PERSPECTIVES ON AND FROM INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY

STUDIES IN QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

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STUDIES IN QUALITATIVE
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PERSPECTIVES ON AND FROM INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY

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CONTENTS

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES *vii*

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS *xi*

INTRODUCTION *xiii*
Lisa Russell

THE DIALOGIC PRODUCTION OF INFORMANT SPECIFIC MAPS *1*
Debra Talbot

REFLEXIVITY AND PRAXIS: THE REDRESS OF 'I' POEMS IN REVEALING STANDPOINT *29*
James Reid

INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY AND ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY: IN DIALOGUE *49*
Michael K. Corman and Gary R. S. Barron

STANDPOINT: USING BOURDIEU TO UNDERSTAND IE AND THE RESEARCHER'S RELATION WITH KNOWLEDGE GENERATION *71*
James Reid

INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY, CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND THE DISCURSIVE COORDINATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY *91*
David Peacock

COMMUNITY-BASED AND PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES IN INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY *107*
Naomi Nichols, Alison Griffith and Mitchell McLarnon

MARGINALIZED, MISUNDERSTOOD AND RELATIVELY UNSEEN: USING INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY TO EXPLORE THE EVERYDAY WORK OF LEARNING MENTORS IN AN ENGLISH STATE SECONDARY SCHOOL *125*
Jo Bishop and Pete Sanderson

INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY, THEORY, METHODOLOGY, AND RESEARCH: SOME CONCERNS AND SOME COMMENTS *147*
Jonathan Tummons

INDEX *163*

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INTRODUCTION

Lisa Russell

ABSTRACT

The origins and key debates regarding institutional ethnography (IE) are briefly outlined. Key questions regarding what is IE and how can it be better critically understood and applied are addressed, before a summary of each contributing chapter is summarized. IE is relevant and has a growing following, yet its distinct ontological, epistemological, methodological, and theoretical nature must be acknowledged and appropriately grounded within firm historical roots in order to clearly interrogate its contemporary developments.

Keywords: Institutional ethnography; debates; developments; theory

Institutional ethnography (IE) was originally created by Sociologist Dorothy Smith (1987, 2006) and has been subsequently developed by a number of other social scientists such as Billo and Mountz (2016), Campbell and Gregor (2004), and Devault (2006). Although rooted in Marxist and Feminist scholarship it is increasingly being operationalized by a range of academics utilizing a number of different ontological and epistemological approaches (e.g., see Billo & Mountz, 2016; Winkelman & Halifax, 2007). IE is thus considered an integrated approach that is wide in its appeal, and while many regard it as valuable in exposing and analysing the "ruling relations" that operationalize within and beyond institutions, much of the broad literature regarding IE remains underengaged and in need of further interrogation. In an attempt to explore the distinguishing and developmental features of IE, this series brings together a collection of debates and findings of and from a number of IE's founded on a variety of disciplinary and international perspectives.

Ultimately, IE scholars connect through their ontological commitment to examine what and how "ruling relations" and sometimes the interacting "economic relations" operationalize within and beyond an institution. These institutions can and do vary in their character, for example, they may include hospitals and medical professions or schools and the education sector. The methods used to examine these relations may also differ but tend to include a focus on text analysis utilizing interviews, participant observation, and mapping to critically interrogate the narratives that manifest and (co) produce what is deemed knowledge and/or reality within and beyond an institutional context to shape everyday practices. Texts are viewed as coordinating consciousness, actions, and rulings, they are viewed as powerful means that shape everyday practices and so must be critically analyzed in order to understand how and why certain social actors experience their everyday practices as they do (Walby, 2005). IE aims to push beyond the local setting of people's everyday experiences by examining the extended relations that coordinate the micro, macro, and meso layers of society. IE is thus viewed as an alternative "sociology" and as a critical methodology (Walby, 2005).

> IE is both a critique and a method of sociological inquiry however much it differs from the systematic (and objectifying) techniques of traditional sociology." (Walby, 2005, p. 159)

IE is also distinct from the many other branches of ethnography in that they must *always* move beyond the analysis of the micro local context. Those texts that run outside of the micro but permeate the local are explored. It is thus purported that "Institutional ethnography is unique a research practice" (Walby, 2007, p. 1009). Indeed, Smith positions it as an "alternative sociology." She acknowledges yet problematizes sociology as focusing too intently on the individual rather than on the social relations to mitigate the issue many sociologists have been criticized for – objectifying the participants. When discussing how sociology conceals the relations of power, Smith refers to how some women who were union members felt after she had met them. She describes the encounter as "unsuccessful," despite the fact that their political interests aligned:

> They told us toward the end of our unsuccessful meeting that their experience of working with sociologist had been one of finding themselves becoming the objects of the study. Sociology, I came to think, did not know how to do otherwise. Sociology seems to be stuck with this problem even when research is undertaken with a political intention that unites the researcher's interests with those of activists. (Smith, 2005, p. 29)

So for the institutional ethnographer the focus of inquiry always moves beyond the micro. The challenge here is that other branches of ethnographies

may also move beyond the local to focus on interacting macro and meso factors, which may serve to confuse the boundaries of what is deemed IE and what is not. Similar to other ethnographers and sociologists, Smith (2005) is critical of empirical work that focus on the agency-structure binary or on nonhuman enactments, both of which are explored more fully in this edition. The assumption with IE is that it can never be fixed as a "sociology" (or indeed a methodology) as it then runs the risk of becoming a weak ontology.

Another distinctive feature of IE is its departure from theory-governed research. Smith explains this in the following extract as a distinguishable defining characteristic:

> To write a sociology from people's standpoint as contrasted with a standpoint in a theory-governed discourse does not mean writing a popular sociology. Though it starts from where we are in our everyday lives, it explores social relations and organization in which our everyday doings participate but which are not fully visible to us. (Smith, 2005, p. 1)

Some attempt has been made to define and problematize IE, yet there remains a dearth in knowledge regarding IE's own contradictions and absolute need to continually critically analyze and be reflexive into itself (Walby, 2007). Indeed, much research is conducted within institutions such as universities or healthcare settings that fund and are implicated themselves within the ruling and economic relations of the (co) production of knowledge. Although IE acknowledges that knowledge is socially constructed (Smith, 1990a) and that its characteristic textual forms bear and replicate social relations, little is done to reflexively analyze how this in itself shapes knowledge and/or dominant powerful texts. IE's project of inquiry rejects the governance of theory (Smith, 2004, p. 49) which in itself could be argued to ignore the power of theory, which is arguably a form of textual and conceptual knowledge used to co(produce) certain ruling and economic relations. Yet, IE is increasing in popularity and dominance and is often positioned as a shifting alternative. However, little is critically analyzed in terms of exactly how it is distinguishable from other branches of ethnography:

> Research methodologies are constantly evolving. Researchers must continually push methodological boundaries in order to address research questions that cannot be explored with traditional methods. (Taber, 2010, p. 5)

The issue to be further explored here is to question what is meant by "traditional methods" and how do IE methods "evolve" or "add to" what is already there. Part of this opacity derives from the fact that IE can hold similar if not the same principles as other ethnographies. Indeed, further compounding this issue is the challenge that ethnography itself is a contested term (Hammersley, 2017;

Walford, 2008). No two ethnographies are the same, and there is continual debate regarding what constitutes ethnography and how it should be conducted and presented. Ethnography derives from traditional anthropology, where time in the field is needed to discern the nuanced interacting nature of social structures and social relations. However, how time is measured may differ (Jeffrey & Troman, 2003), the methods used to gather data are dependent upon the research questions yet tend to implore participant observation field note data to generate rich data, but there is also a need for the research process to be theory-led and systematic in its approach (Walford, 2008). Thus, the very term "ethnography" has spread out from anthropology across the social sciences (Hammersley, 2017). Hammerlsey (2017) argues that one of the reasons for this spread is due to the increasing variation in what the term is taken to mean, and a growing number of labeled varieties that invariably reflect different philosophical and methodological ideas dilutes the cohesiveness of the term. There needs to be a clear difference made between "ethnography" and "ethnographic methods," for example, but the two are often conflated, due in part to the fragmentation of what is termed "ethnography." Hammersley (2017) lists 41 different adjectives that have come to be applied to the term "ethnography," including IE, autoethnography, insider ethnography, Marxist ethnography, and visual ethnography. Given this context and history, it is no surprise therefore that IE suffers from the same issue of having diverse theoretical and methodological commitments in its developments as "ethnography" itself has (Hammersley, 2017).

One area that could be made more explicit is how IE differs in its theoretical and methodological stance when compared to what may be defined as more traditional ethnography. Much is said about the need to expand and develop ethnographic approaches (Billo & Mountz, 2016); however, perhaps the reverse is required. Possibly, there is a greater need to carefully reflect with real rigor on what is already there and hone in on, not expand upon what is conceptually and methodologically understood as IE (and ethnography). Arguably, this clarification is required before clear cohesive developments can be made to further progress IE and indeed ethnography in more general terms. The more different disciplines are encouraged to "merge," the further the complexities involved and additionally blurred the ontological and epistemological lines become. This series brings together a collection of debates and findings of and from IE, based on a variety of disciplinary and international perspectives to contribute to the dearth of specific understanding regarding the methodological and theoretical workings of IE in an attempt to clarify IE's position.

Examples illustrated in this series underline the fact that what is deemed IE differs in terms of research design, data collection methods, and modes of analysis and extends to differences in methodological, ontological, epistemological, ethical, and political philosophies in how they are understood and utilized within IE. The series is thus divided into three parts. The first explores the ontology, epistemology, and methodology adopted in IE. The second section purports the critical approaches to IE, and the third considers textually mediated work.

Debra Talbot starts the exploration and reflection on what IE is and how it works via her analysis of how the influence of "governing texts" play out differently for different teachers within and across varying school contexts. Grounded in an Australian education context she utilizes the work of Bakhtin (1981, 1984, 1986) and Voloshinov (1973) to develop a dialogical analysis of research conversations about teachers' learning. "Maps" were generated to expose and analyze relevant texts and the influence of other people regarding how a teacher learns and enacts her own teaching work.

Jim Reid then draws upon his own experience of conducting an IE in a primary school in England. He explicates the relevance of particular moments during the initial stages of the research that he argues exposes the manifestation and co-production of significant relations within and beyond a particular context in which teacher's come to understand and experience care. He continues to reveal the influence of the "I" poem as a means of data generation, data analysis, and meaningful reflexive practice that can serve to mediate the power differentials texts may facilitate.

Mike Corman and Gary Barron then move the discussion toward recognizing the similarities and differences between IE and Actor Network Theory (ANT), with a particular focus on their ontological and epistemological "shifts" with a view to explore what, if anything these approaches can learn from each other.

Rather than rejecting theory, in the proceeding chapter Jim Reid points to the shared and divergent theoretical roots of Dorothy Smith (1987, 2005, 2006) and Pierre Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) scholarships. He reinforces the importance of using Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus in IE to understand the researcher's relation with knowledge generation and points to the need to critically engage, enact, and analyze IE.

David Peacock then goes on to explicate a way to enjoin the differing social ontologies and methodologies of IE and critical discourse analysis (CDA) to clarify the particular instance of local policy enactment regarding student-equity outreach practices in Australian Universities in relation to the national widening participation agenda.

Naomi Nichols, Alison Giffith, and Mitchell McLarnon positions IE as a "radical re-visioning" of sociology on which the construction of individual subjectivity is always viewed in relation to the institutional relations. By drawing on research examples, the authors distinguish community-based participatory action research methods from IE as a sociology.

Chapter 7 includes Jo Bishop and Pete Sanderson's account of an IE carried out in a secondary school in England regarding pastoral care. Concepts such as "marginalization" and "caring" are problematized and nuanced.

Jonathan Tummons completes the series by offering some concluding comments that act to further clarify the distinctive nature and position of IE within a wider methodological and theoretical debate, thereby affirming its contemporary relevance across a broad section of methodological and epistemological paradigms.

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THE DIALOGIC PRODUCTION OF INFORMANT SPECIFIC MAPS

Debra Talbot

ABSTRACT

The influence of extralocally produced texts, such as professional standards and systems of accreditation, on the ruling relations that govern teachers' work and their learning about that work is a matter of concern in Australia, as it is in Canada, UK, and USA. This chapter explains how a dialogic analysis and the construction of individual maps of social relations were employed to reveal the influences that governed teachers' learning about their work at the frontline. A dialogic analysis of research conversations about learning, based on the work of Mikhail Bakhtin, revealed the existence of both centralizing, hegemonic discourses associated with a managerial agenda and contextualized, heterogeneous discourses supportive of transformative learning. It also revealed the uneven influence of extralocally produced governing texts on both the locally produced texts and the "doings" of individuals. The production and use of "individual" maps represents a variation on the way "mapping" has generally been used by institutional ethnographers. From these informant specific maps, we can begin to observe some broad patterns in relation to the coordination

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of people's "doings" both within a given context and from one context to another.

Keywords: Dialogic analysis; informant maps; professional learning

INTRODUCTION

The influence of extralocally produced texts on the ruling relations that govern workers' actions at the frontline is a key concern for institutional ethnographers (Griffith & Smith, 2014; Smith, 2005). In Australia, as in Canada, UK, and USA, attempts are being made to govern from a distance not only teachers' work but also their learning about their work. This is occurring particularly through the use of professional standards and systems of accreditation that seek to make teachers accountable to 'reforms' aimed at ensuring the 'quality' of teachers. Griffith and Smith (2014) highlight the importance of understanding the influence of this "new public management" (p. 5) on what actually gets done at the "frontline" of public service industries, including education. They argue that "the managerial 'boss' or governing texts" (p. 11) play varying roles in the "governing" of people's frontline work depending on how such texts are "activated."

Dorothy Smith's understanding of how individuals use language to make meaning is underpinned by considerations of the work of Mikhail Bakhtin and George Herbert Mead. This chapter describes the way in which Bakhtin's ideas concerning dialogism and Smith's attention to social relations have informed the methodological approach to analysis and the production of individual maps in this inquiry. Some contextual background is provided to situate and explicate Australian educational reform as part of the international scene constituting the problematic that drove the inquiry. The analytic process from interview to informant-specific map is explained and illustrated through the use of examples. In conclusion, a caution is offered about what might be lost as an unintended consequence of narrow interpretations of professional standards as a governing text applied for the purposes of accountability.

IDENTIFYING THE BOSS TEXTS

Over the time that this study was conducted, Australian teachers were experiencing the lead up to, public promotion and progressive implementation of

a number of education reforms that sought to exercise a new level of control over their frontline work and learning. Since at least the 1990s, successive Australian governments have embraced global neoliberal education agendas represented in policy priorities related to standardization, testing, and accountability. Or as Cochrane-Smith identifies this agenda, "market-based approaches to educational reform" (Cochrane-Smith, 2004, p. 194). The Australian version of professional standards for teachers sits within a suite of measures, which also includes standardized testing and the public reporting of schools' results on such standardized tests. These measures, it is claimed, will respectively: "make explicit the elements of high quality teaching" (AITSL, 2012a)[1]; set "consistent high standards for what all young Australians should learn as they progress through schooling" (ACARA, 2012)[2]; test "the sorts of skills that are essential for every child to progress through school and life" (ACARA, 2013b); and, provide access to "up-to-date quality data on the performance and resources available to more than 9,500 Australian schools" in order to allow "comparisons to be made between schools" (ACARA, 2013a; Talbot, 2015). These policy texts, which seek to govern the work of teachers from afar, replace often more contextualized and personalized mechanisms previously employed to determine professional learning priorities, curriculum design, and assessment.

Concurrent with the Australian government putting forward new policy, or governing texts, as part of what it continues to call education reform many researchers were warning of the negative implications inherent in policies that support what they see as a globalized "managerial" agenda (Ball, 2013; Connell, 2013; Lingard, Martino, & Rezai-Rashti, 2013). It has been argued elsewhere (Lingard et al., 2013) that the driving force behind the government's "education reform agenda" is the rise of high stakes, standardized testing conducted both nationally and globally by organizations such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA). The league table rankings based on the results of these standardized tests underpin the use of the tests as a form of "meta-policy" (Lingard et al., 2013, p. 540) to justify the introduction of policy texts, such as national curricula and professional standards, which govern the work of teachers. The "quality" of teachers or of teaching is identified in many of these documents as the key factor affecting the goal that all young Australians become both effective learners and citizens. While these texts refer to teacher quality and improving teacher quality, they are "ambivalent" (Ryan & Bourke, 2013, p. 416) about whether or not there is actually a "problem" with teacher quality in Australia.

Ensuring the quality of teachers might be quite a different project to one of ensuring the quality of teaching. The first seeks to change the qualities of teachers themselves, their understandings, and thoughts – their consciousness. The second is aimed at the conditions that support students' learning experiences and would surely include teacher pedagogy, but must also include the socially just distribution of resources required for quality learning to be possible. Inquiries hoping to shed light on questions associated with teachers and teaching therefore, might come at the problem from either the perspective of a teacher's consciousness or a teacher's actions and the social relations implicated in those actions.

Working from a western post-Marxist and feminist perspective, Dorothy Smith (2005) explains that Marx's view of "consciousness" as "identified with individuals and what goes on in their heads" (p. 14) requires modification to accommodate social relations that did not exist in Marx's time and have arisen with the growth of capitalism. She draws attention particularly to those forms of social relations that are "objectified in the sense of being produced as independent of particular individuals and the particularized relations" (p. 14). Smith makes the claim that it is such "objectified" social relations that are ruled by the governing texts of neoliberal managerialism. Hence, my focus here is on the role that the governing texts of the *Australian Curriculum* (ACARA, 2012), a first-time national curriculum, and the *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers* (AITSL, 2012a), also a national first, might play in governing teachers' actions.

How then are mandated curricula and professional standards expected to influence teachers' frontline work? In understanding curriculum as one part of "market-based" reform and control, Reid's (2003) work to renovate "labor process theory" in order that it might serve as a meaningful lens through which to understand the focus and purpose of controlling teachers is useful. This link to labor theory is relevant in light of what Clarke (2012) identifies as the "hegemonic penetration of human capital theory in education" that is used to bolster an "unproblematic link between education and individual economic success" (p. 300). Reid tackles "an identification and analysis of what lies at the core of the labor process of … teachers" (p. 560) in Australia. He establishes that "control lies at the heart of labor process theory, that … teachers have a labour process, and that this labour process is defined by the curriculum" (p. 567). He then sets out the main motivations for controlling teachers as the need "to make sure that the teacher actually does some work," "reducing the costs of production," and to develop "the capacity for social practice" (pp. 567–568). It is this last reason that makes the work of teachers

different from other kinds of work, particularly the kind of manufacturing work that labor process theory historically describes, and highly political. Economic, political, and cultural interests all feed into the production of an educational settlement that may represent, at least partially, the views of less powerful groups but usually

> An educational settlement incorporates the dominant discourse, legitimates particular sets of social relations and the ways in which these are organized-including the sanctioned forms of educational governance-and establishes a hegemonic view of the purposes of education. All these components are embedded in the curriculum, which is the centre piece of an education settlement (Reid, 2003, p. 570).

For Reid it is "the curriculum that lies at the heart of the labour process of teaching. This is the genesis of control of teachers" (p. 571).

Professional standards for teachers draw heavily on the rhetorical notions of "teacher effectiveness," "teacher quality," and "the crucial role of the teacher" (AITSL, 2012b). Teachers and teacher effectiveness are positioned as central to their students' academic success in much of the research literature on teacher effectiveness, and on which the government's policies are heavily reliant, chiefly by controlling for all other factors (Ballou, Sanders, & Wright, 2004; Skourdoumbis, 2013). Hattie (2003), whose research has been influential in some circles, attributes approximately 30% of variance in student performance as being attributable to teachers when effects related to the students themselves, their home life, peer effects, and other factors related to the school are controlled for. Yet, these other factors are consistently omitted from policy documents concerned with improving learning outcomes for students. A state-by-state analysis of Australia's most recent *PISA*[3] results (Riddle & Lingard, 2016) reveals "there is a difference of nearly 3 years of schooling between students in the highest socioeconomic quartile and the lowest, with similar differences when comparing Indigenous with non-Indigenous students." The authors go on to say that "Further evidenced in secondary analysis of all PISA data over time is the strength of the correlation between equitable funding of schools and systemic performance on PISA." This kind of detailed analysis makes it clear that the government's narrow policy gaze focused on "teacher quality" and attempts to govern the work of teachers may not be sufficient to make a difference to student learning outcomes.

Various forms of professional standards attempt to set out what a teacher should know and do in order to ensure 'quality.' The statements included in the Australian version of professional standards provide one

such conception of what it means to be a quality teacher as an unproblematic view. Clarke and Moore (2013) draw on Lacan's notion of the symbolic to describe the standards as having the "character of Lacan's 'dead letter' of the law" where they appear "to refer to some 'natural reality' rather than (as is the case) a particular *picturing* of reality" (p. 490). A critical discourse analysis of the Australian and the UK versions of professional standards conducted by Ryan and Bourke (2013) revealed, in both cases, a "behavioural heavy" list "with little regard for attitudinal, emotional, and intellectual dimensions of the trustworthy professional" (p. 421). In comparing these two sets of standards, they noted that the underlying structure of the Australian version is that of problem/solution where the "problem," unsupported by any evidence, is the quality of teachers and the solution, again unsupported by evidence, is the standards. They find that "(m)anagerialism and regulation are dominant discourses in both Australian and UK documents" (p. 420). Further, Connell warns, "The framework is not only specified in managerialist language. It embeds an individualized model of the teacher that is deeply problematic for a public education system" (p. 220). While the Australian version of the professional standards alludes to teachers working and learning within collegial and networked relationships, the system of accreditation remains an individualized process. Ryan and Bourke (2013) claim that the strong modality of the wording of standard statements allows "no room for alternative positions" (p. 417). This lack of any alternative position to that described in the standards is also identified by Connell (2009) who discusses the lack of clarity around, for example, what might happen to a teacher, in terms of their accreditation, who reflects critically on any particular standard, and finds that it is unsuitable or inadequate for the context in which they are working. Thus, the standards legitimate a particular form of professional teacher (Bloomfield, 2006) and position teachers as "unquestioning supporters and implementers of a competency-based, outcome-oriented pedagogy related to the world of work" (Ryan & Bourke, 2013, p. 412).

In a suite of policies influenced by notions of "performativity" (Ball, 2004, p. 143), the standards are offered as a means of ensuring both teacher effectiveness and teacher quality but because of the way these terms are defined, this may present a possible complication for the assessment of teachers against such standards. Effective teachers we are told "can be a source of inspiration and, equally importantly, provide a dependable and consistent influence on young people as they make choices about further education, work, and life" (AITSL, 2012b). As such, "effectiveness" may be difficult to assess in any particular moment of a teacher's work.

TEACHERS' WORK AND LEARNING

If governing the work of teachers is the goal of such texts, it is important to consider how teachers' work might be defined and considered. Smith (2005, pp. 151–152) talks about the term "work" being used in the "generous sense to extend to anything done by people that takes time and effort, that they mean to do, that is done under definite conditions and with whatever means and tools, and that they may have to think about. It means much more than what is done on the job." Thus, she extends the definition of work beyond merely the paid part of employment or what is performed at the physical work site. Smith tells us "this kind of conception of work … keeps you in touch with what people need to do in their work as well as with what they are doing" (p. 154). Given teachers' learning *about* their work requires teachers to think about what they are doing and to do things, possibly differently, but that nevertheless "takes time and effort," then what has previously been called "professional learning" or "professional development" might be considered another form of teachers' work. Teachers' learning about their work could be expected then to be evident in the "actual doings" of their work.

From her observations of teaching work in high-poverty and culturally diverse environments, Comber (2006) takes Smith's "generous sense" to specify what she sees as five kinds of work that teachers are required to engage in. She describes them as: interpretive work; pedagogical work; discursive work; relational work; and institutional work (p. 63). Comber acknowledges the complexity of teachers' work by drawing attention to the fact that these five kinds of work are overlapping and may occur simultaneously in any moment of a teachers' work. Taken together, Comber and Smith's generous definitions allowed me not only to recognize aspects of teachers' work that may be easily hidden but also to look for ways in which learning about such work might be supported.

Teacher professional learning research has produced extensive and useful knowledge about the ways in which we believe teacher learning occurs. In a sweeping meta-analysis of prior research on teacher's learning, Opfer and Pedder (2011) utilized complexity theory in order to avoid "underplaying the complexity of the problem" of teacher professional learning which "leads to focus on the micro context (individual teachers or individual activities of programs) to the exclusion of influences from meso (institutional) and macro (school system) contexts" (p. 379). Through a focus on "why teacher learning may or may not occur as a result of professional development activity" (p. 382), they consider the "contextualized" nature of knowledge, teaching, and learning together with the "decontextualized." They claim that it is

consideration of the decontextualized that results in recognition of patterns across the contextualized and that these patterns support useful generalizations. They identify "three overlapping and recursive systems involved in teacher professional learning: the teacher, the school, and the activity." As they note, what is required in order to increase our understanding of how and why teacher learning occurs are research designs that "illuminate multiple causalities, multiple perspectives, and multiple effects that constitute complex activity" to identify "the edges of generalizability and variation that characterize the patterns of processes and interaction of these (complex) systems" (p. 396). Institutional ethnography, as a method of inquiry that begins with the situated doings of people, has the potential to reveal such complexity with regard to the contextualized interplay between individuals and the "relations of ruling" (Smith, 2006, p. 15) that are expressed in these doings.

Observations of teachers' classroom practice across a range of contexts conducted as part of my professional practice as a consultant, both before, during, and after various forms of professional learning activities contributed to my appreciation of the reported uneven transformation of teachers' practice resulting from professional learning and the importance of getting the balance of contributing factors just right. In this sense, I have been immersed in the everyday world (Smith, 2005, pp. 40–41) of teacher professional learning observing, listening, and noting the problems that individual teachers experience in learning about their work for a considerable time prior to the inquiry reported on here. The 'problems' surrounding it and how teachers learn about their work gave rise to the 'problematic' that steered the inquiry. Simply stated, the problematic was how we can know that a teacher's learning has transformed their teaching work and how is support for such transformative learning coordinated (Talbot, 2015). The inquiry began with an exploration of teachers' actual doings (Smith, 2006) in relation to their learning experiences. I explored teachers' recounts of a professional learning experience that they identified as having resulted in them learning something about their teaching work that they believed transformed their work, together with the evidence they selected and demonstrated of such learning. In a final interview, teachers were asked to reflect on the "fit" as they saw it, between the learning they had spoken about and the evidence they had demonstrated.

WORKING DIALOGICALLY

Consistent with the ontology that shapes institutional ethnography, I had begun my inquiry: immersed in the field of my area of study; from the

standpoint of teachers as the "knowers" of the processes that assist their learning; and had set about detailing the "actual doings" of teacher learning as described by teachers themselves (Smith, 1990, 2005, 2006). It was the teachers who were the learners of interest and therefore, it was their voice that was sought to understand how they learn about their teaching work. This kind of understanding is consistent with an epistemological perspective that views knowledge as partial, situated, and socially constructed. The partiality of knowledge is relevant not only to the bounded nature of the study itself but also to the partial knowledge of the participants as they recounted their remembered experiences. The knowledge is situated and embodied because it is dependent on "the embodied nature of all vision," of the researcher and the participants, as opposed to "the conquering gaze from nowhere" (Haraway, 1988, p. 581). This situated and embodied vision, Haraway claims, "offers a more adequate, richer, better account of a world, in order to live in it well and in critical, reflexive relation to our own as well as others' practices of domination and the unequal parts of privilege and oppression that makes up all positions" (p. 579). Knowledge is considered as socially constructed in dialogic interactions between individuals as each one draws on their experiences with the phenomenon under consideration, in this case professional learning, and their reflections on those experiences to formulate a response in a "living conversation" (Bakhtin, 1981). This is not to say that the world and the things in it only exist when a conscious mind perceives them and gives voice to their perceptions but rather that meaning is only made of the world when "meaning-making beings" make sense of it (Crotty, 1998) through dialogic interactions.

Bakhtin subscribes to the view that knowledge is constructed. Rather than this construction being an individual pursuit however, he sees it as occurring in a shared territory between a speaker and a listener as part of the process of engaging in dialogue. He explains it thus

> The word in living conversation is directly, blatantly, oriented toward a future answer word: it provokes an answer, anticipates it and structures itself in the answer's direction. Forming itself in an atmosphere of the already spoken, the word is at the same time determined by that which has not yet been said but which is needed and in fact anticipated by the answering word. Such is the situation in any living dialog (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 280).

Dialogic interactions between a participant and a researcher are dependent on the exchange of words that takes place between them. Voloshinov, writing as a member of what has become known as "The Bakhtin Circle," posits

> that the word is the most sensitive index of social changes, and what is more, of changes still in the process of growth, still without definitive shape and not as yet accommodated

> into already regularized and fully defined ideological systems … The word has the capacity to register all the transitory, delicate, momentary phases of social change (Voloshinov, 1973, p. 19).

It is the "word" or "sign" as a site of struggle, that is, according to Voloshinov, of particular interest in times of political change or upheaval because it is only at these times that "the inner dialectic quality of the sign comes out fully" (p. 23) and through the word "in the mouth of a particular individual" is revealed the "living interaction of social forces" (p. 41). The word then becomes what Gardiner refers to as "a kind of semiotic litmus paper" (2002, p. 16) for indicating the presence of competing discourses. The word or sign, argues Voloshinov (1973), does not however, belong to the individual and is not created solely as either an internal psychological process of understanding or as an external social effect. Rather, "understanding is a response to a sign with signs" (p. 11) exchanged between two individuals who are "organized socially" (p. 12) and each sign they generate "reflects and refracts existence" (p. 19).

The key Bakhtinian notion that meaning-making is a shared experience between speakers in a dialogic interaction provided the basis for the primary analytical tool of my study, utilized to understand what was revealed in the participant–researcher interaction as participants' related their experiences. Bakhtin constructs a metaphor, based on forces associated with circular motion, to describe the struggle over meaning in any utterance between the dominant language or discourse exerting a centralizing effect and multiple subversive social discourses producing decentralizing effects. Bakhtin tends to use the term "discourse" to mean "a way of speaking." He argues for the necessity of these centralizing discourses as a means for ensuring a cohesive society able to understand each other's intentions and practices. Simultaneously, there exists a multiplicity of other social discourses, arising in the participant's world as language brushes up against other "dialogic threads," which can work to subvert the process of centralization. It is the struggle he claims between these forces of "verbal-ideological centralization and unification" and the "uninterrupted processes of decentralization and disunification" that the heteroglossia of multiple social discourses afford (Holquist, 1981, p. 75) that creates the conditions of possibility for greater degrees of personal and political liberty (Clark & Holquist, 1984, pp. 5–11). Thus, individuals are, "not only objects of authorial discourse but also subjects of their own directly signifying discourses" (p. 7). The struggle between discourses of accountability and compliance, associated with the government's education agenda, and other heterogenous educational discourses associated with teachers' learning takes place in the context of a teacher's

work and life. These contextualized struggles between discourses underpin the problematic that drove this study, particularly in relation to how professional learning for transformed teaching work was locally coordinated.

Bakhtin provides us with a way to acknowledge the essential role that the researcher plays in the construction of meaning through the dialog they are engaged in with the participant. His view is summarized by Clark and Holquist (1984, p. 12) as my "voice can mean, but only with others – at times in chorus, but at the best of times in dialogue." As Voloshinov (1973, p. 85) describes it, meaning or knowledge is made in the space between the speaker and the addressee as a product of sharing dialogue. Thus, the dialogue between a researcher and a participant is not merely an opportunity for one to collect information about the other but rather an opportunity for each to develop new meanings in an authentic sharing of the "word." Bakhtin's view is that

> The speaker strives to get a reading on his own word, and on his own conceptual system that determines this word, within the alien conceptual system of the understanding receiver; he enters into dialogical relationships with certain aspects of this system. (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 282)

Thus what teachers have to say cannot be considered an "isolated, self-sufficient monad" (Gardiner, 2003, p. xi) from which the researcher somehow brackets their influence. The researcher and their informant are involved as speakers in a *shared* experience of meaning construction through dialogic interaction. The analysis of such shared moments should seek not only to reveal the possible meaning of what has been shared but also to preserve the contribution that each speaker has made. Thus, a Bakhtinian framework for analysis would consider the participants' utterance in its entirety against the socio-ideological background of its constitution and the material and relational conditions of its production with respect to the "other" for whom the utterance was intended. "The sign and its social situation are inextricably fused together" (Voloshinov, 1973, p. 37).

Having transcribed each participant's first interview in which they described a learning experience about their work, Bakhtin's influence set the imperative for the development of a form of analysis that would preserve the relationship between the participant's spoken words and the overall context of the story they told. In surveying the work of institutional ethnographers over the past two decades, DeVault and McCoy (2005) note that while institutional ethnographers tend not to use formal coding strategies some do use data analysis software to "chunk," often large sections of, transcripts according to themes or topics (p. 38) as they relate to "particular sites, texts or moments

in the process" (p. 39). They argue against a "prescriptive orthodoxy" when it comes to methods employed in institutional ethnography (IE) and in favor of an understanding of IE as "an emergent mode of inquiry, always subject to revision and the improvization required by new applications" (p. 16). I returned to the interview transcripts of the first research conversation with each participant and as I read through them I listened again to the audio files. It was apparent that the subtleties of meaning conveyed through the speakers' own emphasis, inflexion, pauses, laughter, and even gestures had not been captured in the original transcription process. In his commentary on Bakhtin's approach to language, Eagelton (1996) remarks:

> For Bakhtin, all language, just because it is a matter of social practice, is inescapably shot through with evaluations. Words not only denote objects but imply attitudes to them: the tone in which you say 'Pass the cheese' can signify how you regard me, yourself, the cheese and the situation we are in. (p. 106)

I considered it important, therefore, to the intent of a dialogic analysis to try and capture "tone" wherever possible so as I listened again to the audio recording of each conversation and simultaneously read the transcript I employed a code, based on standard conscription conventions, to mark up the text at key points to serve as reminders of where intonation, phrasing, laughter, and such might contribute to the meaning implied from the spoken words of the text.

The next phase of the dialogic approach presented a problem of how to preserve the context of the "talk" in the research conversation, or evidence, by not isolating stretches of talk for analysis from the context of the transcript as a whole or from the evidence and reflection which goes with it. What was required was a systematic way in which the text of talk might be interrupted at appropriate points to offer an analysis of what was being spoken about or demonstrated in terms of my interpretation of its meaning at that point in the text and in relation to the text as a whole. For Bakhtin, in his dialogic conception, that point is marked by the "utterance" and he tells us that "The very boundaries of the utterance are determined by a change of speaking subjects, that is, a change of speakers" (1986, p. 71). He also says:

> We learn to cast our speech in general forms and, when hearing others' speech, we guess it's genre from the very first words; we predict a certain length (that is, the approximate length of the speech whole) and a certain compositional structure; we foresee the end; that is, from the very beginning we have a sense of the speech whole. (p. 84)

During the research conversation, participants tended to 'run on' from one topic to another often without my intercession, but because of the social

organization (Voloshinov, 1973) existing between us we were able to continue a useful interaction based on certain common understandings of the "languages of social groups, 'professional' … languages" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 272) existing between us. I offer this as justification for the liberties I took in determining the beginning and end of utterances, without necessarily waiting for a change of speaking subject in order to facilitate the insertion of smaller sections of commentary at relevant points. The questions "What is being spoken about here?" and "Are they still speaking about elements which lie within the same subject or theme?" were used to determine where an utterance began and ended, often before the change of speaking subject. I labeled "discourses," used in the way Bakhtin (1986) does to mean "ways of speaking," as they occur within an utterance or part of an utterance in order to reveal contradictions and tensions in what participants were saying. In labeling these discourses, I endeavored to stick with the Bakhtinian notion that primacy belongs to the response and that "a word in the mouth of a particular individual person is a product of the living interaction of social forces" (Voloshinov, 1973, p. 41), but to simultaneously remain conscious that the style and substance of any response is affected by its generation being "*oriented towards an addressee*, toward *who* that addressee might be" (p. 85 emphasis in original). This was important because the transcripts made it quite evident that the way participants spoke to me varied according to who they thought I was. For some, with whom I had had previous professional connections, I was an experienced teacher and facilitator of professional learning, for others with whom I had no prior relationship, I was an academic who might not have known very much at all about teachers, teaching work, or schools.

In the analysis of utterances, I did not attempt to extract quotations for coding but rather employed a method in which I used highlighting combined with "Insert → Comment" within a Word document of the entire transcript,

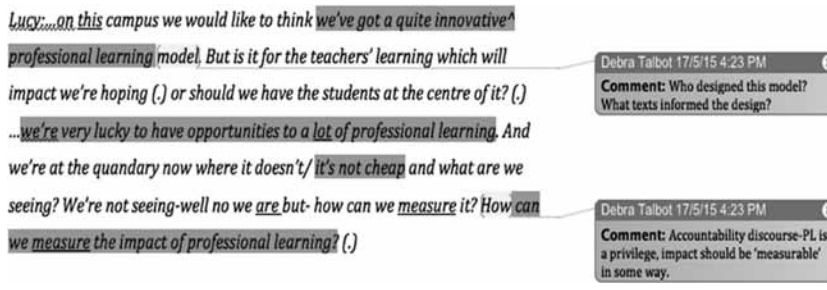


Fig. 1. Talbot (2015).

as in the example above, to draw attention to both discourses and social relationships, including texts, related to the participants learning experience as they recounted it.

This allowed me to review both the meaning I had ascribed to the participant's words in light of the whole transcript and also to review the labels I assigned to various discourses, or ways of speaking. The individual analysis of each first research conversation transcript was then reviewed and reflected on in relation to meaning across each participant's data set as a whole. Knowledge of what participants said later or demonstrated through their 'evidence' presentation afforded interpretation of the significance of talk about their 'doings' and how they linked into social relationships, locally and extralocally (Smith, 2005). Only then was I able to interrupt the flow of the transcripts with moments of commentary that I felt made sense in terms of the meaning-making that the participant and I had shared across the whole set of their three performances, or data collection moments. In each section of commentary itself an exercise in meaning-making informed by my positioning as a researcher immersed in the field of teacher professional learning, I endeavored to highlight how the influences of shared meaning-making in a dialogic interaction between the participant and I, as well as influences acting from other parts of the participants' world, are implicated in what participants had to say about their doings in relation to their professional learning.

While not every part of the original transcript was preserved because, for example, I excised sections where a participant repeated something they had already discussed without adding anything new. I, nevertheless, tried to maintain a sense of the entire data set for each participant and its sociocultural and political situatedness by constructing a text in which the utterances are reported in the order in which they occurred in the original performances, even though they are interrupted at various points by the corresponding analysis. Frank (2005) describes how the authorship of such a text as part of a dialogic research process "offers an account of how researcher and participant came together in some shared time and space and had diverse effects on each other" (p. 968). He maintains that

> dialogical research requires hearing participants' stories not as surrogate observations of their lives outside the interview but as acts of engagement with researchers … The researcher, by specific questions, and even by her or his observing presence, instigates self-reflections that will lead the respondent not merely to report his or her life but to change that life. (Frank, 2005, p. 968)

This method of presenting interview analysis varies slightly from what DeVault and McCoy (2005, pp. 40–41) identify as the two most common

strategies used by institutional ethnographers. The first mode is where the researcher uses the interview data to produce a written analysis in the "writer's voice." The second involves the use of quotations to enhance the description in such a way that the quotations become "exhibits … windows within the text, bringing into view the social organization of my informants' lives for myself and for my readers to examine" (Smith, 1998, p. 312). My method might almost be seen as the reverse of what George Smith is describing here in that my commentary forms the "windows" into the participant's account of their doings. These windows revealed my interpretation while simultaneously acknowledging, through their positioning in a more complete transcript, that it is not the only interpretation that might have been made.

Throughout the analysis of the transcripts, I also sought to identify any talk about social relations involved in the coordination of the doings of the teacher–participant in relation to the learning experience they were describing. These social relations might involve interactions with other people in their school context and interactions with various forms of texts. Texts are defined as follows: words as they might occur in policy documents or teaching resources; images in the form of photographs of classroom displays, diagrams, and video; or sounds such as recordings of interviews, student talk, or music. These texts are set into some material form that is replicable and are of interest because while the influence of a text is noted in the local setting it is also "hooking up an individual's consciousness into relations that are translocal" (Smith, 2006, p. 66). Smith's understanding of the dialogic importance of texts aligns with Bakhtin's distinction of speech genres (Bakhtin, 1986) as not just direct experiences of dialogue but also those that are mediated by texts. An institutional ethnographer is interested in the "differences in the ways in which language coordinates people's doings – that is, whether what people are doing is on interindividual territory anchored in a shared, experiential world or whether the interindividual is a territory anchored in texts" (Smith, 2005, p. 95).

The dialogic analysis of utterances contained in the three performances: initial interview, demonstration of evidence, and reflective interview, provided a rich and particularized view of one person's professional learning. It allowed me to see participants as individuals in the process of becoming, not as "something totally quantified, measured, and defined to the last detail" but rather as being neither "hopelessly predetermined" or "finished off" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 58). It allowed me to examine the struggle between the dominant discourses of compliance and accountability and the subversive discourses related to new imaginings of how best to meet the needs of student learners; the struggle that influenced participant's actions in the world.

The presentation of this dialogic analysis, however, was hopelessly long and made unreasonable demands on any potential reader. A more concise form of representing the analysis was required if the struggle between the textually mediated, centralizing compliance discourses associated with the government's reform agenda and the heterogeneous, subversive discourses particular to each teachers' context were to be appreciated by a wider audience. The way in which this struggle played out for each individual participant was important to the social relations that had supported, or not, their transformative professional learning experience. The need for a concise form of representation of the social relations that had supported each teacher's transformative learning experience led to the development of "informant specific maps" (Talbot, 2015).

PRODUCING INFORMANT SPECIFIC MAPS

The Bakhtinian analysis, as in the case of Lucy described above, made it apparent that while similarities existed from one teaching context to another there were also differences in the ways in which heterogenous discourses had arisen, been struggled over, been supported, and had, in turn, supported the transformative learning of individual teachers. In describing how a researcher might conduct an institutional ethnography Smith draws attention to several key features including ensuring that the study "represents some kind of range of potential differences (this doesn't mean a large sample)" and includes "observing the work or using informants in different positions and assembling them as sequences" (2005, p. 211) of actions. The function of these "sequences" she says, is to check "out what she or he has learned from others" and to examine "how the person positioned next in a sequence picks up and builds on what has been done at the previous stage." Through sequences of action contained in such maps "(t)ranslocal forms of coordinating people's work are explored as they are to be found in the actual ways in which coordination is locally accomplished" (Smith, 2005, p. 38). The coordination of activity is achieved through interactions with other people together with the role of "texts as major coordinators" (p. 211) of the doings of people involved in the sequence. Further, Smith claims that incorporating "texts into sequences of action establishes a double reach: the first as coordinator of work done by people positioned differently in a social relation (conceived as a sequence of action)" (2005, p. 213). In the case of a single school context, this would require an examination of the way in which texts developed by one person or group within that local context influence the actions of other

people within the same context. The second she sees "as the textual coordinating of a particular person's or group of people's work in a particular local setting with the regulatory intertextuality of the institutional hierarchy that standardizes across multiple settings and through time" which in the case of teachers' work, represents the interaction between local people and locally produced texts with extralocal documents such as the curriculum and the professional standards.

As with this inquiry, mapping the social relations, that is, the connections among work processes, is adopted by many institutional ethnographers as a means of "highlight(ing) the analytic goal of explication rather than theory building" (DeVault, 2006, p. 294). In most studies, the mapping of sequences of relations is represented in the form of a written description where each "stage or step orients to the work with which it coordinates sequentially; each next stage or step articulates to the foregoing and defines it as well as orients to what follows" (Smith, 2005, p. 162). Though in some cases, such as the work of Turner (2003), investigating how municipal planning organizes land development, the maps of social and textual relations have been presented in diagrammatic form. Turner makes her maps to provide "an account of the day-to-day text-based work and local discourse practices that produce and shape the dynamic ongoing activities of an institution" (2006, p. 139), namely, a municipal planning authority. The map represents a "process" built from a careful tracing of the "doings" of individual informants, but these informants do not feature as entities in the map. She uses labeled symbols to represent such things as institutional actors, texts, the site, the public process, and the planning process. Her diagrams summarize the connections between components and, sometimes, look almost like a flowchart of steps, while at other times, they are a complex arrangement of interconnected subgroups. As Turner says, the "diagram is of course not exhaustive. There is always more that goes on than we can see and make visible in this kind of textual representation" (2006, p. 146). The diagrams do however, layout the analysis of the social relations in a visual text that affords different opportunities for activation by the reader than would a written text.

A contrasting use of diagrams to map the social relations revealed by an institutional ethnography may be found in the work of Daniel (2004). The focus of her work is to represent the social relations that result in what she calls "a 'textualized' child" (p. 101) as a student with special needs is turned into a case folder for the purpose of a funding application. In her mapping of the relations involved in the production of a funding claim, it is the various forms of texts that are the focus. Daniel connects symbols representing

one form of text to another text in order to represent the flow of work processes. People, as actors in this "textual work" (p. 92), are included as they relate to the production of each text. In Daniel's completed map it is clear that "texts" play the major role in "governing" people's "doings" rather than the actions of and interactions with other people such as co-workers. The finished map represents the process that turns a living child into a funding application, but it is not representative of any one child's experience. In both Turner's and Daniel's maps, we are provided with a visual means of examining the contextualized doings of people, in the sense that the maps arise from the study of a particular context. These maps represent processes of coordination within a particular context, one municipality and one school board, respectively, but they have not been utilized in either of these research studies to allow for decontextualized comparisons that may support the recognition of generalizable patterns across contextualized instances (Opfer & Pedder, 2011, p. 381), say between other municipal planning authorities or other school boards.

The sequences of interest took a slightly different form in my inquiry from those described above and indeed, many reported in other studies informed by institutional ethnography in that they followed the way in which the *same* person picked up on the influences of other people and texts implicated in the coordination of work processes associated with their learning to inform their next action. This represents a significant variation on the way such maps have previously been constructed by institutional ethnographers in that my 'informant specific maps' (ISM) do not seek to represent a process of how social relations influence the professional learning of a generalized teacher built up from a number of accounts of the doings of teachers in relation to professional learning in a given context. My maps are a part of the analytical methods and the individual teacher informant, as the subject of the social relations associated with their personal professional learning, remains very much present in each of the informant-specific maps.

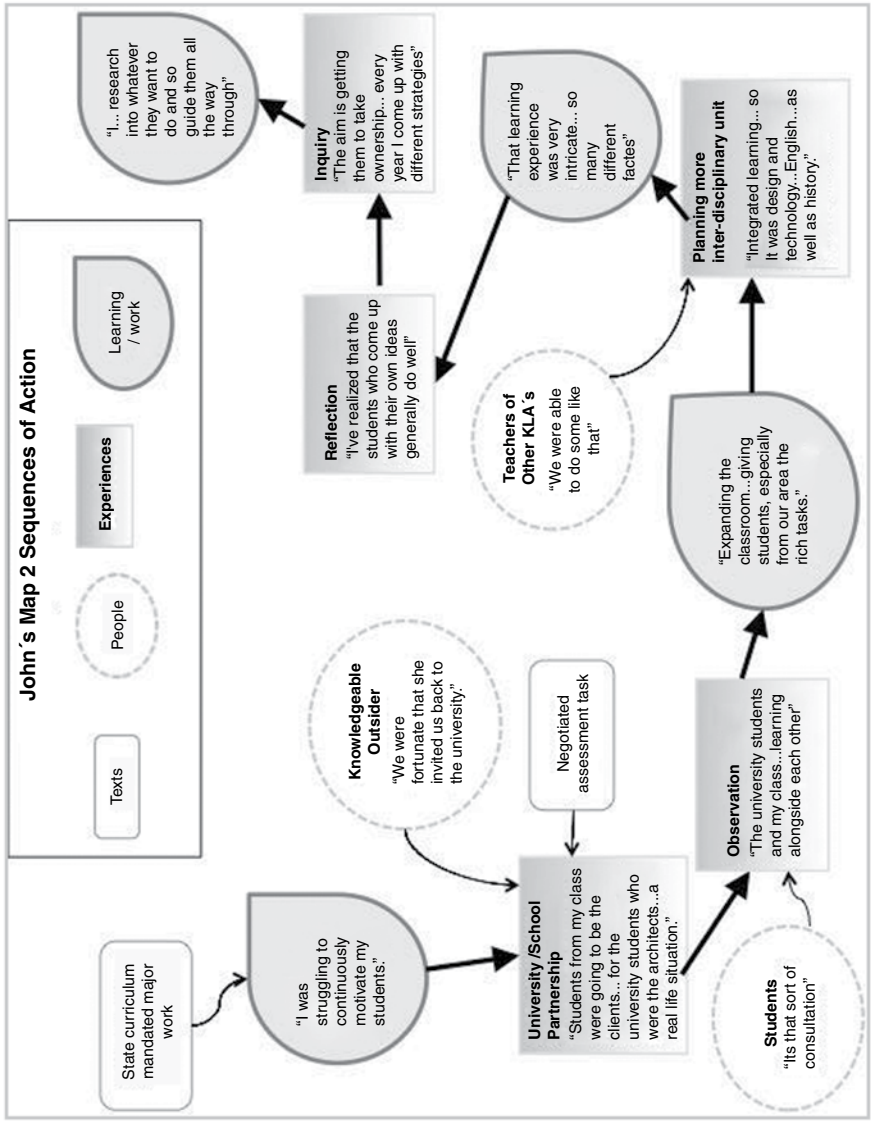
The need for this variation on the production and use of mapping social relations, I believe, was justified by the Bahktinian analysis of interview transcripts that demonstrated the highly personalized, within the contextualized, and varied set of social relations that supported each teacher's transformative professional learning. Each of the teacher maps was formulated according to the analysis of what each teacher had described and demonstrated through their three performances, of how other people, experiences within and outside their workplace and texts had influenced the 'learning about teaching work' processes for them. The maps reveal the dominant influences on a teacher's learning about their work, as they described it, and allow for comparison of

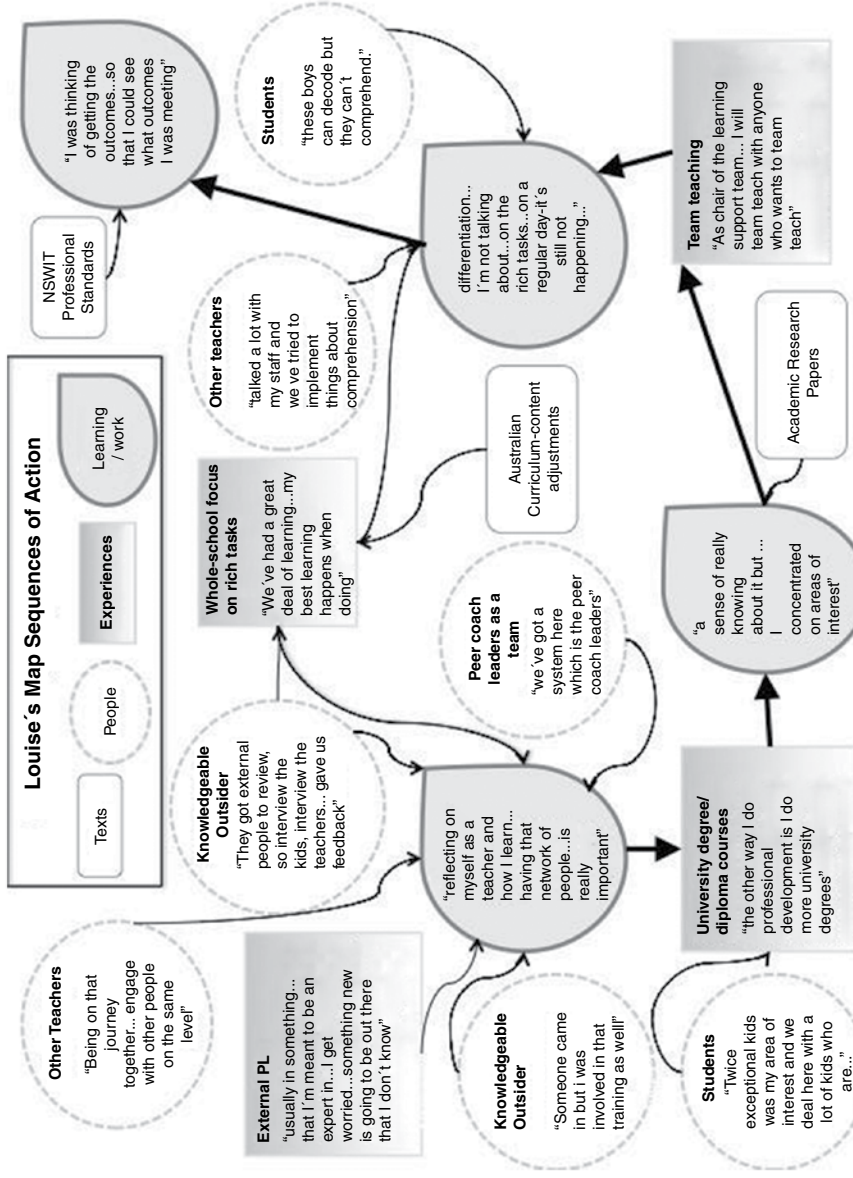
teachers' learning about their work both within the context of a particular school and across different schools.

The dialogic analysis pointed to three major influences: people, experiences, and texts. The visual portrayal in symbols, selected for each of these influences, provides for instant recognition of the presence, absence, and relative frequency of relations with people, texts, or other experiences that make up the sequence of action influencing the learning or the work for each individual. One of the aims of this study was to identify the characteristics of the learning experiences that teachers identified in their stories about their learning. Of course, these experiences were largely designed, delivered by and involved other people and so the distinction between people and experiences was often difficult to make. For the purposes of my mapping analysis, however, it allowed me to keep some clarity between general design principles of effective professional learning and the personal nature of social relations that support or inhibit professional learning. The textual influences included any reference to either professional standards or externally set curriculum, as well as any other text involved in the sequence of action. Text was taken to mean "words or images with some definite material form that is capable of replication" (Smith, 2005, p. 166) and as such includes transcripts of talk from interviews or online forums, books, research papers, reports, policy documents, photographs, video, and websites. Bold arrows on each map indicate the main flow of a participant's doings, particularly as it relates to changes in their thinking about, or execution of their teaching work. Each of the participants had demonstrated evidence and reflected on the veracity of their evidence in support of their claims that their learning had transformed their teaching work. The demonstration of evidence lends credibility to the maps in that we can be confident that the social relations represented in the maps have in fact, supported transformative professional learning. Rather than attaching only a label to each symbol, I also included a quotation from the teacher's transcript as further explanation for the selections of symbols and connections that I made.

THE COORDINATION OF PEOPLE'S DOINGS

As exemplars, I have selected the maps of three of my participants to illustrate what the maps revealed about within-context and across-context similarities in the coordination of teachers' learning about their work. The first two maps provide the analysis for John and Louise, two teachers from "Suburban Sydney High School." Louise was a teacher of some 12 years' experience who,

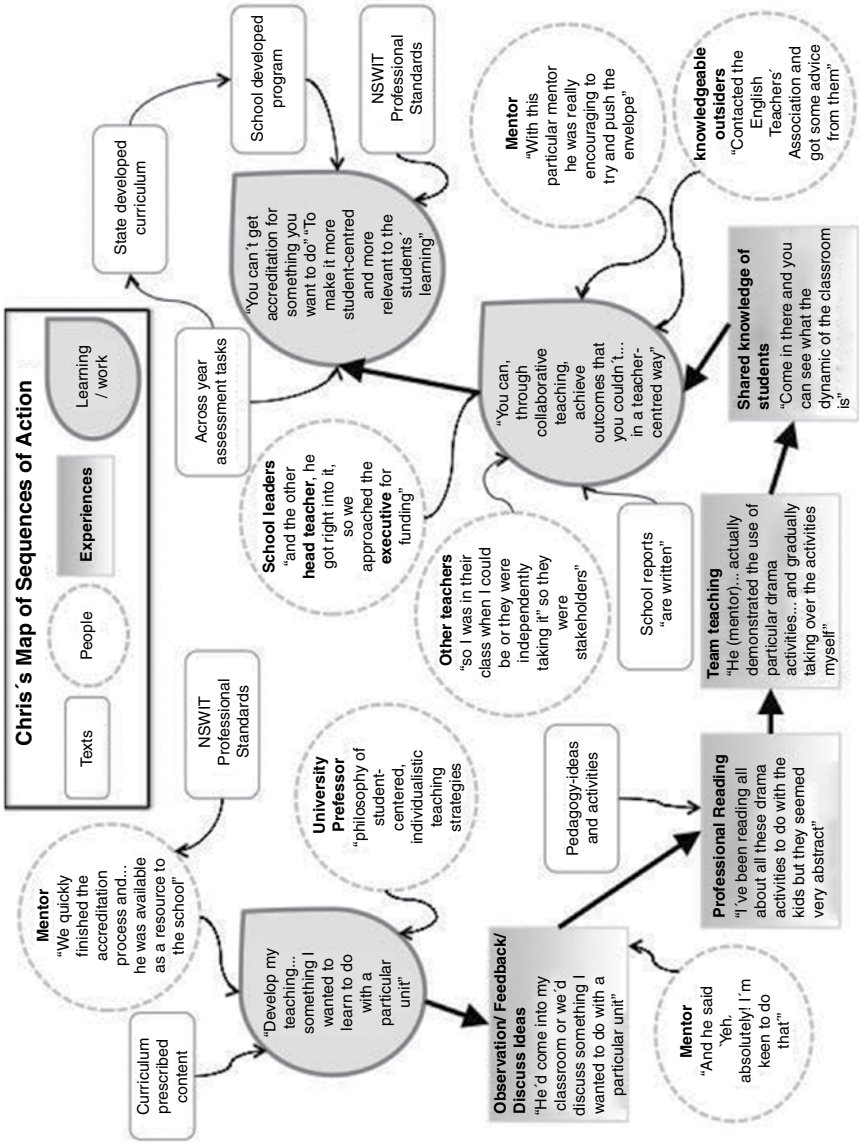

John´s Map 2 Sequences of Action
Texts
People
Experiences
Learning / work
State curriculum mandated major work
"I was struggling to continuously motivate my students."
University /School Partnership
"Students from my class were going to be the clients... for the university students who were the architects...a real life situation."
Knowledgeable Outsider
"We were fortunate that she invited us back to the university."
Negotiated assessment task
Students
"Its that sort of consultation"
Observation
"The university students and my class...learning alongside each other"
Reflection
"I've realized that the students who come up with their own ideas generally do well"
Inquiry
"The aim is getting them to take ownership... every year I come up with different strategies"
"I... research into whatever they want to do and so guide them all the way through"
Teachers of Other KLA´s
"We were able to do some like that"
"That learning experience was very intricate... so many different facets"
"Expanding the classroom...giving students, especially from our area the rich tasks."
Planning more inter-disciplinary unit
"Integrated learning... so It was design and technology...English...as well as history."


Louise´s Map Sequences of Action
Texts
People
Experiences
Learning / work
Other Teachers
"Being on that journey together... engage with other people on the same level"
External PL
"usually in something... that I´m meant to be an expert in...I get worried...something new is going to be out there that I don´t know"
Knowledgeable Outsider
"They got external people to review, so interview the kids, interview the teachers... gave us feedback"
Knowledgeable Outsider
"Someone came in but i was involved in that training as well"
Students
"Twice exceptional kids was my area of interest and we deal here with a lot of kids who are.."
"reflecting on myself as a teacher and how I learn... having that network of people...is really important"
Whole-school focus on rich tasks
"We´ve had a great deal of learning...my best learning happens when doing"
Peer coach leaders as a team
"we´ve got a system here which is the peer coach leaders"
University degree/ diploma courses
"the other way I do professional development is I do more university degrees"
Other teachers
"talked a lot with my staff and we ve tried to implement things about comprehension"
Australian Curriculum-content adjustments
NSWIT Professional Standards
"I was thinking of getting the outcomes...so that I could see what outcomes I was meeting"
Students
"these boys can decode but they can´t comprehend."
differentiation... I´m not talking about...on the rich tasks...on a regular day-it´s still not happening..."
"a sense of really knowing about it but ... I concentrated on areas of interest"
Academic Research Papers
Team teaching
"As chair of the learning support team... I will team teach with anyone who wants to team teach"

at the time of interview, had not been required to be accredited against professional standards. John had 6 years of experience and had been accredited against professional standards approximately 2 years prior to the interview. The third map, that of Chris, is from a different school context. Chris was an early career teacher who had been accredited against professional standards less than 1 year prior to the interview.

The maps for John and Louise demonstrate fewer textual influences on their professional learning experience than do the maps for some of the other participants in the study. The most influential governing text for John and Louise was the new *Australian Curriculum* (ACARA, 2012) as they worked to analyze their current teaching practice against the requirements of this new curriculum document. John and Louise, however, both strongly acknowledge the coordination of professional learning through the social relations that have been established within their school. The local coordinating text for these social relations was later discovered to be *The Teaching and Learning Wheel. The Wheel* is an important local text – a synthesis resulting from the localized activation of externally produced texts for the particular context of Suburban Sydney High School. John and Louise's maps demonstrate that *The Wheel* too is subject to "text-reader conversations" that are "embedded in and organize local settings of work" (Smith, 2005, p. 166). *The Wheel* is not mentioned by either John or Louise, however, they do speak about the importance to their professional learning of several of the key structures described in *The Wheel*, particularly the peer coaching teams and the multidisciplinary teams. These teams have provided essential support for these teachers to inquire collectively into their practice, develop new pedagogies, implement cross-curricula units of work designed to enhance student engagement, and evaluate students' responses to these initiatives. Knowledgeable outsiders were put to good use in the provision of specialist content knowledge tailored to meet teachers' learning needs within their local context and also as critical friends in the evaluation of the learning for students that resulted from the teachers' learning. Both of these teachers conveyed a sound understanding of how the various aspects and arrangements for professional learning were led within their school and how these aspects articulated and contributed to the overall focus on improving outcomes for the students in this particular school.

Chris's story of his transformative learning experience centered on the work he did with Sam, his mentor. Sam worked within this school to assist beginning teachers, like Chris, to complete the accreditation process against the professional teaching standards for the purposes of teacher registration. This accreditation work, however, was not part of the learning that Chris


Chris´s Map of Sequences of Action
Texts
People
Experiences
Learning / work
Curriculum prescribed content
Mentor "We quickly finished the accreditation process and... he was available as a resource to the school"
NSWIT Professional Standards
"Develop my teaching... something I wanted to learn to do with a particular unit"
University Prefessor "philosophy of student-centered, individualistic teaching strategies
Pedagogy-ideas and activities
Observation/ Feedback/ Discuss Ideas "He´d come into my classroom or we´d discuss something I wanted to do with a particular unit"
Mentor "And he said Yeh, absolutely! I´m keen to do that"
Professional Reading "I´ve been reading all about all these drama activities to do with the kids but they seemed very abstract"
Team teaching "He (mentor)... actually demonstrated the use of particular drama activities... and gradually taking over the activities myself"
Shared knowledge of students "Come in there and you can see what the dynamic of the classroom is"
knowledgeable outsiders "Contacted the English Teachers´ Association and got some advice from them"
Mentor "With this particular mentor he was really encouraging to try and push the envelope"
"You can, through collaborative teaching, achieve outcomes that you couldn´t... in a teacher-centred way"
Other teachers "so I was in their class when I could be or they were independently taking it" so they were stakeholders"
School reports "are written"
School leaders "and the other head teacher, he got right into it, so we approached the executive for funding"
Across year assessment tasks
"You can´t get accreditation for something you want to do" "To make it more student-centred and more relevant to the students´ learning"
State developed curriculum
School developed program
NSWIT Professional Standards

spoke about. Rather, the real learning started after the accreditation process had been completed and the map picks up the story from that point. As with John and Louise's maps, Chris' map reveals the influence of various extra-local and local texts and adds further emphasis to the importance of people and experiences. Chris' map reveals the influence of the professional standards as a governing text at two points: at the beginning of his story and then again at the end. The need to support beginning teachers with the process of accreditation against professional standards led to Sam's appointment as a mentor in the school where Chris worked. The standards might, therefore, be seen as a positive influence on the social relations for transformative learning for without them Chris may not have enjoyed Sam's support in the learning that came later. At the end of his story, however, the standards are portrayed as a constraining influence on the kind of learning that teachers like Chris value. Chris talked about his frustration with the state-based texts associated with the maintenance of accreditation against the professional standards. He said, "what it's morphing into is just another task you have to perform and have evidence that is really at odds with what we're trying to do – if I'm into student-centered learning why am I as a teacher being taught by teacher-centered methods. It's a colossal waste of money" (Talbot, 2016, p. 21).

The aim of the map-making was not to enable generalizations as if they could, by extension, be applied to all school contexts but rather to enable recognition of "the relations that connect one local site to others" (Smith, 2005, p. 29). That is, "to find and describe social processes that have generalizing effects … The general relevance of the inquiry comes, then, not from a claim that local settings are similar, but from the capacity of the research to disclose features of ruling that operate across many local settings" (Smith, 2006, p. 18). The informant specific maps (ISM) kept the representation of social relations operating within a particular context open enough to allow for "the exploration of patterned behavior of agents interacting locally according to their own principles, beliefs and interests" before attempting to determine the "common affordances and patterns of evolution" (Opfer & Pedder, 2011, p. 396) by making comparisons across maps. In that sense, the most significant feature of ruling that I saw across the maps from one informant to another, as well as from one site to the next was the importance of those acting in the role of what I have called, "professional learning architect" (PLA; Talbot, 2015). The PLA was not in every case, a person who occupied a formalized leadership or managerial role, but they were able to contribute to decisions and processes related to the "practice architectures" (Kemmis, 2009, p. 266) within the local context. They were able to exert some influence over the

social-material arrangements existing within the school context to ensure that conditions supported transformative learning.

CONCLUSION

The analytical techniques explored in this chapter were designed to reveal how the influence of governing texts played out differently for individual teachers within and across a variety of school contexts. The theoretical work of Bakhtin and Voloshinov was used to develop a dialogic analysis of research conversations about teachers' learning revealing the existence of both centralizing, hegemonic discourses associated with a managerial agenda and contextualized, heterogeneous discourses supportive of transformative learning. From the dialogic analysis of the actual doings of individual teachers, informant specific maps (ISM) were generated as an analytical tool to trace the influence of not only texts but also that of other people and experiences involved in a particular teacher's learning about and enactment of their teaching work. The dialogic analysis in combination with the mapping process also revealed the uneven influence of extralocally produced governing texts on both the locally produced texts and the doings of individuals. This production and use of individual maps represents a variation on the way mapping has generally been used by institutional ethnographers. While the informant specific maps are not intended as a stepping stone to sweeping generalizations they do allow for the observation of some broad patterns in relation to the coordination of teachers' doings at the frontline of schooling.

The types of government policies that contribute to the context in which this study is situated position teachers as the last in line of a management hierarchy that seeks to replace professional trust with standardization of work processes, licensing, performance targets, and accountability (Evetts, 2009) for what they teach and for the students' results on standardized tests. The possibility of opportunities for teachers to engage with professional learning that enables them to question whether or not students' needs are being met within such a regime and also to design appropriate learning experiences to meet identified needs may be impinged by such mechanisms of control and accountability. This is especially worth considering given that it is this same regime that 'licenses' the professional learning opportunities with which teachers are required to engage in order to maintain their accreditation as a teacher.

It seems that spaces for transformative professional learning would need to be invented independently of a standardizing regime that may not, of

itself, support such practices. At the time of the inquiry reported on here, not all teachers were required to engage with the professional standards and processes of accreditation and the spaces for transformative learning that existed may well be signifiers of the "maneuverability" (Smith, 2005) that still existed during this time. Maintaining such spaces for transformative learning as greater demands are made on teachers' time and energy by processes of accreditation against lists of technical skills may require a great deal of invention. While Connell encourages us that "there are certainly enough lively minds in the teaching workforce to be confident that invention will come" (2013, p. 110) it remains to be seen at what cost as teachers struggle against new public management.

NOTES

1. AITSL is the *Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership*.
2. ACARA is *The Australian Curriculum and Assessment Authority*.
3. Program for International Student Assessment.

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