected to empower pupils to participate in the elaboration and maintenance of the national culture (*ibid.*).

All this was taught by subject academics. Due to their academic roots in language studies the secondary school teachers were called philologists (*Philologen*) and teacher education at the universities was based at the so-called philological faculties. There was no educational training of secondary teachers during most of the 19th century. The focus was academic subject knowledge as a vehicle to developing the pupils' *Bildung*. Secondary teachers were humanistically educated scholars in their subjects (Sandfuchs 2004). Philologists belonged to the same social class as the pupils they taught and contributed to the reproduction of the social conditions. They were higher civil servants and not controlled by a clerical school inspectorate, but were instead subordinated to the Prussian state administration. The state formulated the curriculum and certified teachers' competences by a state exam (*ibid.*). With the onset of the 20th century, a second part of the teacher education with a didactics and practical focus, led by expert teachers, became mandatory for secondary school teachers (*Referendariat*). This part was also examined by the state (Lundgreen 2011).

Regarding the issue of autonomy, secondary teachers were higher civil servants, employed by the central state, scholars in their subjects. The secondary schools were autonomous organisations where the teaching staff decided about which students were accepted for enrolment at the schools as well as the organisation and content of the instruction (Tenorth 1996). However, service autonomy was constrained by the state exam and the curriculum, with its focus on subject knowledge. These traditions of teacher autonomy have been important parts of the German teaching profession up to this day, becoming a kind of prototype for the German teaching profession. The status described was also some-

mation" and the particular "formedness" that is represented by the person." Westbury 2000, p.24.

thing that the elementary teachers (*Volksschullehrer*) were striving after (Lundgreen 2011), and in the second half of the 20th century they were granted this status.

7.2.1.2. Elementary school teachers and the didactic tradition

Although von Humboldt considered *Bildung* the foundation of the education of the entire population, it was only a realistic possibility for the upper classes. In fact, it was a means of distinction from the lower classes, who possessed only an elementary education (*volkstümliche Bildung*). This entailed several competences, such as reading and arithmetic, as well as religion and civil education, which emphasised subordination to state authority (Bernhauser 1981). However, the elementary school teachers' profession also contributed an important tradition which is crucial to the structures which condition teacher autonomy in the teaching profession today.

In the 18th century, teachers were still mostly non-trained assistants to the local priests (Enzelsberger 2001), but during the 19th century they were professionalised. This means that they became properly trained in state institutions, detached from clerical school inspectorate and in the end were, though lower, still civil servants in charge of the implementation of the curriculum in the elementary schools (*Volksschulen*) (Tenorth 2008). The elementary school teachers were educated in so-called elementary school teacher seminars (*Volksschullehrerseminare*) that comprised three years of seminar education following a three year preparation period. Consequently, the education took a total of six years, which, while different to the secondary school teacher education, did not require an upper secondary diploma (*Abitur*) (Sandfuchs 2004). This education, which was regulated by the state, promoted their status and increased the autonomy of the profession, in particular from the clerical school inspectorate (Tenorth 2008).

Secondary teacher education in the 19th century was almost entirely subject related, while the education of elementary school teachers was founded on *didactics*. This implies that the professionalization of teachers was accompanied by the development of a common professional language and methods. Didactics and its role for teachers is related to the particular Prussian form of school governance that Hopmann (1999) calls the *licenssystem*. The Prussian school administration was – as in the case of secondary teachers – responsible for the development of the curriculum, and the teachers were accountable for the transfer of the curriculum's content into the pedagogical practice of the classrooms. The elementary teachers were also civil servants (Enzelsberger, 2001), though lower ones, with the function of educating and fostering the masses in terms of the state curriculum. This form of school governance provided even the elementary school teachers, on the one hand, with extended institutional autonomy. On the other hand, the Prussian state administration was able to save resources by not having to monitor the daily practice of teachers and by not having to rely on

the clerical administration to do this (Hopmann 1990). This teacher privilege was legitimated through teachers' profound training at the seminars. Didactic reasoning functioned as a language for legitimating their practical interpretation of the curriculum (Hopmann 2003). But it was also a method that standardised and shaped teacher practice in a particular form. Herbart's – and his successors'³⁶ – model of educating instruction (*erziehender Unterricht*) or Diesterweg's *Guidance for the education of German teachers* (*Wegweiser zur Bildung für deutsche Lehrer*) are examples for “masterplans” for elementary school instruction and teacher education from the 19th century (Künzli 1998). These schematic constraints on the individual teachers' professionalism became central to the critiques raised by the *Reformpädagogik* movement at the end of the century. However, this critique can also be seen as a significant sign for the autonomy of the profession, that through an internal reform movement was able to reform itself (Tenorth 1996). What today is seen as the *German didactics tradition* (Westbury et al. 2000) is built on the *Reformpädagogik* tradition and the connection of didactics to the concept of *Bildung* (Hopmann and Riquarts 2000).³⁷

Finally, it was mentioned above that the other forms of the teaching profession were adapted to the prototype of the secondary school teacher (*Philologen*). The traditions have proven their stability several times. The aftermaths of neither WWI (Drewek 1994) nor WWII and the end of the National Socialist regime (Tenorth 2008), caused significant changes to the governance of the teaching profession. Nor were there significant changes during the educational expansion of the 1970's (Terhart 1998) or after reunification and the incorporation of the East German comprehensive school system in 1990 (Gehrmann 2003). The stability of the German structures and the underlying traditions can be viewed in contrast to the lively reform history of the Swedish case. The traditions constitute important aspects of the German teaching profession which have secured its autonomy. Furthermore, the restriction of service autonomy by civil servanthship and specific kinds of education contributed to a strong corporate identity which strengthened the professions' possibilities in the interaction of new structures. This remains valid to this day.

7.2.1.3. Didactics and human science theory of education

Central to didactics is the development of subject content formulated by the curriculum. Key points include the crucial importance of the teacher (not in the

36 I will not discuss the transition from Herbart's relatively open model to the simplified version of his successors, such as Ziller or Rein who changed the educating instruction into the schematic strait jacket that was so heavily criticised by the *Reformpädagogen*. (See Hopmann & Riquart 2000). About the structure of the instruction, see Künzli 1998.

37 These relations cannot be discussed in detail. In the following, the particularities of the didactics tradition related to teacher autonomy today will be the focus.

sense of teacher centred instruction) and the subject in instruction. The teacher is responsible for elaborating the intrinsic value of a subject (*Bildungsgehalt*) for the education of the pupils (Künzli 1998; Westbury 2000). “Pedagogical work revolves around theory of pedagogical action: The question of the mediation or mediator between theory and practice” (Künzli 1998, p. 40–41). In didactics, the autonomy of professional reasoning is crucial. Didactics is “not centred on the expectation of the school system, but on the expectations associated with the tasks of a teacher working within both the values represented by the concept of *Bildung* and the framework of a state mandated curriculum” (Westbury 1998, p.48).³⁸

A further important tradition that has had a significant impact on the German teaching profession should be mentioned: The role of education as a university discipline as it relates to the teaching profession. In the German context, educational science has for a long time been built on a particular tradition, the human science theory of education (*Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik*). This tradition is also closely related to the modern German concept of didactics (*bildungstheoretische Didaktik*) (Westbury 2000; Hopmann and Riquarts 2000). This field studied the meaning of school and education, associated with the humanistic *Bildung* of the human being. It “saw the task of education as an academic discipline as historical and, especially philosophical reflection on education of its predecessors.” (Lundahl and Waldow 2009, p. 371). Human science education saw itself therefore rather as a distanced observer who aims to investigate and understand processes that happen, but was not an active stakeholder in curriculum making (Terhart 1998). Although the concepts will not be elaborated further here, in terms of the autonomy of teachers, there remains one important aspect to be considered. As described earlier, *Bildung* is an unplannable endeavour, therefore *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* rejected, for example, standardised testing. “Every individual’s *Bildung* is highly idiosyncratic. Thus, it is very difficult to formulate universal ‘standards’, and there is no yardstick for rational, ‘objective’ measurement” (Lundahl and Waldow 2009, p. 372). A valid judgement on pupils’ development could be left to teachers who, through daily observation of the pupils, related to the subjects educational value (*Bildungsgehalt*) also elaborated in relation to the subject content by the teachers themselves, are most likely to be able to assess their achievements. This tradition had a great impact on the understanding of education in Germany (Oelkers 1998) and is also evident in the loose relations between educational researchers,

38 What makes the didactics approach so special, must also be contrasted with the so-called curriculum approach that has its roots in Anglo-American education systems and that defines the role of teachers and schooling rather differently. Westbury (1998, p. 48–49) describes this approach in the following: “Curriculum is associated with the idea of building systems of public schools in which the work of teachers was explicitly directed by an authoritative agency which as part of a larger programme a curriculum containing both statement of aims, prescribed content, (in the American case) textbooks, and methods of teaching which teachers are expect to implement.” In the German case, this authority is held by the teaching profession.

politicians and policy-makers, which for a long time were a defining feature of the German education system (Bellmann 2006), changing for the first time today with the prospering field of empirical and psychometric instruction research (Lundahl and Waldow 2009).

These were traditions which continue to condition most recent interactions surrounding teacher autonomy. However, since empirical school research has become increasingly prominent in today's Germany, educational science has taken on more than merely an observational role in curriculum making. It remains to be seen how agent relations and teacher autonomy will change in the future.

7.2.2. Traditions of the Swedish teaching profession

7.2.2.1. The comprehensive school reform

The Swedish school system of the 20th century is characterised by a strong social democratic policy tradition that, in particular, aims for education to contribute to democratic society built on the equality of all (Lundgren 2011b; Telhaug et al. 2006). Social democratic policy was deeply related to principles of *social engineering* and *corporation* (Etzemüller 2010; Rothstein 1992; Hirdman 2010/1989; Petersson 1991), and both traditions contributed to the construction of the comprehensive school and to the shaping of the Swedish teaching profession. Due to its importance in the overall scheme of things, the shift to a comprehensive school system requires further explanation.

Up until the comprehensive school reforms initiated in the 1950s, the Swedish system resembled the German/Prussian one (Hartman 2012). There were two kinds of teaching professions which existed simultaneously: secondary school teachers (*realskolelärare*) and elementary school teachers (*folksskollärare*) (Richardson 2004). The first were – as with their German counterparts – characterised by a high degree of institutional autonomy and also considerable service autonomy, restricted only through the academic structures of their subject. Subject teaching, based on a university education, formed the main pillar and prerequisite for this autonomy (Hartman 2012; Richardson 2004). Secondary school teachers had higher socio-economic status and taught children belonging to their own social class in order to prepare them for university education that was assumed to lead to higher civil servant positions (ibid.). The latter, elementary school teachers, were responsible for the people's elementary education. The profession was characterised by more restricted service autonomy. Secondary teachers were controlled and regulated by the state, while elementary teachers, by contrast, were regulated by municipality institutions, normally the local church board (Telhaug, et. al. 2006). This also restricted their institutional autonomy from the outset. However, through increasing systematization by way

of longer and better education, the elementary school teaching profession as an institution gained increasing strength, became politically active and was able to extend its institutional autonomy (Persson 2008). The teachers built associations that, as corporative agents, were able to pursue their professional project.

Like its German counterpart, the Swedish elementary school teaching profession strove for harmonization with its secondary school equivalent, hopeful of gaining the same status (*ibid.*). Their “professional project” (*ibid.*) aimed at achieving this by the establishment of a comprehensive school for all children. Through their close relation to the social democratic movement, they were successful with this project. With the implementation of the comprehensive school it can be argued that the elementary school teacher culture became dominant, although the secondary school teacher culture (subject teacher culture) also remained vibrant (in Germany the situation was vice versa). Through the close relation of elementary school teachers to the social democratic movement and the dominance of their culture, the teaching profession in Sweden became a political endeavour heavily dependent on policy. However, both cultures remained, but were brought increasingly into harmony (Richardson 2004) and from the present theoretical perspective gradually merged into a profession characterised by fairly extended institutional autonomy, with restricted service autonomy. Teacher unions were strong representations and acted as a corporate agent on the profession’s behalf.

Here, the changeability of the Swedish school system and thereby also the teaching profession become evident. This phenomenon has often been described by the term “rolling reform” (S. Marklund 1989; Lundgren et al. 2004; Telhaug et al. 2006), an expression of the continuing adjustment and development of the school system by the state (*ibid.*). Through close collaboration between education research and politics from the 1950s, since the implementation of the comprehensive school (*grundskola*),³⁹ there was constant observation and evaluation of a plethora of school pilot and research projects. The culture of rolling reform is also evident in five great curricula reforms which have occurred since the 1960s. Still, it is questionable whether the practice and professional culture of the teachers has changed at the same rate (e.g. Linnell 1999). Instead, it might be argued that rolling reform is a sign of a constant attempt to adjust the relations of teachers with the state. This probably took the form of a constant, perhaps also exhausting, process of interaction that directly questioned elaborated structures. Therefore, change, or reaction to change, may have become a key part of the Swedish teaching profession, which may have produced a certain degree of laid-backness, but perhaps also subservience. Alternatively, it might have resulted in a growing gap between actual teaching practice in schools and the expectations stemming from governance and educational research, making increasingly radical educational reforms necessary. However, the pace of reform over at least the last 20 years is also likely to have generated feelings of

39 The final year of implementation is then 1962.

insecurity and instability in an environment in which teachers are perpetual novices. By the time they have mastered the new curriculum and related issues such as assessment, the system has moved on.⁴⁰ In the 1980s the centrally governed school system was subject to more and more critique (Lindensjö and Lundgren 2000; Lundgren 2011a, 2011b) and new structures were elaborated. The bureaucratic central governing of schools and the teaching profession made it difficult to legitimate reforms, because the state was repeatedly forced to accept responsibility for failed reforms and unintended side effects. With the economic crisis of the 1980s, the central state was subject to a crisis of legitimacy (Pierre 1993). Municipalities became increasingly involved in policy making and the central state was able to transfer responsibility to the local level and gain some relief (Berg 1993). Given the deeply rooted centralism in Sweden, at least since WWII, it might be argued that the reforms that started at the end of the 1980s were evidence of a large shift (Englund et al. 2012). It might be argued that this era of reform, with all its inherent structural problems, contributed to an acceleration of the reforms.

However, there still are other crucial – underlying – traditions that help us to understand the character of the Swedish school system. In the following, two main traditions will be discussed: *social engineering* and *corporatism*. Both condition the interactions surrounding schools and the teaching profession. They shape the space for interaction and determine the structures which are regarded as possible.

7.2.2.2. Social engineering and corporatism

One very crucial aspect of Swedish governmental culture is the tradition of *social engineering*. This was an international phenomenon that began in England at the end of the 18th century. It can be seen as a strategy for dealing with the problems of modernity, such as poverty and diversity, which threaten social order. Social engineering was expected to empower people to control their lives and prevent them from ending up in poverty and misery due to poor decisions. For this purpose the state had to build a social order, in terms of balancing ideal factors and ideal configurations, that could always be adjusted to the changing expectations emerging from a developing environment (Etzemüller 2006; Hirdman 2010/1989; Marklund 2008). In his study on social engineering in Sweden related to Alva and Gunnar Myrdal's biography, Etzemüller (2010)⁴¹

40 Frederiksson (2010) writes that the state “finally has domesticated the teaching profession” (p. 197), in reference to the most recent reforms that increased the clients rights through marketization. This might be an appropriate conclusion.

41 The focal Swedish research on social engineering in Sweden has been produced in relation to the so-called Power investigation (*maktutredning*), cf Petersson (1990). See also, for a perspective more critical than Etzemüller and from a feministic point of view: Hirdman 2010/1989.

puts forward several key points of the phenomenon that contribute to an understanding of Swedish school reform (p. 422–424).

There is the relation of *framing* and *freedom*. Freedom without framing threatens the existence of human beings. Freedom of choice must be regulated. Here, *planning* has a crucial role. However, planning is not about formulating particular norms, it is rather related to dynamic processes which constantly have to be adjusted to a changing reality. For this reason *social science research* is tremendously important [cf. also Marklund (2008), Rosengren and Öhngren (1997)]. What people do must be investigated in order to gain a realistic picture of people's life and their actual deficiencies. Empirical data are not only important for achieving a certain has-to-be status, but there are also multiple favourable modes of being, as a changing society requires different forms of behaviour. Still, collecting data about the different facets of reality has indeed a normalising and somehow standardising effect (Hirdman 2010/1989). Frequencies of behaviour visualize what obviously is normal and desirable and how this normality is changing. Normality, by the same token, also constitutes a set of threshold values. Beyond these values, behaviour might be stigmatised as dysfunctional (ibid.). This is then the foundation for the organisation of the society through rationality. Through scientific methods, a space of possibilities is generated that enables and empowers *normal*, which means *rational*, behaviour.

An inherent threat to such a system is bureaucracy that mechanises people's behaviour and by doing so neglects their particular requirements. Therefore, spaces for further development must exist and the existence of such spaces must constantly be critically and scientifically observed and maintained. Planning and scientific methods are fundamental for society formation, requiring *experts* to be in charge of such processes [Brante (2008) calls them "people processing professions"]. Furthermore, democratic bargaining over necessary and important knowledge for the development of the society, for example in people education study circles (*studiecirklar*) and people universities (*folkhögskolor*), incorporates resistance and critique in consensus making. Thereby, people are objects of the system, but at the same time also subjects contributing to the construction of it. Their requirements are the basis for planning, but they have also to learn to "want in the right way" (Etzemüller 2010. p.424), meaning in terms of a rationally legitimised consensus. The development of this has to be documented as extensively as possible in order to ensure there are arguments and information for the right decision (ibid.).

However, social engineers did not do this in their efforts to gain power over the society. Their rise was a strategy to deal with a perceived crisis that they themselves were part of. They did not believe in an organic natural order, they aimed to build and rebuild a social order supported by technical devices (ibid.). It might be argued that in these structures only particular forms of agency can be successful, due to the specific patterns of legitimisation which are possible within such structures. This means, on the one hand, making an argument

backed by apparent expert knowledge gains more legitimacy. On the other hand, in the case of teacher autonomy, the profession's possibilities for agency are more constrained, because other agents, usually the state in coalition with researchers, have ownership of scientific expert knowledge. In the same vein, teachers are also self-constraining because they are less likely to question structures when these are legitimised by this kind of knowledge. In contrast to the German/Prussian tradition of a "license system" for curriculum administration and evaluation (cf. the section about the German case), Hopmann (1999, p. 97) describes a so called *philanthropic model* for the Nordic countries:

It is based on a kind of double strategy: on the one hand the state (or the school representative) has the right to stipulate any teaching ideas which are considered to be right through curricula or school rules; on the other hand the state (or the school representative) has to give information on the contents and methods of lessons through models and experiments. In the language of implementation research this is a top-down model, in which the initiative and responsibility are mainly assigned to the curriculum administration.

Educational experts develop methods and prepare reports on behalf of politicians. These reports incorporate different stakeholders' voices and expectations and prepare reforms. On this basis, politicians formulate educational acts and goals that are programmatically elaborated by administrators, organised by state institutions and are then transferred to the schools. From a curriculum administrative perspective, this means on the one hand that in a system such as the social democratic governance regime, politicians, policy makers and educational researchers work together closely ["iron triangle" (Rosengren and Öhngren 1997)].

Social engineering was so successful in Sweden because the society is also built on *corporate self-governance*. Social engineering was also compatible with corporate capitalism (Etzemüller 2010; Petersson 1990). Rothstein (1992) describes the Swedish system as building on a *corporate model*, consisting of different interest groups that are engaged in policy making in the state. These all take part in the state and in policy making, the basis of which is different interest groups constantly bargaining with each other. Consequently, important decisions are made by consensus.⁴² This tradition shows that possible interaction is structured in a particular way, for example, permitting only corporate agents, meaning only organised ones. Primary agents – agents without corporate agent that represent their issues – have no voice in such processes.

42 This model is distinguished from both a legal bureaucratic model and a professional model. The former builds on state civil servants that act regarding to rules. It is hierarchical and lacks flexibility. It is transparent due to fixed rules and regulations. The latter is a model in which professionals with particular competences and rights are responsible for conflicts and insecurities occurring in the society (ibid.).

In a corporative system, individuals must, on the one hand, be incorporated in organisations in order to participate in political decision-making (ibid.). On the other hand, they are also supposed to elect politicians who, although they actually are agents, act in the process of bargaining as referees. Rothstein calls this a parliamentarily governed institutionalisation of social conflicts that streamline open conflicts into different forms of cooperation (ibid. p. 74). Such state corporatism was established in the 1930s as employers and unions were integrated into the building of a universal and extended welfare state. The corporative actors gained autonomy in their fields, but at the same time contributed to central consensus making (Etzemüller 2010; Petersson 1990). The corporative agents could even bargain with the state.⁴³ Through strong unions, teachers were able to participate actively for a long time in the interactions around schooling and the teaching profession. With decentralisation and the transfer of responsibility for employment of teachers from the state to the individual municipalities, teachers bargained over their conditions individually with principals and superintendents.⁴⁴ This situation has weakened the influence of the unions severely and resulted in a loss of corporate agency in the teaching profession. Now as simply primary agents without strong corporate agency, teachers are no longer able to participate actively in the interactions and elaborations of structures related to their profession.

7.2.2.3. Curriculum theory and didactics

The social engineering tradition relates to existing dominant cognitive traditions in education that aimed to collect as much robust data as possible about the school and also pupils' development and thereby formulate what appropriate practice should be. However, it is questionable which of these formulations were actually able to shape teacher practice in schools. Therefore, the relation between educational science and schools should be considered further.

With curriculum theory (*läroplansteori*) as a very prominent Swedish contribution to the international scientific community (Rosengren and Öhngren 1997), an educational sub-discipline emerged that examined schooling and instruction. Still, this adopted a rather observational position on curriculum making and implementation (Hopmann and Künzli 1992), and there was a focus on what factors produce certain achievements, and how, from a socio-historical perspective, curriculum knowledge takes shape in policy-making and school implementation. This approach is not normative. Moreover, it considers teachers as having an impact on implementation by way of their own pedagogical practice. This implies that the teaching profession was given a certain scope of action (ibid.), even if this was viewed with an increasing amount of mistrust even in the 1980s [cf. Lundgren et al. (1984)].

43 The *agreement of Saltsjöbaden* based on a direct bargaining of unions and employers is up to today a metaphor for the corporative Swedish state (ibid.).

44 For a deeper insight how this process could happen and took form, cf. Ringarp (2011).

It might be argued that, as an arena for change, teacher practice opened up further with the *didactic renaissance* (Hopmann and Künzli 1992) which also took place in Sweden from the end of the 1980s. It is aptly called a renaissance, because the German didactic roots, laid down by Herbart and his successors, also had an influence on the systematisation of the elementary school profession in the 19th century (Berg 1992; Lundgren 2011b). With the comprehensive school reform, this obviously disappeared as both a programme and as a term, to be replaced by a Deweyan pragmatic child-centred pedagogy (Berg 1992).⁴⁵ However, the teaching profession's foundation during this time was more teaching method based, and this knowledge was transferred from expert teachers to novices (Morberg 1999), often independent of educational research. Although this may have generated conservatism in practice, the teaching profession had sovereignty over its classrooms.

Didactics was re-established as a key part of teacher education in the 1980s (Arwedsson in Blankertz 1987). However, didactics played a different role in the Swedish teaching profession. In Sweden, both German traditions (*Fachdidaktik*, subject didactics) and Anglo-American traditions such as *pedagogical content knowledge* (PCK) (Borko and Putnam 1995; Shulman 1986, 1987)⁴⁶ became part of discussions around didactics (Kansanen et al. 2011a). Both traditions build on the importance of teachers and the subject in the pedagogical process, but the latter has a more cognitive approach and is therefore better suited to the existing Swedish traditions. Here, pupils' learning and methods that promote this are central. Reflection becomes part of efficiency expectations, used to achieve certain learning outcomes (ibid.; Alexandersson 1999). In contrast, as described above, the more philosophical German tradition assigns subject and teacher to very central roles in the instruction process (Künzli 1998).⁴⁷ In terms of structure and agency, in the Swedish context it might be argued that older structures conditioned interactions around a didactic conception, which also had consequences for teacher autonomy.

It might also be argued that the German didactic tradition, with its autonomous teachers, which contributed to a conservatism and change inertia in the German school system (ibid.) did not suit the Swedish system, with its rolling

45 This means that traditions of the Herbartian approach had disappeared from teachers' professional culture.

46 The cognitive construction of teachers' professional knowledge is, besides this governance perspective, discussed here as being of high value when it comes to the empirical description of the teaching profession. Even here their concept has been used and, for the purpose of making the research accessible for an Anglo-American audience, *Fachdidaktik* has even been translated to Pedagogical Content Knowledge. This means also that from a teacher's perspective the borders between both concepts are fluid.

47 However, the pupil is still part as this thinking that builds on the so-called didactic triangle. But all three components/corner

reform and its deep belief in reform as the only appropriate mode of development (Telhaug et al. 2006; Etzemüller 2010). This might be the reason for combining the German and Anglo-American pedagogical content knowledge traditions, building on an approach that enables reform and change in schooling made necessary by changes in the society, because this regards teachers more as service deliverers and pupil learning as the key focus. It might further be argued that the term didactics provided some sort of historical legitimisation semantically, but that its content has become increasingly cognitive and reform oriented. Teachers must be made into reflective practitioners in order to empower them and to improve their practice in the *right* way, which is indeed defined by others (Alexandersson 1999). Therefore, such a didactic perspective contributed to a restriction of teachers' institutional autonomy, because educational researchers took over the definition of didactic in terms of learning and construction (Hopmann and Künzli 1992).

The particular Swedish interpretation of didactics found its expression in the curriculum reform of 1994, where prominent curriculum researchers were part of curriculum reform and empowered to leave its observational position in favour of active policy making (ibid.). They became a strong agent in the interactions surrounding schooling and the teaching profession. The reform tried to strike a balance between cognitive traditions and *Bildung* traditions that actually gave the report preparing the reform its name – “A school for *Bildung*” (*En skola för bildning*, SOU 1992:94). The curriculum formulated German-didactic *Bildung* goals as goals to aim at (*mål att sträva mot*) and Anglo-American cognitive competence goals as goals to be achieved (*mål att uppnå*) (Carlgren 2012). The first were also related to the importance of tacit knowledge that was incorporated in practices (Carlgren 2009a). Teachers were to be reflective practitioners, responsible for working on their pupils' education and, indeed, *Bildung* (ibid.). However, for the *Bildung* goals, no subject content was given that teachers could use to work with in service, meaning from which they were able to elaborate a certain *Bildungsgehalt* for instruction. Furthermore, it was not clear what responsibilities and rights teachers had in such a construct, or at which level a decision would be made as to whether a goal had been correctly interpreted (Alexandersson 1999). Consequently, there was a great amount of insecurity regarding these goals, and the cognitive goals became guidelines instead, even if they were actually only intended for evaluating the school system and delivering robust data for school development (Carlgren 2012). The national curriculum tests that were assumed to assess whether the schools achieved the necessary results were compatible with the older cognitive traditions. Furthermore, they were useful for comparing schools in a market regulated school system.

The effort to relieve the curriculum of excessive subject content in order to increase teachers' participation in curriculum making was obviously experienced by teachers as a loss of content instead of a gain of sovereignty over it.

That the curriculum was now locally contestable and had also to be related to other stakeholders in the local contexts, weakened the agency of teachers who no longer had as extensive a central curriculum and syllabus to use as a legitimising vehicle (Scarth 1987). Moreover, the curriculum lost its standardising character and strengthened agents outside of the teaching profession by increasing opportunities for participation in curriculum making.⁴⁸

7.3. German and Swedish teacher autonomy from a socio-historical perspective

The presentations of both cases have revealed processes of change relating to the connection of teachers to state governance as well as to the emergence of various forms of teacher autonomy in a field of tension between conditioning structures and sociocultural interaction culminating in an elaboration of new structures. The structure is expressed by the autonomy teachers have in two dimensions of their profession. Figure 6 again displays the development of the two cases. From the perspective of Archers' morphogenetic/static cycle, as employed in this thesis, the most recent situation in Sweden can be viewed as a structural elaboration, whereas in Germany the interaction process is still ongoing (expressed by a dashed arrow). The Swedish teaching profession is characterised today by both restricted service and restricted institutional autonomy. Its German counterpart is currently shifting from restricted service and extended institutional autonomy to a configuration that is the inverse. However, since this kind of structural change is still under negotiation (*in interaction*) it is not evident how the governance of the German teaching profession can be described in the near future in terms of autonomy. Until this is achieved, new structures cannot be considered to be elaborated. I have explained the shaping of the investigated professions by school governance in terms of defining the autonomy teachers have in their work. The development was investigated by taking a socio-historical perspective. The socio-historical analyses of both cases were related to crucial traditions, in particular for and related to teacher autonomy in the respective countries.

48 However, regarding the emergence of a Swedish term for didactics, more conceptual work is necessary. It is obviously a mixture of American and German traditions, employed in a context determined by cognitive traditions and a very vibrant reform history.

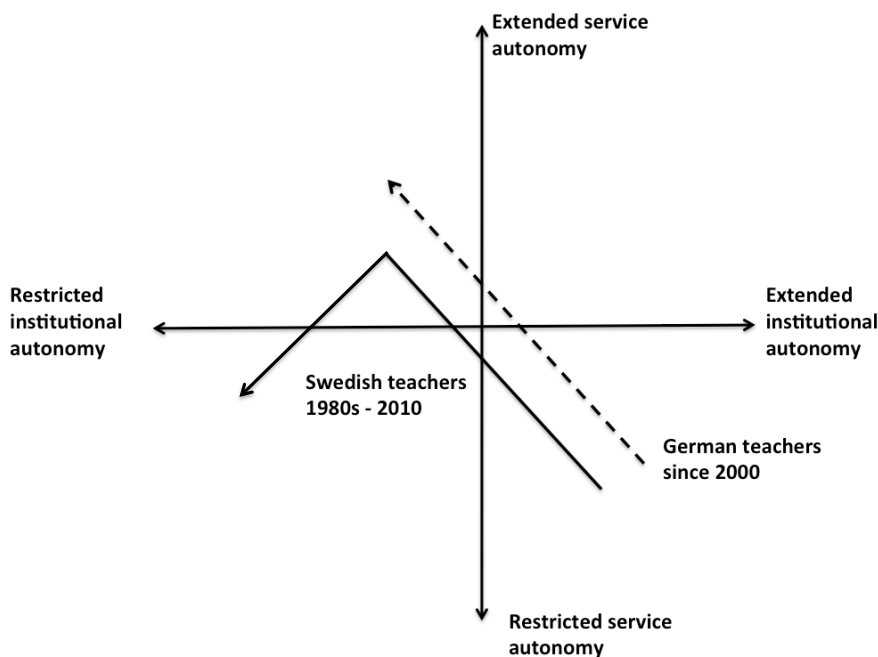


Figure 6: Governance of the German and Swedish teaching profession

The German case appears to be more stable. Here *morphostatic*, in Archer's terms, rather than morphogenetic cycles are characteristic. The tenured civil servant status, and the understanding of didactics, with a dominant role for teachers and the subject, has extended teachers' institutional autonomy first of all and built a strong profession which has been able to defend its sovereignty over a long period of time, but also resulted in conservatism and inertia regarding reform and change. However, it remains to be seen whether the very recent reforms will have a sustained impact on the relation of state and teaching profession. On the one hand, the profession is still able to defend its autonomy and its traditional practice. On the other hand, the pressure of recent reforms might also result in enhanced development efforts that might contribute to a "collective renewal" (Berg 1993) of the profession from within.

In the Swedish case, a vibrant reform history can be observed – also expressed in the term *rolling reform*. This is due to a strong social engineering tradition that is associated with a policy-making grounded on constant scientific research. Education has been seen as an important facilitator for societal development. Therefore there has existed a strong belief in the legitimacy of constant adjustment and reforms of the school system. This tradition might also have produced a persistent instability that – and this became obvious during the tremendous reform activities of the last two decades – holds teachers in a position of constant novice status. Moreover, in contrast to the German case, which builds on a subject oriented secondary school teacher tradition, in Sweden the

culture around teaching has been dominated by the model provided by elementary school teachers.⁴⁹ Pupils' learning is seen as more important than teacher and subject matter. It might be argued that a focus on the former makes it easier to govern teachers' work than a focus on (neutral) academic subject knowledge and the recognition of the sovereignty of teachers in terms of instruction and schooling.

In addition, the Swedish system is built on a corporative tradition, with policy-making done by consensus of all involved interest groups. In Swedish school policy, teachers participate through strong unions. Traditions of social engineering might have contributed to a restriction of teacher service, in terms of constraining the scope of what is seen as possible, but the strong unions contributed to teachers' extended institutional autonomy until the 1980s. Moreover, I have also argued that there is a significant impact of a teacher college tradition (or at least having autonomous university units responsible for teacher education) on the Swedish teacher profession. With their focus on practical teacher traditions, they contributed to extended institutional autonomy, but at the same time restricted the service autonomy. With the academization of teacher education and the total incorporation of this education into the universities, the teaching professions' institutional autonomy has been weakened.

The most radical policy shift started at the end of the 1980s. The teaching profession's institutional autonomy became restricted during the process of decentralisation and marketization of the school system. Other agents adopted the power to define what constituted appropriate knowledge and how its achievement can be measured. In the same vein, in the 1990s, teachers and schools won extended service autonomy that promoted diversity of schooling. The unions supported the shift, but decentralisation and the acceptance of individual employment contracts for teachers weakened their influence severely. This also contributed to the restriction of the institutional dimension, and in the re-negotiations of the reforms, especially after the conservative government came to power, teachers no longer had a strong corporative agency (M. Archer 1995) which would allow them to participate actively in the interactions around new school structures. Furthermore, I argue that the teaching profession must now deal with a greater number of outside agents. In the Swedish form of decentralisation (Rönnerberg 2011), Swedish teachers had to cope simultaneously with the expectations of the state, on the one hand, as well as the municipality and independent school owners' expectations, on the other, and all of these have become more powerful agents. This has had also consequences for the teaching profession's autonomy, which has now become restricted in both dimensions.⁵⁰

49 The subject teacher tradition is left up to today, in the upper secondary school teachers (*gymnasielärare*) tradition.

50 Bunar in Rönnerberg (2011): "The peculiarity of the Swedish school choice design is that, on

Finally, we must mention the role of didactics as another key explanation for the differing configurations of teacher autonomy in Germany and Sweden. In Germany, the teaching profession has ownership over didactics, which is a historically manifested expression of the profession's autonomy and its relation to the state, characterised by responsibility which grounded on a code of ethics and an historically emerged professional culture. *Bildung* based didactics contributes to the reflectiveness of teachers, but through its institutional roots in the teaching profession, it also has a standardising character. This is evidenced in teacher education as can be seen first of all in the institution of the second training period (*Referendariat*). In terms of the guiding model, didactics secures the profession's institutional autonomy at the price of restricting the service autonomy of individual schools and teachers. Restricting the service autonomy might also be a prerequisite for a strong institution. This configuration as well as the dominant role of the teaching profession in schooling might also contribute to the conservatism and change inertia found in the German school system.

The Swedish comprehensive schoolteacher profession does not have an explicit didactic tradition in the same way, although, before the implementation of the comprehensive school, Swedish teacher education and the profession of elementary school teachers was also built on Herbart's reasoning. This teacher centred programme was replaced by a pragmatic Dewey inspired pedagogy, although the Herbartian traditions still existed in teachers' professional culture (Berg 1992) and were probably a key pillar of teachers' institutional autonomy. In the 1980s, during the decentralisation reforms, didactics, as a term and programme, became central once more with the aim of empowering teachers. The autonomy-generating power of the German version obviously did not work in a Swedish system built on a tradition of rolling reform. Didactics are associated more with educational researchers and aimed at improving teacher practice. The argument belongs to the educational researchers, not to the teaching profession.

However, didactics is nevertheless related to teacher autonomy. While the German version of didactics contributes to an extension of institutional autonomy, the Swedish version restricts teachers' institutional autonomy because teachers do not have ownership of it. In the German case, didactics might increase change inertia in schooling, while the Swedish version makes reforms in schooling easier, but not always to the advantage of the teaching profession.

the one hand, it is utterly deregulated with universal vouchers and encouragement to competition. On the other hand it has firmly remained under the central and local governments' wings through [...] financial resources, [...] national curriculum, the central inspection authority (Bunar, 2010: 13)".

Part III

Relating teacher autonomy and development

8. Conclusion and discussion

8.1. Teacher autonomy and development

In this concluding chapter I aim to further analyse teachers' context-specific CPD cultures as investigated in parts I and II, and in the articles appended to this thesis. My approach is to undertake a (re-)analysis of the results of the articles which investigated German and Swedish teachers' CPD cultures by applying the presented model of teacher autonomy. I focus on autonomy attributed to teachers by state governance in different times and spaces. I argue – along the line of Archer (1995) – that the teaching profession is one of several agents all of which interact, pursuing different aims within conditioning structures. The interactions can focus on and result in an elaboration or reproduction of new structures. I view autonomy as a crucial part of the teaching profession's structure, construing it as context related and dynamic. It is both a condition and an issue in interactions concerning the teaching profession and its relation to state governance. It has emerged and has been shaped by previous interactions as described in chapter seven.

CPD is seen here as means of interaction. Other agents in the school system act as knowledge sources which impact the teaching profession. Teachers relate to them by refusing or accepting, or by producing their own knowledge. Teachers' CPD, as it has been investigated here, consequently contributes to an elaboration or affirmation of teacher autonomy in the two contexts. In this part I will theorize about how particular forms of autonomy, in terms of the relation of state governance to the teaching profession, can result in particular CPD cultures in certain national contexts. In part I, the thesis had a professional perspective, examining what teachers do and think in Germany and Sweden. In the second part it investigated these two contexts primarily from a governance perspective in terms of the scope of action teachers have and how the scope has been shaped historically in the two national contexts. Now, in part III, I combine both perspectives with the empirical grounding of the three articles presented. I will reason about how teacher autonomy, as a governance phenomenon, structurally conditions teachers' CPD culture, being an expression of teachers' agency. Doing so I answer research question 2.3. *Which theoretical conclusions can be drawn from both cases' autonomy in CPD in relation to both phenomena in various national contexts?*

In the following, I present the findings of the three articles in the light of teacher autonomy as presented theoretically and empirically above. Since my

sample only includes two national cases, I formulate only hypotheses that must be proven in follow-up projects investigating different nations or teacher groups. The articles draw on data from 2008 and 2009, which has consequences for my reasoning. As I was able to show in chapter seven, Swedish teacher autonomy can be described today, from a governance perspective, as restricted both in service and institution. The most recent changes in governance happened around and after the time of the empirical study (between 2008 and 2011). The findings of the articles therefore have a historical character already. They are true for a configuration presenting governance of the profession by restricting teachers' institutional and extending service autonomy. This will indeed be mirrored in the following analyses. However, this implies that the different CPD cultures, as means of interaction, can already be seen in light of newly elaborated structures. This might show how different autonomy configurations within related CPD cultures can change in different situations.

8.2. Teachers' continuing professional development cultures re-analysed

8.2.1. CPD in context.

This article examined teachers' self-reported practices and attitudes in their continuing professional development in both investigated contexts. German teachers seemed to rely predominantly on their rather conservative understanding of their role as knowledge transmitters. They were used to an institutional autonomy that secures them from interventions from outside, but also standardizes their service. In terms of CPD this means that they feel rather secure about their knowledge, and are therefore not very receptive to other sources of knowledge which do not come from teachers directly. Their own profession must produce the knowledge they accept. Furthermore, restricted service autonomy causes an effect of more individual and traditional developmental behaviours. They are more likely to develop alone by reading of subject related academic literature or attend one-shot courses or study days in their schools. This might also be related to a very extended teacher education course, which is, as I have argued, characteristic of professions with extended institutional but restricted service autonomy. In the German case, the initial teacher education takes on average ten years. This generates, without doubt, profound competences, but probably also results in a kind of perceived *satiety* regarding further formal education. It might also be assumed that, for governance regimes which restrict teachers' service autonomy, a strictly governed CPD is not very important. Such regimes control the input of schooling, which means content of curricula, initial teacher education and financial resources. CPD is then left

under the profession's control. Extended institutional autonomy leads obviously to a deeper gap between teachers and certain sources of knowledge in the school system, such as institutions of school governance and universities. However, sources of knowledge that are able to relate to teachers and can communicate that they build on teachers' knowledge are perceived much more positively and with greater significance. The sovereignty of knowledge for CPD obviously stays in the profession, which could make the teaching profession rather conservative and isolated.

Considering the perspective of this thesis, the Swedish teaching profession at the time the empirical study was carried can be described as having restricted institutional autonomy and extended service autonomy. However, state governance had already started to severely restrict teachers' service autonomy. The Swedish school system left a great deal of autonomy to the municipalities through a far-reaching policy of decentralisation. The individual schools and individual teachers were as long as goals and results defined and formulated by the state were achieved. The results are controlled by an increasingly strict system of national curriculum tests. Meanwhile, pressure on teachers has also increased by a process of marketization and greater client/customer influence on teachers' work. The extended autonomy in teachers' service comes at a price of a restricted institutional autonomy, giving guidance and security. The latent insecurity of teachers regarding the relation of their efforts and pupils' achievements in their pedagogical practice might have become exacerbated in a system like this. Furthermore, with more extensive possibilities for participation by both municipalities and parents, the teaching profession has come under greater and greater pressure.

The findings presented in article one show that Swedish teachers were very receptive to different knowledge in their continuing professional development. Their proximity to universities and state governance as sources of knowledge is also remarkable. Furthermore, the trust relations between teachers, the National Agency of Education (institution of state governance) and educational researchers were obviously good during the period that the study was undertaken. The teachers in the study felt like their concerns were understood and respected. This might also contribute to their receptive culture. The situation is illustrated by a plethora of convenient and free materials for CPD, especially those published by the NAE. In the article it is also argued that Swedish teachers gave up their service autonomy to address their anxiety about security. This could be seen as "soft governance" (Bernstein 1990) through CPD. However, in very recent years the extended autonomy in professionalism has not been restricted softly but rather harshly. Today, state governance controls the certification of teachers and constrains their scope of actions through new and detailed curricula.

Regarding the dualism of *responsibility/accountability* presented in the theoretical considerations above, article one can be analysed in the following way:

The German teaching profession is built around responsibility. The profession is responsible to the state that certain goals are achieved. Their peers, i.e. colleagues and principals in the profession, monitor the individual teachers by “collegiality” (Svensson 2008). Since other teachers decide what appropriate knowledge is, there is likely a stronger norm that produces a particular conservatism of CPD in the profession. The Swedish teaching profession is governed much more by accountability. Consequently, they are monitored for efficiency by visible measurable entities, which implies that development can be seen as appropriate simply if it contributes to achievement of goals. A greater receptiveness and progressivism in CPD is the result, but it can also promote feelings of insecurity and pressure from constant accountability. In order to achieve necessary goals, more external help and guidance is seen as necessary. Teachers might lose their critical and reflective stance, because they feel that they cannot afford to be critical or reflective. The state producing the standards often also provides the material to work with or to achieve the goals and as such teachers’ CPD is then very focused on the state. The individual school comprises also important aspects of teachers’ CPD, which is shown in the principals’ role. In Germany, principals are still head teachers, meaning they are members of the teaching profession. In Sweden, principals’ roles have changed and today, they are assumed to be administrative leaders and managers. Consequently, they can no longer be part of the teaching profession, but rather contribute through regimes of accountability to the restriction of teachers’ service autonomy. In terms of CPD this means that principals and superintendents might distribute CPD regarding other aspects than their teaching staff would see as necessary.

In conclusion, it appears productive to see teacher autonomy as a conditioning structure for teachers’ CPD. Due to different forms of teacher autonomy, attributed by state governance, German teachers might be more aloof, while Swedish teachers are more receptive. It can be assumed that a strong profession with extended institutional autonomy can be characterised through aloofness towards knowledge that is mainly produced by members of the profession. In addition, it might be argued that extended service autonomy produces a rather receptive CPD culture, and in this way ultimately restricts itself.

8.2.2. A question of trustworthiness

This article investigated teachers’ perceptions of sources of knowledge in the CPD marketplace. It asked whether trustworthiness of a source of knowledge is a relevant predictor for the sources’ importance for teachers’ CPD. The findings showed that a knowledge source’s trustworthiness from a teacher’s perspective was a relevant and significant predictor of the source’s perceived importance for teachers’ CPD. However, it was more relevant for certain sources than for others. Regarding the national comparison, it could be seen that a source’s trust-

worthiness was more important for German teachers than for their Swedish colleagues.

The study built on the idea of a *state regulated CPD marketplace*. This means that the state regulates the resources disposed to the marketplace and the stakeholders that provide knowledge for teachers. In this vein, the marketplace can be described by the character of the agents active in it, for example by the share of private and state, profit- and non-profit, sources of knowledge. This is indeed also dependent on how many resources exist to make the CPD marketplace work. Swedish educational policy distributes a lot of resources to schools for teachers' CPD and school development. The Swedish marketplace has different shape to the German, at least in the case of the state of Berlin. In the latter much fewer resources exist. For the agents involved this means that, simply put, there is not a great deal of money to be earned. Private or independent entrepreneurs are primarily textbook publishers that offer CPD for teachers in order to sell textbooks, or non-profit institutions like the church. Besides these issues, I argued that the marketplace is also shaped by the autonomy teachers have. From the autonomy lens it was interesting to investigate what teachers are actually allowed and able to do in their CPD, in the field of tension of restricted/ extended institutional/ service autonomy.

In the case of Swedish teachers, although there are enormous resources and the service was expected to be autonomous, CPD resources are often not used according to the requirements of the teacher, instead the principal or the communal superintendents decide, top-down, how these resources are distributed. Since state governance restricts institutional autonomy, teachers have to accept the situation that CPD planning is made at an administrative level with administrative professionals rather than teaching professionals making the decisions. The first will be the agents in the marketplace, not the latter. The school principal has a crucial role here. They can, as part of the individual school, but members of an administrative rather than teaching profession, restrict teachers' service. In the article it is argued that the receptiveness displayed in the findings expresses teachers' subservience and acceptance of the situation. CPD might have become more organic; the examined knowledge sources were not questioned. Furthermore, the Swedish case today builds on accountability as the principle governing the teaching profession. This means that key relations in their CPD might have become not only organic but also contractual. This has resulted in a culture of contracts, with explicit goal and result descriptions. When teachers, or in most cases principals or superintendents, decide in favour of opportunities in the CPD marketplace, they may look only at the apparent efficiency of programs, meaning that trustworthiness might not be as important as long as the sources in question promise to help achieve educational goals or obviously possess a particular legitimacy in terms of the content offered. From an autonomy perspective, the findings point to the existence of a more or less restricted profession in both dimensions.

In the case of German teachers, the profession is characterised by an extended institutional autonomy which, as argued, might have contributed to a more suspicious attitude towards sources that cannot relate directly to teachers or are themselves teachers. The teaching profession is more autonomous regarding choices of appropriate CPD – which indeed can restrict the individual teacher's service. I argue that trustworthiness becomes more relevant here. There is a greater opportunity not to choose offers. Trustworthiness as it is examined can be seen as an attitude of teachers regarding the value of a source for teachers' work from their own perspective. This relates to responsibility as a guiding principle for the evaluation of teachers' work. Critical reviewing of CPD opportunities for the teaching profession is important, in terms of perceived competence, respect and understanding. However, not only the state, but also the profession as an institution might constrain service autonomy. Therefore, the profession can be characterised by a culture of exclusivity regarding knowledge from elsewhere. The individual teachers require more trust in sources to overcome the gap between the teaching profession and knowledge from elsewhere. This might result in a more conservative teaching practice. On the other hand, this configuration gives individual teachers more security in their service, because an autonomous profession, as an institution, can protect its members from non-teaching professionals' intervention in what is and is not appropriate teaching. Responsibility for the teaching profession as principle of school governance needs more trust and trustworthiness (Hoyle 2008, Svensson 2008). A system built on accountability such as the Swedish one, builds on evidence, or what is thought to be evidence. Trust is not equally important here.⁵¹

In conclusion, the state-regulated CPD marketplace as a framework of teachers' CPD is also conditioned by the autonomy teachers possess. The findings of the comparison show that teachers with apparent extended service and restricted institutional autonomy, as is the case in Sweden, and teachers with extended institutional autonomy and restricted service autonomy, as is true for German teachers, have different opportunities and therefore different perceptions. They therefore act differently. Though it is also evident that other factors play a role, for example the financial resources available or who is allowed to act in the marketplace, it is argued that CPD is also affected by the quality and quantity of autonomy the teaching profession is attributed by the state. In the German case, it seems that the autonomous and therefore stronger institutional framework of the profession protects teachers from the incursion of agents that are not part of the teaching profession. A securing gap, as described earlier, exists. However, I do not judge here whether this is for good or bad, stating that trust and trustworthiness become the tools for bridging this gap. Furthermore, the necessity of

51 For a deep and systematic insight into trust and trustworthiness in the school system, cf. Wermke (forthcoming).

trust can also be seen as an expression of empowered agency, because it might show the possibility that conscious choices are made. This also increases the transaction costs of CPD and might result in conservatism and inertia in the teaching profession. In contrast, in the Swedish case, as presented here, such costs are at least lower, but, it is open to question whether this is always for the best of the teaching profession and school.

8.2.3. Autonomy and knowledge sources

The third article appended to this thesis focused on the issue of autonomy in teachers' CPD. The focus were the sources of knowledge which teachers in Germany and Sweden used for their CPD on assessment. Assessment was seen as a crucial factor in teacher autonomy as it defines what counts as valid knowledge and how it should be measured (Broadfoot 1996). In this way it is an important aspect of teaching and specifies the constraints and possibilities of teacher practice in the classroom.

In the article it was also argued that teachers act as agents in a *regulated CPD marketplace* (as described earlier). The findings showed that when it comes to assessment knowledge in general, as part of the profession, there were no relevant differences between teachers in both national contexts. Informal learning was superior to formal learning. Assessment is an aspect of teaching that is mostly learned in practice by experience and from experienced colleagues. This means that "learning to assess" is obviously rather independent from formal development opportunities provided from state or universities. Assessment is obviously part of teachers' professional knowledge of schooling. That knowledge might differ from educational and administrative knowledge on assessment that is owned and distributed by institutions of school governance such as the National Agency of Education, the school administration in the municipalities and the educational researcher at the universities. Terhart (2008) describes learning to assess as a silent socialisation into a professional practice.

However, regarding specific CPD on assessment, there were highly relevant and significant differences between teachers in both countries, at the time of the study. The findings drew a picture of quite active German and rather inactive Swedish teachers. It was argued that the inactivity of Swedish teachers might be a result of a deprofessionalisation process whereby knowledge on assessment is no more owned by the teaching profession. The greater German activity was explained by a struggle of the teaching profession to defend its autonomy. CPD was then seen as a way to make explicit implicit, silent knowledge. CPD might become a means to collect strong arguments for the defence of autonomy. I argue that these are expressions of CPD as a means of conditioned interaction within structures.

From a governance perspective on the teaching profession's service and institutional autonomy, several thoughts might be relevant. Assessment concerns

both dimensions. The question in focus is who decides what appropriate student knowledge is and how as well by whom this achievement is to be evaluated and assessed. It also concerns the question of what teachers' assessment is worth and what it actually means. Assessment is a crucial part of teachers' service. It is mostly implicit, tacit and indeed contextualised as well as situated. By their assessments the individual teachers allocate life chances, and assessment is one of the most visible characteristics of its profession and its claims. At the institutional level it defines what and on what basis the teaching profession is allowed to assess in its work. The institution frames the service. When a profession is restricted in its institutional autonomy, for example regarding the assessment of pupils' knowledge and competences, this has severe consequences for the teachers' service. The profession does not own assessment, meaning the unconstrained right to assess. From a CPD perspective this apparently results in inactivity both of the individual teacher and the entire teaching profession. Since the teaching profession as an institution has no autonomy in developing and changing assessment, service autonomy at risk of being restricted by others. Moreover, frequent changes in assessment logic and mechanisms by state governance produces a constant instability, because teachers become novices with every assessment reform. In contrast, when a profession with extended institutional autonomy is challenged, for example in times of reform, it might mobilize more energy to defend its status and position. This can contribute, in terms of Berg and Wallin (Berg 1993), to "collective renewal", which might strengthen their agency. I argue that CPD can be a means for encouraging such a process. This implies also that a time of challenges for a profession with extended institutional autonomy is a time of renewal, whereby teachers' service is modernised. Professional rights that are worth defending also mobilize individual teachers and contribute to the development or strengthening of a corporate identity.

Regarding the accountability and responsibility dualism, the article's findings can also contribute to an understanding of the relation between teacher autonomy and teachers' CPD. Again, responsibility and accountability are very much related to the question of assessment and the continuing professional development thereof. In a regime in which the state governs the teaching profession by accountability, teachers' service is important. There exist externally defined goals and results and assessment criteria that regulate teachers' work and development. A profession with extended institutional autonomy with internal control through "collegiality" (Svensson 2008), in terms of a "code of ethics" (Hoyle 2008) and "professional culture" (Terhart 2001), is therefore, from a governance perspective, not necessary. Other professionals, meaning other agents, decide what is appropriate assessment knowledge. A professional framing becomes dispensable. Furthermore, accountability produces pressure that also might restrict teachers' service. Due to accountability, CPD and the development of different assessment practices or any form of different practices

become a risk. Teachers might follow the secure highway built by the state and educational researchers instead of daring to go after the less familiar but more appropriate way through the landscape.

As described earlier, there also is control and pressure on teachers' service from the profession as an institution. But since the profession possesses extended institutional autonomy, there might be more room for development. Because there is no result pressure, teachers enjoy a greater autonomy. Even if service is constrained by colleagues, within this limitation autonomous service is possible (Schwänke 1988). This phenomenon has been described for the German and Austrian teaching professions as "grey area autonomy" (*Grauzonenautonomie*) (Heinrich 2007). However, since responsibility builds on the trust of the society and state towards the teaching profession, this trust is obviously disappearing. Trust and responsibility also build on an honourable non-profit professional task and a code of ethics. This is related to a certain status within particular structures and it is worth defending. CPD is a possible means of defence, which indeed is more apparent in the German case today.

8.3. Teacher autonomy and development: A theoretical framework

This thesis aimed to contribute to a further conceptualisation of teachers' continuing professional development. In particular, the national context of CPD and its impact was the focus. This indeed results in limitations on other aspects such as the impact of the individual school on the phenomenon. The three articles elaborated on conceptual terms such as the *regulated CPD marketplace*, *sources of knowledge* and *CPD culture* in order to describe teachers' CPD in its nation-specific context. In a second analytical step, the findings were related to teacher autonomy. Even here I aimed to contribute to a conceptualisation of the national impact on teachers' CPD. It was argued that autonomy as it is attributed to teachers by state governance could be described in terms of different qualities and quantities in time and space, and its conditions – Archer's (1995) terms – different agents' interactions in the shape and function of the teaching profession, including the issue of autonomy. CPD was seen as a means of interaction that elaborated or reproduced existing structures also in terms of teacher autonomy. In this last section, I will present hypotheses which reason systematically on the relation between nation-specific teacher autonomy and teacher CPD. These are summarised in Table 10. The focus is on varying forms of governance by autonomy and a CPD cultures likely to prevail in such contexts. These hypotheses might then be tested in other national contexts with the same conditioning structures for teachers' work in terms of autonomy.

Governance of the teaching profession through

extended institutional autonomy/restricted service autonomy	extended service autonomy/restricted institutional autonomy
<p>Teachers develop for themselves, following the traditional cultures of the profession.</p> <p>This might accelerate the isolation that is already characteristic for the profession.</p> <p>Gap to agents in the CPD marketplace who cannot legitimate themselves as teaching professionals.</p> <p>Profession's CPD is rather conservative</p>	<p>Greater responsibility for the teacher in service, therefore more cooperation in service, also in their CPD.</p> <p>More opportunities to react to occurring necessities for development in service.</p> <p>Greater receptiveness towards a wider range of opportunities to develop.</p> <p>Greater receptiveness towards knowledge that is not produced by the profession itself.</p> <p>Teachers judge state institutions and universities as very important for their work.</p> <p>This might also, along with insecurity, be due to a jeopardised profession and to the heavy load of own responsibility.</p>
<p>When the autonomy of the profession is challenged, the profession can free up strength to defend the profession's borders. There is a greater effort in CPD and in a renewal of professional structures and explicitness of professional knowledge of teachers.</p>	<p>The profession as institution cannot protect the individual teacher. Other professionals, such as administrative professionals take over the planning of CPD.</p>
<p>The profession might work as a shelter for change, "grey area autonomy" (Heinrich 2007), because it protects from inappropriate expectations from elsewhere and fosters renewal of the profession's conditions</p>	<p>In order to achieve necessary results and goals with schools, principals and superintendents govern teachers' CPD.</p> <p>CPD might be an instrument for tightening the control of professionals formerly with extended autonomy.</p>

Table 10: Teacher autonomy and CPD

If the teaching profession is characterised by extended institutional autonomy then CPD is influenced by professional cultures which teachers share. The teaching profession is responsible to state and society for performing its duties in the best possible way. Colleagues and principals, i.e. peers in the profession, monitor whether the individual teachers' practice and development fulfil this

responsibility regarding the dominant culture. Teachers who do not follow this are stigmatised as bad teachers. A source's trustworthiness becomes an important factor when teachers judge appropriate knowledge for their development. An extended institutional autonomy is apparently characterised as a gap to stakeholders in the CPD marketplace that are not teaching professionals. This might make the profession more conservative and also contribute to its isolation. On the other hand, in times of reform, when the autonomy of the profession is challenged, an institutionally autonomous profession is free to defend the profession's status and borders. This can result in greater efforts in CPD and in a renewal of professional structures and explicitness of professional knowledge of teachers.

If the teaching profession is characterised by extended service autonomy, but restricted institutional autonomy, then this has other implication for teachers' CPD. Teachers have more opportunities to develop. The teachers in service might have more opportunities to react to their real necessities for development. Furthermore, teachers work more together. However, if such a system is regulated through accountability either by the state using national curriculum tests or by the marketplace, in which schools are selected on performance, then teachers' service autonomy in professionalism is at risk of becoming restricted. Visible efficiency becomes the guiding principle and CPD has to be subordinated to its logic. An autonomous profession as an institution cannot protect the individual teacher. Other professionals, such as administrative or scientific professionals take over the planning of teachers' development. One characteristic of such situations is the detachment of principals from the teaching profession and their relegation to an administrative role. In order to achieve the necessary goals and results for their schools, principals as well as superintendents govern teachers' CPD. Even in a CPD marketplace with a plethora of opportunities, the agents within it are not the teachers themselves, but administrative professionals such as principals and superintendents. It is also argued that a teaching profession with restricted service autonomy is more receptive towards knowledge that is not produced by the profession itself. Teachers therefore assess state institutions and universities as much more important to their work. This might be a sign of progressivism, or it might be, alongside insecurity, due to a lack of institutional borders. This leads also to a situation in which trust in and trustworthiness of sources of knowledge are not equally important for teachers' CPD. Other sources are not questioned to the same extent. Relations to external experts are apparently seen as natural. The teaching profession as an institution is the key to understanding teachers' CPD. The institution frames teachers' service. Extended institutional autonomy might represent a better tradeoff for teachers in the long run, even if the extended service autonomy provided theoretically many more opportunities to work and develop. The former might protect them more from intervention by other professionals, and enable a kind of "grey area auton-

omy” (Heinrich 2007) even when the price was simply restricted opportunities to pursue development.

The thesis aimed to contribute to recent research through the empirical conceptualisation of teachers’ CPD by concepts such as *CPD marketplace*, *sources of knowledge*, and *CPD culture*. Furthermore, the theoretical conceptualisation considered the relation of a context-dependent two-dimensional autonomy that teachers have in practice – being conditional structures – and teachers’ continuing professional development – expressing a possible agency. However, the design for measuring teachers’ CPD through their perceptions was highly exploratory. The aim was therefore not a comprehensive description of both cases, but an investigation of the analytical value of the relation between autonomy and teachers’ CPD in order to describe and analyse the influence of the national context on CPD. Moreover, this interest also limits the explanatory value of my considerations for the impact of smaller contexts such as the individual school or municipality. Interesting differences between national cases have emerged and been analysed in terms of different forms of teacher autonomy. I welcome possible criticisms concerning my hypotheses’ strength and would like to call for more research that proves and develops the causative power behind teachers’ CPD.

9. Svensk sammanfattning

9.1. Problem och syfte

Senare års internationella utbildningspolitik har alltmer kommit att fokusera på lärares kompetens som en väsentlig faktor för effektiv skolutveckling. I detta sammanhang bedöms inte kompetens enbart utifrån kvaliteten på lärares examensbevis och formella kvalifikationer, utan även utifrån deras kompetensutveckling. Detta synsätt stöds av forskning som betonar vissa normativa förväntningar på effektiva lärare och effektiv undervisning. Lärare förväntas utveckla sig under hela sitt yrkesliv för att anpassa sig till samhällets och elevers förändrade behov (Day and Sachs 2004a). Trots att det finns ett stort intresse för lärares kompetensutveckling, och även höga förväntningar, återstår en hel del begreppsutveckling inom forskningsfältet. Det finns idag ett stort antal fallstudier om individuella kompetensutvecklingsprogram och -modeller, men dessa är ofta isolerade företeelser som inte bidrar till ökade kunskaper eller teoriutveckling när det gäller lärares kompetensutveckling (Bolam and McMahon 2004). Ytterligare en aspekt av fenomenet är att den är otillräckligt belyst vad gäller den nationella kontextens betydelse (Bolam and McMahon 2004; Guskey 1995). Kompetensutveckling behandlas i stället som ett universellt fenomen gemensamt för alla lärare, åtminstone i västvärlden. Ofta konstateras endast att studier genomförda i nationella kontexter resulterar i samma resultat, vilket ses som ett bevis på att det föreligger universella principer för lärares kompetensutveckling [se till exempel Avalos (2011)]. En konsekvens av detta förhållande är att modeller för framgångsrik skol- och lärarförbättring importerar och exporteras som handelsvaror mellan olika länder. Storskaliga internationella undersökningar resulterar sedan i rankinglistor som visar vilka länder som förefaller ha framgångsrika modeller och vilka som behöver utveckla sådana. (Steiner-Khamisi 2004). Tyvärr visar det sig ofta att import av framgångsrika metoder från en kontext till en annan inte leder till efterfrågade och önskade resultat. Lärare ges ofta skulden för detta med förklaringen att de inte är särskilt förändrings- eller reformbenägna.

Motivet för den här avhandlingen var den internationella utbildningspolitikens och forskningens delvis bristande medvetenhet om det nationella sammanhangets betydelse för lärares kompetensutveckling. Det jag undersökte i denna avhandling var lärares uppfattning om kompetensutveckling i Tyskland och Sverige. Jag argumenterade för ett vidgat perspektiv på den nationella kontextens betydelse för lärarprofessionen, med fokus på socialt och historiskt signifi-

kanta strukturer och traditioner. Utifrån ovanstående överväganden utvecklades avhandlingens första syfte:

1. Avhandlingen syftar till att öka förståelsen för tyska och svenska lärares uppfattningar om kompetensutveckling i förhållande till den nationella kontextens inflytande avseende båda fallen.

Det första syftet bröts ner i följande forskningsfrågor:

- 1.1 Vad gör tyska och svenska lärare och vad har de gjort för sin kompetensutveckling utifrån sina egna perspektiv och vad uppfattar de som rimliga kunskapskällor för sin utveckling?
- 1.2 Vilket inflytande har olika former av skolans styrning på kompetensutveckling utifrån lärares perspektiv?
- 1.3 Vilka likheter och skillnader finns det mellan de båda ländernas lärarkår?
- 1.4 Hur kan likheter och skillnader avseende socio-historiska karakteristika inom de olika nationella kontexterna förklaras?

Avhandlingen syftade inte enbart till att konstatera vikten av den nationella kontextens betydelse för att forma lärarprofessionens betydelsefulla aspekter. Den strävade även efter att utveckla en teori som behandlar relationen mellan kompetensutvecklingskultur och autonomi inom den lärarprofession som regleras genom statlig styrning. I det sammanhanget betonade jag *lärares autonomi* som en avgörande aspekt med ett särskilt förklaringsvärde avseende skillnader mellan olika nationella kontexter och lärares kompetensutveckling. Lärarprofessionen karakteriseras särskilt av sitt beroende av den statliga organisation som skolan utgör. Lärare utför sin praktik i spänningsfältet mellan sitt pedagogiska klassrumsarbete och samhällets och statens förväntningar respektive begränsningar. Som en konsekvens av detta förhållande måste lärare balansera sin pedagogiska praktik mot de organisatoriska begränsningar som den offentliga styrningen föreskriver. För att kunna hantera sin uppgift, inklusive de dilemman och risker detta innebär, behöver därför lärare ett visst mått av handlingsfrihet. Här i avhandlingen förstås det potentiella *utrymmet* för denna handlingsfrihet som lärares autonomi.

Här framträdde avhandlingens andra syfte:

2. Avhandlingen syftar till att bidra till en begreppsbildning avseende den nationella kontextens betydelse för lärares kompetensutveckling.

Det andra syftet preciserades i följande forskningsfrågor:

- 2.1 Hur kan lärares autonomi i olika nationella kontexter beskrivas för att ha ett förklaringsvärde för nationella likheter och skillnader i lärares kompetensutveckling?
- 2.2 Hur har lärares autonomi i de båda fallen utformats?
- 2.3 Vilka teoretiska slutsatser kan dras avseende lärares autonomi och kompetensutveckling i de båda länderna utifrån en allmän relation mellan dessa fenomen i olika nationella kontexter?

Fenomenet autonomi undersökte jag utifrån ett styrningsperspektiv. Med styrningsperspektiv avsåg jag det handlingsutrymme som staten ger lärare genom lagar och förordningar, oavsett hur detta utrymme används. Detta perspektiv rör professionsaspekter som lärarprofessionen *tillåts* definiera. Autonomi innebär självstyrning. Mer specifikt är autonomi förmågan hos en aktör att bestämma sina egna handlingar genom oberoende val inom ett system bestående av regler och lagar, vilka aktören har att följa (Ballou 1998). Följaktligen har en självständig profession regler, men handlingsutrymme för att forma, upprätthålla och kontrollera dem utvecklas i förhållande till den statliga styrningen. Jag utgår här från ett styrningsperspektiv på autonomi. Det betyder att jag utforskar olika möjligheter att utvärdera läroplanen (*curriculum evaluation*) i ett skolsystem. Det handlar om hur läroplanens mål ska nås och vem som ska utvärdera dem (Broadfoot 1996, Hopmann 2003). I detta avseende definierar utvärderingen av läroplanen lärares och lärarprofessionens handlingsutrymme.

9.2. Ansats

Avhandlingsprojektet undersökte lärares uppfattningar om och deltagande i kompetensutveckling. Genom att betona uppfattningar i stället för praktiker, möjliggjordes en kvantitativ metodologisk ansats. Jag undersökte lärare i tyska och svenska kontexter med stöd av en enkätstudie. Därmed fick jag ett underlag för att arbeta fram specifika lärarkulturer. Jag hävdar att lärares uppfattningar om kompetensutveckling kan ses som ett uttryck för vilken relation de har till olika kunskapskällor, samt för vad de betraktar som lämplig kompetensutveckling. Den kvantitativa ansatsen kombinerades med en komparativ fallstudiestrategi (Ragin 1987; Schriewer 1990, 1999b). En jämförelse av de två fallen synliggjorde likheter och skillnader, exempelvis avseende kompetensutvecklingskulturer.

För att systematiskt analysera relationen mellan lärares kompetensutveckling och autonomi – som en avgörande aspekt av en nationell kontext, även utöver de undersökta fallen – argumenterade jag för en tudelad syn på de båda fenomenen utifrån termerna *struktur* och *agentskap* (*structure and agency*)⁵² Archer (1995) föreslår en analytisk distinktion mellan dessa två enheter, vilken utvecklades i avhandlingen. Fördelen med ett sådant betraktelsesätt är att det möjliggör synen på lärare som agenter. Trots att lärare måste agera under vissa strukturella villkor, determineras de inte av dem (ibid.). Lärare agerar under särskilda strukturella villkor och den interaktion de ingår i utvecklar och skapar (elaborerar) i sin tur strukturer som ramar in lärares framtida agentskap. Den analytiska distinktionen knyter an till dilemmat mellan struktur och agentskap genom att lösa upp det på ett historiskt sätt. Avhandlingens empiriska undersökning av lärares uppfattning om kompetensutveckling representerar i denna mening aktörer i interaktion. Interaktionen visar på hur lärare deltar i att utveckla nya strukturer eller upprätthålla gamla, till exempel avseende autonomi, vilka uppstått som en konsekvens av de strukturella villkor de arbetar under. Följaktligen kan fenomenet autonomi inte betraktas som statiskt.

Slutligen beträffande valet av mina fall, visade sig jämförelsen mellan lärare från Tyskland och Sverige vara givande eftersom de båda länderna skiljer sig med avseende på hur skolsystemet är inrättat, grundläggande värderingar, styrningssystem, lärarutbildning samt kompetensutveckling. Samtidigt delar länderna delvis en gemensam historia före 1945 och de har också påverkats av internationella politiska strömningar. När det gäller lärares autonomi, ger ländernas utbildningssystem ett begränsat handlingsutrymme, men på olika sätt (Cortina et al. 2003, Lundgren 2005).

9.3. Avhandlingens disposition och resultat

Avhandlingen är disponerad i tre delar. I del ett presenteras en empirisk studie av lärares kompetensutvecklingskulturer i Tyskland och Sverige, vilken blir belyst i tre publicerade artiklar. I del två, utvecklas lärares autonomi såväl från ett komparativt som utifrån ett socio-historiskt perspektiv. I del tre relateras studiens resultat till olika perspektiv på autonomi. Med utgångspunkt i olika former av lärares autonomi, analyserar jag lärares nationella kulturer med målsättningen att möjliggöra en presentation av huvuddragen för en teori i skärningspunkten mellan lärares kompetensutveckling och autonomi.

52 Översättningen av Archers' terminologi till svenska bygger på Persson, 2008. Jag använder här aktör synonymt med agent.

9.3.1. Den empiriska studien av lärares kompetensutveckling

Del I börjar i och med kapitel två och beskriver lärares kompetensutveckling som forskningsfält. Beskrivningen inleddes med en internationell översikt och utifrån den tecknades en bristande syn på kontextualitet inom fältet. Dessutom framhövs att både svensk och, i mindre omfattning, tysk forskning om lärares kompetensutveckling tydligt är influerad av anglo-amerikansk forskning, trots att europeisk och amerikansk lärarkultur i flera avseenden uppvisar stora skillnader. Emellertid visar flera svenska studier på en stor lokal kontextuell medvetenhet när det gäller enskilda skolor och kommuner, men de fokuserar då inte på den nationella kontexten. Utifrån denna brist på forskning, utvecklas motivet för att genomföra en komparativ studie av lärares kompetensutveckling i två olika nationella kontexter.

Kapitel tre består av begreppsliga överväganden avseende lärares kompetensutveckling och hur deras uppfattningar om denna kan undersökas empiriskt. Kapitlet inleds med att presentera den komparativa fallstudieansats som ledsagade studiens konstruktion och analysen av dess resultat. Därefter presenteras det empiriskt användbara begrepp som *lärares kompetensutvecklingskultur* och *kunskapskällor* samt *kompetensutvecklingsmarknad*. Jag argumenterar för att lärare handlar som aktörer på en *reglerad kompetensutvecklingsmarknad*, tillsammans med andra som statliga myndigheter, utbildningsforskare, kollegor, fackföreningar, professionella intresseföreningar samt privata företag. Samtliga agenter/aktörer erbjuder såväl formell som informell kunskap till lärare, till exempel i form av kurser, böcker, handböcker, internet, konferenser och arbetsgrupper. Termen *kunskapskällor* används för att fånga såväl aktörerna som deras utbud på marknaden. Lärare har ett överflöd av möjligheter att engagera sig i kompetensutveckling. Marknadens struktur och de val lärare har på marknaden varierar mellan olika länder beroende på utformningen av utbildningssystemet och den statliga regleringen. Inom denna ram ryms olika möjligheter och utifrån detta förhållande fattar lärare beslut angående de kunskapskällor de vill använda för att utveckla sina kunskaper. Lärares val kan betraktas som uttryck för vad de uppfattar som användbara, lämpliga och väsentliga kunskapskällor. Vidare har dessa val en avgörande betydelse för lärares kompetensutvecklingskultur eftersom denna utvecklas utifrån kollektiva åskådningar och strategier, vilka i sin tur vuxit fram ur lärares agentskap.

Det fjärde kapitlet behandlar studiens utformning. Först beskrivs den kvantitativa enkätstudiens konstruktion, med särskilt fokus på betydelsebärande aspekter från tvärnationella studier, på validitet och reliabilitet samt på etiska överväganden och hantering av felkällor. Vidare beskrivs mina urval, omfattande sammanlagt 711 lärare från delstaten Berlin i Tyskland och från Stockholms län i Sverige. Del ett avslutas med kapitel fem där de tre artiklar som publicerats inom ramen för studien sammanfattas. Dessa artiklar svarar på forskningsfrågorna: *1.1. Vad gör tyska och svenska lärare och vad har de gjort för sin kompetensutveckling utifrån sina egna perspektiv och vad uppfattar de*

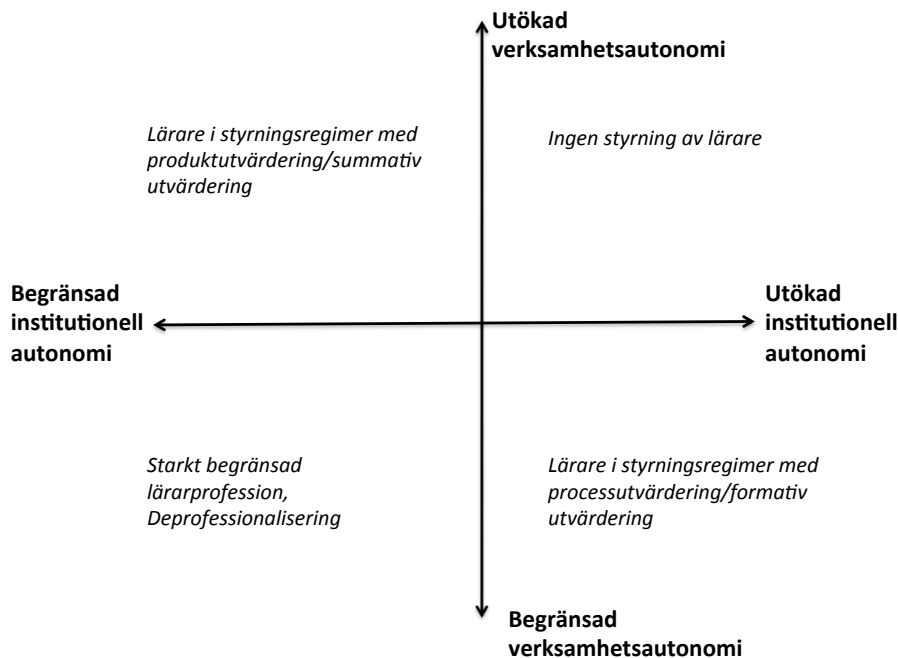
som rimliga kunskapskällor för sin utveckling; 1.2. Vilket inflytande har olika former av skolans styrning på kompetensutveckling utifrån lärares perspektiv; 1.3. Vilka likheter och skillnader finns det mellan de båda ländernas lärarkår; 1.4. Hur kan likheter och skillnader avseende socio-historiska karakteristika inom de olika nationella kontexterna förklaras?

I den första artikeln utreds lärares kompetensutvecklingskultur i en undersökning av lärares uppfattningar om kunskapskällor och hur olika styrinstrument har påverkat deras kompetensutveckling. Resultatet visar att de svenska och tyska kompetensutvecklingskulturerna är möjliga att skilja från varandra. Skillnaderna beror i båda fallen på historiska och kulturella traditioner. Den andra artikeln undersöker lärares uppfattningar om källor som erbjuder kunskap för kompetensutveckling. Där argumenteras för att en kunskapskällas trovärdighet har betydelse när lärare, utifrån de möjligheter som är tillgängliga på kompetensutvecklingsmarknaden, fattar beslut för eller emot en källa. Artikeln kommer fram till att trovärdighet inte är relevant i lika stor utsträckning för svenska som för tyska lärare, trots att den är betydelsefull i båda kontexterna. Likheter kan relateras till betydelse av förtroende och tillit inom lärarprofessionen och dess kompetensutveckling. Skillnaderna tolkas återigen utifrån lärares olika grad av autonomi i de båda länderna. Tyska lärare är uppenbarligen mer aktiva i sin kompetensutveckling avseende bedömning. Eftersom bedömning har en nära anknytning till autonomi, hävdas i artikeln att den högre graden av autonomi i Tyskland kan relateras till utbildningsreformer som begränsar lärares autonomi. Tyska lärares intensiva kompetensutveckling kan i detta sammanhang betraktas som en försvarsstrategi. De försöker synliggöra sin kunskap och reflekterar över reformerna genom kompetensutveckling. Mer passiva svenska lärare som har genomgått en längre period av deprofessionalisering, utgör en tydlig kontrast till det tyska fallet.

9.3.2. Frågan om lärares autonomi

Avhandlingens andra del börjar med kapitel sex och överväger fenomenet lärares autonomi. Den hanterar forskningsfrågan 2.1. *Hur kan lärares autonomi i olika nationella kontexter beskrivas för att ha ett förklaringsvärde för nationella likheter och skillnader i lärares kompetensutveckling?* Här hävdas att autonomi haft en avgörande betydelse för varför lärares kompetensutvecklingskulturer är utformade så som de beskrevs i del ett. Artiklarna i del ett relaterade mer generellt resultatet till olika kontextuella särdrag i Tyskland och Sverige. Avhandlingen som helhet vill dock fokusera mer systematiskt på ett fenomen, eftersom avsikten är att uppnå en mer systematisk och teoretisk förståelse av kontextens inflytande på lärares kompetensutveckling. Detta fenomen är lärares autonomi, som ses nödvändigt utarbeta mer detaljerat för att genom olika beskrivna former av lärares autonomi systematiskt kunna förklara nationella skillnader i lärares

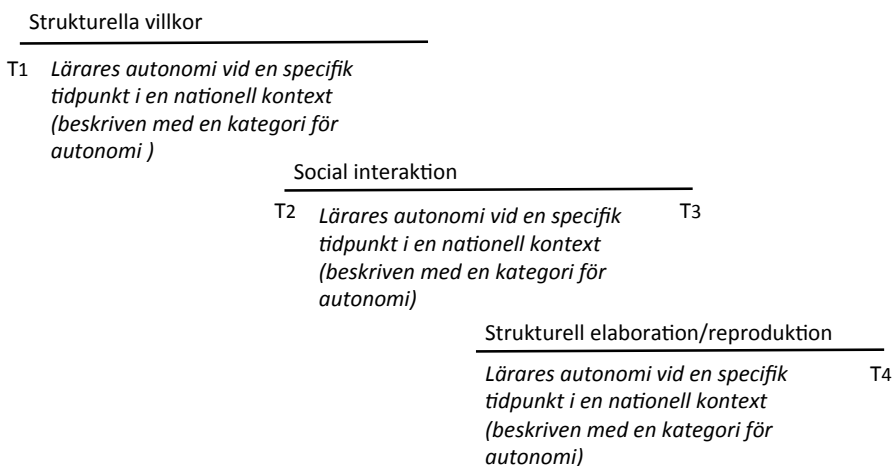
kompetensutveckling, såväl utifrån ett teoretiskt som historiskt perspektiv. Här används Archers (1995) dualistiska perspektiv på struktur och aktör. Jag argumenterar för att autonomi sanktionerad genom statlig styrning kan betraktas som strukturella villkor för lärares kompetensutveckling (T1–T2). Den senare kan därmed ses som en interaktionform för lärarprofessionen (T2–T3) som antingen resulterar i en bekräftelse av befintliga (autonomi-)strukturer eller i en ny utveckling av dem (T3–T4). Autonomi definieras därefter skarpare för att kunna göra en analytisk tillämpning för såväl internationella jämförelser som för att visa på nationella förändringar avseende struktur och aktör.



Figur 1: Olika kategorier av lärares autonomi

En modell som innehåller olika kategorier som kännetecknar lärarprofessionen i olika kontexter utarbetades för att kunna relatera olika former av läroplansutvärdering till skilda former av autonomi. Modellen presenterar två dimensioner med olika kvaliteter avseende autonomi (begränsad och utökad). Den första avser *institutionella* professionskomponenter (*institutional*) och omfattar lärares kollektiva funktioner, rättigheter och skyldigheter, den andra avser de praktiska frågor som lärare har att hantera i skolor och klassrum och utgör professionens *verksamhetskomponenter* (*service*). I praktiken är det inte alltid enkelt att särskilja de båda komponenterna, men här har de funktionen av komparativt tillämpbara analytiska enheter. Jag hävdar att lärarprofessionens utrymme för handlingsfrihet avseende dessa dimensioner kan definieras av den statliga styrningen. Båda dimensionerna kombineras i en tvådimensionell modell med fyra

olika kategorier. Den första kategorin definierades genom utökad institutionell autonomi respektive begränsad verksamhetsautonomi, och den andra genom begränsad institutionell autonomi respektive utökad verksamhetsautonomi. Dessa kontrasteras med kategorier där båda dimensionerna antingen är utökade eller begränsade. Kategorierna som relateras till varandra i modellen syftar till att analytiskt tydliggöra skillnaderna mellan de båda kontexternas autonomi-strukturer för att därmed kunna förstå autonomi som ett föränderligt fenomen. En specifik form av autonomi i en kontext kan i termer av struktur och agentskap beskrivas genom en särskild kategori för att sedan relateras till olika former av interaktion (agentskap). Den senare kan resultera i en utveckling av autonomi (struktur) som har sin motsvarighet i en annan av modellens kategorier. Autonomimodellen och dess relation till Archers resonemang presenteras i figurerna 1 och 2.



Figur 2. Archers morfogenetiska/morfostatiska cykel

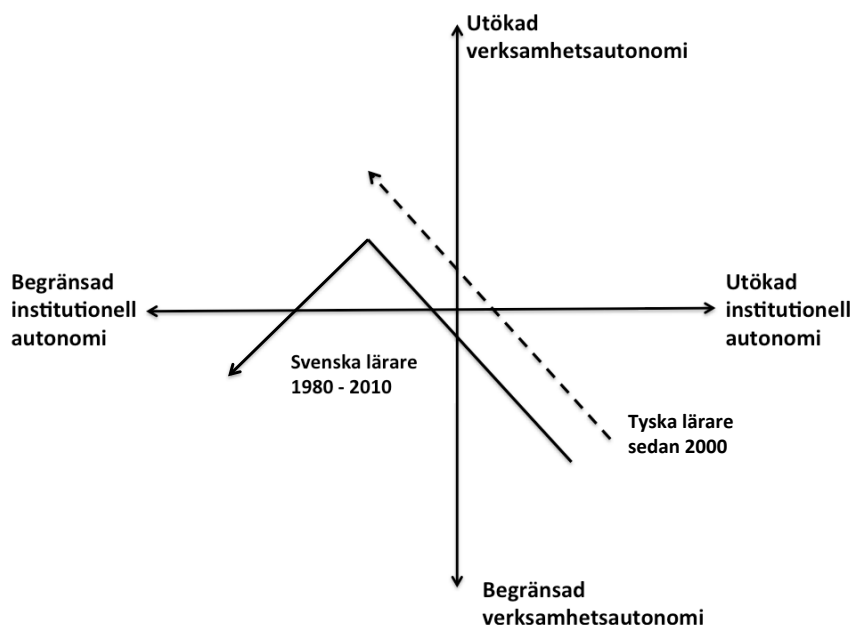
I kapitel sju utforskas de båda nationella kontexterna avseende utvecklingen av lärares autonomi under en viss tid. Kapitlet relateras till forskningsfrågan 2.2. *Hur har lärares autonomi i de båda fallen utformats?* Jag undersöker vilka traditioner och strukturer som varit vägledande för utvecklingen av tyska och svenska lärares professionella handlingsutrymme. Jag förklarade hur interaktionen mellan olika aktörer utmynnar i varierande former av autonomi, vilken i sin tur villkorar den interaktion som följer. Jag hävdar att olika konfigurationer av fenomenet – vilka uttrycks genom kategorierna – endast möjliggör vissa former av agentskap. Uttryck på ett annat sätt så reagerar lärare på särskilda sätt till följd av särskilda handlingsutrymmen. Detta bekräftas till exempel av empirin i avhandlingens första del, avseende lärares kompetensutvecklingskulturer.

Beträffande fenomenet autonomi, visar båda fallen på förändringsprocesser såväl när det gäller lärares förhållande till den statliga styrningen som till framväxten av olika former av lärarautonomi inom det spänningsfält där betingande strukturer i social interaktion ramar in utvecklingen av nya strukturer. Strukturen uttrycks genom den autonomi lärare har inom två dimensioner av sin profession. Figur 3 visar ytterligare en gång utvecklingen av de två fallen. Beträffande Archers morfogenetiska, eller statiska, cykel vilken tillämpats i den här avhandlingen, kan den nu aktuella situationen i Sverige förstås i termer av en strukturell utveckling, medan däremot interaktionsprocessen fortfarande pågår i Tyskland (illustrerad med en streckad pil). Den svenska lärarprofessionen karakteriseras idag av att både verksamhetsautonomin och den institutionella autonomin är begränsad. Dess tyska motsvarighet förändras för närvarande från en begränsad verksamhetsautonomi och utökad institutionell autonomi till ett förhållande som är det motsatta. Eftersom denna strukturella förändring fortfarande är under utveckling (*i interaktion*), är det ännu inte klart hur styrningen av den tyska lärarprofessionen inom den närmaste framtiden kan beskrivas med avseende på autonomi. Fram till dess kan de nya strukturerna inte anses vara elaborerade.

I kapitlet förklaras hur skolans styrning utformat de undersökta professionerna genom att definiera den autonomi lärare har i sitt arbete. Denna utveckling undersöks utifrån ett socio-historiskt perspektiv. Den socio-historiska analysen av de båda fallen, relateras till för lärares autonomi avgörande traditioner i respektive land. Det tyska fallet förefaller mer stabilt. Karakteristiskt för detta är, med Archers terminologi, mer morfostatiska än morfogenetiska cykler. En ämbetsmannastatus och en förståelse av begreppet didaktik som att lärare och ämnet har en dominerande roll, har utökat lärares institutionella autonomi och skapat en stark profession som har förmått försvara sin självständighet under lång tid, men den har också resulterat i konservatism och motstånd mot reformer och förändringar. Därför återstår det att se om de nyligen genomförda reformerna kommer att ha en mer genomgripande inverkan på relationen mellan staten och lärarprofessionen. Å ena sidan är professionen fortfarande stark nog att försvara sin autonomi och sin traditionella praktik. Å andra sidan kan trycket från den senaste reformen också resultera i intensifierade utvecklingsbemödanden, vilka kan bidra till en "kollektiv förnyelse" (Berg 1993) inifrån av lärarprofessionen.

Beträffande det svenska fallet, kan en livaktig reformhistoria observeras – även uttryckt med termen "rullande reform" (Marklund 1989). Detta beror på en stark tradition av social ingenjörskonst, vilken innebär en utbildningspolitik som ständigt utgår från forskning och forskningsresultat (Petersson 1991). Utbildning har betraktats som viktig för att främja social utveckling och det har därför funnits en stark legitimitet för att kontinuerligt justera och reformera utbildningssystemet. Utöver detta har klasslärartraditionen blivit alltmer domi-

nerande i Sverige,⁵³ jämfört med Tyskland som har en stark ämneslärartradition. Elevers lärande ses som viktigare än lärarens undervisning och ämnesinnehållet. Man kan hävda att en fokusering på lärande underlättar styrningen av lärares arbete, jämfört med en fokusering på (neutrala) ämneskunskaper och ett erkännande av lärares självständighet avseende utbildning och undervisning.



Figur 3. Styrning av den tyska och svenska lärarprofessionen.

Dessutom bygger det svenska skolsystemet på en tradition som innebär att utbildningspolitik beslutas gemensamt och i samförstånd mellan alla inblandade intressenter. Tidigare deltog lärare exempelvis i beslutsprocessen genom sina starka fackföreningar (Persson 2008). Den sociala ingenjörskonsten må ha bidragit till en begränsning av lärares verksamhetsautonomi, avseende vad som betraktades som möjligt att genomföra, men de starka fackföreningarna bidrog fram till 1980-talet till lärares utökade institutionella autonomi. Det hävdas också att lärarhögskoletraditionen (eller också autonoma universitetsinstitutioner med ansvar för lärarutbildning) har haft en stor betydelse för den svenska lärarprofessionen (Hartman 2012). Genom att fokusera på lärartraditionens praktiska områden, har lärarutbildningen bidragit till en utökad institutionell autonomi, samtidigt som den begränsat verksamhetsautonomin. I och med aka-

53 Ämneslärartraditionen i Sverige har idag förskjutits uppåt och återfinns inom gymnasielärartraditionen.

demiseringen av lärarutbildningen och dess totala införlivande till universiteten, har lärarprofessionens institutionella autonomi försvagats.

Vid slutet av 1980-talet inleddes det hittills mest radikala utbildningspolitiska skiftet i Sverige. Lärarprofessionens institutionella autonomi begränsades då i och med att utbildningssystemet decentraliserades och marknadsanpassades. Andra aktörer fick makten att definiera vad som är lämplig kunskap och hur den ska mätas. För att främja mångfald i undervisningen och möjliggöra en anpassning till lokala behov fick skolor och lärare utökad verksamhetsautonomi under 1990-talet. Fackföreningarna stödde denna förändring, men det visade sig att decentraliseringen, tillsammans med arbetsmarknadsavtal som tillät anpassningar efter lokala och individuella förhållanden, kom att försvaga deras ställning betydligt. Detta bidrog därmed till en begränsning av den institutionella dimensionen. När reformerna sedan reviderades, särskilt efter det att en konservativ regering kommit till makten, hade lärare inte längre ett starkt korporativt agentskap (Archer 1995) med aktiv förmåga att delta i förhandlingar om nya skolstrukturer. Därutöver hävdar jag att lärarprofessionen har fått fler aktörer att hantera. I och med den svenska formen av decentralisering (Rönnerberg 2011), måste svenska lärare klara av statens förväntningar på dem, samtidigt med förväntningarna från sin huvudman.⁵⁴ Samtliga har blivit starkare aktörer, vilket haft konsekvenser för lärarprofessionens autonomi som nu är begränsad till båda sina dimensioner.

Slutligen, vilket nämnts tidigare, förklarar didaktikens roll ytterligare skillnaderna mellan Tyskland och Sverige avseende lärares autonomi. I Tyskland äger lärarprofessionen didaktiken. Didaktik är en historiskt förankrad förklaring till professionens autonomi och dess relation till staten kännetecknas av ett yrkesetiskt grundat ansvar och på en historiskt utvecklad professionskultur. Bildning är didaktikens bidrag som grund för lärares reflektion, men genom sina institutionella rötter i lärarprofessionen har didaktiken också haft en standardiserande karaktär (Gundem and Hopmann 1998a; Hopmann 2006; Hopmann and Riquarts 1995; Künzli 1998, 2000). Detta visas i lärarutbildningen där den först och främst återfinns inom den institution som ansvarar för den andra praktikperioden (*Referendariat*). Utformad som en vägledande modell, tillförsäkrar didaktiken professionens institutionella autonomi på bekostnad av en begränsning i verksamhetsautonomi för individuella skolor och lärare. En begränsning av verksamhetsautonomin kan också ses som en förutsättning för en stark institution. En sådan utformning tillsammans med lärarprofessionens dominans inom undervisningen, kan även bidra till en konservativ hållning och fördröja en förändring av det tyska utbildningssystemet.

54 Bunar i Rönnerberg (2011), min översättning: "Ett särdrag i det fria skolvalets utformning i Sverige är att det å ena sidan är extremt avreglerat med en skolpeng som följer eleven i avsikt att främja konkurrens. Å andra sidan är den svenska skolan fortsatt starkt kontrollerad genom en central och lokal politisk styrning som stödjer sig på [...] ekonomisk resurstilldelning, [...] en nationell läroplan, en central skolinspektionsmyndighet (Bunar 2010, p. 13)".

Den svenska grundskollärarprofessionen har inte en lika tydlig didaktisk tradition, även om den svenska lärarutbildningen och klasslärarprofessionen fram till grundskolereformen i början av 1960-talet också byggde på Herbarts idéer. Den lärarcentrerade undervisningen började därefter ersättas av en pragmatisk Deweyinspirerad pedagogik, men Herbarttraditionen är fortfarande verksam i lärares professionella kultur (Berg, 1992) och har troligtvis haft en bärande funktion för lärares institutionella autonomi. Didaktik som term och lärarutbildningsprogram blev central först i och med 1980-talets reformer, vilka syftade till att bemyndiga lärare och stärka professionen. En autonomi som enligt tysk modell ger lärare makt och inflytande fungerade uppenbarligen inte i det svenska systemet, vilket bygger på rullande reformer. Svensk didaktik ägs i större utsträckning av utbildningsforskare som arbetar för att förbättra lärares praktiska verksamhet.

Utifrån det här perspektivet relateras didaktik till lärares autonomi. Den tyska versionen av didaktik bidrar till en utökad institutionell autonomi, den svenska versionen begränsar densamma eftersom lärarprofessionen inte äger didaktiken. Den tyska didaktiken har förutsättningar att fördröja förändringar inom undervisning och utbildning, den svenska underlättar utbildningsreformer, men inte alltid till fördel för lärarprofessionen.

2.3. Utveckling och autonomi

I del tre summeras de föregående delarna. I kapitel åtta används ett teoretiskt resonemang för att behandla relationen mellan lärares kompetensutveckling i skilda kontexter och lärares autonomi. Här hanterar jag forskningsfrågan: 2.3. *Vilka teoretiska slutsatser kan dras avseende lärares autonomi och kompetensutveckling i de båda länderna utifrån en allmän relation mellan dessa fenomen i olika nationella kontexter?* Jag diskuterar vilka former av autonomi, såväl historiskt utvecklade som utformade genom statlig styrning, som har förutsättningar att resultera i en specifik och empiriskt undersökningsbar kompetensutvecklingskultur. De hypoteserna jag har formulerat syftar till bidra med nya perspektiv för framtida forskning. Dessa perspektiv sammanfattas sedan i tabell 1. I fokus är skilda former av styrning genom autonomi och förmodat dominerande kompetensutvecklingskulturer i sådana kontexter.

Om lärarprofessionen karakteriseras av utökad *institutionell autonomi*, men *begränsad verksamhetsautonomi*, har ett tydligt inflytande på kompetensutvecklingen. Lärarprofessionen ansvarar inför staten och samhället i övrigt för att uppdraget genomförs på bästa möjliga sätt. Kollegor av olika slag (*peers*) kontrollerar om den enskilda lärarens praktik och utveckling uppfyller de krav som den professionella kulturen ställer. De lärare som inte uppfyller kraven stämplas som dåliga lärare. Kompetensutvecklingen anpassas efter den dominerande professionskulturen. Lärares bedömning av en kunskapskällas tillförlitlighet får

en stor betydelse när de avgör vad som är lämpligt för deras utveckling. En utökad institutionell autonomi karakteriseras av ett tydligt avstånd till aktörer på kompetensutvecklingsmarknaden som inte är professionella lärare. Detta kan medföra att professionen blir tämligen konservativ och kan även bidra till en isolering från andra professioner och från det omgivande samhället. Lärare föredrar att utvecklas av och för sig själva. Å andra sidan har en profession med utökad institutionell autonomi möjlighet att frigöra krafter för att försvara sin status och sina gränser vid tillfällen när professionen hotas av reformer. Detta kan då medföra större ansträngningar avseende kompetensutveckling och när det gäller att tydliggöra lärares professionella kunskaper och färdigheter.

Om lärarprofessionen karakteriseras av *en utökad verksamhetsautonomi men en begränsning av den institutionella autonomin*, innebär detta andra konsekvenser för lärares kompetensutveckling. I verksamheten kan lärare ha fler möjligheter att utvecklas och att påverka sina reella utvecklingsbehov. Dessutom samarbetar lärare i större utsträckning. Emellertid riskerar lärares professionalitet att begränsas om systemet regleras genom statligt ansvarsutkrävande med nationella prov, eller genom fria skolval baserade på skolors grad av måluppfyllelse. En evidensbaserad effektivitet blir vägledande och den kompetensutvecklingen får underordna sig en sådan logik. Dessutom finns inte en institutionellt autonom profession som skydd för den enskilda läraren. Andra professioner såsom administrativa eller vetenskapliga, övertar planeringen av lärares kompetensutveckling. Karakteristiskt för en sådan situation är att lösgöra skolledare från lärarprofessionen för att i stället knyta dem till en administrativ profession. Skolledare och rektorer styr lärares kompetensutveckling för att kunna uppnå nödvändiga mål och resultat för sina skolor. Trots att det finns ett rikt och varierat utbud på kompetensutvecklingsmarknaden, är det ofta inte lärare som är aktiva aktörer på densamma utan i stället administrativa professioner som skolledare och rektorer. I detta sammanhang betonas också att en lärarprofession med begränsad verksamhetsautonomi är tämligen mottaglig för kunskap som inte har producerats inom professionen. Lärare bedömer därför att statliga institutioner, inklusive universitet, är viktigare för deras arbete. Detta kan antingen tolkas som ett tecken på progressivitet, eller som en osäkerhet till följd av en avsaknad av tydliga institutionella gränser. Konsekvensen är också att tillit och tilltro till kunskapskällor inte är lika viktig för lärares kompetensutveckling. Andra källor ifrågasätts inte i samma utsträckning och relationen till externa experter betraktas uppenbarligen som relevanta.

Styrning av lärarprofessionen genom

utökad institutionell autonomi/ begränsad verksamhetsautonomi	utökad verksamhetsautonomi/ begränsad institutionell autonomi
<p>Lärare utvecklar mer eller mindre självständigt genom att följa lärarprofessionens traditionella kultur. Detta kan bidra till att öka den isolering som redan är karakteristisk för professionen.</p>	<p>Lärare har ett större ansvar för undervisningsverksamheten och samarbetar i större utsträckning, även när det gäller kompetensutveckling. Fler möjligheter att reagera på de utvecklingsbehov som uppstår i verksamheten. Större mottaglighet för en bredare repertoar av utvecklingsmöjligheter.</p>
<p>Avstånd till de marknadsaktörer inom kompetensutveckling som inte kan legitimera sig som professionella lärare. Professionens kompetensutveckling är tämligen konservativ.</p>	<p>Större mottaglighet för kunskap som inte har skapats av och utvecklats inom lärarprofessionen. Lärare bedömer att statliga institutioner, inklusive universitet, har stor betydelse för deras arbete. Detta kan också leda till osäkerhet till följd av en profession satt ur spel och av den tunga bördan av eget ansvar.</p>
<p>När den professionella autonomin utmanas, finns krafter som professionen kan frigöra för att försvara sitt revir. Motivering finns för att lägga kraft på kompetensutveckling, på förnyelse av den professionella strukturen samt på tydliggörande av lärares professionella kunskap.</p>	<p>Professionen som institution kan inte skydda den enskilda läraren. Andra professioner, som till exempel administratörer eller manager, tar över planeringen av kompetensutveckling.</p>
<p>Professionen kan fungera som ett skydd mot förändringar, gråzonsautonomi (<i>Grauzonenautonomi</i>) (Heinrich, 2007), eftersom den försvarar sig mot förväntningar från omvärlden och verkar för förnyelse utifrån professionens villkor.</p>	<p>För att uppnå för skolan nödvändiga resultat och mål, styr skolledare och rektorer lärares kompetensutveckling. Kompetensutveckling kan användas för en tydligare kontroll av professionella grupper som innehar utökad autonomi.</p>

Tabell 1: Lärares autonomi och kompetensutveckling

Lärarprofessionen som ett institutionellt fenomen verkar vara nyckeln till en förståelse av lärares kompetensutveckling, eftersom institutionen ramar in lärares verksamhet. En utökad institutionell autonomi kan innebära en bättre situation för lärare i det långa loppet, även om den utökade verksamhetsautonomin

teoretiskt sett skulle kunna skapa fler möjligheter att utvecklas inom arbetet. Den förstnämnda skulle kunna skydda lärare från andra professioners inflytande och möjliggöra ett slags "gråzonsautonomi" (Heinrich, 2007), i och för sig till priset av begränsade och konservativa möjligheter till utveckling.

3. Sammanfattning

Avhandlingens syfte var att bidra till teoretisk begreppsutveckling med stöd av empirisk begreppsbyggnad inom lärares kompetensutveckling. Begrepp som har utvecklats är: *kompetensutvecklingsmarknad*, *kunskapskällor* och *kompetensutvecklingskultur*. Dessutom används de teoretiska begreppen för att undersöka relationen mellan den kontextberoende tvådimensionella autonomi som lärare har i sin praktik – strukturer som är villkorliga – och mellan kompetensutveckling som uttryck för ett möjligt agentskap. Avhandlingens ambition var inte att utforma en sammanhängande beskrivning av de båda fallen, utan att undersöka det analytiska värdet av relationen mellan lärares autonomi och deras kompetensutveckling, för att därigenom möjliggöra en beskrivning och analys av den nationella kontextens inflytande på lärares kompetensutveckling. Dessutom begränsar detta intresse studiens förklaringsvärde på grund av inflytandet från mer avgränsade kontexter såsom den enskilda kommunen eller skolan. Flera intressanta skillnader mellan de nationella fallen har framträtt och analyserats med avseende på olika former av lärares autonomi. Jag välkomnar eventuell kritik beträffande mina hypotesers styrka och efterlyser framtida forskningsprojekt som kan stöda och utveckla de villkor som styr lärares kompetensutveckling.

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Appendix

11. Appendix

11.1. Questionnaires

Since the questionnaire instruments will be used in follow-up-studies in other national contexts, I will here only present a few examples of the Swedish of the items.

11.1.1. Swedish version

Hej

Tack för att du deltar i den här internationella studien om lärares kompetensutveckling i Sverige och Tyskland.

Studien syftar till att fastställa lärares uppfattningar om kompetensutveckling. I undersökningen tillfrågas lärare om hur och var de fortbildar sig, hur de upplever utbud och kvalitet på den kompetensutvecklingen som erbjuds och hur skolsystem och utbildningspolitik påverkar lärarens inställning för kompetensutveckling.

En sådan utgångspunkt är relevant för att kunna fastställa vad som kan bidra till att skapa ett gott utvecklingsklimat för lärare.

Frågorna i enkäten har utvecklats med hjälp av med lärare och skolledare i Stockholm och Berlin.

Enkäten tar mellan 20 och 30 minuter att besvara.

Enkäten är anonym och dina svar behandlas konfidentiellt.

Tack för din hjälp!

1. Vilka initiativ till kompetensutveckling tog du själv under förra läsåret (2007/2008) (förutom fortbildningsdagar anordnad av din skola)?

<i>Endast ett kryss per rad</i>	Förekom inte alls	Förekom sällan	Förekom ibland	Förekom ofta
01. Jag deltog i kurser, seminarier eller föreläsningar på universitet eller högskola.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
02. Jag deltog i kurser, seminarier eller föreläsningar som organiserades av skolbokförlag (t.ex. Natur och Kultur, Bonnier-utbildning, Liber).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
03. Jag deltog i kurser, seminarier eller föreläsningar som organiserades av fackföreningarna (Lärarförbundet, LR).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
04. Jag deltog i kurser, seminarier eller föreläsningar som organiserades av Skolverket eller Myndigheten för Skolutveckling.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. De kunskaper som du som lärare använder dig av är av olika natur: pedagogiska kunskaper, ämneskunskaper i dina ämnen, ämnesdidaktiska kunskaper samt kunskaper om läroplaner, kursplaner och undervisningsmedier.

Hur viktiga är följande kunskapskällor för din pedagogiska och psykologiska kompetensutveckling (t.ex. *ledarskap i klassrummet*, kunskaper om barn och ungdomars utveckling, kunskaper om särskilda problem, t.ex. droger, alkohol, sexualitet, våld)?

<i>Endast ett kryss per rad</i>	oviktigt	ganska oviktigt	ganska vik- tigt	mycket viktigt
01. Universitet, högskola	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
02. Skolverket, Myndig- heten för Skolut- veckling.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
03. Skolbokförlag, fort- bildningsförlag.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
04. Fackföreningar (Lä- rarförbundet, LR).....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
05. Privata företag.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
06. Kollegor på din skola eller andra sko- lor.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Flera faktorer påverkar vilka kunskapskällor man använder för kompetensutveckling.

Ta ställning till följande aktörer/kunskapskällor som erbjuder kompetensutveckling utifrån olika aspekter!

Den som erbjuder kompetensutveckling är kompetent när det gäller skolrelevanta problem.

Endast ett kryss per rad

	Stämmer inte alls	Stämmer mindre bra	Stämmer ganska bra	Stämmer helt och hållet	vet ej
01. Universitet, högskola.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
02. Skolverket, Myn- digheten för Skolut- veckling.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
03. Skolbokförlag, fort- bildningsförlag.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
04. Fackföreningar (Lä- rarförbundet, LR)....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
05. Privata företag.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
06. Kollegor på din skola eller andra skolor.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. Påverkar skolans styrinstrument (t.ex. läroplan, nationella prov, lärarutbildning) din kompetensutveckling?

Ta ställning till följande påståenden om förhållandet mellan skolans styrinstrument och lärarens kompetensutveckling, även om du inte har nationella prov i dina ämnen!

Endast ett kryss per rad

	Stämmer inte alls	Stämmer mindre bra	Stämmer ganska bra	Stämmer helt och hållet
01. De nationella proven ger mig nya synpunkter på de ämnen jag undervisar i...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
02. För att uppnå goda resultat i de nationella proven krävs det att lärare utvecklar sina kompetenser regelbundet.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
03. De nationella proven skapar konkurrens mellan lärarna. Denna konkurrens är bra för skolans utveckling.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
04. Kursplanerna ger läraren friheten att lägga upp undervisningen enligt egna önskemål och intressen.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11.1.2. German Version

Liebe Lehrerinnen und Lehrer

Vielen Dank, dass Sie an dieser internationalen Studie über die Kompetenzentwicklung von deutschen und schwedischen Lehrern im Berufsalltag teilnehmen.

Die Studie will feststellen, welche Sicht Lehrer auf unterschiedliche Kompetenzentwicklungsangebote im Berufsalltag haben.

Wie und wo entwickeln sie ihre beruflichen Kompetenzen weiter? Wie wird die Qualität verschiedener Wissensquellen gesehen. Wie beeinflussen Schulpolitik und Schulreformen ihre Kompetenzentwicklung? Ein solcher Ausgangspunkt kann dazu beitragen, ein besseres Entwicklungsklima für Lehrer zu schaffen. Dies will diese Studie erreichen.

Die Fragen des Fragebogens wurden zum größten Teil aus Experteninterviews mit Lehrern und Schulleitern in Berlin und Stockholm gewonnen.

Die Beantwortung des Fragebogens nimmt zwischen 20 und 30 Minuten in Anspruch. Der Fragebogen ist anonym und Ihre Antworten werden vertraulich behandelt.

Vielen Dank für Ihre Unterstützung

1. Welche der folgenden Angebote haben Sie im letzten Schuljahr (2007/2008) außerhalb der schulinternen Fortbildung mit dem mit Ziel der beruflichen Kompetenzentwicklung wahrgenommen?

Bitte nur ein Kreuz pro Zeile

	Kam gar nicht vor	Kam selten vor	Kam manchmal vor	Kam häufig vor
01. Ich habe Seminare und Vorlesungen an der Universität besucht.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
02. Ich habe Fortbildungen vom LISUM oder innerhalb von Fortbildung Regional besucht.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
03. Ich habe Veranstaltungen der Schulbuchverlage besucht.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
04. Ich habe Veranstaltungen von Gewerkschaften oder Fachverbänden besucht...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Für die Entwicklung und Weiterentwicklung von Kompetenzen kommen nicht immer die gleichen Wissensquellen in Frage.

Bitte bewerten Sie, wie wichtig Ihnen die folgenden Wissensquellen für Ihre Kompetenzentwicklung in verschiedenen Wissensbereichen sind!

Wie wichtig sind die folgenden Wissensquellen für Ihre pädagogische und psychologische Kompetenzentwicklung (z.B. Klassenraummanagement, Wissen über Sozialisations- und Entwicklungsprozessen von Kindern und Jugendlichen, Lerntheorien, spezifische Probleme (Drogen, Alkohol, Gewalt)?

Bitte nur ein Kreuz pro Zeile

	Unwichtig	Eher unwichtig	Eher wichtig	Sehr wichtig
01. Universitäten, Forschungseinrichtungen..	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
02. LISUM, Fortbildung Regional.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
03. Senatsschulverwaltung	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
04. Schulbuchverlage.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
05. Gewerkschaft, Fachverbände.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
06. Kollegen.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Für die persönliche Kompetenzentwicklung stehen verschiedene Wissensquellen zur Verfügung. Die Entscheidung, welcher man vertraut, ist auch davon abhängig, wie man diese wahrnimmt.

Bitte bewerten Sie verschiedene Anbieter nach den folgenden Aspekten.

Den Anbieter empfinde ich als kompetent für meine Probleme als Lehrer.

Bitte nur ein Kreuz pro Reihe

	Trifft überhaupt nicht zu	Trifft eher nicht zu	Trifft eher zu	Trifft voll und ganz zu	Weiß nicht
01. Universitäten, Forschungseinrichtungen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
02. LISUM, Fortbildung Regional.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
03. Senatsverwaltung.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
04. Schulbuchverlage.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
05. Gewerkschaft, Fachverbände.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
06. Kollegen.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. Schulpolitische Steuerungsinstrumente wie z.B. Lehrpläne, Vergleichsarbeiten oder die Lehrerbildung haben Einfluss auf Ihre Arbeit. Haben diese auch Einfluss auf Ihre Kompetenzentwicklung?

Bewerten Sie bitte folgende Aussagen zum Zusammenhang zwischen schulischer Steuerung und der Kompetenzentwicklung von Lehrern aus Ihrer Perspektive! Sollten Sie in Ihren Fächern keine Vergleichsarbeiten anwenden, bewerten Sie bitte diese Aussagen trotzdem.

Bitte nur ein Kreuz pro Reihe

	Trifft überhaupt nicht zu	Trifft eher nicht zu	Trifft eher zu	Trifft voll und ganz zu
01. Die Vergleichsarbeiten bieten mir Anhaltspunkte für Inhalte, die ich unterrichten soll.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
02. Die Vergleichsarbeiten verlangen von mir, mich fortzubilden.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
03. Die Vergleichsarbeiten schaffen Konkurrenz unter den Lehrern, die einen positiven Einfluss auf die Schulentwicklung hat.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11.2. Websites of various CPD sources of knowledge

11.2.1. Germany

State institutions:

Landesinstitut für Schule und Medien Berlin Brandenburg (LISUM):

<http://www.lisum.berlin-brandenburg.de>

Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, Berlin:

<http://www.berlin.de/sen/bildung/>

Examples textbook publishers:

Cornelsen Verlag: <http://www.cornelsen.de/home/>

Ernst Klett Verlag: <http://www.klett.de/>

Diesterweg Verlag: <http://www.diesterweg.de/>

Unions and associations:

Gewerkschaft für Erziehung und Wissenschaft: <http://www.gew.de/>

Deutscher Philologenverband: <http://www.dphv.de/>

11.2.2. Sweden

State institutions:

Skolverket: <http://skolverket.se>

Examples textbook publisher:

Liber: <http://www.liber.se/>

Natur & Kultur: <http://www.nok.se/>

Unions:

Lärarförbundet: <http://www.lararforbundet.se/>

Lärarnas Riksförbund <http://www.lr.se/>

Examples private companies:

Skolporten: <http://skolporten.se>

Lärarfortbildning AB: <http://www.lararfortbildning.se/>

