The Politics of Teacher Professionalism in Teacher Unions: A Case Study of Aotearoa New Zealand

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Abstract

Teacher unions are important policy actors in many English-speaking jurisdictions; however, few studies have examined the role of teacher unions in shaping teacher-related education policies. This study critically analyses how teacher unions frame teacher professionalism discourses in New Zealand. Adopting a critical education policy scholarship approach, the study positions teacher professionalism discourses within their socio-political contexts. It explores how the meanings of teacher professionalism have been constructed and how teacher unions have shaped these discourses since the late 1980s. This study chose the two main teacher unions in Aotearoa New Zealand, the New Zealand Educational Institute, Te Riu Roa (NZEI) and the New Zealand Post-Primary Teachers' Association, Te Wehengarua (PPTA). Data were collected from documents and archival material, as well as through elite interviews with 24 union leaders, including national presidents, secretaries, executive members, and senior union officials. Data analysis followed a broadly grounded theory method: from codes to themes.

Findings highlight the political nature of the teaching profession. Three key findings are identified in this study. First, the teacher unions articulate explicitly counter-professionalism discourses to those of dominant official discourses. The teacher unions tend to emphasise the complexity and relational aspects of teaching, collaboration and collegiality, and trust in the teaching profession. Second, the teacher unions are often actively involved in developing democratic professionalism by mobilising teachers to exercise their agency and by collaborating with other policy actors. Third, the meanings of the professional role of the teacher unions have been enlarged over the last 30 years, explicitly expressing their concern about broader educational and social issues. By doing this, the teacher unions intend to improve their legitimacy as teachers' representatives and increase their political influence. Overall, this study suggests that the teacher unions, as collective actors, navigate the tensions and sometimes conflicts between the teaching profession and government in the process of constructing teacher professionalism discourses.

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List of Abbreviations

BoTs	Boards of trustees
CoLs	Communities of Learning, Kāhui Ako
DoE	Department of Education
EDUCANZ	Education Council of Aotearoa New Zealand
ERO	Education Review Office
MoE	Ministry of Education
NZCER	New Zealand Council for Educational Research
NZEI	New Zealand Educational Institute, Te Riu Roa
NZQA	New Zealand Qualifications Authority
PPTA	New Zealand Post-Primary Teachers' Association, Te Wehengarua
PLD	Professional Learning and Development
TCA	Teaching Council Aotearoa

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Research internationally has shown that the neoliberal educational reform has posed significant challenges to teachers' professional lives over the last 30 years (Apple, 2013; Ball, 2003b; Stevenson, 2008): teachers have lost their sense of ownership of their work and become more resistant as a consequence of the education reforms (Sachs, 2016); and they needed more support for their professional development from their unions (McCollow, 2017; Osmond-Johnson, 2015). As a response, there was a call for teacher unions to actively exercise their collective agency and increase their role in professional issues (Stevenson & Gilliland, 2015). However, although teacher unions have emphasised their role in shaping teacher professionalism discourses in recent decades, relatively few studies have explored this area (Cowen & Strunk, 2014; Osmond-Johnson, 2018). Existing studies have been mostly limited to North American and European contexts (e.g., Adelberg, 2008; Bascia, 1992; Lilja, 2014a; Mausethagen & Granlund, 2012; Osmond-Johnson, 2015; Sullivan, 2009). Moreover, many such studies tended to explore the professional role of teacher unions from the perspectives of individual teachers (e.g., Adelberg, 2008; Bascia, 1992; Sullivan, 2009). Little research has been conducted from the perspective of teacher unions themselves, as collective actors, and how they shape professionalism discourses (Johnson et al., 2009). Furthermore, Bascia (2004) argued that the professional role of teacher unions has tended to be overlooked by researchers. The role of teacher unions remains relatively unclear and under-theorised (McCollow, 2017).

Accordingly, this study explored the professional role of teacher unions in New Zealand from the perspective of teacher unions as collective actors. Teacher unions in New Zealand play a crucial and active role in educational debates and educational policy. There is also a perceived need, at least in the public eye, for teacher unions to redefine their role and improve their professional role in the current social context (Morris & Patterson, 2013). Thus, it was decided to explore how teacher unions shape teacher professionalism discourses. This study used a qualitative case study approach to investigate how the two main teacher unions (NZEI and PPTA) in New Zealand have framed teacher professionalism discourses since the major schooling system reforms of the late 1980s. The study contributes to deepening the understanding of the professional role of teacher unions in contemporary socio-political

contexts and adds to the emergent research that highlights teacher unions' collective agency in education reforms. By doing this, this study also sheds new light on the clarification and theorisation of the role of teacher unions.

1.2 "Administering for Excellence": The Tomorrow's Schools Reforms

In this study, it became apparent early on that the contemporary positioning of teacher unions in the discursive language, practices and relations of schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand was significantly shaped by a series of structural adjustments that took place in the 1980s and 1990s, the effects of which continue to be felt throughout the schooling sector. These structural adjustments are colloquially referred to as the Tomorrow's Schools reforms, named after the policy paper released in 1988 by the then Prime Minister and Minister of Education, Hon David Lange.

In New Zealand, the great majority of decision-making power in the schooling system had been centralised in the state for more than a century (from the late 1870s to the late 1980s). However, with the announcement of the Taskforce to Review Education Administration in 1987, and the subsequent release of its final report, Administering for Excellence: Effective Administration in Education (the Picot report), the education system increasingly came to be viewed as inflexible and outdated (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988). In response, the government announced Tomorrow's Schools, which adopted most of the Picot recommendations. Broadly, Tomorrow's Schools aimed to increase the flexibility and effectiveness of the schooling system by fundamentally restructuring educational administration and governance. Schools became highly self-managed, with parent-led boards of trustees in charge of the school governance and principals as chief executives taking responsibility for school staffing and operations (Alliston, 2019). The new model of boards of trustees aimed to increase parents' and communities' involvement in schools' decision-making (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988). Boards of trustees appointed the school principal, and became teachers' legal employers. Schools were intended to run more like businesses, emphasising performance, accountability and efficiency (Capper & Munro, 1990).

Alongside the educational administration reforms, the government introduced curriculum and assessment changes throughout the 1990s and early 2000s. These changes served to increase governments' central control of schools (Codd, 1990a; McKenzie, 1999)

and generate aggregate student achievement data to inform parents' 'choice' of school (O'Neill, 2010). In other words, while schools would have a high level of autonomy and decision rights, central government agencies still had a high level of control over them by highlighting standards, external accountability and constant surveillance. In retrospect, it can been seen that the education reforms since the late 1980s have consistently emphasised the importance of decentralisation (and centralisation), marketisation, competition and efficiency of the education system (Codd, 1990a; Thrupp & Irwin, 2010). This emphasis was perceived as an abrupt ideological change from social democratic participation and equity to marketisation and managerialism (Thrupp & Irwin, 2010). Some researchers highlighted the evident contradictions between social-democratic ideologies and marketisation, equity and efficiency/choice, and between managerialism and professionalism (Capper & Munro, 1990; Codd, 1990a, 2005a). Notably, at the time Tomorrow's Schools merely referred to the reform of education administration in schooling. Since then, the Tomorrow's Schools reforms have become almost a catch-all term to refer to a wide range of schooling policy innovation and reform to the present day, including performance-related pay, NCEA, and National Standards.

For the purpose of the present study, it is important to note that the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms fundamentally changed the nature of teachers as professionals and their unions (Codd, 2005b; O'Neill, 2010). Before the late 1980s, teachers and their unions were viewed as professional partners in the education policy process (O'Neill, 2010), participating in a wider range of education issues at the local and national levels, ranging from curriculum and assessment policy formulation to implementation (Gordon, 1992). However, with the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms, teachers came to be treated more as state employees/workers or functionaries who were expected merely to focus on implementing policies rather than as professionals who exercise professional judgement and democratic participation in the formulation of education policy. In a similar vein, teacher unions came to be positioned as vested interest groups; and their former legitimated participation in a wide range of educational policy issues was fundamentally undermined (Capper & Munro, 1990; Codd, 2005a; O'Neill, 2010). Consequently, it was reported very soon after the structural adjustments to schooling that teachers had lost their sense of ownership of their profession and professional status (Capper & Munro, 1990).

1.3 Origin of the Study

During my previous studies in China, the debate on the legal status of teachers caught my attention. Most scholars in China argue that teachers should be defined as civil servants in order to protect teachers' interests and improve teachers' social status (Han & Pang, 2010; Lao, 2011). It seems reasonable to make this argument when considering that the teaching profession is mediated by the state. However, I was concerned that teachers' state-worker status might also lead teachers to experience excessive bureaucratic-style management. This concern was echoed in the research by Lo and Ye (2017) and Lo (2019), who argued that primary and secondary school teachers in China suffer from this kind of excessive bureaucratic management, and consequently, are not treated as professionals. Within this context, I argue that teachers should be treated as professionals rather than state workers or technical-skilled workers, who should therefore have sufficient professional autonomy. As part of this, teachers themselves should actively exercise their agency in defining teacher professionalism. With this idea in mind, I searched for Anglo-American and European literature on alternative approaches to teacher professionalism. The role of teacher unions in teachers' working lives caught my attention. In China, teacher unions are government-led associations and play hardly any role in teachers' work lives (Guo, 2004; Lo & Ye, 2017; X. Zhang, 2016). Union leaders are appointed by the government, which leads to the unions relying heavily on the government, making it difficult for them to influence education policy (S. Zhang, 2016). In other words, the government faces little resistance from teacher unions in the process of developing education policy (Guo, 2004). With the above in mind, I was interested in the function of teacher unions in promoting teacher professionalism in western countries. Therefore, I chose the professional role of teacher unions as my research topic.

1.4 Thesis Structure

The thesis is structured into eight chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the study topic, presents the origin of the study and gives an overview of the thesis. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature in two main areas: teacher professionalism, including organisational and democratic professionalism; and the role of teacher unions in shaping teacher professionalism discourses. Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical framework and outlines the procedure for conducting a case study. It also answers why a critical education policy scholarship approach and a case study method were suitable for this study. Finally, it discusses the data collection and analysis approaches used in this research. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present the findings of the

study: Chapter 4 outlines the findings from mainstream media; Chapters 5 and 6 present the findings of the two cases, relating to NZEI and PPTA, respectively. The findings in each case are organised into two themes: the impacts of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms on the teaching profession; and the politicisation of the teaching profession. Chapter 7 discusses the findings presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. It is organised according to the four research questions, which collectively provide descriptions and interpretations of the meanings of teacher professionalism used by the two teacher unions over the last 30 years. Chapter 8 provides a conclusion to the study. It summarises the findings of the study, presents its contributions to the existing literature on the professional role of teacher unions and provides recommendations for policy actors and further research.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

Teacher unions are important policy actors in the education policy area; however, there is a lack of research on the role and influence of teacher unions in education policy and the impact of education policy on teacher unions in New Zealand and many other English-speaking and advanced economy jurisdictions (Alison & Aikin, 2013; Bangs & MacBeath, 2012; Carter et al., 2010). Bascia (2004) explained that education policy analysis focuses on "the educational system's formal administrative and decision-making structures, to which unions are peripheral and whose priorities often have seemed rather diverse" (p. 343). Nevertheless, there is emergent research in other jurisdictions focusing on the role of teacher unions in shaping teacher professionalism discourses (e.g., Bascia & Osmond, 2012; Mausethagen & Granlund, 2012; Stevenson, 2008). To date, few studies have explored the role of teacher unions in influencing education policy in New Zealand. Thus, the current study attempted to analyse how teacher unions frame teacher professionalism discourses in the New Zealand context.

This chapter begins with an overview of teacher professionalisation and professionalism. It also defines organisational and democratic professionalism. This is followed by an overview of the professional role of teacher unions and the ways teacher unions shape teacher professionalism discourses. To address the situation that little literature was found in New Zealand, the literature in other jurisdictions was also reviewed to provide useful perspectives for exploring the professional role of teacher unions in New Zealand. This chapter then looks at the role of teacher unions in developing democratic professionalism. It highlights the political aspect of professional issues and the critical positioning of teacher unions towards the forms of managerial professionalism introduced by the vernacular neoliberal education reforms (i.e., the Tomorrow's Schools reforms).

2.1 The Politics of Teacher Professionalism

The literature focused on two types of teacher professionalism: managerial professionalism and democratic professionalism. It was argued that managerial professionalism characterises teacher-related education policy and poses significant challenges to the teaching profession. Democratic professionalism was perceived as a way to deal with these challenges. It was also argued that the different types of teacher professionalism

discourses are used by different policy actors to advocate their own ideas and achieve their goals.

2.1.1 Teacher Professionalisation and Professionalism

Previous research has identified different forms of teacher professionalisation and professionalism (Evetts, 2009; Sachs, 2016). For example, Evetts (2006, 2009, 2011) proposed two types of professionalism, namely: occupational professionalism (or professionalisation "from within") and organisational professionalism (or professionalisation "from above"). The discourses of occupational professionalism are framed within the profession, emphasising professional autonomy and self-regulation, as well as trust between professionals and clients and managers (Evetts, 2011). In organisational professionalism, managers use professionalism discourses to increase their control over professionals' work, stressing standardisation and external regulations (Evetts, 2009). Sachs (2016) further develops the notion of occupational professionalism and organisational professionalism, which she uses as terms of democratic professionalism and managerial professionalism. Democratic professionalism stresses the collegial relationships among teachers and collaborating with other policy actors (e.g., students, parents and wider communities). Managerial professionalism emphasises performance, standards and accountability. Occupational professionalism and organisational professionalism, or democratic professionalism and managerial professionalism are ideal models of professionalism; in practice, they may coexist and sometimes mutually reinforce (Evetts, 2009, 2011; Sachs, 2016). Also, according to McClelland (1990), the relationship between "professionalization and bureaucratization", "professional autonomy and public control", as well as the interests of the profession and the public, can be mutually inclusive (p. 112).

Previous studies have also shown that teachers (and their unions) and governments tend to maintain markedly different understandings of teacher professionalism (Alexander et al., 2019; Sachs, 2016; Whitty, 2000). According to Sachs (2016), while governments adopt discourses of managerial professionalism (or organisational professionalism), teachers subscribe to democratic professionalism (or occupational professionalism) discourses. It has been argued in the literature that managerial professionalism dominates teacher-related policies, emphasising teacher performativity, control, accountability and competitiveness (Alexander et al., 2019; Whitty, 2000). As a response, it has been argued that teacher unions provide a platform for exploring alternative discourses to the dominant official discourse of teacher professionalism (Ball et al., 2011; Osmond-Johnson, 2018; Stevenson et al., 2020). It is also

believed that teacher professionalism discourses are used both by governments to gain control over the teaching profession and by teachers and their unions to protect their occupation from government interventions (Ozga & Lawn, 2017). In other words, different teacher professionalism discourses are used to mobilise the special interests of different policy actors (Stevenson et al., 2007). Moreover, Sachs (2003) noted that as different policy actors tended to form the meanings of teacher professionalism from different perspectives, it became hard to reach an agreement on its definition. In this regard, she argued that teacher professionalism had become a competitive arena of various ideologies.

Drawing on the concepts of Evetts (2006, 2009, 2011) and Sachs (2003, 2016), the current study adopted the premise that while governments generally adopt the discourses of managerial professionalism (or organisational professionalism), teacher unions subscribe to democratic professionalism discourses (or occupational professionalism). In managerial professionalism, governments tend to use professionalism discourses to increase control over teachers' work by emphasising standards, performance, accountability and external regulation. While in democratic professionalism, teachers and their unions highlight professional autonomy, collegial relations, trust and collaboration. These are two ideal types of teacher professionalism; in practice, the meanings of teacher professionalism are complex and keep changing over time. The current study uses the terms managerial professionalism and democratic professionalism as defined above, focusing on mapping the competing and shifting meanings of teacher professionalism.

2.1.2 Managerial Professionalism: Performance Management and Politicisation

Managerial professionalism has been perceived as a threat to the teaching profession in many jurisdictions, such as the United States and England (Evetts, 2009, 2011; Milner, 2013; Stevenson & Gilliland, 2015). For example, Evetts (2009) identified some negative effects of managerial professionalism in practice, such as the limited time spent on real teaching activities, standardisation undermining teachers' motivation to be innovative and creative, the neglect of immeasurable aspects of teachers' work, and the commodification of teachers work resulting in a mistrust or audit culture in the education system. Moreover, Apple (2013) argued that the state tries to "deskill and reskill teachers", which is a process of intensification of teachers' workloads (p. 46). It has been argued that the state redefines teacher professionalism by focusing on standards and external motivations, but that this focus fails to take into account the complexity of teaching (Apple, 2013; Ball, 2003b; Milner, 2013). Ball (2003b) described this

focus as performativity, where government interventions create performative competition among teachers, and the "hyper-rational" standardising regulation leads teachers to suffer from "inner conflicts, inauthenticity and resistance" (p. 215). Consequently, the relational and moral aspects of teaching are undermined. Similarly, Andy Hargreaves and Ivor Goodson commented that:

> In the New World of audit cultures and accountability strategies, what is often left out is a clear sense of the social and moral visions and missions which underpin professional teaching. It is almost as if the debate assumes professionalism whilst providing a series of micro-managed strategies and reforms which, in the absence of the analysis of professionalism, may well have the effect of eroding notions of professional visions and ideals of caring vocationalism. (as cited in Sachs, 2003, p. xi)

The state is also perceived to adopt the notion of managerial professionalism to enhance their external control over teachers' work rather than increasing the profession's self-control (Evetts, 2009; Hargreaves, 2001a; Whitty, 2000). For instance, Whitty (2000) noted that, in an "evaluative state", teachers' professional autonomy at the local level is severely restricted by the specific standards and competencies formulated at the national level (p. 288). Similarly, Evetts (2009) noted that managerial professionalism functions as a managerial instrument that managers and employers use to exert control over the teaching profession. In this situation, she argued that professionalism discourses are often selective, imposed and false, and function "as a disciplinary mechanism of autonomous subjects exercising appropriate conduct" (p. 22). Moreover, Evetts (2011) argued that in managerial professionalism teachers' power is severely limited when confronted with increasing demands for accountability, transparency and bureaucracy.

Previous studies have revealed the contradictions between professionalism, marketisation and bureaucratisation (Firestone & Bader, 1992; Freidson, 2001). For example, Firestone and Bader (1992) revealed the contradictions between bureaucracy and professionalism; particularly, the shortcomings of bureaucratic administration in the teaching profession with its focus on extrinsic incentives, control and compliance, and short-term outcomes. Similarly, Freidson (2001) identified the different rationales of the market, bureaucracy and profession. He argued that professionalism has its own unique rationale and characteristics, which are different from those of capital and the state. While marketisation emphasises competition and profits, and managerialism tends to limit discretion to increase

efficiency, a profession has a wider vision of social justice and a range of social responsibilities that lead to its scope not being limited to immediate practical benefits, which also means professionals should have discretion in their professional work (Freidson, 2001). In short, it is essential to protect professionalism from the encroachment of logic associated with marketisation and bureaucratisation.

Research also showed that teachers sometimes welcomed discourses of managerial professionalism as a means to improve the professional role of teachers; however, the change mainly functions to intensify teachers' workloads and exploit rather than empower teachers (Evetts, 2009; Hargreaves & Goodson, 2003; Sachs, 2003). For instance, Hargreaves and Goodson (2003) argued that official political rhetoric of professionalisation actually functions as "a rhetorical ruse", which makes teachers unaware of their own exploitation and gets them to voluntarily accept the increased intensity of their work in schools (p. 20). Similarly, Sachs (2003) noted that, in the name of promoting professionalisation in official education policies, the role of teachers is more associated with implementing education policy and increasing productivity through more effective and efficient practices. Overall, the research on managerial professionalism in other jurisdictions provides useful background information to examine how managerial professionalism discourses impact the teaching profession in New Zealand.

2.1.3 Democratic Professionalism: Collaboration and Teacher Agency

Mainly as a response to the challenge of managerial professionalism that emphasises performance management and politicisation, teachers and their unions were seen to endorse a different type of professionalism: democratic professionalism. Drawing on the concepts of Whitty (2000) on "democratic professionalism" and Stevenson and Gilliland (2015) on "new democratic professionalism", there are two main features of democratic professionalism: teachers collaborate with other policy actors; and actively exercise their individual and collective agencies. As part of teachers actively seeking to collaborate with other policy actors, the teaching profession explicitly articulates wider responsibilities of social justice and democracy. For example, Whitty (2000) argued that democratic professionalism needs to move beyond simplistic assumptions about governments' external control and/or the profession's self-regulation to build alliances with students, parents and the wider community in civil society:

> Throughout the last 20 years or so, teachers and teacher educators have been understandably preoccupied with issues of short-term survival in face of an unrelenting flow of new initiatives and inspections. It is now time to begin working with others to develop approaches that relate not only to the legitimate aspirations of the profession, but also those of the wider society – and that must include those groups within civil society who have hitherto not been well-served either by the profession or by the state. (pp. 292–293)

Similarly, Sachs (2003) argued that teachers could take collective actions to improve education quality through building collaboration with other policy actors.

Sachs (2003) also distinguished between collaboration and cooperation. She argued that collaboration is based on mutual learning to make a joint decision, while cooperation requires less mutual learning and is often related to clear role boundaries. She also stated that collaboration could be understood in two ways. Internally, teachers work together with their colleagues to promote their professional growth, which relies on building collegial relationships between teachers. Externally, the teaching profession works with other interested parties, such as communities and academics, to develop new forms of professional knowledge. The current study used the terms collaboration and cooperation as defined above.

Previous research showed that there was a concern in New Zealand and other jurisdictions that increased parental involvement would increase the tension between parents and teachers in educational issues and undermine teachers' professional autonomy (Grace, 1995; Heystek & Lethoko, 2001; Sullivan, 1993). For example, Grace (1995) argued that it is problematic that people without professional experience were education governors; it was viewed as "an illegitimate intrusion of lay power into a specialized professional culture" (p. 83). Heystek and Lethoko (2001) also stated that the emphasis on parental involvement is a sign that the teaching profession was not trusted as a profession and challenges the professional role of teachers. Similarly, research conducted in New Zealand shows that teachers were concerned that parental involvement would challenge their professional identity (Sullivan, 1993). Moreover, Hargreaves (2001b) argued that an over-emphasis on parental involvement only makes it harder to build cooperation between teachers and parents. With the above in mind, the current study intends to examine the extent to which teacher unions view increasing parental involvement as problematic to the teaching profession in New Zealand.

The other key feature of democratic professionalism is that teachers should exercise their (individual and collective) agency in shaping professionalism discourses (Evans, 2008; Freidson, 2001; Sachs, 2003, 2016; Stevenson & Gilliland, 2015). According to Sachs (2016), with increasingly imposed educational reforms, the teaching profession becomes more "conservative and risk-averse" (p. 423), which in turn reinforces and facilitates governments to impose education policy. Thus, there was a call for teachers to exercise their own agency (individually and collectively) in setting their professional agenda so that they could gain a sense of ownership of their profession (Osmond-Johnson, 2015; Sachs, 2001, 2003, 2016). More specifically, Sachs (2003), in her classic book *The Activist Teaching Profession*, argued that to build teachers' political voice, there is a need to build "an informed and educated teaching force" so that teachers would have an important impact on the formulation and implementation of education policies (p. 31). She viewed this as "activist professionalism" where teachers actively participate in the definition of their profession, including what they teach (curriculum), how they teach (pedagogy) and the conditions that impact their working lives (Sachs, 2003, 2016).

Similarly, Firestone and Bader (1992) also note that it is necessary to concentrate on authentic teacher professionalisation by incorporating teachers in the policy-making process, encouraging teachers and their organisations to take more professional responsibilities, and informing the public about the complexity and richness of teachers' work. According to Evans (2008), democratic professionalism stresses "practitioner control and proactivity" (p. 23); that is, teachers play a crucial role in defining teacher professionalism. Overall, the literature suggests that there is a need to mobilise teachers to reclaim the realm of teacher professionalism to regain their sense of ownership of the teaching profession. Given that the current study focused on the role of teacher unions, teachers' collective agency rather than the individual agency was highlighted. This is illustrated in Section 2.2.4.

2.1.4 Teacher Professionalism in New Zealand

Previous research has shown that the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms significantly changed the nature of teacher professionalism in New Zealand (Codd, 2005b; O'Neill, 2005; Olssen et al., 2004). It was argued that, as illustrated above in other jurisdictions (Section 2.1.2), the teaching profession in New Zealand has also moved to managerial professionalism (Codd, 2005b; O'Neill, 2005; Olssen et al., 2004). For instance, in official policy texts, there was "an explicitly managerial language of 'quality', 'standards', 'outcomes'

and ‘accountability to consumers’”, which were used to ensure that teachers were held accountable for students’ outcomes (O’Neill, 2001, pp. 101–102). Within this context, teachers were measured by specific performance indicators (Codd, 2005b; Jesson, 2000; O’Neill, 2011), which undermined the complexity of teaching, especially the reflective dimension of the teaching practice (Upsall, 2001). It was also argued that the introduction of a performance management system undermines collaboration and collegiality, and causes anxiety and suspicion among teachers (Fitzgerald, 2001; Fitzgerald et al., 2003). Similarly, O’Neill (2005) argued that performance management fundamentally undermines the idea that teaching is associated with building relations and dialogues. Moreover, Codd (2005b) argued that when technical appraisals and management control teachers’ work, teacher professionalism is compromised as “a narrow and reductionist instrumentalism” (p. 194).

Research in New Zealand also noted the contradictory logic of teacher professionalism and bureaucratic control with respect to the introduction of performance management (Fitzgerald et al., 2003; Upsall, 2001). For example, Fitzgerald et al. (2003) argued that while teacher professionalism emphasises “collaboration, knowledge sharing, collegiality, freedom, self-efficacy, professional practice and democracy”, bureaucracy stresses “individualism, hierarchy, competition, rewards, and sanctions, secrecy, compliance, accountability and procedures” (p. 95). Performance management increases school managers’ control over teachers rather than empowering teachers to have a strong sense of ownership of their work. Given the bureaucratic culture within schools, teachers were positioned in a hierarchical system (Fitzgerald, 2009). Thus, the introduction of performance management into the teaching profession has been viewed as problematic in New Zealand (Fitzgerald et al., 2003; Upsall, 2001).

Previous studies have shown that as the state has increased its control over teachers’ work, the education system has been subjected to increasing external control (Court & O’Neill, 2011; Jesson, 2000). For instance, it was argued that with the establishment of the Teachers Registration Board and the Education Review Office, and the introduction of professional standards and performance appraisal, the government increased its control over teachers’ work in the late 1980s and 1990s (Barnes, 2019). It was perceived as a change from professional accountability to contractual accountability in the teaching profession (O’Neill, 2001; Olssen et al., 2004). O’Neill (2011) argued that teachers’ relationships with employers are contract-based rather than trust-based. Contractual relationships require more monitoring, compliance

and accountability (Olssen et al., 2004). Moreover, Court and O'Neill (2011) argued that although the political rhetoric of devolution and marketisation of public education intended to reduce the state's control over the teaching profession, the state introduced quantifiable performance indicators to ensure its continued external control over teachers' work. They viewed this as "centralised decentralisation" (p. 135), through which the state steers teachers' work at a distance. Other studies in various systems have noted a concern that teachers were losing their sense of ownership of the teaching profession because of increasingly centralised control over their work (Goodson, 2000; O'Neill, 2005). Goodson (2000) argued:

> teachers are being turned from intellectual workers who control their curriculum and pedagogy into technicians who define the curriculum designed by other people. They are less and less planners of their own destiny and more and more deliverers of prescriptions written by others. (p. 12)

More specifically, previous research has argued that teacher appraisal and professional standards introduced in the 1990s were more related to performance management, which aimed to exert more control over teachers' work (Grootenboer, 2000; Sullivan, 1999). As Sachs (2003) noted, professional standards function more to standardise the teaching and learning practice, serving as a regulation rather than to improve the complexity and richness of teaching and learning in many English-speaking jurisdictions. Professional standards in New Zealand were also viewed as serving a regulation function. For example, Sullivan (1999) noted that professional standards were imposed on the teaching profession with the introduction of performance-related pay and the establishment of an effective external assessment system. Mainly due to this increasing requirement for teacher assessment, teachers have experienced workload intensification since the 1990s (Wylie, 1991; Wylie & MacDonald, 2020). A national survey in 2019 showed that more than half of the teachers viewed their workload as unmanageable and unfair, and they were suffering from work-related stress (Wylie & MacDonald, 2020).

In contrast, other research counters the argument that teachers are experiencing a process of de-professionalisation due to the introduction of performance management and increasing external control in New Zealand (Locke et al., 2005; Piggot-Irvine, 2000; Wylie et al., 2018). For example, the research of Locke et al. (2005) conducted with primary school teachers showed that the meanings of teacher professionalism had changed over time and

teachers were positive about the education reforms. There are two points in their argument. First, although teachers indicated that they were experiencing work intensification, they tended to view this more as a way of improving their professional knowledge. Second, although teachers perceived that bureaucratic control within schools constrained their professional autonomy, they tended to be more positive about this control when they viewed it as an effort to meet students' needs and enhance their relationships with colleagues. Locke et al. (2005) concluded that teachers were experiencing "a less oppressive audit culture" in New Zealand (p. 577). Similarly, a recent New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) national survey showed that teachers generally maintained a positive attitude of their professional status and were confident in delivering quality teaching and maintaining positive relationships with their colleagues (Wylie et al., 2018). Overall, it seems, at least from the perspective of some teachers in New Zealand, that managerial professionalism is not entirely negative, a view that was highlighted in Section 2.1.2.

The impact of performance management and external control on the teaching profession seems to have declined in the last two decades (Barker & Wood, 2019; Wylie, 2011). For instance, an NZCER national survey showed that from 2007 to 2010, teachers disagreeing with "the statement that 'we let outside organisations dictate how we do things'" changed from 43% to 72% (Wylie, 2011, p. 18). It was argued that the Labour-led coalition government formed in 2017 signalled a new direction in the development of the education system in New Zealand (Barker & Wood, 2019; Benade et al., 2018). For example, the new government identified that the [then] current education system is a low-trust model focused on testing, within which teachers are experiencing a process of de-professionalisation (Barker and Wood (2019). The official discourses supported the arguments that teachers were not trusted as professionals; there was too much attention on measurable behaviours, and the increasing assessment workload undermines real teaching time. Thus, the government intended to change the education system to a high-trust model (Barker & Wood, 2019). As part of this, the teacher unions (NZEI and PPTA) cooperation with the government led to two teacher-related policy activities being initiated, namely, the abolition of the National Standards policy in 2017 and the removal of the teacher performance appraisal in 2019.

To sum up, there are differing perspectives on managerial professionalism, and the boundary between different forms of teacher professionalism discourses keeps changing in

New Zealand. The following section examines the role of teacher unions in framing teacher professionalism discourses.

2.2 The Professional Role of Teacher Unions

The literature shows that teacher unions play an important role in shaping education policy; however, very few studies have focused on the professional role of teacher unions in New Zealand. Research in other jurisdictions shows that teacher unions have begun to adopt new strategies for influencing education policy in the context of neoliberal education reforms.

2.2.1 The Political Professional Role of Teacher Unions

Many studies argued that, before the 1980s in New Zealand, teacher unions were more professional associations rather than industrial unions due to their political influence and participation in the policy cycle through "incorporation" (Gordon, 1992; Grant, 2003; Jesson, 1995; Simmonds, 1983). During this time, the two main teacher unions (NZEI and PPTA) participated in a wider range of education issues at the local and national levels, ranging from policy formulation to implementation (Gordon, 1992). Similarly, Jesson (1995) argued that the teacher union (PPTA) played a crucial role in the education system, having "both opportunity for input into the mandate of education, as well as the possibility of creating implementation pressure through political action" (p. iii). Teacher unions were also seen as maintaining a collaborative relationship with governments during this time (Jesson & Simpkin, 2000). Prior to the 1980s, teacher unions had shown little interest in wider social issues, such as social inequalities (Gordon, 1992).

However, the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms in the late 1980s fundamentally changed the socio-political context within which teacher unions were located. Consequently, teacher unions were seen to undertake industrial activities and begin to balance their professional and industrial roles (Gordon, 1992; Jesson & Simpkin, 2007). The education reforms worsened the relationship between teacher unions and governments; teacher unions were at risk of being marginalised or removed from education policy (Alison & Aikin, 2013; Gordon, 1992; Jesson & Simpkin, 2007). At the same time, the role of teacher unions changed from being more professional associations to more industrial unions (Jesson & Simpkin, 2007). Nevertheless, it was argued that although teacher unions had faced significant challenges since the late 1980s, they still maintained their professional role (Jesson & Simpkin, 2000; O'Neill, 2003). O'Neill (2003) argued that although the industrial issues overshadowed the professional

issues within the teacher unions, the teacher unions had made a tremendous effort to keep "curriculum, pedagogy and assessment" (p. 6) in the media and the political debates in the 1990s.

In recent decades, the relationship between unionism and professionalism changed from being incompatible to compatible in New Zealand and other jurisdictions (Gordon, 1992; Hung, 2019; Stevenson & Gilliland, 2015). Jesson and Simpkin (2007) argued that the government's refusal to consult with teacher unions concerning professional issues in the 1990s encouraged teacher unions to respond to and influence education policy through industrial negotiations, making professional issues, such as professional development and class size, become industrial issues. O'Neill (2017d) argued that professional and industrial issues are constantly intertwined within teacher unions' activities. In this regard, the compatibility of professionalism and unionism became a key feature of contemporary teacher unions (Gordon, 1992; Hung, 2019; Stevenson & Gilliland, 2015). The political work of the teacher unions has become more visible since the 1980s in New Zealand (Gordon, 1992; Jesson, 2003; Jesson & Simpkin, 2000).

The literature indicated that the separation between professional and industrial issues was unhelpful and over-simplistic in New Zealand and overseas (Carter et al., 2010; Jesson, 2003; Stevenson & Gilliland, 2015). Stevenson and Gilliland (2015) argued that the separation between professional and industrial issues is unhelpful for understanding the political aspect of education policy; it would be too naïve to merely focus on professional issues without locating these issues within their political contexts. Hung (2019) noted that professionalism and unionism are organisational strategies; the question is often to what extent teacher unions adopt the strategy of professionalism and/or unionism. Bangs and MacBeath (2012) argued that unionism benefits from professionalism; for example, the provision of high-quality professional development could benefit teacher unions politically by establishing a strong argument that educators should be entitled to ongoing professional development. Taking the above into account, the current study examined the relationships between professionalism, unionism and the political aspects of professional issues.

Previous studies in New Zealand and other jurisdictions have shown that a division or separation between teacher unions (within one jurisdiction) poses a significant challenge to maintaining a national teaching profession, especially by weakening teachers' collective voice in education policy (Education Workforce Advisory Group, 2010; Freidson, 2001; Jesson &

Simpkin, 2007). For example, the two main teacher unions in Sweden[1] had quite different historical beginnings and understandings of the meaning of teacher professionalism, or "unreconciled ideologies of professionalism" (Lilja, 2014a, 2014b; Milner, 2018, p. 196). The tension and division between the two teacher unions posed a significant challenge to their influence on education policy: the two teacher unions competed for political support, which made them avoid adopting industrial activities to challenge official education policies (Lilja, 2014a, 2014b).

Jesson and Simpkin (2007) also argued that, based on their different historical development experiences, the two main teacher unions in New Zealand (NZEI and PPTA) tend to adopt quite different strategies in response to initiatives from governments concerning professional issues. They state that the 'separateness' and 'prejudices' of these two unions constrain the unions' capability to articulate a powerful national professional voice for teachers, and this division consequently undermines their ability to have an impact on education policies. There was a call for NZEI and PPTA to be amalgamated (Jesson & Simpkin, 2007). However, partly because of the disparity between primary and secondary sectors, it was harder to establish an independent and teacher-owned professional organisation (Education Workforce Advisory Group, 2010). With the above in mind, the current study investigated how the differences between the two main teacher unions in New Zealand impact the effort to maintain a national teaching profession.

2.2.2 The Role of Teacher Unions in Shaping Teacher Professionalism

In the current study, the professional role of teacher unions was mainly concerned with the teacher unions' role in defining the teaching profession. The professional role of teacher unions is highly related to their capability to shape teacher professionalism discourses (Kerchner, 2001). Teacher unions can shape the teaching profession in various ways, such as changing the perception of the public about teachers and their unions, changing teachers'

[1] The teacher unions and the education system of Sweden are similar to those in New Zealand. For example, the education system in Sweden became highly deregulated and decentralised, and the social status of teachers was significantly reduced. There are two main teacher unions in Sweden: The Swedish Teachers' Union (STU), mainly for elementary school teachers and the National Union of Teachers (NUT), mainly for secondary/grammar school teachers.

perception of their union, changing teachers' perception of their profession, and encouraging teachers to exercise their agency (Stevenson et al., 2020). More specifically, previous research has shown that teacher unions play an important role in challenging the definition of teachers as merely policy implementers (Stevenson et al., 2020). Bascia (2009) argued that there is a need to change the discourses around teacher unions in the public domain from being defensive and reactive to being proactive. Similarly, Bangs and MacBeath (2012) believed that the governments' narratives of teacher unions need to change; in particular, teacher unions should enhance their professional role by increasing their role in providing teachers with professional development opportunities. There is a need to reframe and reconceptualise teacher unions as "active policy partners" (p. 333) in the discourses of both teacher unions themselves and governments. This would allow teachers' working conditions to be reframed to include not only teachers' material interests or physical working conditions but also the opportunities for, and quality of, teachers' professional development (Bangs & MacBeath, 2012).

Given that teacher unions are close to teachers and sensitive to teaching practices, and are powerful collective actors, they have particular advantages in shaping teacher professionalism (Bascia, 2000, 2004, 2009). Teacher unions may assist teachers to deepen their understanding of how learning and teaching work and establish a cooperative culture to improve collegiality among teachers (Bascia, 2000). By equipping teachers with the knowledge and values that are required by educational reforms, teacher unions can help teachers to cope with various challenges resulting from educational reforms in their professional lives. In these ways, teacher unions can also improve their public legitimacy of participating in the policy-making process (Bascia, 2000). Moreover, teacher unions can provide feedback about education practice, become an incubator for educational innovation, and facilitate teacher learning and leadership (Bascia, 2009). In this regard, teacher unions facilitate the enactment of educational reforms.

According to Stevenson (2008), the professional role of teacher unions is also concerned with raising "more fundamental questions about the nature of professional development and the education system it serves" (p. 455); that is, unions challenge the official discourses of teacher professionalism and education. Stevenson (2008, 2012) argued that teacher unions should challenge the dominant discourses of governments (i.e. the neo-liberal agendas) to provide critical and alternative discourses; this also empowers teachers in the educational policy-making process. Teacher unions should also challenge the narrow and

limited role of teachers presented in official education policies by offering alternative discourses and assisting teachers to participate in designing the wider education system (Bascia, 2000; Osmond-Johnson, 2015). The underlying assumption is that teachers should play an important role in the construction of their professionalism discourses (Bascia, 2000; Stevenson, 2008, 2012) and have a sense of ownership of defining their professionalism (Hilton et al., 2013; Organization for Economic Co-operation Development (OECD), 2005). Teacher unions could also mobilise teachers' participation in the policy-making process (Stevenson et al., 2020).

Critics in other jurisdictions have argued that the emphasis on the professional role of teacher unions is solely rhetorical (Golin, 1998; Lilja, 2014b; Moe, 2011). In reality, teacher unions (in the United States) are trade unions or special interest groups (Moe, 2011). Teacher unions emphasise their professional role as a strategy to pursue their own interests and grasp more power in educational reforms (Moe, 2011), to have a positive public profile to maintain their legitimate identity (Lilja, 2014b) or to attract members (Golin, 1998). For instance, Lilja (2014b) noted that teacher professionalism discourses in teacher unions (in Sweden) are disconnected from teaching practices because these discourses are mainly used as "a ceremonious tool" (p. 99) for increasing the public legitimacy of teachers and improving their social status. Therefore, teacher professionalism discourses in teacher unions mainly facilitate teacher unions becoming professional associations rather than facilitating the professionalisation of individual teachers.

Other researchers have defended the argument that teacher unions are professional organisations (Bascia, 2000; Osmond-Johnson, 2015); teacher unions' emphasis on their professional role is more than rhetoric (Bascia, 2000; Kerchner et al., 1998). For example, Bascia (2000) argued that, although the emphasis on their professional role does have instrumental motivations, teacher unions also genuinely attempt to promote teacher professionalism and adopt various strategies to achieve this in practice. Osmond-Johnson (2015) also believed that teacher unions should be defined as professional organisations and there is a need to avoid using the term 'teacher unions'. With the above in mind, the current study investigated the extent to which the professional role of teacher unions in New Zealand is mere rhetoric.

2.2.3 Teacher Unions' Professional Role in Other Jurisdictions

Given that there is little New Zealand research on the professional role of teacher unions, I reviewed the literature in other jurisdictions. This research generally focused on three main areas: (1) the complex relationship between teacher unions and governments in shaping teacher professionalism discourses; (2) teacher unions seeking support from other policy actors to promote their political agendas and (3) teacher unions' professional leadership role in new socio-political contexts (union renewal).

First, there are multiple types of relationships between teacher unions and governments in shaping teacher professionalism discourses. For example, in one Canadian province, while the teacher union provides counter-balancing discourses to governments', their professionalism discourses are also mutually reinforced (Osmond-Johnson, 2018). In Norway, the contradictory and contested professionalism discourses between teacher unions and the state are more visible (Mausethagen & Granlund, 2012). In Sweden, teacher unions tend to seek cooperation with governments, which weakens their role in critiquing education policy (Lilja, 2014b). Bascia and Osmond (2013) found that teacher unions internationally often maintain mixed types of relationships with governments, not simply negative or positive. Overall, the type of relationship between teacher unions and governments depends on the particular socio-political context and involves cooperation and/or tension. Teacher unions become more active in shaping teachers' professional lives in either a strong way or a limited way, at least on a discursive level.

Teacher unions sometimes seek to cooperate with governments on professional issues in order to influence education policy (Bascia & Osmond, 2013; Kerchner & Koppich, 2004). For instance, Bascia and Osmond (2013) claimed that because of the threat of being removed from the education policy-making process, some teacher unions changed their strategies and adopted more supportive stances on education reforms. This was illustrated in the establishment of the Teacher Union Reform Network (TURN) in 1995 in the United States. TURN aimed to explore a new model for teacher unions as the agents of education reforms (Teacher Union Reform Network, n.d.). This represented a fundamental change in the model of teacher unions (Kerchner & Koppich, 2004). Bascia and Osmond (2013) emphasised the importance of building collaborative relationships between teacher unions and governments in education reforms and improving education quality.

However, some studies have expressed concern that teacher unions would lose their independence by cooperating with governments (Bascia, 2000; Lilja, 2014a, 2014b). Teacher unions were regarded as providing a counter-discourse to the dominant discourse of teacher professionalism (Ball et al., 2011; Osmond-Johnson, 2018; Riegel, 2003); however, Bascia (2000) noted that rather than challenging governments' limitations of definitions and teaching and learning activities in the education system, teacher unions (in North America) often aligned with and reinforced them. This was also exemplified by the teacher unions in Sweden. According to Lilja (2014a, 2014b), the teacher unions positioned themselves more as professional associations and avoided industrial strategies; their cooperation with governments undermined their influence in education policy and their representation of teachers' voices in education policy. With the above in mind, the current study aimed to explore the type of relationship between teacher unions and governments, and how this relationship affects the ability of teacher unions to articulate a strong professional voice for teachers in the New Zealand context.

Second, studies have also shown that contemporary teacher unions in other jurisdictions weave together the interests of the occupation and the public, explicitly articulating their wider educational and social responsibilities (Bascia, 2004; Kerchner & Caufman, 1995; Stevenson et al., 2020). For instance, Bascia (2004) argued that teacher unions should position themselves as supporting quality teaching and learning rather than just as defenders of their occupational interests. By doing this, Stevenson et al. (2020) claimed it would assist teacher unions to build relationships with other policy actors and thereby increase their political influence in education policy. By building alliances with various interested groups based on common interests, teacher unions would be powerful enough to cope with the challenge of neoliberal education reforms or "flip the system" (Stevenson & Gilliland, 2015, p. 117) and play a key role in developing democratic professionalism. In addition, when teacher unions connect their concerns with those of the wider community, it makes them "more structurally powerful"; an important strategy they use to enhance their influence in political areas (McAlevey, 2016, p. 29). Aligning the interests of the occupation and the public would help teacher unions to improve the images of the teaching profession and themselves in the eyes of the public (Bascia, 2000). With the above in mind, this current study sought to examine how teacher unions in New Zealand position themselves to gain support from other policy actors and how they promote their political agendas.

Third, given that the changed socio-political context over the last three decades often posed significant challenges for teacher unions, a small number of studies in other jurisdictions began to explore how the new socio-political context provided new opportunities for union renewal on professional issues, especially because of restructured power relations in the public education system (Bangs & MacBeath, 2012; Bascia, 2009; Fairbrother, 2000). For example, in the United States and Australia, when governments reduced their role in providing professional development, teacher unions responded by increasing their role in teachers' professional development and teacher-related policy (Bangs & MacBeath, 2012; Bascia, 2009). Teacher unions in England also expanded their role in teachers' professional development and attempted to perform a national professional leadership role to compensate for reduced government-led professional development programmes (Bangs & MacBeath, 2012). In the current study, I wish to explore how teacher unions in New Zealand define their professional role in the new socio-political context. Research from other jurisdictions generally indicates beneficial perspectives from which to explore the professional role of teacher unions in New Zealand.

Research has indicated that discussions of the professional role of teacher unions are limited to teacher unions (Adelberg, 2008; Kerchner & Koppich, 2007). For example, Kerchner and Koppich (2007) found that teacher unions maintained a conservative attitude toward educational reforms and were reluctant to change; consequently, schools did not necessarily view teacher unions as partners in reform and governments suspected the legitimacy of the representative role of teacher unions. A survey conducted in the United States also reported that awareness of the professional orientation was limited to the leaders of teacher unions while other policy actors, particularly governments, still viewed teacher unions as industrial unions and found no real change in teacher unions' "identity, philosophy, strategy, and tactics" (Simsek & Seashore, 2008, p. 108). Similarly, Adelberg (2008) showed that while union leaders (in the United States) advocated the professional role of their unions, teachers preferred their unions to stick to their traditional industrial role. Consequently, the professional role of teacher unions was still in the process of formation in the 1990s (Bascia, 1998). The current study intends to gain the perspectives of teacher unions only and not the images of teacher unions held by teachers and the wider public; this study did collect data from mainstream media, which serves to offer an impression of the public image of teacher unions rather than providing a deep and rich description of it.

2.2.4 Teacher Unions: Collective Agencies

Previous studies have shown that there have been increasing attacks on the professional role of teachers and their unions in recent decades in New Zealand and other jurisdictions (Bascia & Osmond, 2012; Gordon, 1992; Jesson & Simpkin, 2007). For example, after analysing official education policy texts in the late 1980s and early 1990s in New Zealand, Gordon (1993) argued that teachers were acting "with a massive self-interest which has subverted the reforms of educational administration, has hi-jacked the new state system, and has worked against the interests of learners (which are, by definition, opposed to their own)" (pp. 39–40). Teachers in official discourses have been viewed more as (state) workers or employees and positioned as just classroom teachers and policy implementers rather than as autonomous professionals (Codd, 2003; O'Neill, 2010). O'Neill (2017a) argued that, in official education policy, teachers were positioned as being responsible for student performance achievement over the last 20 years. Similarly, the professional role of teachers has been fundamentally challenged in the public in Britain (Ball & Goodson, 2002). Therefore, the teaching profession faces the challenge of building or rebuilding public legitimacy in New Zealand and other jurisdictions (Ball, 1988; Bascia & Osmond, 2012; Whitty, 2000).

There is emergent literature in other jurisdictions which argues that collective agency is as important as the individual agency in promoting teacher professionalisation (Carter et al., 2010; Hargreaves, 2000; Stevenson & Gilliland, 2015). Hargreaves (2000) noted that when dealing with the challenges of relentless educational initiatives and the increasing complexity of school practice, individual autonomy is no longer enough and collective autonomy is needed. At the same time, the capability of teacher unions, as collective agencies, to challenge neoliberal education reforms has caught researchers' attention (e.g., Carter et al., 2010; Stevenson et al., 2020). Stevenson et al. (2020) argued that teacher unions should "disrupt the dominant discourses that privilege and normalise a privatised and individualised 'common sense' which results in only one set of solutions being open for consideration" (p. 39).

Stevenson and Gilliland (2015) maintained that the characteristic features of teacher unions (e.g., independent, collective and democratic) make them suitable to play a crucial role in developing democratic professionalism. The doctoral thesis by Osmond-Johnson (2015), *Alternative Discourses of Teacher Professionalism: A Study of Union Active Teachers and Teacher Unions*, provided a paradigm example of teacher unions in Canada, as teachers' collective professional voices, providing an important platform for exploring alternative

discourses of teacher professionalism to those of governments. She argued that teacher unions articulated alternative discourses concerning teacher professionalism, which counterbalanced dominant official discourses that tended to limit teachers' role to just classroom teaching. Similarly, Bocking (2020) emphasised the crucial role of teacher unions in the United States, Mexico, and Canada to challenge the education policies that the unions perceived would undermine teachers' professional discretion. With this in mind, the current study examined how teacher unions in New Zealand exercise their collective agencies and discretion in constructing teacher professionalism discourses.

Research has also highlighted the discrepancy in discourses of teacher professionalism between individual teachers and their unions (Grace, 1995; O'Neill, 2001; Sachs, 2005). For example, Grace (1995) argued that the political aspect of professional issues was much less visible in individual teachers' accounts than in those of teacher unions. The majority of individual teachers tended to be compliant or silently resistant, whereas teacher unions were explicitly resistant to education reforms. Similarly, in the New Zealand context, O'Neill (2001) found that although the discourses of the secondary school teacher union (PPTA) conflicted strongly with governments' on certain professional issues; this confrontation was less visible in teachers' accounts. Sachs (2005) explained that being an "active agent" in education policy involves taking some risks and, therefore, is more suitable for a collective organisation than for individual teachers to take on this role. With this in mind, the current study sought to explore the extent to which the tension or confrontation between teacher unions and governments is visible and explicit in shaping teacher professionalism discourses.

The critical role or ability of teacher unions to challenge the dominant discourses in educational reform and provide alternative discourses has caught a few academics' attention in New Zealand (Jesson, 2000; Snook, 2003). Snook (2003) argued that teacher unions are the only ones who can reclaim what was ruthlessly taken from the teaching profession and education in New Zealand, and they need to pay more attention to dealing with the challenges of de-professionalisation in education reforms. Jesson (2000) also argued that the teacher unions needed to collaborate with other policy actors to maintain the collective aspect of the teaching profession and to reduce government intervention in teachers' working lives. Nevertheless, to date, no specific research has been conducted on how teacher unions in New Zealand construct teacher professionalism discourses.

Research has shown that teacher unions in New Zealand and many other jurisdictions have had limited success defending the teaching profession and public education from attacks by an increasingly neoliberal agenda (Ball & Goodson, 2002; Codd & Openshaw, 2005; Freidson, 2001; Kerchner & Koppich, 2004). For example, Kerchner and Koppich (2004) argued that teacher unions in the United States lost the momentum to participate in the process of developing alternative educational discourses and they became more defensive in the face of the education reforms. Similarly, Cooper (2000) argued that it was still unclear whether teacher unions around the world were capable of playing a leading proactive role rather than just reacting to education reforms. Jesson (2003) also argued that teacher unions in New Zealand are seen as "the defenders of the old structures, the defenders of professional interests and with it the defenders of state education as the universalist core of the welfare state" (p. 86). Codd (2005b) argued that teachers' opposition to these assaults on the teaching profession merely reinforces the assumption that teachers are self-centred; consequently, the state exercises further control over teachers' work, particularly by emphasising performance management. As a response to this, there were calls in the international literature for teacher unions to play an active role in shaping teacher professionalism discourses (Bascia, 2004; Bascia & Osmond, 2012; Kerchner & Caufman, 1995). With the above in mind, the current study examined how and the extent to which teacher unions in New Zealand exert their collective agencies and influence to challenge the dominant official discourses of teacher professionalism.

2.3 Summary

The reviewed literature showed competing discourses of teacher professionalism. Contemporary official education policy sponsored by governments introduced performance management and stressed external control or surveillance. It over-simplified teachers' work by choosing and prioritising performance indicators which ignored its richness and complexity, intensified teachers' work through constant assessment, and worsened relationships between teachers and governments by introducing forms of contractual rather than professional accountability. As a result, over recent decades, the teaching profession experienced a process of de-professionalisation, and teachers lost their sense of ownership of the teaching profession. As a response, research has emerged on the role of teacher unions as important policy actors in shaping teacher professionalism. This research stressed that teacher unions should play a crucial role in developing democratic professionalism. However, there has been little research

on this in New Zealand. Therefore, it is necessary to explore how teacher unions frame their professionalism discourses within the socio-historical and political context of New Zealand.

Previous research in other jurisdictions provided useful perspectives from which to examine the professional role of teacher unions in New Zealand. For example, there has been a pragmatic change in teacher unions' stances from confronting education reforms to supporting them. Thus, this study explored how teacher unions manage to maintain a positive relationship with governments on professional issues while at the same time having a very different understanding of teacher professionalism (Section 2.1.1). The study also explored how fundamental changes in the socio-political context impact teacher unions framing and articulating their preferred professionalism discourses. Overall, this current study intended to illuminate how teacher unions, as policy actors, impact education policy in New Zealand.

Chapter 3
Research Methodology

This chapter begins with a discussion of the theoretical framework for the study – a critical education policy scholarship (CEPS) approach – and why it was suitable for this current study and how it assisted with developing research questions. The four research questions are then developed and discussed. Next, I discuss the choice of a case study design for the current research and detail the methods and procedures of data collection and data analysis, ethical considerations and issues of researcher reflexivity.

3.1 Theoretical Framework: Critical Education Policy Scholarship

In this study, I employed a critical education policy scholarship (CEPS) approach, which was mainly informed by Grace (1993, 1995, 1998a, 1998b, 2001, 2007, 2012) and Ball (1993, 2015). Grace (1995, 1998a) distinguished policy scholarship from policy science. He argued that policy scholarship analysis has the advantage over policy science as the latter explores social phenomena without referring to their wider socio-historical contexts; it aims to generate "a rational and scientific prescription for action" (Grace, 1995, p. 3), which is reductionist and technicist. In policy scholarship, education problems are "the surface manifestations of deeper historical, structural and ideological contradictions in education policy" (Grace, 1995, p. 3). This understanding of policy scholarship in which educational events are understood within their socio-historical and political contexts, informed the current study. In terms of understanding education policy, I mainly followed the theory of Ball (1993, 2015) that policies are not just statements but are also processes, relations and effects. Policy includes both texts and discourses; policies are discursive strategies. This emphasises the wider social processes and contexts of the phenomenon being researched. In short, CEPS explores policy texts and discourses within their socio-historical and political contexts.

By combining socio-historical and political contexts with contemporary empirical data, CEPS aims to gain a contextual understanding of policy texts and discourses (Ball, 1993, 2006; Ball et al., 2012). Given that language is not neutral but is located in socio-historical and political contexts, it is important to examine the historical and socio-political context of policy text formation, explanation and enactment (Apple, 1996, 2012; Fischer & Miller, 2017; Young & Diem, 2018). Luke (1995) argued that critical policy studies focus on the connection of the specific language used every day with the abstract language formed in the broader socio-

political contexts so that they can explore "how broader formations of discourses and power are manifested in the everyday, quotidian aspects of texts in use" (p. 11). Grace (1998a) highlighted the humane aspect of research and the importance of reflexivity in the research process. He stressed that research is "a humane study with a human intent" (p. 204) and that researchers should record their important decisions in the research process, particularly "the backstage reality of research life" (p. 206), such as selecting research topics, data collection and analysis, and ethical problems. In this research, self-reflexivity occurred in the main stages of the research process.

CEPS requires historical study (Grace, 2012). Historical development is "path-dependent yet contingent, shaped by legacies yet affected by contingently related processes or conditions" (Sayer, 2000, p. 26). In radical socio-historical changing moments, the causal relationships becomes more visible (Apple, 2013; Grace, 1991). Informed by the historical method of Foucault, critical theorists have argued that genealogy provides a useful way to understand discourses as historically constituted (Olssen et al., 2004). This does not mean that historical study in CEPS presents a detailed chronological examination of the formations and developments; it offers a historical description of key elements in understanding the research issues in focus (Grace, 2012). This perspective of historical study informed the current study. I tracked the development of the meanings of professionalism discourses within teacher unions at certain significant historical moments. Given the observation of Ball and Junemann (2012) that these are often slight changes rather than fundamental ones, I examined the aspects of both the continuities and discontinuities in these significant historical moments pertaining to the meanings of professionalism discourses.

CEPS also follows the local tradition of critical policy studies with respect to research into teachers' work and their organisations in New Zealand. Critical policy studies positions education policy within its socio-historical, economic and political context, which is characterised by multiple competing ideologies and various forms of power relations (Clark, 1997; Codd, 1990b; Education Policy Response Group, 2003; O'Neill, 2001, 2003, 2012; Snook et al., 2009). It aims to explore and reveal the underlying power relations and the complexity of educational policy and practice (Education Policy Response Group, 2003). O'Neill (2003) argued that critical scholarship allows an exploration of the questions of how and why. Therefore, qualitative research is argued to be more suitable for conducting a critical policy study (Young & Diem, 2017, 2018).

Critical policy scholarship academics in New Zealand have maintained a close relationship with teacher unions (mainly NZEI and PPTA) throughout the recent period of education reforms (e.g., O'Neill, 2017c; Thrupp & White, 2013). There have been various ways of building this relationship. For example, academics have regularly addressed teacher unions' annual conferences and published articles in teacher union journals. Indeed, some critical policy studies have been funded by teacher unions, such as O'Neill (2017c) with respect to the privatisation of the education system, and Thrupp and White (2013) regarding National Standards. Some officers of teacher unions, such as Alison (2007) and Simpkin (2002), have also conducted doctoral research on their own unions (PPTA). Some academics are particularly interested in the role of teacher unions, such as Jesson (1995) and Gordon (1992). The close relationships between academics and teacher unions have also made it easier for researchers to approach teacher unions for the collection of data. With the above in mind, I believe that CEPS was a suitable theoretical framing for the current study.

3.1.1 Policy as Text and as Discourse

In the current study, policy was viewed as both text and discourse (Ball, 1993, 2006; Ball et al., 2012). Policy texts are "cultural and ideological artefacts" (Codd, 1990b, p. 140) that are constructed in specific socio-historical and political contexts (Codd, 1990b; Olssen et al., 2004). Thus, understanding policy texts requires exploring their context-dependent and implicit meanings (Codd, 1990b). In this regard, critical policy scholarship examines both "the formal statements" of education policy texts and the "behavioural and relational processes" through which those statements are developed and implemented over time (O'Neill, 2012, p. 226). In short, policy should be understood at both a textual and discursive level (O'Neill, 2012; Olssen et al., 2004).

Policy as Text.

Policy texts are the written or spoken products of policy processes (Fairclough, 1992) that are encoded and decoded in complex ways (Ball, 1993). The process of encoding or policy formulation is fraught with struggles and compromises between different interests (Ball, 1993, 2015; Ball et al., 2012). In the process of decoding or enacting policy, various actors make different interpretations based on their differing experiences, values and contexts (Ball, 1993). Therefore, policy texts are always "messy, contradictory, confused and unclear" (Ball, 2008, p. 8) and should be understood in a changing and contested way (Ball, 2003). Policy texts

themselves are often ill-made (Ball, 1993, 2015). Consequently, the meaning of policy texts is often blurred and incomplete, and is open to being explored and explained further (Ball, 1993).

Partly because of this, gaps exist between policy texts and policy practices. Ball (1993) argued that "policies are textual interventions into practice" (p. 12). However, policy texts mainly provide circumstances that allow certain behaviours to occur rather than giving concrete instructions for practice (Ball, 1994). That is, policies "do not normally tell you what to do; they create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed" (Ball, 1993, p. 12). Compared with "interactive and sustainable practices", policy texts are "abstract simplicities", which provide spaces for them to be interpreted and recontextualised (Ball, 1993, p. 12; Ball et al., 2012). This helps to explain why different policy actors adopt different stances on the same policy. In the current study, this would help to understand why teacher unions adopt different or sometimes quite contradictory stances in the face of the same policy. In the process of policy enactment, there is also a need for mediation between policy texts and practices (Ball, 1993); I argue that teacher unions may function as important meditators in education policy. For example, teacher unions may play an active role in helping teachers to understand and enact policies they support. However, when teacher unions oppose a policy, they may challenge its practicality and legitimacy, and undermine its credibility.

Policy as Discourse.

Compared with the research on policy text, research on policy discourse is relatively scarce (Ball et al., 2011). Discourse refers to the language being used as a form of social practice (Wodak & Michael, 2016) but does not just symbolise the social world (Fairclough, 2001); discourse is shaped by and shapes the social world. So, while discourses are determined by the social context, they also function to stabilise and change the social context (Wodak & Michael, 2016). Discourses are also about what is legitimate and thinkable, and what is improper and deviant (Ball, 1993; Meo, 2015); they are both enabling and constraining (Gibbs, 2018). While discourses enable argument and discussion by offering concepts, it is by defining these concepts that discourses also provide boundaries of what should or should not be regarded as 'truth' and knowledge (Ball, 1993, 1995; Parker, 2014). In doing so, discourses provide a vehicle by which policy actors "govern themselves and others" (Ball, 1993, p. 14).

Certain discourses are often more visible and dominant than others, while other discourses are intentionally or unintentionally ignored or denied (Ball, 1993; Luke, 1995; Sayer, 2000). Parker (2014) argued that "discourses provide frameworks for debating the value of one way of talking about reality over other ways" (p. 9). Powerful actors are often able to create visible and dominant discourses by directing how that information is processed and circulated (Cookson, 2003). These visible or dominant discourses then become common sense or taken-for-granted norms that social actors use to view themselves and others (Luke, 1995). Compromises and conflicts also exist within dominant discourses; it is not only "whose knowledge is of most worth" but also "what knowledge is of most worth" (Apple, 2012, p. viii).

Although some discourses are invisible or marginalised, it does not mean they are intangible. More often than not, these discourses exist without being noticed (Gee & Handford, 2012). Discourses are dynamic (Parker, 2014), impact each other and keep relocating and regenerating in texts (Luke, 1995). As a consequence, the boundaries between dominant and marginalised discourses are blurred and keep changing (Parker, 2014). Although it is often hard to increase the influence of invisible or marginalised discourses or to establish alternative or counter-discourses, it is still possible to do so (Gibbs, 2018). In education policy, it is often argued that governments play a dominant role while the role of teacher unions is marginalised (Gordon, 1992; Jesson & Simpkin, 2007; Stevenson, 2015). While the current study mainly sought to examine the professionalism discourses in teacher unions, it was also attentive to professionalism discourses in governments. The current study explored how professionalism discourses in teacher unions and governments impact each other and how teacher unions deal with their relationship with governments to develop their own alternatives or counter-discourses.

3.1.2 Critical Discourse Analysis: Power Relations

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) focuses on identifying and disentangling power relations within socio-historical contexts (Fairclough, 2001, 2012, 2013a, 2013b), which makes it a suitable approach for critical policy studies (Apple, 1996; Fairclough, 2013a; Taylor, 2004). CDA explores how power relations are contested, negotiated and legitimated (Apple, 1996). In these power relations, certain truths and knowledge are produced (Ball, 2013). To examine the relationship between discourses and power, I adopted the definition of Foucault (1998) that discourses not only produce and transmit power but also expose, reinforce and undermine

power. According to Foucault (1998), the understanding of power relations should follow a rule of "continual variations" and seek "the pattern of the modifications" (p. 99) because:

> The "distributions of power" and the "appropriation of knowledge" never represent only instantaneous slices taken from processes involving, for example, a cumulative reinforcement of the strongest factor, or a reversal of relationship, or again, a simultaneous increase of two terms. (p. 99)

Power relations become more visible especially in contradictory discourses (Parker, 2014). This current study sought to explore how power relations exist dynamically in the process of teacher unions constructing their professionalism discourses.

As policy texts allow for multiple understandings and explanations, this often results in multiple and sometimes contradictory perspectives or truths (Rapley, 2011). CDA is beneficial as it allows multiple voices to be heard (Apple, 1996; Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Instead of just focusing on dominant or visible discourses, CDA also highlights marginalised or invisible discourses (Grace, 2007; Taylor, 2004) held by the resistant or underrepresented groups (Young & Diem, 2018). In this research, CDA makes it possible to identify various discourses within teacher unions and governments about teacher professionalism. Considering that dominant discourses often define truth and knowledge, this study views discourses as a vehicle to disguise and naturalise unequal power relations (Apple, 2012). In this sense, when CDA makes marginalised discourses more visible, it also seeks to challenge dominant discourses or interrupt the order of the world (Luke, 1995). According to Apple (1999), this is a process of "subversion of unequal power" (p. 10). Critical policy scholarship is highly politicised as it deliberately challenges dominant or orthodox discourses (O'Neill, 2003). In this research, I examined how teacher unions maintain counter-discourses of teacher professionalism to those of governments.

The term 'critical' in CDA refers to the capability to judge and argue (Luke, 2004). According to Fairclough (2013a), CDA is both negative (destructive) and positive (constructive), and the former provides the foundation for the latter. Similarly, Apple (2012) argued that the term critical does not just refer to the destruction of dominant discourses, but it also contributes to constructing democratic education. In a similar way, critical policy scholarship does not just critically analyse the dominant policy but also focuses on examining the often ignored and taken-for-granted elements of policy that have negative effects on

practice (Young & Diem, 2017, 2018). O'Neill (2003) observed that there is a balance between the state's control of the teaching profession and teachers' self-regulation; and that a partnership exists between the state and teachers. However, governments often determine the extent to which this is a genuine partnership because the partnership is "advanced or curtailed largely at the discretion of the state" rather than teachers (p. 2). Hence, the perception that teachers control their profession is often an illusion.

Given that discourses are embodied, enacted and realised in texts (Parker, 2014; Phillips & Hardy, 2002), text analysis is an essential part of discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003, 2005, 2012). First, texts connect with each other in various ways rather than exist alone (Ball, 1993, 2006). Luke (1995) argued that it is the recurrent ideas or claims in these texts that constitute "intertextual networks and webs" (p. 14). Discourse analysis systematises multiple ways of speaking to make the discourse more understandable (Phillips & Hardy, 2002); discourse should be a coherent system of statements (Parker, 2014). Thus, identifying and exploring the relationships between different texts is also crucial in discourse analysis (Ball, 1993, 2006; Parker, 2014). The study of discourse should involve collecting and organising texts (Meo, 2015; Phillips & Hardy, 2002). In this research, I created datasets to organise text data, which helped in constructing a systematic narrative. Given that discourses often secretly exist in texts (Foucault, 2002), one crucial part of the discourse analysis process is to examine the implications and allusions of the texts (Parker, 2014). That is, CDA includes not only description and interpretation of policy texts but also explanation and exploration (Fairclough, 2005; Grace, 1995; Sayer, 2000). In this research, I explored how the meanings of professionalism discourses are created in specific contexts, how these discourses are used and how these discourses function (Rapley, 2011).

CDA places policy texts within their socio-historical context; on the one hand, it makes the policy texts open to further exploration; on the other hand, given that many elements in the socio-historical context have connections with policy texts, it is practically impossible to create a documentation that is exhaustive or complete (Fairclough, 2003; Gee & Handford, 2012; Sayer, 2000). Therefore, critical policy scholarship asks critical questions rather than provides standard solutions to the problems of social practice (Ball, 1993). O'Neill (2001) reflected on his doctoral research, in which he initially intended to find "definitive answers" to education problems but by the time he finished his research, he realised that the purpose of his research was to "ask meaningful and increasingly precise questions" instead of offering "definitive

answers" (p. 403). This also means that data saturation is impossible in discourse analysis (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Data collection finishes when researchers can find enough evidence to support their arguments rather than when no new information is available (Wood & Kroger, 2000). In this research, I adopted a systematic way of collecting and organising data (Section 3.3.1) with the aim of increasing the credibility and plausibility of the study.

By identifying and disentangling power relations underlying educational policy and practice, and uncovering the various discourses and voices, especially those that are marginalised or ignored, CEPS also has an educative function (Fairclough, 2001; Luke, 1995). Critical policy scholarship helps to re-theorise and articulate a new way of understanding education policy (Olssen et al., 2004). O'Neill (2003) argued that CEPS assists policy actors to understand how the social-political and economic contexts impact and shape their work and to articulate their real discourses. He went on to explain that these discourses have been challenged by the unrealistic and possibly harmful demands that have been made on the policy actors. CEPS acts as a catalytic agent, with an educative function by helping social actors to perceive their own misunderstandings (Fay, 2015) or enlighten them about their undesirable situations (Fairclough, 2001; Sayer, 2000). In other words, CEPS poses challenges to the existing perceptions of social actors (Butler, 2005) to encourage them to exercise their agency better (Apple, 1996; Luke, 1995).

More significantly, CEPS helps to identify the possibilities of ameliorating these situations (Fairclough, 2003, 2013b; Fay, 2015; Gee & Handford, 2012; Grace, 1998a; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Gunter (2020) argued that CEPS questions the "ideological underpinnings and impact of reforms, and presents the evidence for a socially just education system" (p. 58). After raising their critical awareness, social actors decide whether or not to take action to alter the unsatisfied situations (Grace, 1998a). By informing policy actors, critical policy scholarship also facilitates the democratisation of the policy process by encouraging participation and public debate (Fischer et al., 2015). Critical policy scholarship also has a "participatory orientation" to policy inquiry that functions to democratise policy inquiry (Fischer et al., 2015, p. 6). By examining professionalism discourses in teacher unions in this research, I also sought to deepen the understanding of the relevant actors in professionalism discourses, especially those linked to alternatives or marginalised discourses.

3.1.3 Policy Actors

Policy actors' perceptions are constructed by discourses (Ball, 1993; Gibbs, 2018). "We [policy actors] are the subjectivities, the voices, the knowledge, the power relations that a discourse constructs and allows" (Ball, 1993, p. 14). Although policy actors are shaped by discourses, this does not mean that they are passive; they can exercise their agency in the policy process (Ball, 2013, 2015; Youdell, 2006). It is important to note the difference between policy actors and stakeholders. Policy actors often involve themselves in the policy process and exert a certain influence on this process (Knoepfel et al., 2007; Thissen & Walker, 2013). Stakeholders are often the people who have an interest in the policy area and are directly affected by the policy (Thissen & Walker, 2013). The difference between policy actors and stakeholders is theoretical, as a social actor can be both a policy actor and a stakeholder in practice. Policy actors also include individual and collective actors (Thissen & Walker, 2013). In the current study, policy actors mainly refer to collective actors, such as teacher unions, governments, parents and students. In this research, I examined how teacher unions, as collective agencies, acted as both policy actors and stakeholders in education reforms. In particular, I explored how this dual position impacts the way teacher unions frame their own professionalism discourses.

Policy actors view policies in different ways and adopt different "secondary adjustments" based on their particular experiences, values and subjectivities (Maguire et al., 2018, p. 1063). Goffman (2017) distinguished between primary adjustments and secondary adjustments in organisations. Primary adjustments refer to individuals acting according to the requirements of their roles within an organisation, whereas secondary adjustments refer to individuals not acting according to their role requirements. Secondary adjustments incorporate not only the behaviour of resistance but also the emotional and other reactions of actors (Ball et al., 2012; Maguire et al., 2018). Ball (1993) argued that secondary adjustments were more explanatory than resistant. In later work, he and his colleagues also regarded secondary adjustments as a process of policy actors doing policy (Ball, 2006; Ball et al., 2012). In this current study, I examined how teacher unions adopt secondary adjustments and do education policies. I carried out in-depth interviews, which allowed participants to develop their own insights and observations; this was also beneficial in identifying rarely voiced or implicit meanings (Parker, 2014).

Ball et al. (2011) proposed eight roles of policy actors in the policy process: narrators; entrepreneurs; outsiders; transactors; enthusiasts; translators; critics and receivers. The distinctions among these various roles mainly refer to the different activities of encoding or decoding policy. Thus, an individual or organisation may have one main role and still undertake other policy activities. For example, teacher unions may hold a counter-discourse of an education policy and therefore are critics but they also monitor the management or implementation of the policy. They can also still be translators and narrators of the policy (Ball et al., 2011). In this research, I examined how teacher unions perform these different roles, particularly the role of critic, in relation to how they frame professionalism discourses.

Policy actors are often involved in various types of relationships with other actors in a somewhat systematic way (Thissen & Walker, 2013). According to Fairclough (2012), discourses can often "be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors" (p. 11). Therefore, there is a need to investigate the discourses held by different policy actors. When they are all stakeholders in the policy area, the potential for cooperation and interaction could increase (Knoepfel et al., 2007). For example, in the face of increasingly complex social issues, the state and civil society seek cooperation and adapt to a new network society (Koppenjan et al., 2004). Given that policy actors typically belong to various bodies and organisations, they may represent diverse interests that are subject to opposition. As a consequence, policy actors also actively promote their own values, ideas and interests in their relationship with other actors. Policy actors "seek strategic and tactical alliances in order to advance their voice and agency" in the policy development process (O'Neill, 2017b, p. 192). To achieve this goal, they develop their own language to align with their policy and direct how information is processed and circulated (Knoepfel et al., 2007).

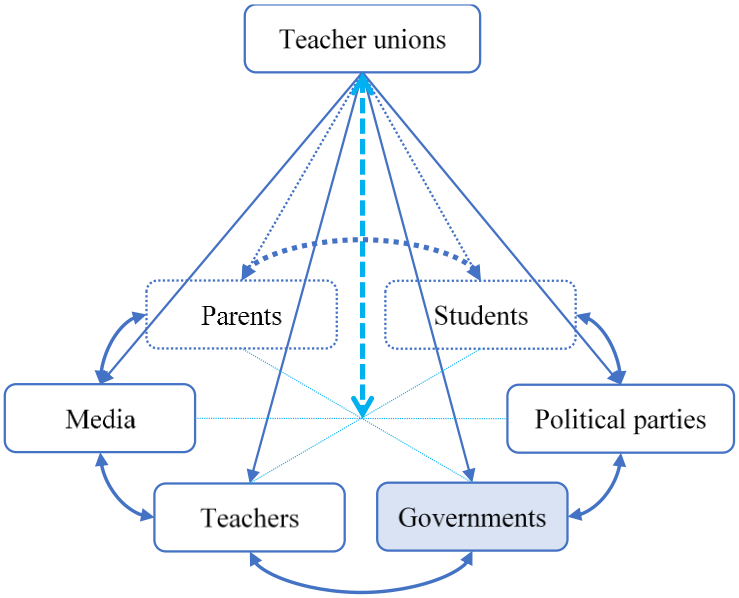
I was aware that teacher unions are involved in various types of relationships, such as with governments, teachers, students, parents, media and political parties in civil society

(Figure 3.1).[2] In these relationships, teacher unions adopt different strategies and take on different roles. An examination of these relationships would provide multiple perspectives on understanding the ways that teacher unions define teacher professionalism. However, given time constraints, this research mainly focused on how the relationship between teacher unions and governments affected the way teacher unions frame their professionalism discourses. I sought to examine how teacher unions and governments commonly understand teacher professionalism. In particular, I explored tensions and conflicts among their ordinary knowledge or taken-for-granted assumptions (Fischer et al., 2015). According to Knoepfel et al. (2007), the boundaries in these relationships are often blurred, especially when the research is about peripheral actors. As teacher unions are often categorised as peripheral actors in education policy, I also found it difficult to set the boundaries between teacher unions and governments in shaping professional discourses in the current study.

[2] As mentioned in Section 3.1, teacher unions and academics in New Zealand maintain a close relationship, which tends to make their views align with each other, albeit with some exceptions. However, in the literature reviewed (Chapter 2), the role of academics as policy actors were often missing in the discussion of teacher unions' role in framing professionalism discourses. The current study is restricted to the area of education policy and the relationship between teacher unions and governments. Therefore, although I am aware of the role of academics as an important policy actor, academics were not incorporated in Figure 3.1. I intend to explore this relationship in future research.

Figure 3.1

The Relationships of Teacher Unions with Other Policy Actors



In summary, CEPS explores the underlying power relations and the complexity of education policy and practice by locating policy texts and discourses within their socio-historical and political contexts. It tracks the development of discourses in significant historical moments to identify continuities and changes in the meanings of these discourses. Consequently, discourse should be understood as being dynamic rather than static. By allowing multiple discourses to become visible or voices being heard, especially those that are frequently marginalised and ignored, CEPS challenges common sense and taken-for-granted assumptions. CEPS functions to inform policy actors and democratise policy inquiries.

3.2 Research Questions

The current study aimed to analyse the development of professionalism discourses in the two main teacher unions in New Zealand: NZEI and PPTA. Based on the literature review and theoretical framework, I developed four primary research questions:

1. Historically, where did teacher professionalism discourses come from?
2. How have teacher unions framed teacher professionalism discourses in use since the late 1980s?
3. What are the key features of teacher unions framing teacher professionalism discourses?

4. How do teacher unions frame teacher professionalism discourses in relation to governments' discourses?

3.3 Case Study

The current study adopted a qualitative case study approach. Yin (2014), Merriam (1998) and Stake (1995) played a fundamental role in developing the case study methodology (Brown, 2008; Harrison et al., 2017; Yazan, 2015), although they held different philosophies (Brown, 2008; Yazan, 2015). While Yin was a postpositivist, Stake and Merriam were both social constructivists; Merriam was a pragmatic constructivist and Stake was a constructivist/interpretivist (Harrison et al., 2017; Yazan, 2015). Yin focused on the objectivity, validity and generalisability of research (Yazan, 2015) and stressed the combination or integration of qualitative and quantitative inquiry. Stake and Merriam maintained that there are multiple explanations of reality and that knowledge is socially constructed. Therefore, Stake and Merriam prefer to use qualitative inquiry in case study research. However, in her later research, Merriam accepted the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (Brown, 2008). Each research orientation in case study research has its advantages. For example, Brown (2008) argued that while Yin highlights the rigorous design and validity of data collection and analysis, Stake stresses the interpretative or artistic aspects of the case study and highlights the flexibility of research design, which relies on the ability of researchers' sensitivity and scepticism. Researchers take advantage of the strengths of the three research orientations rather than rely solely on one of them (Brown, 2008; Harrison et al., 2017; Yazan, 2015). As a young researcher, I was informed by Yazan (2015) and followed the guidelines of Yin to ensure the validity of data collection and analysis, although I am more philosophically aligned with Stake and Merriam, who highlight the interpretative or constructivist aspect of case study.

In academic research, the case study was often controversial (Brown, 2008). However, after half a century of development, case study research became a standard research approach to explore complex social issues (Harrison et al., 2017). Creswell et al. (2007) argued that the case study aims to explore "a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information … [and] … reports a case description and case-based themes" (p. 245). It stresses the crucial role of context in providing a rich explanation (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2014). The description of the particularity and complexity of cases (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995) has the potential to generate alternative interpretations (Cohen et al., 2018).

The case study approach aligned well with the theoretical framework described in Section 3.1 by highlighting deep and rich descriptions and interpretations.

Making generalisations from a qualitative case study was often controversial or problematic (Brown, 2008; Creswell & Poth, 2018; Miles et al., 2020). Given that cases are located in specific and concrete contexts, it would be problematic to generalise cases to other contexts (Miles et al., 2020). Yin (2014) argued that generalisation in qualitative case study research should not be understood in the same way as generalisation in quantitative research as the case is not a sample or representative of a larger population. Rather, he argued that generalisation in qualitative case study research should be understood at a conceptual level that enriches theory by offering empirical experiences and helping to generate new concepts. Yin (2014) viewed this as an analytic generalisation. Wesley (2010) argued that it was more appropriate to use the term 'transferability' in case study research than generalisability. The level of transferability relies on how closely the reader interprets the case to be similar to another case (Wesley, 2010). The current study adopted this explanation; it aimed to enhance the explanation of the theory and advance it by generating new concepts.

In response to arguments that case study research lacks rigour, objectivity and precision, Yin (2014) argued that case study research should follow strict and rigorous procedures and highlight the validity of the research procedure. He highlighted the importance of triangulating data (examining different sources of data) and establishing case study databases. In the current study, I collected data from interviews, documents and teacher union archives. These different data sources function as data triangulation. I also created case study databases to manage the various data and to ensure their retrieval in the two cases (i.e., NZEI and PPTA). A grounded theory method of data analysis was used to systematically generate themes and patterns from the interview data. I was mindful that as the researcher is the interpreter of the data in a qualitative case study (Stake, 1995), researcher reflexivity becomes essential (Creswell & Poth, 2018) (Section 3.1). I kept checking for any possible research bias by writing research memos and journals during the course of the research (Harrison et al., 2017).

To explore the role of teacher unions in the New Zealand context, NZEI and PPTA were chosen as the two typical and representative cases. These teacher unions share certain characteristics: extremely high rates of membership; their members work mainly in compulsory education sectors, and they are teachers' professional and industrial voices. The teacher unions also have different histories, traditions and philosophies of professional activity (Grant, 2003;

Simmonds, 1983). NZEI was established in 1883 and has historically been less militant, while PPTA was established in 1952 and has historically been more militant as a professional/educational organisation (Jesson, 1995). Given these similarities and differences, I anticipated that a comparison of these two teacher unions would contribute to understanding the variabilities and complexities of professionalism discourses in teacher unions. The current study was a multiple case study with two basic phases: a within-case analysis and a cross-case analysis (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015; Yin, 2014). The data analysis and discussion first focused on the research into each case, then carried out a cross-case comparison and synthesis.

3.3.1 Data Collection: Archive and Document and Elite Interviews

In the current study, I collected data from union archives, documents and interviews. The triangulation of these data sources aimed to enhance the validity (trustworthiness) of this research (Natow, 2020; Wesley, 2010). There were three stages to data collection and analysis. with two archive and document analysis processes occurring in stages one and three. At the outset of data collection, I spent half a year gathering and examining the documents and archival material of NZEI and PPTA from the last 30 years. During this time, I summarised the data chronologically. The document and archive analyses served two functions: (1) the preliminary data collection to become familiar with the research area and identify what I considered were significant historical moments and events in the development of NZEI and PPTA; and (2) it provided the background information to conduct elite interviews. Given that elite interviews require the researcher to have a strong knowledge of the research area, familiarity with the relevant archival and document data was crucial in the preparation for elite interviews.

In the second stage, I conducted interviews with key union leaders in each case in two phases. In phase one, the first two or three interviews were mainly conducted with the current national presidents and general/national secretaries of the unions, which sought to identify and confirm the significant historical moments or events in the development of the professional role of teacher unions. In phase two, interviews were conducted to investigate union leaders' perceptions of the professional role of teacher unions in these significant historical moments or events.

In the third stage of data collection, I narrowed my scope and searched archives and documents to find material that was closely related to the identified significant historical

moments and events. In this stage, I collected documents from the two teacher unions and relevant documents from governments and public media. I used the documentary evidence to check whether the interview data covered the main points of the research topic and to provide additional perspectives, from which to examine the research questions (Natow, 2020). During this stage, I created databases to store and retrieve the data.

Archive and Document Analysis.

Archive and document analysis reviews documents "to gain insights through a systematic interrogation of the documents, texts, and other material artifacts that are produced by and about organizations" (Bowen, 2009; Ventresca & Mohr, 2002, p. 2; Wesley, 2010). According to Ventresca and Mohr (2002), archive and document analysis play a crucial role in organisational research, especially in exploring the relationship between text and power. It also helps to provide historical contexts and track the historical development of the research events (Bowen, 2009; Wood et al., 2020). Archives here are historical records or collections stored in libraries or social organisations; they function as a public memory device, which plays an important role in shaping how people understand history (Harris, 2017).

The search of archives and documents requires data selection rather than data collection; selection bias may affect the quality of data (Bowen, 2009). Archives are not completely neutral or the exact truth of history (Kaplan, 2000); only certain documents can be preserved for archives, there may be selection bias in the way documents are organised (Harris, 2017; Mbembe, 2002) and documents are created for specific purposes and audiences (Yin, 2014). The archives and documents may also provide contradictory or partial information (Ventresca & Mohr, 2002). Thus, archives and documents should not be viewed as comprehensive records of history. They should be regarded as selective, fragmentary and partial collections of historical material (Bowen, 2009; Harris, 2017). Therefore, it is necessary to consider the authors, contexts, usage, interpretations and purposes of documents as well as the silences in the documents and their relationship with other relevant documents (Fitzgerald, 2012).

In the current study, I examined what has been said (written) and what has not been said (written) in documentary texts (Cohen et al., 2018). I first described and interpreted the meanings of the texts (Ball, 1993). The archive and document analyses provided ways to track the development of concepts and ideas (Bowen, 2009; Rapley, 2011). In this study, the archive and document analyses were used to examine the historical development of teacher

professionalism discourses in NZEI and PPTA. I also examined why and how documents had these meanings (Fairclough, 2012, 2013b; Rogers et al., 2005) and the power relations underlying them (Ball, 1993; Grace, 2007). I then investigated what had not been said in documents by exploring "the silences, gaps or omissions" (Rapley, 2011, p. 123) and examining "how the specific issues it [the text] raises are structured and organized and how it seeks to persuade you about the authority of its understanding of the issue" (Rapley, 2011, p. 123).

I collected documents and searched archives from four main places. The first two places were NZEI and PPTA. Here I focused on three types of documents: organisational journals; annual reports and annual conference papers. I collected most of these documents from the webpages of NZEI, PPTA, Massey University library and the online National Library. For PPTA, I collected missing documents from the PPTA office; for NZEI, I was unable to access the missing documents due to the office being relocated to new premises. Considering the relationship between governments and teacher unions, I collected official government documents from the government webpage and libraries. To examine the public profile of NZEI and PPTA, I collected articles from the mainstream media in New Zealand, such as the New Zealand Herald (Auckland), the Otago Daily Times (South Island) and Scoop. The New Zealand Herald and Otago Daily Times geographically cover the news in the whole of New Zealand. Many reports concerning NZEI and PPTA were available in Scoop media. The public media data also provided background information for this study and was a way to compensate for being a foreign researcher (Section 3.3.4). To organise these documents, four databases were established (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1

Organisation of Databases for Archives and Documents

Organisations	Contents
NZEI	• Organisational journals (1989–2021, Changing names: Ako 2019–2021; Education Aotearoa 2010–2018; 1989–2009 Rourou) • Annual Executive reports (2008–2019) • Annual conference in organisational journals, 1989–2021)

PPTA	• Organisational journals: PPTA News (1989–2021) • Annual reports (1989–2021) • Annual conferences in PPTA News **(**1989**–**2021) (Annual conference papers/reports: Teaching Council and NCEA)
Government	• Administering for excellence: Effective administration in education (Report of the taskforce to review education administration) • Tomorrow's Schools
Mainstream media	• New Zealand Herald (Auckland) • Otago Daily Times (South Island) • Scoop

I collected the mainstream media data from their websites, which meant the data related mainly to the years following 1999 when digital versions of the newspapers were available. Partly because of this, the media data focused on the policies of NCEA enacted since 2002 and National Standards enacted since 2010. In the first stage, 458 relevant articles were collected: 145 in the New Zealand Herald, 117 in the Otago Daily Times, and 157 in the Scoop (Appendix 1). These collected articles were related to the keywords: National Standards, NCEA, marketisation (competition), performance pay, class size, quality teaching, the Teaching Council, and criticism (the negative profile of teacher unions). In the second stage of document collection, 53 articles were then selected as being representative of the 458 articles (Table 3.2). I chose articles that: (1) illustrated how policy actors used mass media to persuade the viewers/readers of their policy stances; and (2) presented various voices from different actors to make the debates and tensions between different actors more visible. For example, one article presented the voices of the Education Minister, teacher unions, academics and the School Trustees Association (parents) (Trevett, 2009). Also, while one reported the National Party's education policy that emphasised parental choice and competition in the education system (Brash, 2005), another presented teacher unions' criticism of this education policy ("Parents and teachers attack National's education policy," 2005). I used NVivo to identify the most frequent words in the 458 articles and 53 articles (Appendix 2). The analysis identified similar words and frequencies, which was evidence that the 53 articles were representative of the 458 articles.

Table 3.2

Number of Selected Articles in Mainstream Media by Keyword

Keywords	Number of articles
National Standards	13
NCEA	11
Competition/Marketisation (Performance pay/ parent choice/class size)	8
Quality teaching	4
Teaching Council	3
Criticism of teacher unions	7
Others (COL/charter schools/privatisation)	7

Elite Interviews.

The study employed in-depth, semi-structured interviews to capture the participants' perceptions of the professional role of their unions. Before each interview, an information sheet (Appendices 3 and 4), a consent form (Appendix 5) and interview schedules (Appendices 6, 7 and 8) were sent to participants. All the participants signed the consent form, and all interviews were audio-recorded. Interview schedules were designed to guide the interview and enable participants to explore their own meanings and knowledge (Cohen et al., 2018; Gubrium & Holstein, 2001). The interview questions changed according to participants' personal involvement and interests in their organisations. For example, the interview questions varied between participants involved in union activities in the late 1980s, the 1990s and the 2010s. During the interviews, I focused on "how people frame their views, why they hold those views, and how they make connections or demonstrate disjunctions among discrete opinions" (Hochschild, 2009, p. 1).

The participants were former or current national presidents and secretaries, and senior officers in NZEI and PPTA. Considering the special status of participants, these were 'elite' interviews; that is, the participants were chosen because of their positions (Hochschild, 2009;

Walford, 2012). Elite participants often have "comparatively high social status and the associated privileges" (Littig, 2009, p. 99) and have the decision-making authority in their organisations (Morse, 2019). There were four reasons for choosing the leaders of the teacher unions as the participants in this study. First, few studies have focused on the role of union leaders in education policy research (Cookson, 2003). Second, policy union leaders typically represent the views of their respective unions in most situations and those of their members. These individuals also often have had a leading role in the development of their union. Third, this research concerned the role of teacher unions. Role clarity is one of the fundamental questions faced by teacher unions and is the main concern of union leaders. Fourth, leaders of teacher unions have expert knowledge and rich practical experience, which would facilitate my understanding of the research topic. In this instance, they may also be described as 'key informants' (Marshall, 1996), who offer access to other participants who have contrary or corroboratory ideas (Yin, 2014). Thus, the choice of union leaders as participants was strategic to fill the absence of union leaders' voices in academic research and to facilitate the progress of the current study.

The elite interviews, similar to traditional journalist interviews, require the researcher to have a good knowledge of the background information and participants before the interview (Ball, 2003a; Berry, 2002; Hochschild, 2009). Cookson (2003) argued that it is important to know the "ideological fields and institutional settings" of the participants (p. 127). As mentioned previously, I spent six months reading documents and archival material of the two teacher unions to become familiar with the context before I conducted the interviews. Before the interviews, I searched the participants' public profiles via Linkedin, Facebook, Twitter and other websites, as well as the organisational journals and documents. I also read through available documents or watched online videos of the participants, as well as important documents that were related to when the participants were actively involved in their union activities. As English is my second language, I listened to participants' videos several times to become familiar with their accents and prepare for the interview. I found that the preparations helped me build confidence and ask follow-up questions in the interviews. Ball (2003a) argued that it is crucial for the researcher to balance knowledgeability and naivety: knowledgeability gives the researcher credibility as a professional researcher, and naivety allows the participants to provide more valuable information. In the current study, even with lots of preparations, I

limited the amount of time I spoke during the interviews and left as much time as possible for the participants.

Access to elite participants is often difficult (Morse, 2019; Walford, 2012). Given my status as a foreign student researcher, approaching the organisations' leaders was difficult. Therefore, my supervisors helped me to contact the present national presidents and general secretaries of each union for the initial interviews. These interviews were beneficial as they identified the significant historical moments and events in the unions' development. From this point, I used snowball sampling to locate other important participants; it is an important way to identify potential participants in elite interviews (Morse, 2019). This research also showed that it was crucial to build a professional reputation when approaching potential participants. Cookson (2003) argued that elite participants tend to weigh up the quality and value of the interview before they decide to participate and communicate with each other about the interviews. Therefore, the professional reputation of the researcher is crucial to gain access to elite participants. In the current study, during the first few months, the pace of the PPTA interviews was slow. Ball (2003a) suggested that the researcher needs to be persistent in approaching elite participants. As the interviews progressed and my professional reputation as the researcher increased, more participants were identified and accepted the interview invitation.

As it was easier to access PPTA participants and establish a rapport with the organisation, I began by interviewing PPTA participants, followed by interviewing NZEI participants. My experience of approaching participants in NZEI differed from that in PPTA. When I approached potential NZEI participants, many politely declined the invitation to take part in an interview. Some potential participants were worried about the conflict between their current role and their previous role in NZEI; others stated that their work was directed by union leaders whom I had already interviewed, and therefore I did not need to interview them. As a consequence, there were fewer participants from NZEI than from PPTA. The interviews were finished when no more potential participants were identified or accessible. In the case of PPTA, I interviewed most of the key union leaders who worked during the last 30 years. In the case of NZEI, I interviewed many key union leaders. In total, 24 interviews were conducted for this research: eight in NZEI and 16 in PPTA (Appendices 9 and 10). Although this uneven number of participants may have had an impact on comparisons between the two unions, the involvement of participants from both unions covered the last 30 years of union history. This

ensured, to the extent possible in the circumstances, the representativeness of the participants and the comparability of the two teacher unions.

Another typical feature of elite interviews is the power relations between participants and researchers (Cookson, 2003; Ellersgaard et al., 2021; Lancaster, 2017). Walford (2003) argued that elite participants might lead the interview to suit "their own ends" (Walford, 2003, p. 225). Equally, the researcher might be intimidated by the power of participants (Cookson, 2003). However, in the current study, the interviews did not appear to suffer much from such a power imbalance. On the contrary, as a young researcher, I felt well-supported by most participants. For example, many participants spent one or two weeks preparing for their interview to be able to recall memories and collect relevant documents. During the interviews, the participants were patient, willing to explain more fully when necessary and were friendly to me as a young researcher. After the interviews, many participants meticulously edited their transcripts to make them clearer. As Ball (2003a) argued, the elite participants "present[ed] themselves in a good light, not to be indiscreet, to convey a particular interpretation of events, to get arguments and points of view across, to deride or displace other interpretations and points of view" (pp. 97–98). Most participants were also excellent communicators and expressed their points of view clearly.

It is worth noting the complexity of participants' roles in the current study. First, most participants had not only acted as union leaders but had also been teachers or principals. This was the case for 21 out of the 24 participants. The three exceptions were Rosslyn Noonan (NZEI National Secretary, 1988–1996), Paul Goulter (NZEI National Secretary, 2008–2022) and Kevin Bunker (PPTA General Secretary, 1977–2014) who did not have a teaching background. The more interviews I conducted, the more I realised that union leaders had usually also been classroom teachers who still had strong links to classroom teaching and were passionate about the quality of teaching and children's learning. Second, participants either spoke about the activities they had been involved in and/or about their own personal observations; thereby acting as agents and bystanders (Pierce, 2011). Third, most participants had 'retired'. Some participants retired because they had reached a certain age or term, and others because they changed jobs. For instance, some interviews were conducted with people, who had retired from the teacher union (NZEI or PPTA) and now worked in government, such as Angela Roberts (Parliament), and Tom Haig and Colin Tarr (Ministry of Education (MoE)).

It was important to be aware that their special or new role might have an impact on their perceptions, especially of the relationship between teacher unions and governments.

Approaching and conducting interviews with these retired people had advantages and barriers. According to Ball (2003a), participants who are retired and "out of office" tend to be "more revealing, interesting, and frank" than those still in office (p. 98). This speculation suggests that retired people feel they have less to lose by speaking out. In the current study, retired people tended to be more open than non-retired people. For instance, Frances Nelson and Liz Horgan (both retired) expressed their concern that the professional role of NZEI had declined, while this type of comment was not made in other interviews. The retired participants were also more generous in the time they gave to their interview. Many interviews with retirees lasted about two hours compared with an hour for most interviews with participants still in office. I encountered four main barriers in approaching and interviewing retirees: (1) they feared their knowledge might be outdated because they had been retired for a while; (2) they worried their comments might be seen as judgemental and would irritate people currently in office; (3) they may have been reluctant to participate in academic research, and (4) some found it difficult to recall events that happened 30 years ago in detail, mentioning during the interview that their memories were somewhat unclear or blurry.

Due to the impact of COVID-19 in 2021, most interviews were conducted via Zoom. Each interview lasted between one and two hours to ensure participants had sufficient time to explore their views on the professional role of their unions. Most interviews were conducted with one participant, except for the joint interview with Adele Scott and Anthony Neyland in PPTA. They were both advisory officers of professional issues, their jobs were often interrelated and they often shared responsibilities for the union's professional activities, and they had only been in their positions for a relatively short time (Scott began her job in 2019 and Neyland in 2018). Therefore, Scott and Neyland asked to have their interviews conducted together. During the interview, their ideas supplemented and reinforced each other's, which deepened the conversation. For example, when Scott mentioned her recent involvement in PPTA activities, she highlighted the good relationship between PPTA and the government. Immediately, Neyland commented that this might be due to their position as advisory officers of professional issues, but also pointed out that, in different circumstances, such as the industrial aspects, the relationship might be vastly different. Therefore, as advisory officers of professional issues, they needed to be aware of industrial ramifications.

I have used the real names of participants in reporting the findings of this research. Ellersgaard et al. (2021) noted that in "a high-trust society with tradition for low power distance", elite participants often prefer to use their real names (p. 10). This may be why most participants in this current study chose to use their real names and not pseudonyms. They argued that people would be able to guess a respondent's identity based on the ideas and information expressed, given it was a small community. For instance, Bronwyn Cross said that:

> I don't think it's right to have anonymous views and it wouldn't take much for someone to work out who it is anyway. It wouldn't be a secret because, as soon as they saw those things I've been saying about Tomorrow's Schools, they'd know who said that.

Using participants' names in this research freed me from trying to mask their identity, which can be extremely difficult with elite participants and helped me to contextualise the interview data (Ellersgaard et al., 2021; Lancaster, 2017).

The audio recording of each interview was transcribed by a commercial service. All transcribers were required to sign a confidentiality form beforehand. Within four days after each interview, transcripts were returned to participants for editing or clarification. Many participants returned their edited transcripts suggesting changes to expression, adding more details or deleting sections that they thought were irrelevant or too sensitive. According to Lancaster (2017), this is a way that participants exert control over the interview data. Immediately after each interview, I documented the key points of the interview. This helped me gain a general sense of the data and informed the following interviews. I listened to the interview recordings several times to become familiar with the data before I began the analysis.

3.3.2 Data Analysis: From Codes to Themes

This study adopted a grounded theory method to analyse the interview data. Grounded theory method is "systematic emergent theory generation" (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 714) where the codes and categories emerge from the data. The grounded theory method is also an effective way to avoid "wishful thinking or self-fulfilling prophecies" that would lead to the data being contaminated by the researcher's preconceptions (Pierce, 2011, p. 11). Bazeley (2021) stated that the coding process often includes two phases: open coding and focused coding. Open coding involves identifying and labelling codes (Goulding, 1999) and forms part of the process of analysing the data (Bazeley, 2021). Focussed coding involves interpreting the codes to develop analytical categories. This process is also called pattern coding or focused coding,

which are “explanatory or inferential codes, ones that identify a theme, configuration, or explanation” (Saldaña, 2021, p. 730). I adopted these two phases to analyse the interview data as a process that moved from identifying codes to generating categories and themes (Bazeley, 2021; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Creswell, 2019; Grbich, 2012; Saldaña, 2021; Wellington, 2015). Recoding and reinterpreting the data and revising the themes occurred throughout the whole data analysis process (Cohen et al., 2018).

The First Phase: Open Coding.

In the initial coding phase, the codes emerged from the data rather than being guided by a pre-existing theoretical framework. I used the participants’ own words or phrases to name the codes or named the code based on the meaning of the data. The principle here was to “let the data speak for itself” (Grbich, 2012, p. 261). During the coding process, I considered the balance between generality and specificity (Bazeley, 2021). Bazeley (2021) and Grbich (2012) highlighted that when coding, it is important to have a broad and comprehensive picture of the data. In prior coding practice with NVivo, more than 600 codes (sentences) emerged from one case. This was overwhelming and unmanageable. Therefore, I adopted the suggestion of Creswell and Poth (2018) to code segments. This helped me to select the more general codes that were proper and sufficient to capture the whole picture emerging from the data.

The coding process also aims to capture the essence and complexity of the data. Cohen et al. (2018) viewed this process as data reduction by “distilling the key points of the phenomenon in question” (p. 643). However, other researchers have challenged the use of data reduction. For example, Bazeley (2021) regarded coding as “an analytic process” instead of a process of data reduction (p. 287). Similarly, Miles et al. (2020) warned that data reduction risks losing the complexity of data; they saw this process as data condensation, that is, organising, sharpening and discarding data. Despite the different terms researchers have used, they all emphasise that the process of coding should capture the essence and maintain the complexity and the multiple perspectives and interpretations of the data. (Bazeley, 2021; Cohen et al., 2018; Saldaña, 2021). It is also important to identify the contradictory information in the data (Creswell & Poth, 2018) to increase the rigour of data analysis (Rapley, 2011). This study aimed to capture the complexity of the data by identifying and visualising the contradictions, tensions and inconsistencies. NVivo was used to organise quotes and capture the data’s complexity.

Codes in each interview transcript were listed in a word document at the end of this coding process. The codes were keywords rather than sentences. The number of codes in each transcript varied according to the length of the interview and the richness of the data; 20 to 40 codes for each interview. Drawing from the theory of Ryan and Bernard (2003), a wordlist is an important strategy for identifying themes. A 24 wordlist was generated for each interview transcript: eight in NZEI and 16 in PPTA.

The Second Phase: Focused Coding.

The second phase involves generating categories and themes based on the codes identified in phase one. Ryan and Bernard (2003) pointed out that the categories and themes are "abstract and (often fuzzy) constructs" (p. 87). In this research, I adopted two steps to generate categories and themes: (1) categorise the codes and (2) explore the relationship among categories and identify themes (Saldaña, 2021). More specifically, I adopted a systematic procedure to organise the codes. This also ensured each code was retrievable. There were four steps in this procedure: (1) codes in each transcript were given a different colour so they could be retrievable; (2) codes were categorised (with coloured codes and without code reduction); (3) themes were generated from the categories (with coloured codes and without code reduction), and (4) repeated codes or codes with similar meanings were removed and the colours of codes were removed, developing a concise version of codes, categories and themes.

When categorising the codes, codes in each interview were combined within each case and used to recontextualise the codes. According to Bazeley (2021), this "is not about a loss of context, but about seeing data in a new context" (p. 293). Sometimes it is necessary to locate the codes back into the original text to clarify their specific meanings. This is known as the Key Words in Context (KWIC) (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). For example, the code 'collective' in some parts of a transcript referred to the collective aspect of the teaching profession and education system (the national teaching profession and public education system) while in other contexts, it referred to the teacher union as the collective voice of teachers. Therefore, the specific meanings of 'collective' in the transcripts were checked. During the process of categorising the codes, a constant comparison was made between categories until no more variations (new categories) could be identified.

The relationships among categories were then explored and themes were generated from related categories. According to Wellington (2015), the generated categories and themes

should be mutually exclusive. I checked the logic and coherence as well as the comparisons and contradictions among categories and themes. Some names of categories and themes were informed by the literature. For instance, in NZEI interviews, the category 'de-professionalisation' included the codes of 'simplistic measurement', 'unmanageable' and 'demoralised'; the category of 'counter-discourses' included the codes of 'confrontation' and 'criticism'. The generation of categories and themes here was based on the meanings rather than the 'quantitative values' (Goulding, 1999). After the themes had been generated, the redundant codes were identified and deleted. For each case, a concise wordlist and codebook were generated (Appendix 11 and 12).

Bazeley (2021), Ryan and Bernard (2003) and Saldaña (2021) have all emphasised the importance of repeated words or ideas for identifying themes. Bazeley (2021) stated that when people repeat words or ideas, it may mean there is rich information about these words or ideas, and variations in the use of these words and ideas offer an opportunity for making comparisons. Therefore, she called for special attention to be paid to repeated words or ideas. This study used NVivo to identify the most frequent words in each case. The most frequent words were then used to help identify categories and themes. Most of the 50 most frequent words in NZEI interviews identified by NVivo (Appendix 13) also appeared in the wordlist. A newly identified word was 'university'. In NZEI transcripts, 'university' is mostly related to academics or research conducted by a university. Therefore, 'university' was categorised as 'research'. In PPTA interviews, most of the 50 most frequent words in NVivo (Appendix 14) also appeared in the wordlists. A newly identified word was 'Executive'. In the transcripts, 'Executive' is most often referred to the PPTA Executive that union members elected. Therefore, 'Executive' was categorised as 'The collective voice'. Generally, the identified codes, categories and themes were highly representative of the NZEI and PPTA interview data.

3.3.3 Ethical Considerations

Three main factors were considered when considering the appropriate human ethics approval pathway at Massey University: the purpose of the research, the capability of participants to undertake an interview, and any special relationship with the participants. The purpose of this research was to understand the professional role of teacher unions, which was not considered to be particularly sensitive. I chose to interview elite (expert) participants, who are usually excellent communicators and would have considerable autonomy in an interview.

I had no special relationship with the participants and their organisations. Therefore, I applied for low-risk human ethics approval (Ethics Notification Number: 4000022616).

Pseudonyms are often used in reports of qualitative research to protect potentially vulnerable participants. However, participants in elite interviews tend to choose to retain their names in reports of the findings and are usually not 'vulnerable' people. Lancaster (2017) argued that elite participants are very skilful in conversation and well aware of potential risks when disclosing sensitive information. Ellersgaard et al. (2021) also argued that "the ability to disclose sensitive information and to choose whether elite informants can attach their status to their responses further add to the power plays of elite interviews" (p. 11). During the interviews, some participants indicated that I should not use certain sections of their transcript they thought contained sensitive information or asked how their interview data would be used. Generally, the participants in the current study were skilled communicators or conversationalists. Walford (2003) stated:

> [The participants] are used to their ideas being taken notice of. They are well able to deal with interviewers, to answer and avoid particular questions to suit their own ends, and to present their own role in events in a favourable light. They are aware of what academic research involves, and are familiar with being interviewed and having their words tape-recorded. In sum, their power in the educational world is echoed in the interview situation, and interviewers pose little threat to their own positions. (p. 225)

Although the participants permitted me to use their real names, I also considered the potential risk of using the interview data. Copies of the interview transcripts were sent to participants to clarify, verify and delete any information they did not want to be used. In addition, other participants' names were not mentioned if the interviewed participant did not ask or I did not need to convince them of the professional credibility of the research. I was concerned that if participants knew that I had interviewed a particular expert in a professional activity, they might avoid talking about that activity. People's knowledge of each other within each organisation may impact the quality of data collection. In short, I sought to ensure each interview was independent and avoid data contamination.

3.3.4 Reflexivity

A qualitative researcher is considered to be an instrument, and therefore reflexivity plays an essential role in the qualitative research process (Cohen et al., 2018; Pezalla et al.,

2012). Reflexivity occurs throughout the research process, from the selection of the research topic to the design and the collection and analysis of data and the presentation of findings (Lumsden, 2019; Pierce, 2011). Reflexivity can be understood in two ways: (1) it refers to the values and experiences of the researcher (Lincoln et al., 2018) and (2) it explores how these values and experiences impact or shape the researcher's analysis (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Macbeth (2001) viewed the former as "positional reflexivity" and the latter as "textual reflexivity" (p. 35). More attention should be paid to textual reflexivity, which could address "the work of writing representations" (Macbeth, 2001, p. 41) and explore how knowledge develops in the process of research or "the way in which knowledge is co-constructed with the researched" (Lumsden, 2019, p. 13). Power relations also play a crucial role in shaping the interaction of the researcher with the researched (Lumsden, 2019).

As a foreign student researcher, I encountered certain challenges in this research. The New Zealand culture was and is somewhat strange to me. Before I began this research (July 2019), I had only studied and worked in China, which has a totally different socio-political context from New Zealand. In particular, I am not familiar with the Western culture of civil society and politics, which were crucial to conducting this research. It was not until I undertook the initial data analysis that I began to understand the meanings embedded within Western culture (e.g., norms and values). Choosing teacher unions as a research topic also presented challenges, for instance, these types of teacher unions in most Western countries do not exist in China. Therefore, I had limited knowledge and cultural experience of Western-type teacher unions. This research was also a CEPS study that ideally requires the researcher to have in-depth, background knowledge to uncover the power relations behind the research issues.

I was mindful that I did not have a lived understanding of the nuances of education policy and practice in the way that people who had lived in New Zealand and worked in education through this research period would have. While this may have limited my ability to conduct a CEPS study, my cultural background may also be viewed positively. My lack of knowledge and experience of Western culture was an advantage as I did not have preconceptions about the context of the study. My position and reflexivity allowed me to examine issues that a New Zealander might dismiss as normal, unremarkable or part of their 'every day'.

I experienced certain barriers in this research, particularly in interviews, from English being my second language. Typically, in elite interviews, interviewers must be excellent

conversationalists (Berry, 2002). I anticipated that a language barrier might present difficulties, especially when participants had strong New Zealand accents. However, to manage this challenge, I sent the interview schedule to participants before their interview, which allowed them to consider the questions in advance. As most participants excelled in the interview discussions, the language barrier posed very few challenges. During the interviews, I also positioned myself as a young researcher, who was passionate about the research topic and eager to learn more, which encouraged the participants to share their ideas, information and experiences with me.

The interviews also deepened my understanding of the researcher's special role in relation to the participants. Hochschild (2009) pointed out the different ways participants and the researcher think. Compared to participants who actually participate in practice and often have rich practical knowledge, researchers often have theoretical knowledge and are good at theoretical thinking. She argued that posing one's analytic questions to the other might be problematic and result in "puzzled stares and silence or stammers" (p. 1). I encountered this problem in the interviews. When a participant mentioned that the education reforms posed a fundamental challenge to teachers' working lives, I asked whether this reflected a process of "de-professionalisation", a word I had learnt from the literature. It was clear that the participant did not understand this term; her answer was quite short. Hence, in subsequent interviews, I avoided using academic terms, especially those that reflected any potential preconceptions.

In terms of "whose side to be on" or partisanship (Lumsden, 2019, p. 156), I was generally on the side of teacher unions in this current study. Pierce (2011) argued that there is already prejudice in choosing research topics and Denzin (2009) stated that "inquiry is always political and moral" (p. 155). Researchers choose a research topic as being interesting and/or worthy. Existing research on teacher unions often has two opposite tendencies. Researchers are positive about the function of unions in society and tend to enhance their reputation. These researchers generally have working experience in teacher unions, such as Osmond-Johnson (2015), Alison (2007) and Simpkin (2002). Other researchers view teacher unions as being detrimental to the education system and should be removed, such as Moe (2011). I chose this area of research because I am interested in the role of teacher unions as a democratic professional voice for teachers and believe that teacher unions play an important role in teachers' working lives. After being immersed in the data (documents and interviews) of teacher unions for a long time, I am familiar with the discourses of teacher unions and have

been persuaded by these discourses in education reforms. Nevertheless, having had no special relationship with teacher unions gave me the advantage of keeping a certain distance from teacher unions and maintaining the independence and objectivity of this research.

It is also important to reflect on my preconceptions before conducting this research. My initial impressions of teacher unions were gained from how the media profiled them in relation to industrial activities. I soon realised, shortly after beginning this study, that this was inaccurate and formed mainly from public media rather than actual/contextual information sources. Public media reports most often portrayed teacher unions as special interest groups of teachers striking for a pay rise. They also sensationalised issues by arguing that teacher unions were acting in their own best interests to protect incompetent teachers. This negative image of the industrial role of teacher unions was deeply embedded in media portrayals. However, from the earliest stages of this research, it became evident that this was not the case.

I chose to examine the professional role of teacher unions as a research topic because I was interested in the role of teacher unions in teachers' professional lives. I was worried that my involvement in industrial and political activities would cause me certain political problems. Initially, I was concerned that research on the industrial and political activities of teacher unions might be politically sensitive, particularly in relation to my Chinese identity and the different political systems of China and New Zealand. Therefore, I decided to avoid examining industrial activities as they might unnecessarily complicate the research. However, as the research progressed, the literature and my fieldwork data suggested that it was naïve to think that the industrial and professional aspects of teacher unions could be separated. The fieldwork data indicated that politics was an essential part of, and deeply embedded in, the professional activities of teacher unions. This indicates that I kept an open mind to emerging ideas and concepts during the data analysis. As a consequence, this research has deepened my understanding of the relationship between the professional, industrial and political aspects of teacher unions in the New Zealand context.

3.4 Summary

In the current study, CEPS provides a valuable approach to deepening our understanding of teacher professionalism discourses in teacher unions. CEPS informed this current study in two ways: (1) it was necessary to track the historical development of teacher professionalism discourses and during this process, examine the changes and continuities over

time and ask why and (2) it was necessary to explore how teacher unions' relationships with other policy actors (governments) impact the way they frame professionalism discourses. In particular, it was essential to examine the critical role of teacher unions as policy actors: why and how they maintain counter-discourses of teacher professionalism to governments.

The qualitative case study approach provided more specific procedures and methods to examine how teacher unions frame teacher professionalism discourses. Data were collected from documents, archives and interviews. The interview data played a predominant role in the data collection. Document and archive data provided useful background information and were triangulated with the interview data, serving to increase the credibility of the fieldwork data. The data analysis followed a grounded theory method, from codes to themes. In short, the data collection and analysis followed a systematic procedure to ensure the credibility of the current study. Researching two teacher unions offered the opportunity to compare similarities and differences in the ways they framed teacher professionalism discourses. The results of data analyses are reported in the following chapters.

Chapter 4

Images of Teacher Unions in Mainstream Media

In the mainstream media, the teacher unions – NZEI and PPTA – expressed views that some government education policies posed significant challenges to the teaching profession and the education system. The teacher unions were prominent critics and opponents of the introduction and implementation of the education policies, such as National Standards, charter schools, class size and performance pay. Considering that most reports in the mainstream media over the last 20 years – the period surveyed – were related to education standards (the NCEA and National Standards), this chapter focuses on how the teacher unions dealt with the introduction and implementation of education standards policies and how they framed their own professionalism discourses within this context. At this time, teacher unions were sometimes accused of maintaining the status quo to protect their vested interests. This chapter also explores how the professional role of teacher unions was publicly positioned in mainstream media over the last 20 years.

4.1 Role of Teacher Unions in Education Standards

Given that the introduction of education standards has become a crucial way governments use to improve education quality, it is important to investigate their impacts on teacher professionalism. In the 2000s, new education standards were introduced into public education sectors in New Zealand; in 2002, the Labour-led government introduced NCEA into secondary schools and in 2010, the National-led government introduced National Standards into primary and intermediate schools. An analysis of media data showed that PPTA and NZEI opposed the introduction of education standards; however, the reasons they opposed them were quite different.

4.1.1 NCEA: Industrial and Professional Aims of PPTA

It was reported in the mainstream media that, although PPTA was not opposed to the principles of NCEA, the pressure of industrial issues (salary and conditions) led PPTA to oppose the introduction of NCEA ("Mallard stands firm on start date for NCEA," 2002). The government appeared to criticise PPTA for its mix of industrial and professional aims that led to problems with the implementation of NCEA. For example, Education Minister Trevor Mallard said:

> A boycott of NCEA matters for months on end, a refusal to attend workshops because of a ban from the Post Primary Teachers Association national executive, I think, is a reason that a lot of teachers were not well on top of this approach.... I think it's fair to say industrial and other matters caused some disruption. ("Mallard blames teachers for NCEA problems," 2002, paras. 4–5)

Similarly, the National Party said that, due to the opposition and industrial activities of the teacher unions, the government should delay the implementation of NCEA("National Party wants new qualification delayed," 2001).

On the other hand, the mix of industrial and professional aims also posed a huge challenge to PPTA itself. For example, in the face of the introduction of NCEA in 2002, the incoming PPTA president, Phil Smith, commented that PPTA had a "very important decision to make – how to stand together to work toward goals that advance secondary school education as well as upholding the diverse position of our members" ("NCEA shaping up to split union," 2002, para. 7). Similarly, one journalist commented:

> Heated debates, teacher strikes and doubts over resourcing married the introduction of the secondary school qualification… Even the tightly-knit Post Primary Teachers' Association (PPTA) was almost split down the middle by the NCEA when some of its members wanted to ban implementing the next level but others did not. (Oliver, 2003, paras. 2, 4)

The mix of industrial and professional aims posed significant challenges to PPTA itself for maintaining its professional role in the public eye and enhancing its cohesion as an organisation.

4.1.2 National Standards: The Oppositional Role of NZEI

An analysis of the media data showed that, although NCEA and National Standards were both instances of the official introduction of achievement and assessment standards into school education, the response of NZEI was quite different from PPTA's. Compared with NCEA, the introduction of National Standards was more controversial, dramatically increasing tension between the government and the education sector. From the perspective of NZEI, teachers and principals strongly opposed the introduction of National Standards into primary and intermediate schools (NZEI, 2012b) and the education sector had no confidence in the

National Standards policy (Lewis, 2009). NZEI appeared to challenge the credibility of the National Standards policy which they characterised as:

> [a] time-pressured implementation, a lack of evidence, no trial of the standards, the limited professional development, the design flaws (the standards do not match present achievement norms), and the issues with moderation and national consistency. Principals were concerned about the potential for National Standards to narrow the curriculum, and be used to label children, create league tables, and enable performance pay. (Lewis, 2010, paras. 9–10)

NZEI was so opposed to National Standards that they threatened to take industrial action (Trevett, 2009).

In response to the NZEI's opposition, the government criticised teacher unions for manufacturing a crisis. The tension between the government and NZEI can be seen in the following extract, where they used and interpreted data in quite different ways:

> The education unions are saying up to a quarter of schools and their boards are not complying with the Ministry of Education's requirements with respect to the standards; further, they maintain many of those complying are doing so at a minimal level to avoid litigation. For its part the ministry figures, backed up by the minister's assertions, suggest about 80% of schools are complying. ("Standoff over standards," 2011, paras. 9–10)

Moreover, NZEI's opposition to the National Standards policy was considered unprofessional by critics, such as John Langley, the CEO of Cognition Education:

> The teachers and principals are, of course, claiming the moral high ground by posturing that it is ethically irresponsible to impose a set of standards that are not tested.… this action [opposition of National Standards] is nothing to do with ethical considerations of any kind. It is a petulant response to an initiative they simply do not like and do not want to undertake…. At what point did a group of professional public servants, such as teachers and principals, gain the right to effectively undermine government policy and the law? If any of those teachers, principals or boards of trustees believes the requirement to implement the National Standards is either morally or ethically reprehensible they should do what has always been done - resign. (Langley, 2010, paras. 18–20, 23)

Notably, as mentioned in Section 4.1.1, when the Labour-led government introduced NCEA into secondary school education, the National Party argued that, in light of the industrial activities of teacher unions, the government should delay its introduction ("National Party wants new qualification delayed," 2001). Similarly, the later National-led government introduced National Standards into primary and intermediate schools, and the Labour Party became aligned with teacher unions to strongly oppose this policy ("Labour vow welcomed," 2011). These examples suggest that education policy was being treated more as a tool for political leverage than an educational concern in its own right. The politics of education policy are further illustrated in the findings of NZEI and PPTA (Chapters 5 and 6).

4.1.3 Education Standards and Performance Pay

In the 2000s, it was reported, mainly from the perspective of the National Party, that education policies were needed that stressed standards and competition, leading to a fundamental change in the education system. It was believed that this would help deal with the lack of parental involvement in education issues. For example, the leader of the National Party, Don Brash, argued:

> Too many parents are frustrated by the lack of choice for their children, by the political correctness drilled into their children, and by the conspiracy to hide failure and disguise the performance of their children and of their schools. Too many inspired teachers are frustrated and demoralised, and too many have left the profession. Large numbers of students are leaving school without the basic rudiments of literacy and numeracy, particularly in the Maori [Māori] and Polynesian communities. There is a huge gap between our best and worst educated students, and our national qualification, the NCEA, is in a state of chaos. Meanwhile, the teachers and principals on the front line are increasingly weighed down by the bureaucratic demands of the Ministry of Education. (2005, paras. 5–6)

Similarly, John Key highlighted that “unless you measure, monitor and report something, you won't effect the change that you need” ("'Time for action' on school standards: Key," 2009, para. 10). The National Party argued that there was a need to increase accountability and transparency in teaching and learning, and proposed to introduce performance-related pay for teachers to improve teaching quality.

However, it was reported that PPTA and NZEI strongly opposed the emphasis on standards and competition in teachers' work. Analysis of the media data revealed that NZEI viewed the introduction of standards and competition as undermining the main principles of teacher professionalism and the public education system, such as trust, collaboration and equity. For example, NZEI primary teacher leader and Otago convener, Lee Phillips, said:

> the Government wanted to bring in reforms based on business models that would cut investment in teaching and learning, increase competition and increase inequity in the school system. The GERM [Global Education Reform Movement] focuses on competition and privatisation in schooling under the guise of bringing in more choice and accountability. The GERM has infected our system through standardisation (National Standards) competition between schools (league tables) taxpayer-funded private schools (charter schools) and proposals to link teacher pay to student achievement (performance pay). (Lewis, 2012, paras. 5–7)

He went on to argue that the education system should be based on "equity, teacher professionalism, collaborative practice and trust-based responsibility" (para. 8).

It was also reported that the teacher unions viewed these education policies as creating an atmosphere of mistrust in the teaching profession by emphasising compliance rather than teachers' professional judgements. The unions believed that education policies had increased the external control of the teaching profession, which undermined teachers' professional autonomy. For instance, PPTA president Kate Gainsford said:

> the profession was feeling the pressure of excessive compliance, a climate of mistrust, and having too little control over teachers' working lives. The fact is, we will continue to struggle to recruit teachers and will continue to burn out the ones we have if we don't recognise the importance of nurturing professional satisfaction. There is too much direction and surveillance and not enough intellectual freedom and creativity. ("Teachers: Conditions undermine morale," 2009, paras. 2–4)

Moreover, the teacher unions were concerned about how the atmosphere of mistrust created by the education policy, especially how the introduction of standards into teachers' work would undermine teacher morale and 'goodwill'. For example, PPTA president Graeme Macann said:

> the Government risked losing a lot of goodwill if it sought to formalise teachers' hours. That's a pretty unfortunate exercise in teacher bashing from Nick Smith. He's a new

> minister and he ought to be doing all he can to lift moral in the sector and attacks on unidentified teachers who he says aren't working hard enough is not the way to do it. (Burge, 2000, paras. 7–8)

The teacher unions argued that performance pay would undermine collaboration in the teaching profession and was based on questionable measures of teachers' work. It would increase the competition among teachers that, in turn, would have a negative impact on the collaboration between teachers. For example, PPTA president Debbie Te Whaiti stated:

> Quality teaching is also about collegiality and trust, not about teachers being competitive, nor about teachers producing artefacts for a low trust accountability or compliance regime. In true collegiality, teachers can share their hesitations and questions, seek answers to problems, share successes and offer support to each other. (PPTA, 2006, paras. 7–8)

The teacher unions highlighted the challenges of introducing standards and competition to the teaching profession. Overall, these results indicate that there were tensions and confrontations between the government (the National Party) and the teacher unions over professional issues.

4.2 Public Views of Teacher Unions

To examine the role of teacher unions, it was necessary to investigate how they were portrayed in mainstream media. In the reviewed reports, two images of the teacher unions were apparent; as important policy actors in education policy and as selfish industrial unions.

4.2.1 Policy Actors on Professional Issues

The two teacher unions – NZEI and PPTA – were often portrayed as important policy actors in professional issues. In the mainstream media, teachers mainly referred to their respective union rather than to individual teachers; primary and intermediate school teachers referred to NZEI and secondary school teachers referred to PPTA. The two teacher unions were portrayed as the collective, representative voice of teachers that were capable and often opposed official discourses about professional issues. Other education organisations, such as the New Zealand Principals' Federation (NZPF) and the Secondary Principals' Association of New Zealand (SPANZ) also had a voice in education policy and mainstream media discourses. There were also other important policy actors, such as parents (School Trustees Association)

and academics. Thus, the two teacher unions' strong voice in professional issues was one of several other voices in the education arena (Section 5.1.2).

The teacher unions were aware of the risk of being seen as just industrial unions rather than professional and industrial organisations. Therefore, the teacher unions stressed their professional role (as opposed to their industrial role) in public. For example, PPTA president, Angela Roberts, argued:

> Particularly concerning and insulting was the review consultation document's constant references to teacher unions as "industrial advocacy groups" ignoring PPTA's long history of working towards high quality public education for New Zealand's young people. PPTA is our union, but it is our professional voice too. The minister should know you cannot separate the industrial from the professional by rebranding unions as simply "industrial advocates" and overhauling the Teachers Council. Issues like class size, non-contact time to implement NCEA and beginning teacher time allowances are all examples of issues that have both industrial and professional elements. (PPTA, 2013, paras. 7–8)

Similarly, an earlier PPTA president, Debbie Te Whaiti, commented that PPTA had a long-standing, strong commitment to promoting teacher professionalism, rather than just being a trade union (PPTA, 2006).

The teacher unions also sought to portray themselves as independent professional organisations free from political intervention. This was illustrated when both NZEI and PPTA strongly opposed changes in structure and function of the Teachers Council into the EDUCANZ. They believed that this change would undermine teachers' professional autonomy, create a low-trust atmosphere and jeopardise the independence of teachers' professional bodies. For example, the NZEI president, Judith Nowotarski, argued that this change would alter "a high-trust model [to] a low-trust, compliance-based framework" ("Teachers have 'no reason to be concerned'," 2014, para. 4). Similarly, PPTA president, Angela Roberts, argued that changes to EDUCANZ would undermine the independence of the teaching profession by constraining teachers' professional autonomy and increasing political control over teachers' working lives ("Teachers have 'no reason to be concerned'," 2014). Also, NZEI National Secretary Paul Goulter commented:

> the new council was a missed opportunity to create a truly independent professional body with the full confidence of the sector.… How can it be independent when all of its governance is directly appointed by a politician? … There will be a lack of 'ownership' by members. ("Parata alone will pick new panel," 2013, paras. 6–8)

Mainstream media was a place for debate about the role of teacher unions, as exemplified in the articles by Peter Lyons.[3] Lyons argued that the role of teacher unions as industrial unions was in conflict with their professional role and that teacher unions were more industrial unions than a professional body of teachers. For example, he argued that there was a lack of a genuine professional body for teachers and the status of teachers as professionals was still lacking:

> [I don't understand] why there is a need for teacher unions, as well as a sham professional teaching body [the Teaching Council]. The sham has been set up by politicians to ensure it is largely apolitical and therefore non-threatening. It is a facade as a professional body. The task force should also examine the role of the Education Review Office (ERO). It was initially set up as an information-gathering body to ensure parents had fuller information about the market for schools. Its role has been punitive rather than supportive. It's a sad relic of an earlier age when competition between schools was supposed to ensure efficient outcomes in the market for education. There is huge scope for positive change. But the current lack of professional status for teachers in New Zealand remains a fundamental problem for our schooling system. (Lyons, 2018, paras. 11–13)

> [I don't understand] why teachers continue to be represented by unions when lawyers, doctors and accountants are represented by professional bodies. Professional bodies are seldom attacked for their self-interest in representing their members' interests. Professional bodies control entrance into their own ranks, which is crucial in controlling bargaining power. You seldom see a lawyer or accountant standing on a traffic island

[3] Peter Lyons was an economics teacher and "a well-known and well-informed writer for the New Zealand Herald and Otago Daily Times". Meng-Yee, C. (2020, 7 August). St Peter's College mourns [the] sudden death of economics teacher Peter Lyons. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/st-peters-college-mourns-sudden-death-of-economics-teacher-peter-lyons/RPBBLGKNXI54MMH5JBZGO3ODDY/.

with a placard saying, "We are worth it!" Professions largely police their own. (Lyons, 2014, paras. 12–16)

It seems that the role of teacher unions as both professional and industrial organisations was sometimes controversial in the mainstream media.

4.2.2 Ideological Conflicts

The teacher unions sometimes faced strong criticism for being selfish. In a small number of articles presented in the mainstream media, teacher unions were criticised for being powerful, self-centred industrial unions. For example, Hames (2002) viewed teacher unions as selfish interest groups that had "monopoly powers" to "extract maximum resources for [their] members – resources which must come from other groups in society" (para. 4). Teacher unions were also portrayed as powerful organisations that undermined the interests of students and parents, and parents' rights to choose education for their children (Hames, 2002). Moreover, Hames argued that teacher unions had become too political and irresponsible in recent decades by adopting an extreme political attitude and blaming society for problems within schools.

Critics viewed the industrial activities of teacher unions as undermining the professional status of teaching. For example, ACT[4] Leader, David Seymour, stated that, "One wonders how the teaching profession can expect to compare itself with lawyers, accountants, doctors and architects when its union behaves like 1970s' wharfies" (ACT New Zealand, 2015, para. 7). Hames (2002) argued that, partly because of the political power of teacher unions, teachers were "undereducated, overpoliticised, overstressed, overobstructive and underperforming" (para. 27). In other words, these critics believed that teacher unions should take significant responsibility for an inflexible education system and the poor quality of teaching and learning.

Teacher unions were also criticised for being powerful policy actors who negatively affected education reforms. While the National Party called for fundamental change in the education system, particularly by introducing marketisation and privatisation, the teacher

[4] ACT New Zealand (ACT, Association of Consumers and Taxpayers) is "a right-wing, classical-liberal political party in New Zealand". Wikipedia. (n.d.). ACT New Zealand. In Wikipedia.org dictionary. Retrieved September 5, 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ACT_New_Zealand

unions strongly opposed it. Consequently, the teacher unions were sometimes accused by the National Party and ACT Party of being too conservative in education reforms. For example, critics argued:

> Unfortunately, the ideological opponents [such as teacher unions] of choice in education have failed to keep up with the changing times and New Zealanders' aspirations. Instead, the ideologues in government and the teacher unions continue to cling to the centralised, one-size-fits-all, Albanian model of schooling.… This must change if we are to give every New Zealand kid a fair go in life. (Education Forum, 2004, para. 23)

> It is a characteristic of labour monopolies that they vigorously resist attempts to introduce more competition into any system - for the most obvious of reasons. One teacher unionist recently described flexibility and choice as the "F" and "C" words of the 1990s. He wasn't joking. Almost anything which gave parents more choice, or schools more flexibility, seemed to be [an] anathema to the teacher unions, which often put up the most flagrantly specious arguments in opposition. (Hames, 2002, para. 17)

Consequently, the National Party blamed the conservative stance of teacher unions for their defence of "an outdated, one-size-fits-all, Wellington-directed education system" (Brash, 2005, para. 18). The conflicting ideologies between the National Party and teacher unions were made highly visible to the public.

From the National Party's perspective, the relationship between teacher unions and Labour-led governments were too 'cosy', resulting in teacher unions exerting too much influence on education policy. For example, Education Minister, Anne Tolley, said:

> People like the NZEI (New Zealand Educational Institute) have to get used to the fact that the Government has changed. The previous Labour government may well have talked to the sector for years and years about things they would like to do, but have done very little. ("Tolley denies portfolio loss due to overwork," 2010, para. 9)

> We have raised the bar for education in New Zealand and introduced standards so that kids who are falling behind can be identified and helped. Labour has opposed every step. They are content to go backwards and let one in five children keep failing in school, just to keep the unions happy. This shows that Labour are running scared of the

> unions and have no ideas of their own in education. ("Labour vow welcomed," 2011, paras. 11–12)

Critics also argued that this close relationship between teacher unions and the Labour-led government made it difficult to remove incompetent teachers and implement performance pay, causing inflexibility within the education system (Hames, 2002). Moreover, the ACT leader argued that, “Teacher unions dictate education policy, destabilise duly elected ministers of education and present themselves as the arbiters of right and proper schooling” (Hide, 2013, para. 3).

However, these critiques were more related to ideological conflicts or political issues, such as the introduction of marketisation and the relationship between teacher unions and Labour-led governments. The most widely reported critics themselves had a strong political connection with either the National Party or ACT. The negative profile of teacher unions, as viewed through contemporary mainstream media reports, was more related to ideological conflicts between teacher unions and the political right rather than necessarily being accepted or supported by most of the public. Thus, it is not possible to determine whether teacher unions had a strong negative profile in the public eye.

4.3 Summary

The teacher unions were often portrayed as active critics or opponents of education policies in mainstream media over the last 20 years. In particular, there were recurrent tensions between the National-led government or National Party and the teacher unions with respect to the introduction of education standards. PPTA and NZEI adopted different stances on the introduction of standards policies in teaching and learning. While PPTA supported the introduction of NCEA but opposed its implementation because of industrial aims, NZEI strongly opposed the introduction of National Standards. The industrial aims of PPTA also became a distraction for the organisation, leading it to focus less on the professional issues related to NCEA. In contrast, NZEI adopted industrial activities to achieve its professional aims related to National Standards. The intertwined and overlapping relationship between professional and industrial issues became apparent at this time. To understand why the teacher unions adopted different stances on the introduction of education standards policies, it is necessary to investigate the discourses around these policies within the two unions, which is addressed in the following two chapters. Nevertheless, NZEI and PPTA were very concerned

that the introduction of standards and competition would fundamentally undermine the teaching profession and public education, particularly with regard to professional collaboration, collegiality and trust.

The mainstream media appeared to portray the teacher unions as important policy actors on professional issues, although their voices were diluted by other policy actors. Criticisms of the teacher unions were more related to an ideological conflict between them and the National Party and ACT than representing public opinion. Although the teacher unions used the mainstream media to stress their professional role, the perception that their industrial and professional roles were incompatible or contradictory still existed in public. This suggests that the teacher unions experienced an identity crisis and needed to present themselves as both professional and industrial organisations. That is, the teacher unions needed to persuade the public through the mainstream media that their professional and industrial roles were compatible and to justify their role as professional associations.

Chapter 5

The Professional Role of the New Zealand Educational Institute

This chapter presents key findings from eight semi-structured, in-depth interviews with NZEI leaders and an analysis of NZEI documents. It is organised around two themes generated from codes from the interviews (Section 3.3.2) and primarily demonstrates the points of view of NZEI leaders. The first section shows that, from the perspective of NZEI leaders, the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms posed significant challenges to the professional role of teachers and their union – de-professionalising the teaching profession. The second section focuses on the impacts of increasing politicisation of education policy on the teaching profession and how NZEI framed professionalism discourses in relation to government discourses by using two examples: National Standards and the Teaching Council.

5.1 Impacts of the Tomorrow's Schools Reforms on the Teaching Profession

Seven participants[5] were asked how the Tomorrow's Schools reforms had impacted the teaching profession. They all indicated that the reforms posed significant challenges to the professional role of teachers and their union (NZEI) and the increased politicisation in teaching eroded teachers' sense of ownership of their profession.

5.1.1 Challenges to the Professional Role of Teachers

Many NZEI leaders interviewed in this study expressed their concern that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms had posed significant challenges to the professional role of teachers since the late 1980s. They had undermined the collective character of the teaching profession, relational aspects of teachers' work and trust in teachers.

Fragmentation Undermined the Collective Aspect of the Teaching Profession.

To illustrate how the Tomorrow's Schools reforms materially changed the teaching profession, Aikin, Horgan, Tarr and Nelson recalled that, prior to the late 1980s, the teaching profession was highly connected. Horgan and Aikin claimed that there was strong professional leadership at the national level, with Aikin stating:

[5] Among the eight interviews, one interview mainly focused on historical background information prior to the late 1980s. Towards the end of a two-hour interview, the participant commented, "I've only scratched the surface".

> There were Inspectors who worked with a group of schools, generally through the principal, on professional matters and there was an Advisory Service who were more hands-on in a teacher's classroom or when working with staff on professional matters They all came together to develop and share their professional knowledge. They all discussed research-based ideas. Teachers and advisers worked together and there was a sense of respect and trust for each other, and for NZEI. The system was connected and generally worked very well. Information flowed both ways.

Aikin's observation illustrates how the teaching profession was connected through the inspectors and advisory service, and the close working relationships in the teaching profession. Similarly, Tarr pointed out the important role inspectors played in providing professional experience and knowledge for principals and connecting schools. He commented that this helped to provide "cross-pollination of ideas and tailored professional development". In addition, Tarr recalled that, when he was an acting principal in a school in Auckland prior to the late 1980s, the general manager of the Auckland Education Board addressed a meeting as follows:

> You have all been appointed as educational leaders into the Auckland Education Board area. For the time being you are charged with leading the school that you have been appointed to but I want to tell you this, you have responsibilities for every child from the Bombay hills to Pokeno, from the Bombay hills to Wellsford. So the Bombay hills in the South Auckland and Wellsford's way up past North Auckland. And he said every child from that area you share the responsibility of their education. His point was you're not just looking after your own school, the kids in your own school, the teachers in your school, you have a responsibility as an educational leader for the whole of the education board district. And for the time being you are in the school that we've appointed you to but in other words we can move you round any time we like.

Overall, the teaching profession was viewed as highly connected prior to the introduction of Tomorrow's Schools.

However, Goulter, Nelson, Horgan and Tarr argued that the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms resulted in fragmentation in the teaching profession, which posed a significant challenge to the collective professional voice of the teaching profession. For example, Goulter argued that the separation of, and competition between, schools made it hard

to “keep a unity and consistency of purpose and direction”. Horgan argued that, “with the advent of Tomorrow’s Schools, we lost a whole lot of structures and relationships that meshed to enhance, maintain and highlight the professional role of teachers”. In particular, she argued that the change from the Department of Education (DoE) to the Ministry of Education (MoE) was a loss of professional leadership at the national level:

> Professional leadership of the system formerly provided by the Department of Education effectively disappeared. The new Ministry of Education was purely a policy-making body and the coherent professional voice at national level was lost. Since Tomorrow’s Schools, we seem to have had a lack of what I would call real ‘system leadership’ and this of course has affected the professional voice of teachers. At the same time, we also lost the National Advisory Service which had some very skilled educators and was also very strong in terms of national and regional provision of professional development for teachers. We also lost the Inspectorate who were a group of generally highly experienced and respected principals. This group was in close contact with schools across NZ [New Zealand] and their loss in the area of teacher professionalism was, in my view, very significant.

Horgan also commented that the professional voice of teachers was undermined and there was a loss of “a cohesive professional voice”. After comparing the teaching profession before and after the late 1980s, Nelson reached a similar conclusion, stating:

> This type of model was very different to the model NZEI operated in where it took cognisance of the importance of the collective approach/response to our work. In a sense, it helped to keep teachers (and other school staff over time) connected to each other and thinking as professionals with a greater responsibility for the sector than thinking about their own school/classroom. The new system did, however, dilute the impact of that collectively and shared purpose relative to how things worked prior to 1989. This has continued to impact on the system as a whole until we reached a point where competition overtook the collective good.

Nelson also highlighted that the collective aspect of the teaching profession was undermined by the education reforms. Moreover, Horgan argued that as the collective voice of the teaching profession was fragmented and weakened, governments tended to impose policies on the teaching profession. She went on to argue that the loss of “system leaders” also allowed NZEI

to take a strong professional leadership role; "without that 'system leadership', the need for teacher organisations to have a very strong and credible professional voice is imperative".

Document data showed that fragmentation of the education system had posed a great challenge to NZEI participating in education policy since the late 1980s:

> Of major concern to NZEI is the multiplicity of agencies and the absence of effective co-ordination between them. The thrust of the reforms has led to fragmentation and a lack of co-ordination in policy development and implementation. Whereas in the past NZEI dealt primarily with the Department of Education and the Education Boards, there are now the Ministry, Education Review Office, Teacher Registration Board, Special Education Service, Parent Advocacy Council, Community Education Forums, School Trustees Association and Education Services Centres. (NZEI, 1994d, p. 2)

In response, NZEI emphasised its role in maintaining the collective aspect of the teaching profession, especially by maintaining national professional standards:

> The days of one solution to every school-based problem no longer exist. What we must ensure is that our school-based decisions do not reduce our national standard of education or fragment our primary education system. We all must [subscribe] to the collective responsibility and ensure that our individual actions do not deny freedom to others. (Lambert, 1992a, p. 2)

A decade later, National President, Irene Cooper, also stressed that it was necessary for teachers to adopt a broad perspective in education policy:

> Today we need to take a step back and to look beyond our own school or centre experience, as we consider what a quality teacher is and what is meant by quality teaching across a system. What are the characteristics and elements of a professional framework at individual, school and system level … what expectations should we have of the system, and the system of us, and what development pathways could best reflect our aspirations? Where and with whom does the responsibility and accountability lie? (NZEI, 2005, p. 5)

Overall, NZEI viewed fragmentation of the education system as problematic and maintained the collective aspect of the teaching profession.

Competition Undermined the Relational Aspect of Teachers' Work.

Many NZEI leaders interviewed in this study argued that the introduction of marketisation (competition) by the Tomorrow's Schools reforms undermined the relational aspect of teachers' work, such as teachers' relationships with students and their colleagues. Stuart argued that the business-market model was not suitable for teaching and learning because teaching was about building relationships (with students) rather than dealing with "products". Stuart and Goulter both argued that collaboration among teachers plays a crucial role in promoting teachers' professional development; however, Stuart argued that the education reforms significantly undermined the collaboration among teachers:

> We learn from each other that there are strong, strong champions I guess or strong professional educators out there in our schools across the country. We need to learn from them. But they're often not given the opportunity to really share let alone with their own school, let alone with others because they don't get the time because everybody is so busy working within their own environment, within their own classroom. That they've got very little time to go out there and share across their own school let alone across clusters of schools. So what's happened over this last while is that there have been companies that have come in selling their professional development as being the panacea to actually make the difference for kids and for colleagues. Actually, that's not the reality. The reality is that we need to be learning from each other because we're the ones that are at the coalface doing things.

In addition, document data showed that NZEI also strongly opposed privatisation in the teaching profession, arguing that it undermined the credibility of teacher education programmes. It resulted in the fragmentation of continuing teacher education and professional learning and development (PLD) programmes being disconnected from teachers' needs. For example:

> Ministry funded professional learning and development is now outsourced through private consortia and separated from the influence and needs of the profession. It extends to 'supporting' teachers, leaders, schools and centres that are struggling in terms of meeting government directives. These 'supports' are primarily external to the profession and include the Education Review Office and the Ministry of Education's

> Student Achievement Function and often lack credibility at school and centre level. (NZEI, 2012c, p. 7)
>
> [Inservice training for teachers] has been characterised by the "one-off", "quick-fix", disjoined workshops and courses which focused on dissemination of information, and were externally organised and run. Too often teachers and advisers had little control over development needs. Teachers attended courses which were prescribed by their principal, or because it was "their turn". The course was often regarded with suspicion and resistance and made little impact. (NZEI, 1990, p. 7)

NZEI strongly opposed the proposal to introduce performance pay in the 1990s. Performance pay was viewed as "anathema to a collective work practice that forms the basis of quality teaching and education" (NZEI, 1994e, p. 3). NZEI argued that performance pay would undermine teacher morale and collaboration among teachers:

> Performance pay does not produce the desired effect because teachers exhibit a high degree of self-motivation, taking significant intrinsic rewards from their jobs…. Performance pay can cause morale and relationship problems because teachers perceived the arrangement as inherently unfair. This is especially so, when quotas are imposed and in times of expenditure restraint, when lack of money, not lack of merit, is the key determinant. Performance pay plans are based on the notion of competition. (Lambert, 1992b, p. 2)

NZEI called for a collegial and collaborative atmosphere in the teaching profession (NZEI, 1994d), arguing that "professional dialogue" among teachers should be emphasised, and the teaching profession should be "considered to be a collective rather than an individual enterprise" (Lambert, 1992b, p. 2); "teacher skill development depends heavily on collaborative support and exchange; competitive rewards thwart efforts to improve" (NZEI, 1994e, p. 3). Similarly, it was argued that teacher appraisal, as "an integral part of the process of professional development", should emphasise collaboration among teachers:

> [Teacher appraisal] is a process of co-operation which does not focus on one person, but on the results of the interaction of many factors which are involved in performing the job. Teachers are part of a team; therefore any appraisal scheme must support, not subvert teamwork. Appraisal should focus on a team approach rather than attempting

> to isolate a particular teacher's contribution. Priority setting and review, team appraisal and evaluation are all part of the professional development cycle. (NZEI, 1990, p. 7)

In addition, some NZEI leaders interviewed in this study argued that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms introduced a business model into the education system, and its accompanying free-market ideology posed a fundamental challenge to the education system. For instance, Horgan, Stuart and Aikin expressed their concern that parental choice would increase inequality in society. Horgan argued that parental choice was related to competition, which could only benefit the advantaged parents and exacerbate the connection between socioeconomic background and the quality of education. Document data also showed that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms significantly challenged the public education system (Duncan, 1995; NZEI, 1996). It was argued that "the atomisation of schools, the pressure towards user pays, the 'very simplistic but savage competitiveness' which the structures forced on schools are all developments which eroded many of the positive aspects of the reforms" (NZEI, 1996, p. 3).

Provider Capture Undermined Trust in the Teaching Profession.

Four NZEI leaders (Aikin, Horgan, Tarr, and Nelson) argued that there was a high level of trust between governments and the teaching profession prior to the late 1980s. As Aikin said:

> Teachers were provided with opportunities to share their professional knowledge/experience and voice in a variety of ways; to discuss new research-based ideas; to work with advisers and inspectors with the development of resources. There was a sense of respect and trust with teachers and NZEI.

However, many NZEI leaders argued that this high-trust relationship had significantly changed since the late 1980s. For example, Aikin recalled that NZEI was viewed as maintaining a too-close relationship with governments prior to the Tomorrow's Schools reforms:

> There was a feeling at that time in the 1980s that when it came to pay negotiations or the industrial side of things, the NZEI was negotiating too well, they were getting too much of the resource for the members in salaries or conditions of service, because they had a close relationship with the Department.

She commented that since the reforms, governments had tended to distrust the professional role of teachers and their unions (NZEI), arguing that governments viewed teachers and their unions as capturing education to make education serve their interests rather than those of students. Governments viewed teacher unions as barriers to educational reforms.

In turn, Aikin and Rutherford argued, teachers did not trust governments. For example, Rutherford pointed out that the distrust between the education sector and governments had posed a great challenge to the implementation of education policy. He described an awkward situation where some schools were suspicious when the National-led government introduced Communities of Learning (Kāhui Ako, CoLs) aimed to promote collaboration in the education system:

> When you had the change of government, you've had changes in the way that the model has come, where a lot of the top-down requirements have just gone. But even now because of its origin there's a huge number of schools that are incredibly sceptical of it, which is a shame because the actual concept of schools coming together collaboratively is a really important one. But that [authoritarian top-down] model I think has put a huge amount of distrust around the model out into the sector.

In addition, Aikin commented that the mistrust between teachers and governments increased teachers' affiliation with their unions:

> Teachers did not trust the Ministry. When they [had] needed help from the Ministry, the Ministry had ignored them. The only people they wanted help from was NZEI and as NZEI members they paid a subsidy and they had a right to be given attention.

Document data also showed that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms posed a considerable challenge to the professional role of teachers and their union (NZEI). For example, Noonan commented that:

> One of the most damaging things has been the extent to which the establishment, the government, has attempted to vilify teachers and those working in education rather than acknowledging them as partners and seeking to work with them. (NZEI, 1996, p. 5)

Document data showed that the label, 'provider capture', was viewed as an insult to NZEI's professional role and its historical commitment to the improvement of the quality of education and neglected the union's view that teachers and parents are natural partners in educating

children (NZEI, 1994b). As a response, NZEI National Secretary, Noonan, called for the teaching profession to defend these attacks:

> It is essential that teachers and education workers stand together in the face of attacks on teachers and the public education system….It is essential that we stand together and act as guardians of national standards and consistent practice across the country, so that all children can be guaranteed a reasonable standard of education wherever they live. (NZEI, 1992, p. 2)

However, the attacks on the teaching profession continued. For example, NZEI argued that governments blamed teachers for failing to provide quality teaching and adopted a systematic strategy to undermine the professional status of teachers and remove the professional voice of teachers and their unions from education policy (NZEI, 2012a).

Interview data also provided evidence that the professional voice of teachers was ignored or marginalised in developing education policy. For example, when asked about education policy (mainly in the context of National Standards), NZEI leaders used words such as "no/little consultation/discussion", "forced", "dictating", "top-down", "political interference/agenda", "political whims and expediencies", "compliance" and "no say/ownership"; it was also argued that the professional voice of teachers was "side-lined" or "ignored". More specifically, Aikin stated that the National Standards policy was developed "by experts rather than teachers" and NZEI was not involved in the policy process; "teachers' voice at the school level and through NZEI was muted". Nelson argued that the National Standards policy was "more [a] political construct than a professional one", which resulted in division and competition among teachers, and increasing compliance in the teaching profession. In addition, Stuart and Rutherford claimed that the teaching profession suffered from changing education policies. Stuart argued that education was treated as "a political football" and as the MoE "served" governments, education policy changed when government changed.

Many NZEI leaders interviewed argued that the politicisation of education policy had undermined the professional role of teachers. For example, Horgan argued that the professional role of teachers was undermined by the increasing external forces "dictating what teachers should be doing and how". Aikin also argued that imposed education policy gave the impression that "teachers just received and delivered whatever they were told similar to that of

a pizza delivery". Moreover, Rutherford claimed that the introduction of a more specific curriculum had led to teachers focusing more on the visible aspects of assessment, which had undermined "the passion and the love for teachers to be able to build on their own passions and the interests that students brought into the class". He also argued that the specific curriculum denoted government's distrust of the professional role of teachers in the 1990s:

> [There] used to be quite a broad open-ended curriculum, whereas the changes through the 1990s had at its core a distrust around the professionalism of a teacher. There was the sense that the Ministry needed to have greater oversight to ensure more consistent teaching approaches. The curriculum that emerged over those ten years was incredibly specific, and so it started to drive really negative behaviours where teachers were teaching, not to the test but they would be very, very stringent because they would have hundreds of things that they had to communicate to students over the years.

Nelson believed that the way education policy was imposed was contradictory to the principle of a democratic society; "to tell teachers who know that something doesn't work in practice, that they must comply regardless, is foolhardy". As a consequence, it was argued that teachers lost their power over their profession (Aikin and Horgan) and felt demoralised by imposed education policy (Horgan, France and Stuart).

There was an increasing politicisation of education policy which posed significant challenges to the professional role of teachers. Goulter stated that the "Government seeks to make the biggest change in education in two decades without consulting or listening to those tasked with implementing that change – our teachers and principals" (NZEI, 2010b, p. 5). NZEI made a similar comment two years later:

> New Zealand's education environment is now greatly changed. Policy is developed through a political rather than a professional process, often behind closed doors, and then announced through the media. Handpicked individual 'representatives' are engaged by officials to create the illusion of 'collaboration' with the profession. The wider sector is 'engaged' through superficial consultation processes and finally the policy is implemented by decree and mandate. (NZEI, 2012c, p. 6)

NZEI argued that as a result, teachers' professional voices had been ignored in education policy and teachers had lost ownership of the teaching profession. Goulter believed that imposed education policy had demoralised teachers (NZEI, 2011). NZEI also argued that education

policy narrowed the scope of professional development; instead of improving professional growth, governments solely facilitated policy implementation and increased the external control of teachers (NZEI, 2012c). Moreover, education policies, such as National Standards, charter schools and performance pay fostered a detrimental environment for teachers and undermined teachers' professional status (NZEI, 2012a). Goulter claimed that the "Government wanted to change the culture in education from collegial, consultative and respectful to having unilateral control so that it could embed changes" (NZEI, 2010a, p. 1). In essence, document data showed that education policy during this period was not evidence-based or value-free (NZEI, 2014a).

Changes to Policy Actors' Roles and Relationships.

Four NZEI leaders interviewed argued that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms had changed the roles and relationships of policy actors. For example, Rutherford, Nelson, Horgan and Aikin mentioned that the education reforms had fundamentally changed the role of primary school principals. The role of principals was no longer limited to being professional leaders but now included a wide range of responsibilities, which Horgan argued "consumed and dissipated the time and energy" of principals, making it hard for them to perform their professional leadership roles. Nelson recalled that she struggled as a principal during this time:

> As a principal, I could see that my role had now taken on a completely different shape. Rather than being a teacher who was a principal, I was going to turn out to be a principal who was also a teacher. That changed the balance of the focus. I looked at everything that was going to be expected of me as a teaching principal and decided I wasn't confident I was going to be able to do that… I simply could not see how teaching principals could effectively do what was required of them with the degree to which the system was changing.

Aikin commented that the changing role of principals also posed a challenge to their relationship with teachers:

> This changed the role of the principal. On the one hand the principal was the professional leader of the school and on the other hand he was answering to the Board of Trustees, which were the employers who were making decisions about professional teaching and learning matters. The chair of the Board of Trustees did the appraisal of the principal; he made decisions on whether the principal's behaviour – her/his

> professional leadership – was right for the school. It was quite different to those in schools and their parent community. Neither could the teachers be too friendly with the principal if everything was ultimately going to depend upon the Board of Trustees. Those relationships were very difficult in this period.

Some NZEI leaders expressed concern that the education administration reforms, such as the change from the DoE to the MoE and the establishment of boards of trustees (BoTs), would weaken the professional voice of teachers. For instance, Aikin argued that the MoE focused more on making policy and serving the minister rather than on teachers. Horgan and Nelson also expressed concern about the lack of people with professional backgrounds in education administration and management. Horgan believed there was "a huge loss of experienced educationalists" at both the school and national levels of management. She stated that schools were run by "lay people" who did not understand "the complexity of education" and commented that "when the running of schools was handed over to a group of laypeople, that was a step too far in devolution". Horgan also argued that the loss of the professional voice of experienced teachers in education policy posed a significant challenge to "professional identity and confidence", and that the change from the DoE to the MoE had led to an imbalance of power relations between government and the teaching profession, and the "professional partnership" between teachers and government changed to be employees and employers between teachers and the BoTs.

One of the main aims of the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms, particularly, the introduction of BoTs, was to increase parents' and communities' involvement in school education (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988). However, this issue was mostly absent from the interview data. Noonan, Horgan, and Stuart were asked how the Tomorrow's Schools reforms had impacted parents' involvement in school activities. They agreed that good relationships already existed before the late 1980s. Noonan believed that the relationship between schools and communities became closer, but Stuart and Horgan thought that the education reforms did not enhance the relationship between schools and parents. Stuart stated:

> I think through Tomorrow's Schools you've got boards of trustees who are representative of the community. But I wouldn't say that they have more power than was there beforehand, but I wouldn't say it's necessarily more involvement. I think it depends on the school itself. I think that it depends on the reach out that schools have

> to their communities. That is very much around each individual context. So, I can't really say there's more or there's less involvement.

Moreover, Horgan stated that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms put too much emphasis on the rights of parents, which resulted in some parents exerting too much power in school management.

Overall, these findings show that, from the perspective of NZEI, the collective and relational aspects of teaching, and trust in the teaching profession have been eroded by the Tomorrow's Schools reforms. The following section outlines the impacts of the education reforms on NZEI.

5.1.2 Challenges to the Professional Role of NZEI

As mentioned above (Section 5.1.1), many NZEI leaders interviewed in this study argued that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms posed significant challenges to the professional role of teachers and their union (NZEI). They argued that, since the late 1980s, in part due to the notion of provider capture, governments had viewed NZEI as an industrial organisation and tended to remove its professional influence in education policy. That is, by advocating for the separation of NZEI's professional and industrial roles, governments intended to undermine the professional voice of NZEI.

The Professional Role of NZEI.

Some NZEI leaders interviewed in this study argued that NZEI had a strong professional role prior to the Tomorrow's Schools reforms. Aikin, Horgan and Nelson argued that NZEI was a professional organisation that focused on professional activities prior to the late 1980s. Nelson described NZEI as "a highly respected organisation" that maintained a strong professional voice in the teaching profession prior to the late 1980s. Similarly, Horgan stated:

> The NZEI had worked closely with the previous Department of Education and the local Education Boards and, although no doubt there were times of disagreement, as far as I know NZEI was held in high regard. It was a strong voice for the profession and education in general and its relationship with government was mutually respectful. It had strong links with the grassroots members through the Branch level and played a significant role in the lives of many teachers.

Nelson also stated that "NZEI has a proud history of producing significant numbers of professional resources and putting these out to the sector…. I don't recall that happening more recently. NZEI used to have a professional magazine".

However, many NZEI leaders interviewed in this study argued that the professional role of NZEI had been undermined specifically by the Tomorrow's Schools reforms in the late 1980s. For instance, Horgan claimed that the post-reform political contexts "forced" NZEI to focus more on industrial activities than professional issues, resulting in the professional role of teacher unions being "overshadowed" by their industrial activities. Aikin echoed this view, arguing that the industrial issues "overpowered" professional issues in NZEI. Document data reflected this same idea. For example, "NZEI Te Riu Roa has had a strong focus on industrial issues over the last few years. In most cases, this has not been of our own choice but in response to the hostile industrial relations climate in which we have found ourselves" (Duncan, 1994, p. 2).

Nelson, Horgan and Noonan expressed concern about whether NZEI continued to have a strong professional role or if it was more of an industrial organisation. For example, Horgan argued that the professional role of teacher unions "has become a much more challenging role than it was prior to the advent of Tomorrow's Schools". Similarly, Nelson noted that NZEI presented itself more as an industrial than professional voice of teachers:

> As someone who is no longer "inside the tent" if you like, I see as a person on the street; that it's more industrial than professional. I think it's a really important point. It's the way that people see your organisation. What sort of influence you have with people and how you engage within the sector. The communications that come through my media stream from NZEI tend to be campaigning and generally there are slogans or sound-bites. Social media has regularised this way of engaging and people seem to like that. This is a completely different approach to what we used to be doing. I have a sense that its harder to get past the slogans to the deeper issues that sit behind them.

Nelson and Horgan also expressed their concern that when NZEI was viewed more as an industrial union, it had the potential to undermine its professional identity. They believed that NZEI needed to be seen as the professional voice of teachers by teacher members and the public. Horgan also called for NZEI to articulate its professional voice more clearly and strongly.

However, the other NZEI leaders interviewed in this study did not articulate this concern. For example, Noonan pointed out that the professional role of NZEI was strengthened to a degree in the late 1980s. She used NZEI's activities in curriculum development as an example:

> NZEI members have always sought to be part of the curriculum development. That was one of the things again we campaigned for and won. I mean, it used to be the case but after Tomorrow's Schools, it was less the case that if the government was looking at the curriculum, then representatives from NZEI would be involved. There was always a curriculum officer on the staff at NZEI who was very expert. I can remember, we did a lot of work on how children's performances in schools should be measured. We opposed some very, what teachers disregarded as very destructive approaches in favour of a national sampling system, which has been very good I have to say.

Notably, Noonan also mentioned that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms had undermined NZEI's involvement in education policy generally. Similarly, Goulter believed that NZEI still maintained a strong professional role; and, when asked about the future professional role of NZEI, he commented confidently:

> We want it to get bigger and bigger. We've got an investment in it. It is a profession. Our members, as professionals, like talking about it and learning from each other, etc. NZEI can provide those facilities for that to occur and we can also lead the professional debates like ITE [initial teacher education] or leadership or curriculum, all those sorts of things. We want to be right in the middle of that and leading it because we represent so many educators.

Some NZEI leaders interviewed in this study argued that although the Tomorrow's Schools reforms diminished the professional role of NZEI, it still played a role in the education policy process. For example, Horgan claimed that NZEI played a crucial role "in both preserving public education and articulating the professional voice of teachers". Stuart felt that NZEI played an important role in shaping the education system; "what our education system could look like and how it could benefit all children". Moreover, the current NZEI leaders (when interviews were conducted) argued that NZEI had become increasingly powerful and was building its power and strength to influence education policy. Goulter stated that:

> The union [NZEI] has become a far more skilled campaigning and organising beast than what it was before and we have focused rigorously on those disciplines of organising and campaigning, be it on strictly industrial issues, like pay or professional issues like National Standards or early childhood pay parity.

Rutherford stated:

> If you're not making changes to policy and getting greater investments for education, then actually you're not really doing your job. I think our big shift, at least in the last ten years, is around this desire to actually be a part of social movements and changes rather than just being able to go back to our members and say, 'oh we didn't like that, and so we wrote a letter to the Minister of Education'.

It is worth noting that when some NZEI leaders talked about the professional role of teacher unions, they tended to highlight the connection between the interests of teachers and students: teachers' working conditions were students' learning conditions (Noonan, Stuart and Rutherford). Stuart stated that "when we talk about the professional space, we talk about what's important for children and what will make the difference for children". She also believed that NZEI aimed to protect the interests of children:

> We have regular meetings with government, with Ministers, with the Ministry of Education to put forward what we think is the right way forward for the profession, using what we're hearing from the sector, from the grassroots, from the people who are working closest with children, using those real stories and actually trying to get the change in the best way for our children.

Noonan said that NZEI was always "putting the interests of what's right for children first…. part of what's right for children, is that the profession, the schools can attract sufficient staffing, well-qualified staff, that those staffs have career opportunities to further develop." Rutherford also argued that the professional role of NZEI was more related to protecting the interests of students:

> It [National Standards] was a professional issue in terms of my role as a teacher. As a professional, is the approach of National Standards something that is in the best interest of the kids in my class. When we were looking at the fact that we were being forced to over-assess students to build their self-belief as a learner around just reading, writing and maths as opposed to the rich set of skills kids bring in. Professionally, we knew that

> that wasn't in the best interest of students despite the fact that we were being forced to do it. We had a role in that place.

Rutherford also stated that the connection between teachers' and students' interests was a response to attacks that teachers were "self-serving":

> [There was] a time where I think people saw teachers as quite self-serving. That was the perception and so since that National Standards work that started in 2009, we have built this idea that it's about putting the child at the centre of decision making. Around this idea that actually a teacher's working conditions are a child's learning conditions. If we can get it right for children we know that we'll get it right for teachers and principals as well.

Overall, the professional role of NZEI was associated with its role in influencing education policies with respect to professional issues and its positive public profile.

The Inseparability of Industrial and Professional Roles of NZEI.

Many NZEI leaders interviewed in this study were concerned about the risk of separating their union's professional and industrial roles. Aikin, Horgan and Goulter believed that governments attempted to separate these two roles in order to undermine their union's influence on education policy. Horgan argued that governments tended to portray teacher unions as "problematic" and "obstructive" to education reforms and viewed NZEI as an industrial organisation with the aim of protecting its members' interests rather than as a professional association. She commented:

> The New Public Management ideology changed the way teachers were viewed. As a result, NZEI then had to move into what was seen as a much more industrial-based model. People were very quick to label NZEI and PPTA as 'unions'. The word 'union' took on negative connotations with overtones of 'vested interest' and 'provider capture'. Those sort of labels suited the ideologues who saw no place for unions in their view of the world.
>
> People didn't see the connection and just saw them as industrial issues being fought by the 'unions'. Politicians were quick to exploit this view within the media as well and the old arguments of 'teacher capture' and 'vested interest' surfaced yet again. Of course, governments who want to paint a bad picture of unions are very quick to just

> highlight the industrial issues and they don't really like hearing the professional issues behind them.

Horgan's comments demonstrate how NZEI leaders perceived the risk of NZEI being labelled as an industrial union and how governments tended to position teacher unions as such. Aikin stated that one of the aims of the education reforms was to "strip" teacher unions of their power. Goulter agreed that governments sought to deliberately dilute the professional voice of NZEI to limit its influence on education policy:

> The government tried to bypass us on the professional stuff primarily by setting up lots of meetings with lots and lots of people in. So, the two unions were just two voices in amongst 40 voices of people who were meant to be representing different parts of the sector, but in fact, had no democratic accountability to their membership like the unions do. And so, the Minister at the time deliberately went about setting those structures up in order to bypass the unions' professional roles because she knew that was one of the strengths of the unions, that we have both professional and industrial capacity.

Document data also showed that governments tried to label NZEI merely as an industrial union that only cared about its members' interests (Ward, 1999). NZEI National President, Darrell Ward, argued that "some politicians take a very narrow view of NZEI and categorise us simply as a teacher union, an industrial organisation out only to get the best pay and conditions for its members" (Ward, 1999, p. 2).

As a response, NZEI maintained that its professional and industrial roles were inseparable. All seven NZEI leaders who were asked about the relationship between the industrial and professional roles of NZEI agreed that the professional and industrial roles of NZEI were inseparable. They used "mix", "crossover", "overlap", "intertwined", "false division", or "just different sides of the same coin" to describe this relationship. The document analysis also showed that the industrial and professional roles of teacher unions were highly connected. As the National Secretary of NZEI, Lynne Bruce, pointed out, "professional issues are becoming increasingly interwoven with industrial issues as NZEI works to raise the professional profile of teachers, advisory staff and support staff" (NZEI, 2003, p. 2). Moreover, National President, Irene Cooper, stated that "professional and industrial issues are increasingly intertwined around the bargaining table" (NZEI, 2005, p. 5).

NZEI leaders interviewed in the current study also emphasised the intertwined relationship of the union's professional and industrial roles. Rutherford said:

> I only see them as intertwined. I don't see it as we've got a bunch of professional things that we do; we've just got things that impact on members' and students' lives. Some of these lean strong professional, some of those lean strong industrial but I don't see them as two different groups.

He argued that NZEI focused on issues related to teachers' working lives and students' learning rather than considering whether they were professional or industrial issues. Noonan echoed this view, arguing that NZEI was a member-orientated organisation and members saw these two roles as "interrelated". Horgan also emphasised the strong connection between industrial and professional issues in the teaching profession:

> The National Standards debate did see many principals and teachers engage in some rigorous professional debate because, once again, although it was portrayed by the government of the day as an industrial issue in which teachers were protecting themselves from 'accountability', it was, at heart, a professional issue based on professional beliefs about the best way to assess children's learning. I would make the point again that, although a lot of the issues that NZEI had to fight for are described as 'industrial', underpinning them are deep professional issues.

Rutherford made a similar comment by stressing the intertwined professional and industrial issues:

> What we're talking about is the reality that there is not enough staff, not enough teachers, not enough teacher aides in the primary sector and children are the ones that are missing out as a result. It's very much a professional issue as well because workload is just through the roof. Teachers don't have time to be able to debrief, manage their own wellbeing, making sure that they've got the time to be able to take on more PLD.

Goulter and Stuart argued that NZEI used industrial activities for professional issues when it faced the introduction and implementation of National Standards. Goulter stated that NZEI's response to National Standards demonstrated "how professional and industrial can crossover and leverage each other". Moreover, Aikin described the complexity of the motivations of NZEI's activities and how the industrial and professional issues mixed in one activity:

> Actually, NZEI negotiated a professional-based appraisal which meant appraisal was going to be talking about educational matters, but the purpose was teaching improvement. In the principals' case, it was for salary purposes; it was for a different purpose. Why did NZEI do this? It was NZEI's intention to stave off market management impositions of individual contracts and so it allowed a non-teaching Board Chairperson to determine whether or not the principal was carrying out her/his responsibilities efficiently. NZEI struck this deal so principals would not be put on individual contracts…. Teachers are saying that appraisal is linked to their professional development and learning, and to help them improve be better teachers; appraisal becomes a professional activity. In the principal's case, it matters; s/he will still have access to professional development but it could impact on their salary. It is quite a different situation.

Therefore, to determine whether an activity was more professional or industrial, it was essential to ask, "what was the purpose and what is the context?" (Aikin). The inseparability of professional and industrial issues could also be seen in union leaders' personal experiences. Nelson recalled:

> My main role within NZEI National Executive was on the professional committee. I chaired that committee for a number of years…. I also ended up being the team leader in the negotiation of the employment agreements for teachers and principals…. There are two reasons that I was involved in the negotiation of the employment agreements. One is potentially because I'm quite outspoken. But I would also put in that same sentence that I'm also well-grounded in the professional work of teachers and most of the negotiations around our collective agreements included thinking through the professional reasons for something that we put in as a claim. A number of our claims involved allowances or extra staffing and things like that.

She went on to comment that NZEI tended to present itself as the professional voice of teachers and to "take it from a professional lens and work that and then link that back to the industrial stuff".

In summary, the findings show that NZEI leaders associated the Tomorrow's Schools reforms with undermining the professional role of teachers and their union (NZEI), creating tensions between governments and the teaching profession concerning education policy. The

teaching profession became increasingly politicised. The following section illustrates how the increasing politicisation of education policy was seen to affect the teaching profession and how NZEI responded as a consequence.

5.2 Politicisation of the Teaching Profession

As illustrated in Section 5.1.1, education policy became increasingly politicised, which posed significant challenges to the teaching profession. NZEI responded by actively collaborating and cooperating with other policy actors to increase its political influence. This section examines two policies – the National Standards policy and the Teaching Council.

5.2.1 NZEI Opposition to National Standards

When six NZEI leaders were asked about how National Standards impacted the teaching profession, they all pointed out its negative aspects. Nelson, the then NZEI national president, recalled that "we approached National Standards from the view of its professional impact. The impact of National Standards on teaching and learning was totally at odds with our beliefs about how learning takes place". She argued that National Standards were not educationally or professionally sound and had a detrimental effect on teaching and learning. Goulter made a similar comment:

> [National Standards were] just creating numeracy and literacy standards and then just saying very crudely, 'you're below, well below, on or above the standard'. That doesn't reflect the way students learn and the way teachers teach. It creates benchmarks that are artificial and meaningless and is the basis to try and measure performance of the school and of individual teachers and principals and so on, which there's no empirical base for that to occur. In fact, the empirical base is all the other way directed.

Rutherford also argued that the standardisation of teachers' work had a negative effect on children's learning and National Standards undermined teachers' professional autonomy:

> There were much more rigid reporting requirements back to students and parents around how kids were tracking. The metric they used was 'above', 'at', 'below' and 'well below'. There was certainly an emphasis on telling children where they were up to. I taught 11- and 12-year-olds. By the time National Standards was finishing, I was having children join my class who had spent years and years being told that they were 'below', or 'well below'. Their engagement and belief in themselves as a learner was

> just absolutely killed. You would get these kids at the beginning of the year and you'd have to put so much emphasis on trying to build up their understanding of themselves as a learner despite the fact that they'd been told for years and years that they were 'below'. So, that was kind of what we were up against.
>
> When actually at the heart of being a professional is having that professional autonomy to make decisions around what's in the best interests of your students. Whereas, if your pay was being linked to particular performance indicators, then the only thing you would focus on would be those performance indicators. There are a stack of other layers around teachers needing to be able to focus on meeting the needs of students.

Stuart agreed that National Standards undermined the creativity of teachers and student learning:

> I think that what happened was that anybody who went and trained during the time of National Standards had a real focus on literacy and numeracy but very little focus on the arts or the sciences, those areas that we know that we require for our holistic strong curriculum. So, I think we lost a lot of creativity; teachers became a bit scared because, and principals as well, about everything was based on the National Standards results. It narrowed the curriculum into mathematics and literacy in a way that meant that other areas didn't get the time that they needed. The broad holistic curriculum that enables children to really thrive I think was lost.

Nelson believed that National Standards significantly contributed to the mistrust between the teaching profession and governments. Horgan pointed out the "irony" that schools were supposed to be self-managing, but when some schools refused to implement National Standards, the government continued to impose this policy on all schools.

Document data showed that NZEI strongly opposed the introduction and implementation of National Standards, arguing that it lacked engagement from teachers and their representatives, and the consultation with them was solely superficial (NZEI, 2010b, 2014a). It also suggested that the government only focused on their ideological experiments in education rather than the genuine problems that led to students' underachievement (NZEI, 2014b).

More significantly, NZEI thought National Standards were not educationally or professionally sound. First, they were "a relentless undermining of the national curriculum by

an untrialled and untested lurch back to the 19th century" (NZEI, 2011, p. 5) and eroded "the delivery of a vibrant and child-focused curriculum in favour of narrow targets to meet the National Standards requirements" (NZEI, 2012a, p. 4). Second, they stressed standardisation and a view of "learning as linear and age-related, rather than recognising the variations in students' learning" (NZEI, 2010a, p. 2). Goulter (2010) argued that this 'one-size-fits-all' approach had increased teachers' workload, denied the complexity of teachers' work and led to chaos in practice. Third, National Standards were viewed as data-driven assessments, requiring teachers to collect so much data for assessment that it dramatically reduced the time they could spend interacting with students (NZEI, 2017).

NZEI also argued that National Standards were an attack on the professional role of teachers (NZEI, 2012a). Goulter (2011) believed that it was unreasonable to use external standards to evaluate teachers and decide whether they should be promoted or fired. National Standards were unreliable and unfair (NZEI, 2012a) and very "divisive" (NZEI, 2010a). The teaching profession should emphasise collaboration and trust rather than the competition encouraged by National Standards (NZEI, 2014a). Although National Standards were revoked by the Labour-led coalition government in 2017, the government's standardisation agenda remained. For example, the review of the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) was seen as a plan to introduce NCEA assessment to Year 7 students, which had the potential to bring back a form of National Standards (NZEI, 2020).

Some NZEI leaders interviewed in this study believed that NZEI was a powerful policy actor in opposing the National Standards policy. Noonan described NZEI as "powerful", "frank", "critical" and "challenging". She pointed out that NZEI's position on the National Standards policy was a good example of NZEI taking the role of the critic in education policy. Aikin said that NZEI was "not afraid to stand up for its members when it has come to leading the profession". Nelson argued that NZEI's "confrontation" with the National Standards policy was NZEI taking "a professional stand" and being "civilly disobedient". Noonan highlighted NZEI's critical role as the collective, representative voice of teachers in influencing education policy, especially compared with individual teachers:

> Individually, [they] only bring their individual experiences and expertise, whereas the NZEI professional leaders, they go back to the membership, they test things out against the members. They have advisory groups for members to work with, so they really are

bringing a much wider perspective of what's working and what's not from the grassroots.

Noonan described NZEI as a "genuine democratic membership participation organisation". Similarly, Rutherford also argued that the power of NZEI was established through "building consensus from grassroots members".

Overall, from NZEI leaders' perspective, the National Standards policy had a political agenda that undermined the professional role of teachers. The next section examines the politicisation of education policy through the establishment of a professional body, the Teaching Council.

5.2.2 The Teaching Council: A Professional Body?

NZEI's position on the establishment of a teacher professional organisation changed over the last 30 years. NZEI actively participated in the establishment of the Teaching Council of Aotearoa (TCA) in the 1990s, but NZEI leaders interviewed in this study generally viewed the Teaching Council[6] established in 2002 as lacking credibility.

The Teaching Council Aotearoa (1994–1998): A Voluntary Council.

The interview and document evidence revealed that NZEI actively participated in the establishment of TCA in the 1990s. Aikin argued that the establishment of TCA was a response to the loss of connection in the teaching profession and increased political interference. She argued that this was also an effort to counteract the government policy of voluntary registration[7] that NZEI believed would undermine the professional status of teachers and

[6] The name of the Teachers Council has changed over time since it was established in 2002: (the Teacher Registration Board (1989–2002)), the New Zealand Teachers Council (Teachers Council, or NZTC, 2002–2015), the Education Council of Aotearoa New Zealand (Education Council, or EDUCANZ, 2015–2018), and the Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand (Teaching Council, 2018–present). For the sake of convenience, in the following part, the Teaching Council will be used in a general way, which includes the Teachers Council and EDUCANZ, except for specific situations.

[7] Teacher registration in New Zealand was voluntary from 1991 to 1996. With the Education Amendment Act 1991, teacher registration became voluntary; with the Education Amendment Act 1996, teacher registration became compulsory again. See in Alcorn, N. (2015). *Between the profession and the state: A history of the New Zealand Teachers Council*. NZCER Press.

exclude their voice in education policy. Similarly, document data showed that the establishment of TCA provided "a united public profile" for the teaching profession (NZEI, 1994a, p. 3):

> The various unions that represent workers in education speak on behalf of their members who are employed in educational institutions. The council has a much wider and potentially more influential membership base. It brings together all teachers in a single standard-setting body. Teachers have identified the need for a collective voice since the educational reforms began in 1989. The council offers the opportunity for teachers to take responsibility for their own professional standard, which will in turn support the work of the unions. (NZEI, 1995, pp. 2–3)

The establishment of TCA was also essential for maintaining the professional role of teachers; "teachers will never be regarded seriously as professionals until they have one national body like other professional groups, with a basic responsibility for maintaining and raising standards among its members" (Barlow, 1992, p. 7).

Some NZEI leaders interviewed in this study also viewed the establishment of TCA as the teaching profession actively exercising its agency to maintain its professional standards:

> This initiative was prompted by a belief that the changed educational environment requires the teaching profession to take a proactive role in setting and monitoring its own standards. … the council's main tasks *as* enhancing professional standards and the public profile of teaching, and speaking with an authoritative and united voice on professional matters. (NZEI, 1994c, p. 6)

In particular, it was considered necessary in a context where the government was perceived to deny the professional voice of teachers or 'disempower' teachers in education policy:

> It was time that the profession took on the responsibility of setting its own standards and making them publicly known. Relying on politicians to change legislation to enhance their professionalism is a dead end for teachers. In addition, there was – and still is – a general feeling of disempowerment in the profession following the Tomorrow's Schools reforms. There are a great many educational agencies making important decisions affecting teachers, without any input from the profession. Virtually all facets of a teacher's professional life have become subject to decisions made by employers who were lay people. (Barlow, 1994, p. 4)

NZEI also strongly opposed the National government's policy of voluntary registration and highlighted the importance of maintaining professional standards:

> It is really important for the maintenance of professional standards that we uphold the principle of teacher registration and the regular renewal of practising certificates. Only in this way can we ensure that schools are kept free of those who no longer meet the standards required. Since the Government made registration voluntary, the Institute [NZEI] has encouraged schools to have a policy of employing only registered teachers. As a professional group we must support the process of registration including practising certificates in order to maintain our professional integrity. (NZEI, 1994f, p. 2)

However, TCA failed[8] mainly due to the lack of support from teachers. Aikin regretted this:

> NZEI had not really done enough work with member to help them realise what exactly registration would mean for the status of teachers or why any council should be independently run and active by and through teachers rather than any other organisation including the Ministry.

In 2002, the Labour government established a new organisation, the Teaching Council, which aimed to be the professional body of the teaching profession.

The Teaching Council (2002–present): A Government Body?

The NZEI leaders' views of the professional role of the Teaching Council have varied and changed over time since it was established in 2002. Aikin, Horgan and Stuart believed that the professional role of the Teaching Council lacked credibility in the teaching profession. It

[8] The Teaching Council of Aotearoa (1994–1998). There were different opinions about when TCA was disbanded. One is that it collapsed in 1996 (Baker, R. (2001). *The proposed New Zealand Education Council: A commentary*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research. https://www.nzcer.org.nz/system/files/9167.pdf). The other is that TCA folded in 1998 (Alcorn, N. (2015). *Between the profession and the state: A history of the New Zealand Teachers Council*. NZCER Press.) There were TCA Newsletters from 1996 to 1998. The election of Peter Allen (a past president of PPTA) and Henry Ngapo as co-chairs of TCA in 1996 was viewed as a transitional phase of TCA (NZPPTA. (1996). *PPTA Annual Report 1995–1996*.) It seems that although TCA formally ended in 1998, its nature was fundamentally changed in 1996.

was not an independent professional organisation because it was effectively run by the MoE, unlike the TCA, which was controlled by teachers (Aikin).

Stuart and Horgan also challenged the credibility of the Teaching Council being a professional body for teachers. Stuart stated that "I don't really hear the [Teaching] Council coming out with very strong statements around what needs to happen with the system". Horgan also argued that the Teaching Council was not qualified to perform a professional leadership role as it did not get involved in public debates about education policy; "If the Teaching Council was to take on the role of professional leadership, they should be commenting much more openly on educational policy, but that doesn't seem to be happening".

Stuart and Nelson noticed the difference and competition between the professional roles of the Teaching Council and NZEI. Stuart argued that the Teaching Council did not have a representative role as NZEI did and that NZEI needed to distinguish its professional voice from that of the Teaching Council; NZEI should "put a line in the sand and say we don't agree with that". Nelson pointed out the differences in the professional leadership roles of NZEI and the Teaching Council, emphasising the professional role of NZEI:

> When the Teaching Council calls themselves the voice of the profession, they can legally say they are because this is what they are legislated to do. The union has to say, 'of course we are' and then demonstrate this to their members. NZEI has roughly 55,000 members and numerically is able to claim the voice of the profession…. NZTC has a different mandate and different roles…. The Teaching Council doesn't get involved directly in the day-to-day professional work inside a classroom or with curriculum development in the same way that the union endeavours to.

On the other hand, the current NZEI leaders (when interviews were conducted) – Goulter and Rutherford – stressed the importance of the Teaching Council for the teaching profession. Goulter mentioned the cooperation between NZEI and the Teaching Council:

> We are currently working with the Teacher [Teaching] Council in the early childhood space to do joint seminars. I think the first one is this week or next week, on professional issues for early childhood educators…. We're working with the Teaching Council on looking at what resourcing can be done around leadership, development of the leadership space that they're working on. We've worked with the Teaching Council on

> introducing how you manage the change away from attestation to the professional growth cycle and we've worked with them on that change model.

Rutherford argued that the Teaching Council should have a leadership role in the teaching profession rather than the MoE. It was an independent organisation and was a sign of education being depoliticised, unlike the MoE, which functioned to serve governments. Therefore, Rutherford believed that the Teaching Council had a role in assisting the teaching profession to become self-regulating and self-governing, and to protect the teaching profession from political interference:

> One of the hallmarks of what it means to be in a profession is that you take responsibility for the quality of your own profession. At a kind of core, we issue practising certificates to teachers and we run our own disciplinary processes for where a teacher has breached our standards. We think that process should be done by the profession itself.

The interview data indicated that NZEI's stance on the role of the Teaching Council changed over time, but it consistently maintained that the Teaching Council should be an independent professional body controlled by teachers. Document data echoed this argument. The Teaching Council was supposed to be "an independent statutory body led by and for teachers" (NZEI, 2013, p. 11). NZEI's response to proposed changes to the Teaching Council was reported to the 2012 NZEI annual meeting, *Leading the Profession* (NZEI, 2012c). The report highlighted the risk of removing the collective professional voice of teacher unions (NZEI and PPTA). It reiterated its argument that the teaching profession should be self-governing and self-regulating; free from government interference and have a direct relationship with the public (NZEI, 2012c). Importantly, "to ensure public trust in the profession to regulate itself, the profession must set up rigorous, transparent and accountable structures and processes for maintaining quality" (NZEI, 2012c). The report also pointed out that NZEI was considering setting up its own regulatory body as a response to the undermining of its collective voice by the government.

5.2.3 NZEI Response to the Politicisation of Education Policy

Many union leaders interviewed in this study argued that NZEI mobilised their teacher members to participate in policy formulation to cope with the politicisation of education policy. Stuart and Rutherford mentioned it was necessary to depoliticise the teaching profession; NZEI

sought to "take education out of the political realm" (Stuart) and Rutherford thought that education needed to be depoliticised so that it would not suffer from changes in government. They both called for NZEI to inform and mobilise teachers to play an active role in shaping their work. Stuart claimed that "the only people that can do it are the people who are at the grassroots by saying, 'no, stop it' [politics in education]" and that NZEI helped its members by "knowing more about what's happening and taking action around what's happening". Rutherford stated:

> We actually know that to go and make change it's about shifting the voters of the country. Therefore, we know that the only way forward is to build belief in power within our members that work on the ground, to go and talk to their parents. There's this kind of joke that gets played out around: if you're really upset about something, you send a really strongly worded letter to the Minister of Education. In my experience that just doesn't make change. What makes change is being able to work with your members on the ground and for them to see themselves as people that can make change. Then going out and making change in communities.

Noonan said that NZEI actively encouraged teacher members to change the government policy to introduce voluntary teacher registration in the 1990s:

> We [NZEI] would have worked with our members to give them information that they could discuss with their boards and then with the parents, teachers with the parents of their children in their classes and then with their wider communities. Then we would have encouraged them to go and meet with their local members of Parliament, so there would have been a whole well-organised campaign with different elements.

Aikin argued that NZEI played an active role in informing its members of the negative effects of the implementation of National Standards: "we produced a range of materials to help members understand and engage with the national standards process, both in the Ministry of Education's consultations and within their own schools and local communities". Horgan called for the mobilisation of teacher agency so that "individual teachers see themselves as valued and active participants in a professional and democratic organisation that has the power to collectively influence education for the better". She also argued that NZEI should be more engaged with experienced classroom teachers in order to address the situation of low teacher morale:

> Maybe NZEI needs to find more effective ways of recapturing the voice of experienced classroom teachers (the 'grassroots') to ascertain and reflect their views…. Unions need to find ways of reengaging those voices so that all teachers feel that they have more agency and power. I think your average classroom teacher in New Zealand feels side-lined. They don't feel they have any power. As a result, many are just in survival mode and that's why one hears repeated reports of low morale in the profession and lack of trust. Unions need to find ways of really engaging with their membership so that members really feel their unions understand and represent them.

Many NZEI leaders interviewed in this study also argued that NZEI actively sought to build relationships with various policy actors, such as parents, central agencies, political parties and academics. Goulter argued that it was essential to maintain relationships with other actors:

> We have to have links with the academic communities as well as the professional communities, like the Teaching Council, the Ministry or [the] New Zealand Council [for] Educational Research. We have to have overseas links through particularly to Australia and our Australian sister union, [and] the Australian Council [for] Educational Research, and globally through Education International. We have links through those, plus we have our own bilateral links with individual unions around the globe.

Aikin argued that NZEI played an important role in connecting different policy actors:

> […] getting those groups of people the Ministry, the Treasury, classroom teachers and principals, academics and researchers that normally don't have much to do with each other in the context of Tomorrow's Schools. Getting those people together to talk about where resources are needed, what results are, what results mean and how do you think we can improve on it and what is it that we are not doing well enough. All that activity was special.

As part of this, NZEI hosted seminars regarding professional issues. Goulter said:

> We have just convened two or three weeks ago a seminar for the universities, the Teaching Council, the Ministry and sector leadership groups on initial teacher education. That's what we do; we convene these meetings and ensure that people get a chance to talk about these professional issues and then we all come away united about what it is that we need to progress.

Some NZEI leaders interviewed in this study argued that NZEI sought parents' support in educational policy. In relation to National Standards, NZEI tried to "alert" the public about "how serious the abuse of data could be" (Aikin) and did a bus tour to "educate" parents and communities about its negative effects. Stuart stated:

> Parents are certainly entitled to know where their children are at. We have those conversations currently. We do them very well. However, not every child is the same. Any parent who has got more than one child will know that your children differ…Actually having this one size and that's where you've got to get to by the end of year one or year two or year three, is a nonsense. What we did have were people who didn't really necessarily have an understanding of the big picture around it.

Rutherford believed that National Standards were removed because of NZEI's ability to persuade parents about their negative effects on children: "We knew that National Standards were going to be defeated, not because teachers said they didn't like it, but that we were able to build pressure in parents around why National Standards weren't in the interest of their children". Noonan also commented that one of the government's intentions of introducing BoTs had been to separate teachers and parents by positioning parents in management roles so that they could put external control on teachers' work. However, the relationship between schools and parents became closer:

> Some politicians and officials believed that by having school boards … [they would have] parents run the school, each individual school, they would get the schoolteachers under control. In fact, actually what happened with the school boards was they came to see more closely than they did previously all of the hard work that teachers were doing, the challenges they faced, the limited resources and they became very supportive of the teachers.

Document data also provided evidence that NZEI sought to collaborate with parents to challenge the perceived flaws of education policy. The National President, Neville Lambert, addressed the 1992 NZEI annual meeting:

> We are going to enlist those people (parents and communities) to do battle against the policies of the Minister and the government. That's where the battleground is – the outcomes of the December 1990 statement, the secret reviews, and the budget

> announcements. With our moving forward campaign we will work to have parents on our side. (Fisher, 1996, p. 2)

NZEI called for teachers to inform parents of the National Standards assessment data:

> It is important that teachers and principals are not only using their assessment data to inform teaching and learning, but that the information parents receive meets their needs too. It is important that each school develops a reporting process that meets the needs of their community rather than reacting to the "one size fits all" requirement described by this policy. (NZEI, 2010a, p. 10)

Document data suggested that to establish itself as a 21st-century professional industrial organisation, NZEI actively built relationships with communities (NZEI, 2009) and thereby improved its organisational effectiveness (NZEI, 2010b). NZEI's later activities also showed that it successfully achieved its aims by actively collaborating with the community. For example, the government abandoned its policy to increase class size after only two weeks as a result of the unity of the teaching profession and its collaboration with the community (NZEI, 2012a).

Aikin, Rutherford and Stuart suggested that NZEI also worked to build relationships with political parties to promote their ideas and exert "political leverage". Aikin said that "NZEI lobbied and maintained regular dialogue with political parties to make them aware of NZEI's vision, goals and endorse and support NZEI's campaign". Rutherford stated:

> We were also looking to build political leverage across the opposition parties. One of the strengths of that approach was the three opposition parties, the Green Party, the Labour Party and New Zealand First. All three of them, with our support, ended up unanimous that they were going to get rid of National Standards. And that didn't happen overnight. That was six years of building relationships. They were building their own criticisms against National Standards. When they were elected, we just knew that they were going to follow through with the removal of it.

Noonan stressed NZEI's important role in the political area:

> I used to emphasise to Ministers that primary teachers are in every community. They touch every family, so actually, they're a very potentially powerful political force. I used to say that they really represent the backbone of New Zealand because they're

> doing really hard, important jobs; they're not paid fantastically well but they're really dedicated. You need to take them seriously. I think most politicians realise that they're potentially a powerful force, so that was helpful.

On the other hand, NZEI kept a certain distance from political parties. NZEI avoided being "party political" by critically engaging with the policies of both the Labour-led and the National-led governments (Noonan) and was "not affiliated to any party; it will just fight for what it believes is right" (Goulter). There were more ideological conflicts between NZEI and a National-led government over National Standards and performance pay (as part of the so-called GERM agenda) than a Labour-led government (Goulter). Rutherford believed that different parties in government influenced NZEI's focus on professional or industrial activities:

> Where I think you see different emphasises placed is around different governments of the day. When we've got a right-wing government, a lot of our work tends to be quite reactionary and in the more industrial space. But then when you've got a more left-wing government, a lot of our views tend to align more closely. So, we tend to work alongside those governments in a more professional [way].

A few NZEI leaders interviewed in this study also emphasised NZEI's collaboration with academics in shaping discourses around education policy. Aikin said:

> NZEI hosted [Professor Margaret Wu's] visit to New Zealand. Professor Margaret Wu is on the Technical Advisory Board for PISA. She has a very impressive academic educational statistical record. NZEI took Professor Wu to meet and discuss issues with the Treasury, and we also took her to meet Hekia Parata. Professor Wu warned us all not to be convinced that results from international studies, such as PISA, which have so much data they cannot possibly tell the whole story. They are selective in what they choose to highlight.

Aikin also mentioned NZEI's support for academic research:

> Martin Thrupp approached NZEI and asked if NZEI would be interested in his planned research on the impact of National Standards on students, schools and their communities. NZEI was greatly interested and provided financial support for his three-year research study, Research Analysis and Insights into National Standards (RAINS). The research included case studies of six diverse schools in the Waikato.

In summary, from the perspective of NZEI leaders, the politicisation of education posed significant challenges to the teaching profession. As a result, teachers felt powerless and risked losing their sense of ownership of the teaching profession. Within this context, NZEI was a powerful critic of education policy and actively sought to frame its own teacher professionalism discourses and empower teachers.

5.3 Summary

From the perspective of NZEI leaders, the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms undermined the collective character of the teaching profession and the relational aspects of teachers' work. Governments did not trust teachers as professionals. This was illustrated in three ways: teachers (and their unions) were criticised for being self-serving and undermining education quality and students' interests; governments appointed people without educational experience to management positions; and governments were interested in teacher accountability, performance management and external control or surveillance over teachers' work. Consequently, teachers' work was both simplified by standards and intensified by constant assessment, and they lost their sense of ownership of the teaching profession.

The reforms also forced NZEI to focus more on its industrial role than its professional role, but both were fundamental and inseparable roles of NZEI. The findings highlighted three features of NZEI's professional role: its active involvement in professional issues; as a powerful policy actor on professional issues; and its focus on teachers' and students' interests to defend itself from negative criticism. NZEI argued that the increasing politicisation of education resulted in teachers becoming demoralised and losing their sense of ownership of the teaching profession. It thus called for the teaching profession to be depoliticised. This was illustrated by its opposition to National Standards and its argument that the teaching profession should maintain its independence from government interference through the Teaching Council. To achieve this, NZEI actively and explicitly sought more political influence in education by mobilising their teacher members to participate in educational debates and by collaborating with other policy actors. NZEI also highlighted its role as the collective voice of teachers and portrayed itself as a powerful policy actor, thereby legitimating its participation in education policy matters.

Chapter 6

The Professional Role of the New Zealand Post-Primary Teachers' Association

This chapter presents key findings from 16 semi-structured, in-depth interviews with PPTA leaders and an analysis of PPTA documents. This chapter is organised according to two themes generated from the interviews (Section 3.3.2) and therefore mainly reflects the views of PPTA leaders. The first section outlines their concern that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms posed significant challenges to the teaching profession and PPTA through a process of de-professionalisation mainly due to the notion of provider capture, performance management and devolution reforms. The chapter then outlines the challenges PPTA faced over the last 30 years. The second section examines three policies; NCEA, Communities of Learning (CoLs) and the Teaching Council, which illustrate how the increasing politicisation of education policy affected the teaching profession and how PPTA responded as a consequence.

6.1 Impacts of the Tomorrow's Schools Reforms on the Teaching Profession

Interview and document data showed that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms introduced a competitive business model into the education system which was destructive. Bunker, Kear and Willetts believed that the disadvantages of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms were overwhelming and that many of the things the reforms achieved could have been done in other ways. One of the philosophies dominating the Tomorrow's Schools reforms was that "state enterprise was getting in the road of individual enterprise" and there was a need to "diminish the role of the state in favour of private enterprise" (Bunker). He pointed out that governments should limit their role in school issues, giving schools and teachers more autonomy, and schools should not be placed in a position of competing with each other for funding:

> It was [the] Government stepping back and saying it's not our business. I remember the Minister in the early 90s, Lockwood Smith, saying piously it's not my job to tell schools what books they should buy for their library. Of course, to a degree, we'd agree with him, [the] Government shouldn't be involved in that. But on the other hand, schools shouldn't have to fight for the funding to do the things that they need to do.

He commented that "setting schools up as though they were corner shops competing with one another was just a silly idea". Chapman felt that "there was an assumption from Tomorrow's

Schools that if you changed the way schools were organised – I even feel stupid saying this – students would learn better". It was in this context that the professional role of teachers and their organisations was seen as facing significant challenges.

6.1.1 Challenges to the Professional Role of Teachers

Most PPTA leaders interviewed in this study argued that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms had posed significant challenges to the teaching profession since the late 1980s. These included: the government distrusted teachers, accusing them of provider capturer; the impact of performance-related pay on the relational and moral aspects of teaching and learning; the effect of decentralising education reforms on professional connections within the teaching nationally; and changes to the roles and relations of policy actors on the professional voice of teachers.

Provide Capture Undermined Trust in the Teaching Profession.

Interview data showed that the PPTA leaders thought the teaching profession was under attack with accusations of provider capture, which viewed teachers as selfish and needing external control. Chapman defined 'provider capture' as teachers capturing the system and using it for their own interests rather than for students' interests. She explained that "through the late eighties and through the nineties, they [teachers] were redefined as people who were trying to capture the system from someone, from students, from the parents, from the community or whatever". Provider capture viewed teachers and PPTA as selfish and irresponsible (Gainsford) and assumed that teachers only cared about their own interests (Smith (Heard)) or as teachers doing "as little as possible for as much as possible" (Chapman).

The teaching profession was accused of operating "a closed shop" and trying to "generate a scarcity" through compulsory teacher registration (Chapman), which was used to keep their wages up (Cross). Previously, the notion that "teachers as professionals were integral to the system, was accepted" (Chapman). However, she felt that the professional role of teachers had been seriously undermined by the accusation of provider capture, which Chapman and Macann both pointed out was highly offensive to the teaching profession. Macann said that provider capture was "a cynical view" that positioned teachers as selfish and only concerned with their own interests rather than their students' or as contradicting the interests of teachers and students. This challenged the integrity of teachers (Chapman).

In advancing their own professionalisation, teachers were considered untrustworthy and needed to be "watched and monitored externally" (Chapman) and were treated with suspicion (Smith (Heard)). Cross commented that governments "never moved from a fundamental view that teachers are untrustworthy; if you can't control them with money all the time, money or sacking them, then they're going to get up and teach kids to be revolutionaries or something". When teachers were involved in policy development, they were seen as shaping the policy in their own interests rather than in students' interests (Chapman). Teachers were not trusted to be professionals like doctors and engineers (Neyland and Chapman), had never been allowed to be the leaders of their profession (Chapman) and had to rely on paperwork to prove they had done their work (Neyland). Teacher appraisal and the Teaching Council's change of teacher registration from every three years to every year were evidence of low trust in the teaching profession (Neyland).

Document data also showed that official education policies highlighted compliance rather than trust in the teaching profession. Signs of distrust in the teaching profession included:

> Multiple forms of documentation for the different government agencies (NZQA, ERO, and the Ministry of Education); roll audits and roll returns; attendance audits; planning and reporting processes; excessive external moderation demands; maintaining paper trails for discipline matters and for contact with families and external agencies. (NZPPTA, 2010a, p. 10)

Education policies would allow external agencies to control the teaching profession and create distrust in the teaching profession (NZPPTA, 2010a).

PPTA leaders pointed out that teachers had tended to oppose education reforms since the late 1980s and had begun to view them as an attack on their working conditions; "negative, top-down, thrust upon … [them, which] … made it harder and harder to have those professional conversations about the real changes that were needed in terms of assessment, qualifications and pedagogy" (Smith (Heard)). She said that PPTA found it hard to persuade teachers to involve themselves in education changes:

> We used to talk in PPTA about a third, a third, a third of the membership right. In other words, there's a third in the middle, you've probably seen the three-train analogy about carriages and there's the group at the back – the fire in the back carriage, there's a group in the middle and there's a group in the front carriage. The front carriage is the ones

> who are keen on change and want to go, and the back carriage is the ones who don't want to go, and the ones in the middle. And it's always about the group in the middle, isn't it? … What happened I think with Tomorrow's Schools and all those other sorts of thrust-down industrial changes is that the third in the middle hooked onto the back [carriage of the] train and they didn't want to move.

The Tomorrow's Schools reforms undermined the professional partnership between PPTA and governments, and there was a risk of excluding the PPTA's voice from policy development. Since the Tomorrow's Schools reforms, governments have adopted a "we know better" approach and tended to ignore the voice of teachers (Willetts), and although the Labour-led government tended to work with teacher unions in the 2000s, the threat still existed where governments tended to remove the voice of teacher unions (Stevenson). The accusation of provider capture had significantly undermined PPTA's relationship with governments; Alison claimed that this accusation had been employed by governments to justify teachers being excluded from policy development. Gainsford said:

> The phrase 'provider capture' became prevalent in the National government's attempts to shut out the voice of teachers and shut down the critical thinking of teachers and their previous contributions to the reviews of curriculum, assessment and qualifications and other debates they contributed to.

Cross recalled:

> When I first started working for the union in the 1990s, in that context, we had been talking about a National government; boy, they hated teachers and teacher unions even more. Well, hated is strong. But they didn't trust teachers; they didn't think they had any skills, they wanted performance pay, [and] they didn't like the fact that they went on strike and made them pay over money for salaries and conditions.

Haig and Roberts[9] disagreed that governments were trying to remove the voice of teacher unions. Haig thought that PPTA was "paranoid" to think that governments tried to get

[9] When the interviews were conducted, Haig and Roberts both work in the government. This special role may impact their perception of the relationship between teacher unions and governments.

rid of them, and Roberts argued that, from the governments' perspective, the loss of the PPTA's voice might have been a side effect of the reforms.

PPTA actively sought support from parents and other policy actors as a strategy to deal with PPTA being excluded from the education policy process. Gainsford viewed engaging with parents as a PPTA's way of dealing with governments excluding teachers' voices in education policy. She explained that, as a result of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms, PPTA found it more difficult to have a partnership relation with governments and, therefore, engaged with communities to have an impact on education policy:

> Being shut out of a proactive input and a partnership approach to policy development, I think the union drew on its capacity to mobilise public debate with a well-informed campaign to engage communities and offer robust critiques of the worst aspects of the policy and to work alongside government where 'allowed' to advocate for equity and have administration and management serve education, not the other way around.

The deteriorating relationship with the government led to PPTA actively seeking support from other policy actors. Willets stated:

> The relationship between Government and PPTA - National Governments during the 1990s were very, very hostile and didn't want to engage with us over anything really, professional matters or industrial. So that was a difficult time, but again, what we tended to do was to look to create communities of interest around professional matters. There were a number of groups that we established that were cross-sector groups with maybe principals groups, parents groups, sometimes from teacher education, sometimes with NZEI and anybody basically that we thought had some skin in the game and was concerned about professional issues. We would use those groups to make broad statements about particular policy matters, where we could get agreement, of course and we couldn't always get agreement. Then we would use the weight of that cross-sector group to get into, and to drive, policy discussion.

He also argued that when the Tomorrow's Schools reforms were introduced, PPTA actively supported the establishment of the Parents Advocacy Council to support parental involvement in education reforms. Alison argued that it was important for PPTA to maintain the support of parents and students and warned that PPTA should avoid using professional issues as a weapon in its industrial activities.

Cross and Gainsford felt that teachers and parents shared the same interests. Cross believed that while the government established BoTs to pitch parents against teachers, parents actually supported teachers and sought "a collaborative relationship" with them instead of bargaining with them. After all, teachers were parents, and parents comprised the community (Gainsford). She also pointed out that, compared with the School Trustees Association, which saw itself as an employer, parent organisations supported teachers in matters, such as class size.

Performance Pay Undermined the Complexity of Teachers' Work.

Interview and document data revealed that the competition model introduced by the Tomorrow's Schools reforms significantly undermined collaboration and collegiality in the teaching profession. There was more internal competition within the teaching profession, which significantly increased teachers' workloads (Willetts). Cross and Neyland claimed that performance pay would undermine collegiality among teachers and "causes distress and leads to bad relationships in the school" (Cross):

> Performance pay is so misunderstood. People are rightly suspicious about who gets the rewards and certainly in the times I was teaching, more men would've got rewards than women. Often the people who are either pushy or who've got a subject area that's in short supply, like physics – you can negotiate your price up if you're a physics teacher. But if you're a woman teaching ESOL, TESOL (Teaching English as a Second or Other Language) part-time, you'll get the reverse.

She also argued that the introduction of bulk funding tended "to make teachers squabble between themselves for pay". Moreover, Cross argued that the erosion of collegiality would de-professionalise the teaching profession; and she took doctors as an example, "it's completely de-professionalising doctors, they are isolated from their colleagues, they're not working in a medical centre where they can share experiences and support each other it's simply an algorithm that's going to make money".

Most union leaders interviewed in the current study believed that collegial relationships were crucial to the teaching profession. Gainsford commented that as professionals, teachers needed to share experiences and learn from each other:

> When teachers own their learning around curriculum change, it becomes more than a glossy document to work with. They need to work together. They need to swap stories. They need to make comparisons. They need to learn it [curriculum change] and

internalise it themselves. That is a social experience as well as an individual and professional one.

Document data also promoted collaboration over competition among teachers. Central agencies introduced more hierarchical relationships and close surveillance, such as "evaluation, quality assurance, auditing and legal compliance" into the education system (NZPPTA, 2011b, p. 2). Performance pay, temporary employment and the lack of professional support reduced teachers' morale and motivation, and created distrust and cynicism (NZPPTA, 2011b).

PPTA supported the establishment of the Network Learning Communities (NLCs), which encouraged teacher collaboration to develop professional knowledge and reflect on teaching issues (NZPPTA, 2011a). In 2018, drawing on experiences in Australia, the United Kingdom and Ireland, and on other professions, such as doctors, nurses, social workers and lawyers, the NZPPTA proposed adding "attending to the general well-being of my colleagues" to the Code of Professional Responsibility and Standards for the Teaching Profession as teachers' commitment to the teaching profession (NZPPTA, 2019). It called for teachers to take good care of their colleagues:

> We must take better care of ourselves. We must take better care of each other. We cannot hold it to be professional to needlessly increase the stress of our colleagues. Equally, we cannot hold it to be ethical to stand by and watch a colleague burn themselves out without raising a voice of concern. (NZPPTA, 2018a, p. 3)

Interview and document data evidenced the view that performance pay would undermine the complexity of teaching and learning and was controversial as an approach to measure teachers' work. It was an improper and unfair way to measure teachers' work (Cross and Neyland) and merely measured "what's easy to measure, but some of those really important things don't get measured" (Neyland). Cross stated, "a lot of the stuff teachers do is not in the control of employers, and they want to quantify the job. The problem is how to measure it fairly. In a top class or in a high-decile school, it's easier to get good results". For Gainsford, performance pay would limit "the capacity and expectation of a system to have everyone performing to a high standard" and for Neyland, it would trivialise teachers' work. Cross felt that performance pay failed to identify unethical teachers and, in most situations, unethical teachers "do well in the pay stakes because they know how to play the game"; it would "eliminate professionalism and ethics" from the teaching profession and facilitated greater

control by those in leadership positions, which was viewed as anti-professionalism. Cross stated:

> It should be healthy to debate issues. No one's an oracle; teaching is something that you make and remake every day and learn how to be better. To do that you need active discourse; you need to be able to accept criticism, well-intentioned criticism. Most leaders in education today don't like that.

Cross and Neyland pointed out that the concept of 'teacher competence' was complicated. Incompetent teachers might be the result of inadequate school support or of teaching very challenging classes (Neyland). Cross stated:

> Competence is more complicated because the employer has a role in competence – in making [and] creating the conditions that make it possible for a teacher to be effective … if teachers are given big classes and no support [and] no professional development, they will inevitably fail.

Interview data showed that PPTA viewed a significant part of teaching as building relationships with students and their parents. Teaching was not just about teaching subject knowledge but was also about "working with students and contacting parents" (Neyland). Teaching and learning were "a human interactive process" (Gainsford). Cross claimed that governments adopted a business-transaction approach rather than a building-relationships approach, resulting in teachers focusing more on "the most cost-efficient way" of doing their job rather than building relationships with students. Teaching was reduced to "a competitive, individualistic model focused on money" (Gainsford).

Document data showed that PPTA viewed teaching as complex, relational work with moral purposes. It was impossible to reduce teaching to "a simple formula" that could be measured (NZPPTA's Quality Teaching Taskforce, 2012, p. 8). The criteria designed for teacher appraisal should require "contextualisation, sophisticated understanding and practice … [that involves] … teachers actually having serious/critical professional conversations about what is happening for their students" (NZPPTA's Quality Teaching Taskforce, 2012, p. 17). The motivation for becoming a teacher is often to make a positive difference to students; therefore, teachers are intrinsically motivated by "mastery, autonomy and purpose" (p. 16). This could be exemplified and enhanced through teacher professional autonomy, which was related to making professional judgements and being trusted to make

such judgements. However, education policies, such as performance pay that highlighted external accountability, competitive mechanisms of control and used extrinsic motivation to improve teaching quality, had considerably undermined teachers' professional autonomy (NZPPTA's Quality Teaching Taskforce, 2012).

Decentralisation Undermined the Collective Aspect of the Teaching Profession.

Interview data showed that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms undermined the teaching profession. The decentralisation of the reforms resulted in teachers being more responsive to their schools rather than to the teaching profession, which reduced teachers' impact on professional issues at a national level (Cross). The reforms also undermined teacher professionalism "by separating teachers into competing blocks" (Willetts), and teachers were treated more like employees than professionals (Kear and Cross). Before the reforms, all teachers were employed on the same contracts and were responsible for the teaching profession but after the reforms, teachers were employed by individual schools with "a boss/employer relationship"; teachers were responsible "to individual school boards rather than the profession as a whole" (Cross). "Rather than being a group of professionals with a desire to care for the education of young people, [teachers] are merely employees doing a job that might be in a factory or in an office" (Kear).

PPTA played an important role in responding to these challenges and maintaining the national teaching profession and education system (Bunker):

> If it hadn't been for teachers and the PPTA standing up for ethics and standards and fighting for education as a common good, we would not have sustained a viable national system of education. We would've ended up like America where they've got about three or four hundred different systems. Nothing's integrated. They have no national plan.

To maintain the professional connection between teachers at a national level, PPTA supported subject associations so that teachers could impact education policy at the national level (Willetts). Cross argued that teachers should be members of "a national profession, with everyone taking responsibility for the behaviour of their peers" and education quality:

> being a profession - you care about the educational experience for all kids, not just the ones in front of you, not just the ones that come through the gate; you are responsible

for the learning of every kid in New Zealand and so you have to work on policies that make that possible.

Cross was concerned that teachers had become used to the "unequal, polarised school system" and refused to think about the education system as a whole; if teachers "are sitting in Epsom with a comfy job at Epsom Girls, they don't want to be told that the system isn't fair and that they need to accept that they are advantaged". She was also concerned about teachers' ignorance and opposition to the subsequent review of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms.

Document data also highlighted the collective aspect of the teaching profession. The Quality Teaching Taskforce made a distinction between 'teacher quality' and 'teaching quality'. Teacher quality highlights the individual characteristics of teachers' work, teaching quality stresses the collective characteristics. While both were important, the Taskforce argued that it was time to highlight "collaborative reflection and inquiry, and mutual development" in teachers' work rather than "a heroic model of teaching which individualises good practice" (NZPPTA's Quality Teaching Taskforce, 2012, p. 9).

MoE and BoT: No Professional Expertise in Management.

Interview data highlighted the risk of having no professional expertise at the management level of the education system. PPTA leaders argued that the "overnight" change from the DoE to the MoE was a significant challenge for the teaching profession and its relationship with governments. PPTA typically engaged with staff in the MoE who had no teaching experience and found it hard to cooperate with them. Kear described the MoE staff as "civil servants" rather than "teachers"; "business people" rather than educationists were enacting a business model in the education system and were involved in the policy-making process. Consequently, PPTA found it difficult to deal with the MoE lack of knowledge about the realities of teachers' work. Kears said:

> [It's] quite difficult to deal with that with people who assume that teachers arrive at half-past eight and leave at half-past three and don't do anything else because they say, 'oh look at them, they've got 12 weeks' holiday' and you think, 'well, when I was a teacher, I don't recall having 12 weeks' holiday'.

Chapman said that "we found it quite galling that as experienced teachers we were being told what it was like to be a teacher by these people who had no knowledge of the teaching

experience". When the DoE changed into the MoE, "it lost a lot of the operational knowledge of curriculum and assessment previously held there. It was a policy-making body, not one that had expertise in operationalising policy" (Gainsford).

Therefore, PPTA took a leadership role in implementing policy. PPTA made education policy "richer and more likely to land in schools" (Roberts). Gainsford argued:

> A different kind of professional leadership was exercised when PPTA supported teachers' own facilitation of workshops around the country, related to curriculum change. The Ministry of Education contributed resources to the process, and teachers and education benefited, but the union-led it. The Ministry of Education did not, nor did NZQA or whatever the version of the Teaching Council at the time. The union provided leadership when gaps appeared as [a] result of the Tomorrow's Schools, model of a Ministry focused on policy, not implementation.

Splitting the DoE into different agencies, such as the Education Review Office (ERO), the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA), and the MoE resulted in the fragmentation of education policy. PPTA worked with these agencies and took on the role of helping them understand the centrally developed policy (Scott).

One purpose of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms that established BoTs in each school was to improve parental involvement in school education. However, some PPTA leaders questioned their practical value in the governance of schools. BoTs were "often not up to the job. In some places, they might have the right combination of people, but often they don't" (Willetts). Many BoTs did "not know how to exercise that power in any particular credible way.… teachers became alarmed at the [prospect of] people who didn't have a lot of experience in education providing the governance for those schools and employing the principals of those schools" (Macann).

Although interview and document data highlighted the negative impacts of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms, Neyland, Smith (Heard), and Cross argued that the reforms had enhanced parental involvement in school education. Cross said:

> Pre-'89, schools were a closed shop in that they didn't listen to parents enough. One of the things Tomorrow's Schools did that I think was fair enough was that they made schools open up, bring parents in and be more conscious of what the community were saying. Now the community might not always be right but schools shouldn't be

> dismissive because parents care about their kids and worry about them so the quality of communication and listening to them matters.

Parents had been involved in secondary schools' Boards of Governors before the Tomorrow's Schools reforms (Smith (Heard), Macann and Kear). These boards "were elected by local communities and sort of gently oversaw the school" (Kear) so, "the actual idea of having a board for each school wasn't new" in secondary schools (Smith (Heard)).

In summary, the PPTA leaders viewed the Tomorrow's Schools reforms as posing significant challenges for the teaching profession. They de-professionalised the teaching profession by introducing a competition and fragmentation model to the education system and creating distrust in the teaching profession. The following section outlines the challenges that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms posed for their union's professional role.

6.1.2 Challenges to the Professional Role of PPTA

Many PPTA leaders interviewed in this study argued that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms had posed significant challenges to PPTA's professional role in the 1990s. Its professional role underwent three phases: it was progressive prior to the late 1980s; it was undermined in the 1990s, and it was reclaimed in the 2000s. PPTA leaders interviewed in this study considered their union's professional role essential.

The Progressive Role of PPTA Prior to the late 1980s.

Five PPTA leaders argued that PPTA was a professional organisation in its earlier historical stages of formation. The professional role of PPTA was the original one: to act as a professional representative of teachers (Alison). Cross stated:

> When I go back and look at old papers, as I often have had to do, what I notice is how the union was really formed from a professional basis. I mean it was set up in 1952 by principals - there were committees for every issue, they had committees for every curriculum subject, and the union had active representation on national committees along with the Department of Education; so the union was central to discussions and decisions about curriculum and assessment, up until 1989 (the big change).

Prior to the late 1980s, PPTA was not a registered union and mainly focused on professional issues (Stevenson); and was "more successful as a professional organisation than as a union" (Kear). Members strongly opposed PPTA being referred to as a 'union' (Chapman). In addition,

the PPTA Journal was a symbol of the PPTA's professional role (Macann and Alison) and "was a vehicle for extensive professional debate, each issue focusing on a particular theme and containing contributions from teachers and other experts" from the 1960s (Alison). She viewed the demise of the PPTA Journal in the 1990s as "a significant loss in terms of professional debate among secondary teachers".

PPTA maintained a close relationship with governments prior to the late 1980s; most staff in the DoE were former teachers or members of PPTA or NZEI, and the DoE paid the salary of the national president of each union. The relationship between PPTA and governments was "generally cordial" (Kear). Governments viewed PPTA as a "professional partner" (Chapman and Gainsford) and acknowledged its important role in professional issues (Smith (Heard)). Gainsford said that in the early 1980s:

> There was a willingness for a Labour government to work with and include, with deliberation, the professional voice of teachers in reviews of curriculum, assessment and qualifications. There was an assumption of shared values, particularly in addressing the rights of minorities in society and providing a more enlightened approach to curriculum, assessment and qualifications.

Smith (Heard) believed PPTA was more progressive in professional issues prior to the late 1980s:

> Prior to Tomorrow's Schools, the period in which I was involved in PPTA, and for most of that time I would say we were progressive; we were leaders in progressive thinking about education. We were respected for that. So, as I said, we had involvement in any developments around curriculum, assessment, qualifications, the teacher training – all those kinds of things, philosophical things about pedagogy and so on, as well as industrial.

She went on to explain:

> What we had been doing prior to Tomorrow's Schools is that we were pretty good at working with that group in the middle and appealing to their hearts and their care, the fact that most teachers do care about the students they teach and getting teachers to recognise the changes that needed to happen for the benefit of those students, and that it would be better if we could teach in that way. And so we were able to mostly carry two-thirds of the membership, and then the other third would come along behind.

During this time, PPTA set its own agenda (Chapman). She recalled that when she was on the executive:

> If we were going to a meeting at the Department, we always had to take a document with us, even if it was just one page, which set out our ideas, our goals; the rationale was that we were trying to make sure that the meeting looked at our agenda and we weren't just there responding to other people's agendas. We were setting the agenda and that was a rule of thumb for PPTA.

The progressive role of PPTA was exemplified in its role in abolishing corporal punishment. PPTA, represented by Smith (Heard) in the 1980s, opposed corporal punishment (Grant, 2003). In her interview for this study, she stated that corporal punishment would weaken PPTA as "a properly professional organisation" and the professional role of teachers:

> We also could see that it undermined us as teachers because what it did it created the idea that a good teacher was a physically strong teacher who could ultimately use force, and it was, of course, precisely the opposite; how can you build positive relationships with kids if ultimately they think if we defy you, you will hit us and if you're a woman you won't hit us, but you'll send us to the man who will hit us.

Bunker recalled that PPTA was "talking to the DoE and government about [abolishing it]. We were also talking about alternative means of providing discipline and how to provide better counselling, better support for students and so on".

Undermined the Professional Role of PPTA in the late 1980s.

Some PPTA leaders argued that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms were a major distraction for PPTA from improving professional standards and "maintaining and improving upon a national system of education" (Bunker). The reforms had forced PPTA to focus on more contentious issues, such as who teachers' employers were – school BoTs or governments. He recalled:

> Tomorrow's Schools reforms meant we had to make a decision about priorities or risk being overwhelmed as an organisation. We decided to concentrate on two things. One was to maintain the collective in terms of bargaining for pay and professional standards, and we had to fight against bulk funding. That was our focus for nearly two decades.

Kear agreed that industrial issues, such as bulk funding and the deduction of subscriptions,

dominated PPTA in the early 1990s and limited PPTA's attention on professional activities. Chapman recalled that "curriculum/ideas really got squeezed out of the conversation because Tomorrow's Schools just took up all the space during those years". PPTA spent "an awful lot of time basically trying to shape the way that Tomorrow's Schools was being implemented," said Willetts. Alison recalled:

> During the previous decade, when the union was fighting a huge industrial battle with a very hostile government, a number of the professional portfolios had been distributed across different members of the staff. There was no one focussing specifically, no one on the staff focussing specifically on a range of professional matters.

Members of PPTA wanted their union to pay more attention to industrial issues since the late 1990s, or in Kear's opinion, as early as the 1970s; this was one reason that Bunker was appointed as PPTA's first salary officer. At this time, the division between members' views about whether PPTA was a professional or industrial organisation increased; Chapman mentioned that some were cautious about extreme unionism and reluctant to take industrial actions prior to the late 1980s:

> When I began teaching (1977), there were people who were incredibly opposed to the idea of thinking of PPTA – the Post Primary Teachers Association – as a union, even though it was the PPTA that would negotiate their salaries and things like that. To the extent that I can remember at local PPTA meetings of teachers when somebody loosely says, 'the union needs to […]', some of our more conservative members would stand up and say primly, 'we are not a union, we are an association'. They would require that the records show the word 'association'.

However, Chapman recalled that members changed their views after the late 1980s; particularly, with the introduction of the Labour Relations Act, which required PPTA to be registered as a trade (industrial) union. McCutcheon and Alison recalled that after the late 1980s, members believed that as PPTA was an industrial union, it should focus on pay rather than professional issues. This had never been heard before then (Alison). Members were often not clear about the role of PPTA (Kear and Alison); they did not know its history, and union leaders needed to teach them about this (Alison).

Document data also showed that industrial issues had been a high priority, especially since the late 1980s; when industrial tensions eased, PPTA would be able to focus on

professional issues. PPTA switched its focus to industrial issues for two years to settle the Secondary Teachers' Collective Agreement, and then it would put more energy into professional issues (NZPPTA, 2007).

PPTA Reclaimed Its Professional Role in the early 2000s.

Interview and document data showed that PPTA began to reclaim its professional role in the late 1990s. Several PPTA leaders claimed that PPTA began to redefine its policy in the late 1990s. Bunker described it as "a fightback". PPTA asserted its professional identity when the government proposed to deregister the teaching profession (Chapman). It "sharpen[ed] up its policies on qualifications in New Zealand secondary schools" and presented their report on the Qualifications Framework Inquiry in 1997 (Macann). Willetts argued that "it was increasingly critical for [PPTA] to have that professional profile and to be seen to be doing that professional work by members and the public and by politicians" in the late 1990s. Chapman said that "[PPTA] saw ourselves always as a professional organisation looking after the professional and employment needs of our members". She said:

> Externally, and particularly government officials but sometimes also newspaper editors and journalists and people in the street, didn't see us as professionals. Not only were we wanting to be involved, I think we were also wanting to put our professional cap on, to be seen as professionals by people.

The changing 'political landscape' also led PPTA to focus more on professional activities. Alison pointed out that when the Labour party was elected in 1999, the relationship between the government and teacher unions eased. The government's removal of bulk funding allowed PPTA to focus on professional issues (Macann). Stevenson added:

> Because in the 1990s, we spent so much time having to fight and campaign against some very anti-union, anti-teacher policies, we had to see off bulk funding for the first time. So come the 2000s, you weren't having to have those fights anymore. So, you had more time to focus on professional activities. So, it was very much driven by the political landscape of the day.

Macann said that when he was the National President (1999–2000), "I had to win the confidence of the PPTA executive to engage with [the] ministry and I had to win the confidence of the ministry for them to believe it was worthwhile engaging with us…. I personally was very keen for the PPTA to get more involved in the professional issues". Bunker stated:

> But at the end of it, we came to a kind of understanding with the government of the day that it was probably better to try and work constructively than destructively. We sought mechanisms to try and deal with some of the big issues. That continued through until the government changed in 2000, the Helen Clark government.

Smith (Heard) thought that after 2002, the government began to engage PPTA more in the education policy process. Although the tension between teacher unions and the government eased, PPTA continued to be cautious about the potential risk that some government agendas would minimise the influence of teacher unions in the education system. Stevenson said:

> While the NCEA panned that period of time, you have got to be aware that lying in behind it [were] two very different political agendas; one that really tried to destroy unions and run terms and conditions down and then on the other side, while NCEA was being implemented, you had a much friendlier government towards teachers which no doubt helped with the NCEA implementation.

PPTA also reclaimed its professional role because of the increasing range of professional issues it engaged in. Willetts stated:

> NCEA was coming to the boil, and the Teachers Council of New Zealand Aotearoa was also bubbling along, and we had ideas and policy around both. We had professional development issues; the old professional development structures were falling away, and funding for new professional development was drying up. All those issues came at the same time. It was a natural time to introduce that new position.

Bunker pointed out that PPTA's focus on its professional role would help meet the increasing professional need of its teacher members:

> It was really quite a successful strategy because, by that stage, teachers were hungry for some kind of vehicle in which they could work together and collaborate as professionals. This was a change from the days when some teachers would ask me whether they had intellectual property rights to this new programme for this class. Is it mine? Do I own it? Can I sell it?

Macann added, "when the NCEA was going to be introduced, it would be really important for secondary school teachers to have a voice and to have input into the design of it and rolling out of PLD, professional learning development, around it and so on".

Willets and Alison pointed out that the PPTA's appointment of Alison as the Advisory Officer on professional issues in 2002 was an important sign that PPTA had begun to rebuild its professional role. Alison said:

> I think that period from my appointment in 2002 was an important period for PPTA because it was kind of reclaiming that professional focus and actually giving real substantial commitment of members' money – because you know the income of the union is all from subscriptions – so it was a matter of deciding to focus much more on the professional.

This was PPTA's "survival strategy" to deal with attacks from the right-wing government (Alison), learning from the experience of the British Columbia Teachers Federation in Canada, where teacher unions ran teachers' professional development with funds from the government, and consequently became so central to the teaching profession that the government could not attack it. Alison believed that enhancing PPTA's professional role and positioning PPTA "as the experts on secondary education in New Zealand" would help to ensure that "no decisions were made about secondary education in New Zealand without consulting with us [PPTA]".

Document data also provided evidence that PPTA had begun to pay more attention to its industrial role and relatively neglected its professional role since the mid-1980s (Bunker, 2004); however, after around ten years of intense industrial activities, PPTA was determined to re-focus on its professional agenda. Bunker pointed out that PPTA "would commit resources and energy to return PPTA to a professional leadership role, including active engagement with the Ministry and other agencies on professional and curriculum issues, the rebuilding of professional networks amongst the membership" (NZPPTA, 2005, p. 2). One reason PPTA reclaimed its professional role was their understanding of quality teaching. PPTA worried that inappropriate interpretations of quality teaching would have serious negative impacts on the teaching profession:

> Another version of the 'accountable teacher' concept whereby teachers are accused of failing the quality test and are surrounded with a framework of performance measurement, professional standards, performance-linked pay and all the other failed New Right accountability measures in order to bring them up to some imposed level of 'quality. (NZPPTA, 2005, p. 12)

Judie Alison, as PPTA's first advisory officer on professional issues, organised three conferences in the 2000s that were more professional than industrial in focus (Stevenson and Alison).

Professional conference

PPTA held four professional conferences after the early 2000s[10]; the first three provided opportunities for teachers and PPTA to learn how to have an impact on education policy (Alison):

> A) meeting member's professional learning needs, B) the members who came loved them and they said they learned a lot and they found the speakers really interesting but C) also influencing the government departments who sent people along.

The professional conferences were regarded as PPTA's organisational strategy to enhance its role in teachers' professional learning and development (PLD). The conferences were intended to enhance PPTA's role and involvement in PLD (Alison), rebuild its profile as a provider of PLD "on a regular basis" (Kear) and deal with the problems in teachers' PLD as a result of the Tomorrows' Schools reforms (Willetts). Willetts explained that the conferences helped PPTA "encourage government to develop better professional development structures and models for teachers" and bargain with governments for better PLD opportunities for teachers.

Willetts also argued that the conferences were PPTA's response to the government's refusal to consult teacher unions about education issues. They helped PPTA raise its public profile and bring "members and the profession generally back into the conversation around professional issues [and allowed PPTA] opportunities to present ideas outside of the ministry – PPTA forum" and thereby indirectly influencing education policy. Neyland saw the

[10] The first three professional conferences in the 2000s were organised by Judie Alison: 1. *Charting the Future: The Way forward for Secondary Education* (2004). It was about student-centred learning and Jane Gilbert's theories (Catching the Knowledge Wave). 2. *Quality Teaching: Leading the Way* (2006). It was mainly looking at the future of secondary teaching and the skills teachers would need. 3. *Edscapes: Mapping Teachers' Professional Lives* (2010). (From Alison's interview). The fourth one was held in 2021 and organised by Anthony Neyland. The theme was *Advancing the Dream of Public Education*. It highlighted the important role of PPTA in shaping the education system.

conferences as a sign that PPTA was actively setting its own agenda on professional issues rather than just responding to others':

> With the debate around Tomorrow's Schools. That we were responding to other people's questions. We felt that the Ministry and other people were setting the agenda and we decided that we checked with our members and exec whether they'd be interested in us having [a] conference around educational matters but more where we set the agenda rather than other people setting the agenda.

There was a ten-year break between the third and fourth conferences. Several factors contributed to this: they were too expensive for PPTA at that time (Alison); the government was more engaged with teacher unions (Willetts); teachers' increased workload due to NCEA meant that teachers had less time to attend the conference (Neyland). They said:

> We found that the number of members who got involved in coming didn't kind of justify the amount of money we spent, and schools didn't kind of get on board by paying people's costs to come. So, I eventually wrote a paper to [the] executive suggesting that we not do it every two years but do it on an ad hoc-kind of basis, where if there was an issue that we thought a conference would help to promote. (Alison)

> During the 2000s, we had a series of Labour governments, we were being engaged more in [the] consultation around professional matters, we had re-built a lot of the connections that had been broken through Tomorrow's Schools and the question I seem to remember really was, is it worthwhile carrying on with the conferences when we can achieve the input through other means. (Willetts)

Neyland argued that the introduction of NCEA significantly increased teachers' workloads and as a result, teachers had less time to attend the conference. Willetts also argued that although PPTA had determined to stop running the conference, it did not mean that PPTA viewed this conference as not important; instead, it was more related to the question that "is it still necessary that we [PPTA] are the ones that actually organise these?".

According to Willetts, the 2020 conference (postponed to 2021 due to COVID-19) was re-launched because there were a number of professional issues, members needed to remember the professional role of PPTA, PPTA had received PLD funds from the government in 2019 and the threat the Teaching Council posed for PPTA's professional role (Section 6.2.3). He stated that it was "prudent for us to re-establish, the fact that actually, we are the elected

representatives of teachers". The 2021 conference was also regarded as an effort by PPTA to maintain a positive public profile. Neyland's report to PPTA Executive (Professional Committee) in 2020 stated that the conference would offer an opportunity for PPTA to show that it cared about not only the rights of teachers but also the quality of education.

The start, stop and restart of the conferences over the last two decades give a snapshot of PPTA developing its professional role. The changing political environment also played a crucial role during this time. Different PPTA leaders highlighted different aspects of the conferences according to their role in PPTA. As an advisory officer on professional issues, Alison viewed the purpose of the conference as to increase PPTA's role in PLD, whereas Willetts, as an advisory officer on industrial issues, emphasised the political aspect of the conference. These views reflect the intertwined professional, political and industrial issues that PPTA dealt with. This is discussed in the following section.

6.1.3 The Professional Role of PPTA

The PPTA leaders interviewed in this study emphasised the inseparability of professional and industrial roles and PPTA's role as the collective professional voice of teachers and its political influence on education policy.

The Inseparability of Professional and Industrial Roles of PPTA.

PPTA was established with two constitutional objectives; one was "professionalism" and the other was "unionism" (Kear). Kear said "there was never a doubt that the people who established the PPTA thought it would be both [professional and industrial]". Prior to the late 1980s, PPTA was a more professional organisation and since the late 1980s, it has balanced its focus on professional and industrial issues (Stevenson). Although the Tomorrow's Schools reforms made it more difficult for PPTA to maintain its professional profile, its professional role was never out of sight in the 1990s. Although it was heavily involved in industrial issues, PPTA still maintained its professional responsibilities to ensure that "a qualification system was fit for purpose" (McCutcheon). PPTA's primary focus changed over time "given the imperatives, given the pressures based by our members and those pressures being transferred to the PPTA executive members" (Macann) but PPTA was able to keep its eye on both professional and industrial issues at the same time.

There had been no organisational division between professional and industrial issues within PPTA before 2002. Willetts said, "when I started working at PPTA in a paid position,

all of the advisory staff dealt with both industrial and professional [issues]; there was no split between them. You moved from one to the other in your day-to-day work". Even though Alison's appointment as the first professional advisory officer created a formal division between professional and industrial issues, Willets stated that it was often hard to distinguish the two:

> Even amongst the advisory officers – technically, I'm in the industrial team, but worked with Alison – for example, to produce a document on change management in schools which we [thought was] a professional tool and the advisory officers, who are professional, would advise the industrial team about the implications of some of the industrial matters we [were] looking [at or what] we might be developing. So even amongst our team – notionally professional or industrial – the crossover [was] constant.

There were no purely professional or purely industrial issues; professional issues were part of the working conditions of teachers and it was impossible to separate professional and industrial issues. Bunker said:

> I always used to maintain that the professional standards of teaching, along with what you teach, how you teach it and how you assess it, is as much a condition of employment as your wages, your work environment, the amount of sick leave you've got, and so on. I've never seen any divide between a professional issue and an industrial issue. To me, they're the same issue.

Cross agreed that "it's impossible to find an issue that is purely industrial and doesn't have a professional side"; "the line between professional issues and industrial [issues] is very blurry" and "many things that look industrial on the surface are professional at a deeper level". She used class size as an example to illustrate this point:

> You could say class size is an industrial issue. It's also a professional issue because it determines the way you're able to react to the students. In a big class, you do tend to have to be more lecture style; you can't give individual attention, so class size is a profoundly professional issue as well.

Cross and Willetts explained that although PLD was typically a professional issue, access to it was an industrial issue. Without proper PLD, teachers were "at risk of falling behind in teaching skills and, therefore, dropping into competence issues" which then became an

industrial issue (Willets). Willetts argued that professional and industrial issues were interchangeable:

> If you haven't got the pay right, you can't recruit trained qualified teachers, and if you can't recruit trained and qualified teachers that means you can't offer the subjects and so the students are missing out. It also means that you end up with people who are trying to teach in [an] area that they are not trained and qualified [to] and will need extra support if students aren't to be disadvantaged. So, pay becomes a professional matter when it is inadequate.

Maintaining both professional and industrial roles would empower PPTA (Roberts and Boyle). "Being an industrial union as well as a professional association, it gives you another tool in the toolbox" (Boyle).

Most teachers viewed PPTA both as a professional association and an industrial union in recent years. A survey of PPTA members showed that 90 percent of members supported PPTA being both a professional and industrial organisation (Willetts). In fact, the distinction between professional and industrial issues within PPTA was less visible for teachers (Kear and Haig). Kear said that "from the point of view of most members, the organisation as a professional voice for members was really important but also, they really wanted their terms and conditions to be protected". Less than 10 percent of members viewed the professional and industrial issues as separate (Willetts); and governments used this to challenge the role of PPTA. According to Willetts and Boyle, the National government tended to separate PPTA's two roles.

PPTA used industrial activities to achieve professional aims. Bunker recalled PPTA using industrial activities to fight "against a tide of official opinion that says we don't need to have a regulated, trained or qualified teaching profession; individual schools could decide whether a person could teach or not". He added:

> Prior to the introduction of Tomorrow's Schools, we had been looking as a union to negotiate with the government around criteria for assessing the performance standards of teachers above the basic scale. We were looking to extend the criteria, which are around professional judgements to be made for people in positions of responsibility – they would be deans, curriculum heads, etc. People who had leadership roles within schools up to, and including the principal. We had negotiated a new set of criteria at that point.

PPTA used "industrial-style tactics to achieve both industrial and professional goals" (Alison) and the professional role of PPTA needed "industrial muscle" (Boyle). Willetts said, "our industrial side provided the support for the professional changes that were a top priority for the association". Gainsford argued:

> The collective agreement supports the professionalism of teachers. When people feel strongly about their professional identity or commitment or value being undermined, then of course the collective agreement and industrial action is a possible response. There is [a] powerful purpose in PPTA's advocacy for ethical practice and high professional standards.

Roberts agreed that the role of trade unions empowered PPTA to participate in the development and implementation of education policy to deal with professional issues.

PPTA also used professional activities to achieve its industrial aims. Haig, Willetts and Alison recalled PPTA used NCEA as "a weapon" (Alison) for its industrial activities in the early 2000s and that its industrial role benefitted from its professional role. Alison argued that "maintaining our high profile in professional matters benefitted [PPTA] when we were negotiating pay" and "if the union is seen as maintaining high standards of competence and conduct, teachers will be more highly valued by the public and government than if they are seen as protecting low standards". Willetts argued that maintaining the professional role helped PPTA maintain a positive public profile:

> Many people, when they hear the word 'union', only think of a trade union and industrial union and going on strike. When we are engaging with the public, their perception of us is tempered by the fact that we engage in those professional matters and that teachers – our members – talk about those professional issues.

He felt that PPTA's professional role increased its attractiveness to members and enhanced PPTA's leverage in political areas.

However, some PPTA leaders thought it was too simplistic to say that PPTA's professional role was used as a strategy to justify its industrial activities. For Gainsford, this was "an archaic view" of teacher unions based on the assumption that the professional and industrial roles were separate. Macann described it as "an overly cynical point of view", stating:

> [PPTA] always had a curriculum advisory committee. We were always interested in curriculum issues. We did pay for the Qualifications Framework Inquiry report to be written. We often had papers on professional issues coming through to annual conferences, so certainly my view was that we saw them as being important in their own right. Because they were important in the lives of teachers, we had to have a view about some professional issues, because we had to be able to articulate some views about professional issues to the Ministry of Education or to the Ministers of Education, because members wanted us to.

Macann cited PPTA's significant involvement in the design and implementation of NCEA as an example of its professional role:

> That was clearly the case over the NCEA over many years prior to it being developed, during its development and subsequent to its implementation when the NCEA was a very interesting and challenging reform of our qualifications. It was very controversial.... The PPTA had to talk about those issues. The issue was too important to ignore. It wasn't a means to another end. It was an important issue in its own right. That one stands out.

Chapman agreed that PPTA's professional role was not "a cloak for industrial activities"; it was asserting its professional identity and expertise, and defending the teaching profession.

Cross argued that "the professional issues are the icing on the cake", given that "the people who deliver the money are the advocates who bargain the collective contracts". She felt that PPTA should give a relatively high priority to its industrial issues:

> if you're ticking all the boxes for their bread and butter, then you can start spending their subs[scriptions] on 'nice to haves'. But if you're not doing that, you'd be better off reducing the subs if you've got spare money or focussing more closely on the key task.

Although Cross argued that PPTA should prioritise its industrial activities, one of her important premises was that there were no purely professional or industrial issues; the professional role was essential for PPTA, as it learnt from the 2001–2002 industrial crisis:

> That was a really powerful lesson for me about how you can't lose sight of professional issues and how they impact teachers' view of themselves and their workload because

> otherwise it will sneak up behind you and bang you on the back of the head, which is exactly what happened. That was a good case study which you can read about it in the PPTA history; a good case study of how professional issues and industrial issues are so inextricably connected.

Overall, the PPTA leaders interviewed in this study believed that PPTA's professional role was essential.

PPTA: The Professional Voice of Secondary School Teachers.

The PPTA leaders defined the professional role of PPTA in various ways: (1) maintaining professional standards and professional qualifications – "we've always had a code of ethics which were a foundation stone for PPTA" (Bunker) and "a union of teachers with a binding code of professional ethics and professional standards agreed with [the] government, in the Collective Agreement provides the teaching profession with a strong, credible, ethical presence in the education landscape" (Gainsford); (2) its role in curriculum, assessment, and providing "leadership" via PPTA's Principals Advisory Committee (now the Principals' Council), through which it was "having a voice in, and sharing responsibility for, the development of leaders in our schools" (Chapman); and (3) running professional conferences and its ownership of The Teachers' Refresher Course Committee (T.R.C.C.) (Stevenson); (4) building its relationship with subject associations (Roberts); and (5) working with other policy actors to have an impact on education policy (McCutcheon). McCutchen said:

> We're a professional association because we have input into everything that is important in terms of education across the country in terms of working with the Ministry, working with NZQA, working with teachers, with students on the ground, with School Trustees Association and leading the debates about qualifications and assessment and what needs to happen next. So any change in education, PPTA is a part of and hopefully is on the ground level of planning and developing any new strategies or systems.

Some union leaders found it difficult to define the professional role of teacher unions; Willetts said, "the difficulties I have is trying to define what you mean by professional. Where does professional end and industrial begin?"

The structure of PPTA enables it to be the collective voice of secondary school teachers; "PPTA has all the communication and mechanism and the structures, a branch in every school

that that person could be using that to strengthen their participation" (Chapman). Gainsford argued:

> A PPTA position on a professional issue is informed by robust debate amongst many members, leads to detailed understanding of issues and therefore has credibility (often more than the officials and politicians, who lack detailed knowledge of implications of implementation).

Smith (Heard) agreed that PPTA had networks to consult, which made it qualified to represent most secondary school teachers in New Zealand; PPTA's unique collective, the representative role could not be substituted by individual teacher representatives. Chapman agreed, commenting:

> When someone is there as a PPTA representative, they have a way to consult with teachers in order to form a view and they are accountable back to those teachers – in our case, to PPTA members. Teachers appointed as individuals have no way of effectively gathering opinion from those they are supposed to 'represent' and are accountable to no one for their actions.

Some argued that PPTA was a member-driven organisation. Chapman, Smith (Heard), Gainsford and Stevenson mentioned that the structure of PPTA enabled it to be a qualified voice for "grassroots teachers". "[PPTA's] policy is socialised at the branch level, the regional level and the national level before decisions are made" (Stevenson). Chapman stated:

> A branch can have an idea about something it wants to change. It takes it to the region and it either becomes a remit, which is just a single proposal about things like abolishing corporal punishment or you can write a paper, which gets discussed all over the country and then people come and just over a hundred delegates at a conference make decisions.

The structure of PPTA also enabled teachers to debate issues and made it easier for individual teachers to be active (Chapman). It could connect effectively with teachers and be "able to gather a lot of information from teachers on the ground" (Willetts). PPTA was "a grassroots organisation" and "the voice of the teachers on the ground" (McCutcheon); it was "owned by its members" (Chapman) and "will only thrive and survive as long as most of those members believe it's doing what they want it to do and they're advocating for them adequately, leading them well when it needs to" (Macann). PPTA's role was to look "for an issue that's widely

held and deeply felt" (Cross) and "find out what the grassroots are thinking" and advocate for the needs of secondary school teachers (Neyland and Scott).

The relationship between PPTA and governments was more positive in professional areas than industrial areas. It was respected by governments and "the PPTA work on professional issues often has a strong influence on government officials" (Haig). Gainsford recalled:

> When elected to the executive, I took part in the work of PPTA's Professional Issues Advisory Committee (PIAC). There was a level of respectful engagement between PPTA and the Ministry of Education where highly experienced people like PPTA's Dr Judie Alison and people in the Ministry of Education had a relationship of robust collaboration…. During my leadership at national level in PPTA, I've endeavoured to maintain a strong professional presence in the debate and implementation of government education policy and to work where possible in a collaborative way to do this.

PPTA tended to cooperate with the government on professional issues as Willetts stated:

> Our professional people have quite a good working relationship with the curriculum people in the Ministry. In part, I think that's because [the] curriculum is seen as less political … It tends to be less problematic for the Government because it doesn't necessarily carry lots of dollar signs. The Ministry is a little bit freer to have discussions with us about that curriculum.

Similarly, in the interviews with Scott and Neyland, when it came to the relationship between PPTA and governments, Scott felt that PPTA maintained a good relationship with the government and provided recent examples of recent cooperation; but as advisory officers on professional issues, Neyland warned they also should "be aware of industrial ramifications of things that are suggested".

Some PPTA leaders highlighted PPTA's "commitment to equity and a high-quality education system" (Gainsford) and PPTA's advocacy of fairness in education had been seen by its members and wider communities. To maintain its commitment to social equality, PPTA added its third objective: "to affirm and advance Te Tiriti o Waitangi" in the early 1990s to deal with the risk of losing Māori culture (Smith (Heard)), explaining that "a teachers' union

does have a huge responsibility for helping address that loss of culture and language". Document data also revealed a concern that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms would polarise the education system and strengthen social inequality. Cross asked:

> If everybody is going to a boys' school, a girls' school, a rich school, a poor school, a Māori school, a Catholic school, how do you build a society if everybody only mixes with like? If I only mix with middle class Pakeha how do I learn to be a New Zealander?

In summary, prior to the late 1980s, PPTA had a strong professional role, which the Tomorrow's Schools reforms significantly challenged, and it then sought to reclaim it in the early 2000s. Interview and document data also showed that PPTA maintained its professional role and found it difficult to separate professional and industrial roles; indeed, these roles were often inseparable. The following section provides specific examples of how PPTA framed professionalism discourses in relation to government discourses, how PPTA took both industrial and professional aims into consideration and sometimes employed industrial activities to achieve its professional aims and vice versa.

6.2 Politicisation of the Teaching Profession: Mistrust between PPTA and Governments

The PPTA leaders interviewed described education policy as "top-down", "imposed", "no involvement/say/representation/consultation", "political agenda/legislative changes" and "pedagogically wrong/nonsense/unrealistic". This section focuses on the policies of NCEA and CoLs, and the professional role of the Teaching Council. Although PPTA supported the introduction of NCEA and CoLs, there was also tension with, and distrust of, governments. PPTA's position on the professional role of the Teaching Council changed over time, arguing that the Teaching Council was more a government body and its professional role competed with PPTA's.

6.2.1 PPTA's Complex Positions on the NCEA Policy

Although all union leaders were asked what the role of PPTA had been in the introduction and implementation of NCEA, many of their answers were brief and simple, and referred me to Alison who was an expert and well-regarded in this area; her doctoral thesis focused on the NCEA policy and over the last 20 years, she had written conference papers on NCEA for PPTA. Therefore, they felt it was unnecessary for them to talk about NCEA. To address this situation, I collected NCEA data mainly from document material. Between 2002 and 2020, there were eleven annual conference papers on NCEA. The evidence suggests that

NCEA has been a key area of discussion within PPTA in the last two decades. These conference papers established "a considerable body of evolving policy about NCEA" (NZPPTA, 2018b, p. 15). PPTA played a pivotal role in the design, introduction and implementation of the NCEA qualification (NZPPTA, 2015b).

PPTA published a review of the implementation of the Qualifications Framework (NZPPTA, 1997), which focused on "the educational validity and resourcing" of the framework and aimed to "provide a constructive basis on which PPTA members can formulate a position on the future of secondary school qualifications in New Zealand" (NZPPTA, 1997, p. 4). PPTA identified eight criteria for "an educationally valid qualifications system": "fair, inclusive, cumulative, clear, motivating, coherent, constructive and manageable" (NZPPTA, 1997, p. 95), which laid the foundation for PPTA to review NCEA further (NZPPTA, 2002, 2005, 2015b).

PPTA welcomed the introduction of NCEA in 2002 as its standards-based assessment approach progressed in qualifications reform. However, PPTA became concerned that the implementation of NCEA "was all going too fast and too much on the cheap" (NZPPTA, 2002, pp. 3–4). Problems included insufficient teacher training, superficial assessment, considerably increased workloads and difficulty in understanding new terminologies (NZPPTA, 2002). PPTA argued that NCEA did not meet all eight criteria to be an educationally valid qualifications system (NZPPTA, 2002) and had a political agenda, such as a neoliberal strategy to continuously monitor teachers (NZPPTA, 2015b). In response, PPTA proposed that the implementation be delayed and advocated industrial action to oppose its implementation (NZPPTA, 2002).

PPTA identified a number of issues from the implementation of NCEA: increased teachers' workload and stress (NZPPTA, 2008a) – a sign that it was unmanageable (NZPPTA, 2015b); a far greater focus on summative assessments rather than formative assessments of the "depth of learning, the richness of the learning environment, and students developing a sense of enjoyment of learning for its own sake" (NZPPTA, 2008a, p. 3); it was not fair, clear, motivating, coherent and manageable; and increased teacher anxiety that their school-level assessments would not nationally comparable (NZPPTA, 2008a).

PPTA initially promoted internal assessments, which would allow teachers to exercise professional autonomy and judgement compared with external assessments which were

considered unfair and would constrain teachers' professional autonomy. In the early 1990s, PPTA was concerned that the education system was moving "towards an outmoded and unwieldy consolidation of the external examination system and an obsession with purely academic, economy-driven, assessment structures" (NZPPTA, 1991, p. 16). In the early 2010s, PPTA called for more support for internal assessment and argued that it should be given the same attention as external assessment (NZPPTA, 2010b). In the late 2010s, PPTA called for more external assessment and less internal assessment to reduce teachers' unmanageable workloads (Collins, 2018; NZPPTA Workload Taskforce, 2016). External assessment was "a pragmatic solution" (NZPPTA, 2018b).

Central agencies failed to provide adequate support for the implementation of NCEA; the "poor quality and quantity of sample assessment resources for achievement standards and the absence of ministry-produced material for curriculum-based unit standards" further increased teacher workload and stress (NZPPTA, 2008b). The MoE and NZQA – the "two owners" of NCEA – did not fulfil their responsibilities or carry out appropriate interventions (NZPPTA, 2015b) and administrative processes became problematic (Grant, 2003). NZQA claimed that its responsibility was to inform schools of the direction and timeframes of the development of NCEA rather than resourcing schools (NZPPTA, 2015b). Although NZQA was not the employer of teachers, it put considerable administrative demands on them (NZPPTA, 2010b). As the qualification developer, the MoE failed to provide adequate resourcing to support the development of NCEA.

PPTA believed that NZQA Internal assessments were primarily responsible for the dramatic increase in teachers' workload. NZQA devolved to teachers the responsibility of designing internal "assessments to a quality standard equal to external exams, marking them and then issuing final grades in unit and achievement standards" (NZPPTA, 2010b, p. 4) but without adequate support (NZPPTA, 2010b). PPTA also argued that the quality of assessment NZQA provided "has often been dubious and the range available narrow" and the "range of exemplars for sufficiency and to delineate grade boundaries has been largely non-existent" (NZPPTA, 2010b, p. 1). A 2005 PPTA survey of teachers identified that the main problem in the implementation of NCEA was a lack of systematic support:

> The NCEA story is one of teachers toiling unceasingly over the past five years to turn a bright idea into a classroom reality which works for their students. They have not been helped by poor change management by the government agencies, nor by under-

> resourcing in terms of funding, materials and time. The lack of robustness in the systems which are required to provide quality assurance for the new qualification, such as the delivery of consistently high-quality external assessments and effective external moderation systems, has also been problematic for them. (Alison, 2005, p. 29)

PPTA argued that the government did not properly consult with teachers and their representatives during the formation and implementation of NCEA. It rarely consulted the Secondary Qualifications Advisory Group (SQAG) established to develop and implement the NCEA or the Workload Advisory Group established in 2014 (NZPPTA, 2015b).

In summary, the findings show that PPTA's position on NCEA was complex. PPTA initially supported the introduction of NCEA but its implementation led to dramatically increased teacher workloads and stress. It was used as a political tool rather than an educationally valid qualifications system, and lacked adequate resourcing and support from central agencies. Therefore, PPTA challenged the implementation of NCEA. PPTA's positions on NCEA reflected its complex relationship with governments on professional issues.

6.2.2 The Communities of Learning: 'Cooperation' between PPTA and Governments

PPTA viewed the introduction of CoLs in the 2010s as a positive sign that the government was engaging teacher unions in education policy. At a time when the government was hostile to teachers, CoLs were like "a glimmer of light" that PPTA and the government were working together (Stevenson). Alison also recalled this cooperation: "the government came out with this idea [CoLs] and we did some research about the different processes that happened around the world, and particularly we looked at England". Willetts also recalled that PPTA actively participated in the design of CoLs:

> We negotiated the variation. We put the jobs into the Collective Agreement and we designed with the ministry and the Schools Trustees Association [STA], the guidelines about how schools should be implementing these changes, what they needed to do. Some guidelines were linked to the Collective Agreement and some that were broader. NZEI had input into the broader guidelines as well. We had a lot of input into the design [and] we brought about a lot of change to the design.

Gainsford argued that "dialogue between union and government mitigated some of the more harmful impacts on teachers' conditions by making sure CoL roles could be permanently appointed, for instance."

As the principles of CoLs aligned with PPTA's policy, it supported the introduction of CoLs. The purpose of CoLs was to promote collaboration in the education system and provide an alternative career pathway for teachers; long-term policies of PPTA (Willetts and Roberts). The CoLs would be an opportunity to "resource people to collaborate" to promote teachers' professional development (Roberts) and aligned with PPTA's policy to "overcome the competitive pressures" (Willetts). Willetts said:

> Our decision was that we could make it work if we could bring about sufficient change in some of those key areas. We knew it wouldn't be perfect, but anything that was going to help to overcome the competitive pressures aligned with our policy. For years we had been saying we [had] to get rid of the competition between schools and find a more collaborative model for them to work in.

Stevenson agreed that PPTA tried to work where it could in the introduction of CoLs.

Although PPTA leaders viewed CoLs as a way for the government to encourage collaboration among schools, Willetts and Neyland both pointed out the "irony" that the government still maintained a highly competitive model of the education system and kept schools competing for students. Willetts argued, "having set up competition and finding it didn't work, they [the government] wanted to try and find some way to make them cooperative while leaving a competitive system in place, which doesn't make a lot of sense".

PPTA members were divided about CoLs. One important reason PPTA members opposed CoLs was the poor relationship between the government and the teaching profession. Willetts recalled that the National-led government tended to be hostile to teachers, who in turn, opposed any of their policies:

> Our members hated it on first sight. They hated the very idea of it, in part because it was the National government's idea. We had been fighting with them for a number of years. They [had] been offering low pay increase[s]. They didn't seem to like teachers and had made that very clear. Many members hated them [and] anything that they were going to introduce was going to be on a very difficult path to begin with.

Members opposed CoLs and became suspicious of PPTA's motivation for supporting it (Alison), which Smith (Heard) attributed to it being an opportunity to bring new money into education. She cited Michael Fullan, a Canadian expert, speaking at a PPTA's Principals Conference:

> It's new money. The government's there. They want to show that they're doing something good in education but they don't care that much. If you reject it, they'll go off and buy a battleship with it or something like that, you know. It's over to you.

The collective agreement was regarded as an effective way to ensure teacher unions participated in education policy; "having the CoLs included in the collective agreement allows a formal process for dialogue to continue and improvements to be achieved" (Gainsford) and PPTA tried to "lock as much of the structure into our collective agreements and create a game plan" (Roberts). She went on to explain:

> It's really difficult for the government to just chuck it out. When you've got something locked into the collective agreement, you kind of have to bargain your way out of it as well. So it forces the government to continue to have conversations with us about, 'okay, if this isn't the best way, then what will the best way look like?'

Smith (Heard) argued that one important reason that she became the first deputy principal appointed as the leader of a CoL was that PPTA wrote appointment procedures into the collective agreement.

The relationship between the government and teacher unions was not all positive regarding CoLs. Willetts recalled:

> We worked with the Ministry and with the School Trustees Association and with Principal's representatives to design something that we thought could work. What finally came out was a report with a model for the CoLs and for rolling the changes out, which the Ministry reneged on in the end, which caused lots of problems.

PPTA leaders were also concerned that CoLs would pave the way for the introduction of performance pay. Roberts argued that "the only problem was what they wanted to do was reward the best teachers; identify and reward the best – performance pay – of course, that was where things kind of fell apart a bit". Stevenson and Alison agreed. Roberts did not believe that performance pay was necessary; instead the government should "give people the responsibility for leading collaborative practice, give them the time to do it, make it a career pathway, make them experts between schools; that would be fabulous and interesting enough". Thus, PPTA actively participated in changing the original version of CoLs. "Our big goal was to change it [rewarding the best] so that it was about promoting collegiality between schools and coherence between schools" (Alison). It was felt that CoL jobs should be "real jobs" (Willetts) and

"speciality roles" (Stephenson) that would not cause negative relationships in school education.

In summary, the findings show that PPTA actively sought cooperation with the government in the policy of CoLs and found that some aspects of CoLs aligned with its own policy, such as promoting collaboration and collegiality among teachers. Therefore, PPTA supported this policy and contributed where it could. PPTA also firmly opposed other aspects of CoLs that contradicted its own policy, such as potentially encouraging competition in the education system through the introduction of performance pay. The introduction of CoLs suffered from distrust between the government and the teaching profession. PPTA tended to mediate communications and ease tension between governments and teachers to facilitate the implementation of the CoLs policy.

6.2.3 The Teaching Council: 'A Turf War' Over Professional Leadership

In the 1990s, PPTA fought for the Teaching Council to be established as a professional body of teachers. However, in the early 2000s, PPTA strongly opposed the Teaching Council's professional role when it was introduced because the composition of the Teaching Council established did not qualify it to be the professional voice of teachers; therefore, it should limit its role to that of a registration body.

De-registration Crisis: A Need for A Professional Organisation.

PPTA believed that the government policy to de-register the teaching profession in the 1990s was an attack on teacher professionalism; there was a notion that anyone could be a teacher, there were no teaching requirements and no need for teacher training; it was a "mad neoliberal view" and destructive to the teaching profession (Cross). Gainsford argued that removing qualifications from the teaching profession would de-professionalise teaching:

> The idea of cheap, untrained, unqualified teachers teaching students in their area of expertise relegates the role to one needing no expertise in the craft of teaching and no required level of knowledge in a particular discipline or body of knowledge. This is the de-professionalisation of teaching.

Without minimal standards, "people who have questionable ethical or moral standards" would be allowed into the profession (Bunker); teachers needed to be trained and registered (Willetts). PPTA defended the teaching profession from attacks by governments (Chapman and Gainsford).

In response to the government policy of de-registration, PPTA became actively involved in establishing the TCA as an independent professional body for teachers in the 1990s. The aim of the TCA was to "counteract the mad neoliberal view that anyone can be a teacher" (Cross). Kear recalled that the TCA was an attempt to turn a registration system into one that supported teacher professional development. Willetts agreed. The 1995 PPTA annual report stated that the TCA should focus on developing the "means of regulating standards within the profession through a sector-wide code of practice and processes for administering it, through the recognition of qualifications and training and through the encouragement of professional development" and be representative of the teaching profession (NZPPTA, 1995, p. 6).

PPTA argued that the TCA should be established on behalf of the teaching profession and its membership should be made up of teachers (NZPPTA, 1994, p. 5). It was to be a teacher-owned organisation, in which teachers could lead and monitor their own profession, and PPTA would be involved in this process (Chapman). Willetts recalled:

> The TCA would be elected by teachers, the majority of its members would be elected people and … we would have union representation on it and that kind of body, much more accountable back to individual teachers, could have had a legitimate professional leadership role.

However, in the end TCA failed due to a lack of funds and because it caused "anxiety and annoyance" for the government (Kear). It is worth noting that the TCA was mainly a professional body established on a voluntary basis, which was quite different from the statutory Teachers Council established in 2002 by the government to have professional leadership and registration roles. It replaced the Teacher Registration Board.

Controversial Professional Role of the Teaching Council.

Thirteen of the union leaders argued that the Teaching Council's professional role was controversial, and the dual roles were contradictory. Cross pointed out that there were two possible models for the Teaching Council: either teachers paid for it and had their representatives, or government paid for it and had no teacher representatives – it only managed "the ins and outs". However, the Teaching Council was paid for by teachers but controlled by government and defined itself as a teachers' professional body. Most PPTA leaders interviewed in this study doubted the credibility of the Teaching Council's professional role. Only Smith (Heard) observed that the Teaching Council had "a huge professional leadership role" but she

also thought that its professional and registration roles were controversial, and the professional leadership role should be shared with PPTA.

PPTA believed that in 1989, the Teacher Registration Board was an ideal model for the Teaching Council with responsibilities for registration, qualifications and discipline. Six PPTA leaders mentioned that it was essential to have a registration body. It should function as "the guardians of professional and ethical standards for the teaching profession and for communities" (Bunker) and would keep the incompetent and unethical person out of the teaching profession "to protect the interests of the profession" (Cross). The registration body should monitor the quality of teacher education to guarantee that beginning teachers meet professional standards (Alison and Cross), act like "a bouncer in a nightclub" to protect the reputation of the profession (Roberts) and be established on behalf of the public good (Gainsford). The 2016 PPTA annual report stated that the agenda for EDUCANZ – the 'Centre of Leadership Excellence' – was too ambitious and could not be realised in practice (NZPPTA, 2016) and the Teaching Council should be an "independent regulatory body to manage teacher registration and conduct and competency" rather than provide educational leadership (NZPPTA, 2020, p. 6).

PPTA's stance on different versions of the Teaching Council depended on how representative it was of teachers (Willetts). Before 2014, the Teaching Council was a more representative body and PPTA worked closely with it (Willetts) to develop professional standards (Neyland). EDUCANZ – a government body – was the most controversial version of the Teaching Council. PPTA generally believed that the Teaching Council could not represent teachers; it was a government-owned organisation rather than teacher-owned (eight PPTA leaders). It was an external body controlled by government (Bunker and Gainsfod) and when the staff (teachers) were appointed by the government, they were more accountable to government than the teaching profession (Chapman). PPTA claimed that the MoE used the Teaching Council to increase its control over teachers' work and its professional standards would be used for performance pay (NZPPTA, 1998). Therefore, it was not a genuine professional body that teachers and their profession owned.

Document data also showed that EDUCANZ was a "a ministerially-appointed council" and "an unrepresentative and politically appointed body" (NZPPTA, 2015a, p. 3) that ignored the voice of teachers (NZPPTA, 2014); It was an insult to the professional role of teachers (NZPPTA, 2015a) and was more a political institution than an educational one, which

undermined its credibility as a professional body (NZPPTA, 2015a). Therefore, PPTA strongly opposed EDUCANZ and adopted a non-cooperation strategy when it was introduced in 2014 (NZPPTA, 2015a).

The composition of the Teaching Council was controversial as there were sometimes no union representatives. After some equivocation, Cross thought that PPTA should not have representatives on the Teaching Council because PPTA would have "a potential conflict of interest" when dealing with incompetent teachers; it would have faced the dilemma of defending or challenging the involved teachers. She believed that the Teaching Council should remain a registration body mainly concerned with "cleaning up". Bunker had become more "pragmatic" about the composition of the Teaching Council; it should include teachers, parents and students to balance the interests of relevant actors and address the criticism that the profession protected its own interests.

Interview data showed that the Teaching Council's professional role would be tainted by association with its registration role and should limit its role to a registration body. The Teaching Council could not be both "the policeman and the parole officer" or "the auditor and the advisor" (Kear); and "it's inherently conflicted if it [the Teaching Council] tries to play a regulatory role as well as say it speaks for the profession" (Stevenson). Therefore, PPTA argued that, as a registration body, the Teaching Council should not be involved in providing PLD. Document data also showed that EDUCANZ should not manage PLD to promote teachers' professional growth but should register and de-register teachers; these two functions were incompatible (NZPPTA, 2015a). PPTA also believed that in EDUCANZ, PLD would operate in a market model system instead of "a state-owned national infrastructure" and would increase teachers' compliance with the government (NZPPTA, 2015a).

Seven PPTA leaders believed that teachers viewed PPTA as their professional body, not the Teaching Council. Willetts and Gainsford stated:

> Our mandate to act as professional leaders comes from our members, the majority of teachers. The Teaching Council's mandate comes from the Government. A mandate is only valid if the people that you are supposed to be working for actually accept that what you are doing is appropriate and the truth is that the bulk of our members don't believe that the Teaching Council has a mandate to do any more than its basic functions, registering teachers and operating the disciplinary processes there. (Willetts)

> Teachers haven't said that [the] Teach[ing] Council has a critical role in leadership in professional issues and educational leadership itself. This is [the] government trying to shift this from the organisation where professional issues have been successfully advanced for decades. (Gainsford)

Five PPTA leaders mentioned that the Teaching Council's expanding professional role became costly to teachers, who were required to pay a registration fee; they were offended by having to pay this fee, particularly as they had no representation in the Council (Chapman) and "the registration fees shouldn't be paying for something other than the registration process" (Scott). Willetts argued that the government ought to have paid for this expanding role; "if teachers aren't paying for the different functions, then our members may not be as unhappy, they may not care what it does". A 2020 PPTA annual conference report stated that teachers had lost confidence in the Teaching Council as their professional body, because it had ignored teachers' voices and increased the cost and compliance workload of teachers (NZPPTA, 2020). PPTA suggested that the role and cost of the Teaching Council needed to be reduced. Despite this tension between PPTA and the Teaching Council, Cross argued that it was crucial for teachers to pay the Teaching Council fee as it acted as a safeguard for the teaching profession which was in the best interest of the whole teaching profession.

Five of the union leaders argued that the Teaching Council was not qualified to perform the professional leadership role for teachers. It had "poor resourcing", "aspirational overreach" and "delays [were] common for the most basic of administrative tasks through to the lengthy timeframes for disciplinary and conduct issues to be dealt with" (Gainsford). The Teaching Council was not "an efficient organisation", had "no ability to show any discretion and so … required all the paperwork to be absolutely 100 percent" and in the development of professional standards it "complicate[d] things" by interpreting and adding layers (Neyland). Macann gave another example; the Teaching Council paid too much attention to teacher appraisals, which instead of promoting teacher professionalism, became "a burdensome form of compliance" that caused teachers to rebel. This was a low-trust model in the teaching profession (Willetts and Neyland). Moreover, the Teaching Council lacked the structure to consult with teachers and could not represent the professional voice of teachers like PPTA (Roberts, Neyland, Scott and Gainsford). Scott commented on the Teaching Council's distorted 'consultation' process:

> The options that [the Teaching Council] gave in the questionnaires directed you into a response that they wanted. So, they actually weren't valid options within the consultation questions. Because they had already decided, yeah, you actually had to agree to something that you might not have agreed to if you'd been given a different option.

Neyland described the relationship between PPTA and the Teaching Council in the professional leadership role as "a turf war". Its expanding professional role "overstepped" the professional voice of secondary school teachers (Kear); "We [PPTA] claim that space, we don't concede that they [the Teaching Council] have it … we are the professional voice of secondary teachers. That's our job. We're their union. We are their professional association" (Stevenson). The 2020 PPTA annual conference report stated that the expanding role of the Council would "usurp" PPTA's role as the professional organisation for secondary school teachers (NZPPTA, 2020). This perceived threat to PPTA's professional role was one reason PPTA sought to re-establish its professional role (Willetts). Willetts said:

> The Teaching Council has certainly been fairly passive-aggressive in its push to identify itself as the professional body for teachers. It was, I think, prudent for us to re-establish the fact that actually, we are the elected representatives of teachers. They are the ones that developed the policy that we promote. Therefore, we are the body that represents professional teacher policy.

Distrust between PPTA and Governments.

Some union leaders interviewed believed that the government established the Teaching Council to remove PPTA's professional role and limit it to only focus on industrial issues. Willetts argued:

> When the National government established the Teaching Council, they anticipated that it would take over the professional role from PPTA; part of the long-standing agenda for right-wing governments and I suspect many in the ministry to remove from PPTA its professional role … and leave it as purely an industrial organisation that … only deal[s] with pay and working conditions.

Gainsford also claimed that "governments appear fearful of sharing the professional space with teacher unions, trying to position PPTA as an organisation with a narrow industrial focus". If the professional role of PPTA was removed, PPTA would be disempowered, resulting in

"government control of teachers' voice rather than teachers' control of teacher voice" (Stevenson). Given the intertwined and inseparable nature of teacher unions' professional and industrial roles, diminishing their professional role might lead to their demise (Roberts).

Some union leaders believed that PPTA sought a cooperative relationship with the Teaching Council on professional leadership. If the professional leadership role could be shared, the tension between the two organisations would be eased (Gainsford and Willetts). Gainsford argued that "if it is meant to be a professional body looking after professional standards, the relationship with the union, who negotiated professional standards, needs to be a central part of [the Teaching Council's] thinking and effort". Instead, the Teaching Council competed with PPTA for the professional leadership role (Willetts). The purpose of the Teaching Council was "about either minimising or excluding the teacher voice" (Chapman). In turn, PPTA refused to share its professional leadership role with the Teaching Council.

The document analysis also pointed out the tension between PPTA and the Teaching Council. At the 2010 conference, PPTA reported that the government intended to remove the role of teacher unions and teachers in the Teaching Council (NZPPTA, 2010c). At the 2013 conference, it reported that the government intended to take over the Teaching Council; a significant challenge to the teaching profession (NZPPTA, 2013). During this period of National-led government, the relationship between the government and PPTA was more conflictual. To justify ignoring teachers' collective and democratic voice, the government regarded PPTA as an opponent or "industrial advocacy group" and sought to separate PPTA from secondary school teachers (Duff, 2011). Behind the tension between PPTA and the Teaching Council was also the notion of provider capture (Section 6.1.1) (Chapman). She stated that two theories existed within the Teaching Council:

> Theory X is that people will never do anything unless you make them and so, you have to manage them and closely check up on them and theory Y is that people want to live good and fulfilling lives and do the right thing, and if you give them the space to do it, they will flower and take responsibility, and you don't need to check up on them in that sense.

While theory X wanted to get rid of the voice of teachers in the Teaching Council, theory Y, which PPTA preferred, argued that the Teaching Council should be an organisation where the teaching profession took responsibility for itself.

In summary, PPTA initially called for an independent professional body for the teaching profession to be established. However, the Teaching Council in the 2000s was more a government body than a professional body. The Teaching Council's professional role posed a challenge to the professional role of PPTA. The competition between PPTA and the Teaching Council for professional leadership reflected distrust between PPTA and the government.

6.3 Summary

The findings show that PPTA leaders believed the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms had posed significant challenges for the teaching profession. Mistrust between teachers and governments became apparent with respect to professional issues; governments viewed teachers as employees, not professionals and advocated performance management, external accountability and control over teachers' work, and the importance of educational management. PPTA leaders argued that these reforms had undermined the relational and moral aspects of teaching and learning, the complexity of teachers' work, and collaboration and collegiality among teachers. PPTA developed and maintained an oppositional position on education policy and became more resistant as a consequence of the decentralised education reforms, which threatened its national connections and collective character.

PPTA leadership argued that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms also posed a significant challenge to its professional role, forcing PPTA to focus more on industrial activities, which undermined its professional role in the 1990s. PPTA sought to reclaim its professional role and set its own agenda on professional issues in the early 2000s, such as organising annual professional conferences. PPTA leaders emphasised that it was impossible for PPTA to separate their professional and industrial roles, which they believed would empower them to participate more effectively in the education policy process. Union leaders emphasised PPTA's professional role was maintained through a strong connection with teacher members and its capability to shape professional issues. PPTA tended to maintain a more positive relationship with governments regarding professional issues than industrial issues.

Although the findings show that PPTA and government sometimes shared similar professionalism discourses, such as the need for standards-based assessment (NCEA), an independent professional body (the Teaching Council) and collaboration in the teaching profession (CoLs), distrust between the PPTA/teaching profession and government was also apparent; they tended to be suspicious of each other's motivations when they worked in

professional partnerships or on shared aims. For example, PPTA leaders believed that: standards-based assessment for NCEA might be used politically to increase government's control over the teaching profession; the Teaching Council was established to disempower PPTA; and the collaboration encouraged by CoLs could be a way for the government to introduce performance pay to the teaching profession. The competing discourses between PPTA and the government became prominent. Overall, the findings indicate that the PPTA's discourses of teacher professionalism overlapped, intertwined and conflicted with the governments.

Chapter 7
Discussion

Drawing on the literature review, the findings and the theoretical framework, this chapter discusses each research question in turn. The research questions (RQs) were:

1. Historically, where did teacher professionalism discourses come from?
2. How have teacher unions framed teacher professionalism discourses in use since the late 1980s?
3. What are the key features of teacher unions framing teacher professionalism discourses?
4. How do teacher unions frame teacher professionalism discourses in relation to governments' discourses?

The current study provided both broad and specific descriptions and interpretations of the development of teacher professionalism discourses in the two main teacher unions in New Zealand over the last 30 years. More specifically, in RQ 1, the current study explored the socio-political contexts of teacher professionalism discourses. RQ 2 examined teacher unions' perspectives on teacher professionalism over the last 30 years. RQ 3 explored the main characteristics of the teacher unions that shaped teacher professionalism discourses. RQ 4 provided specific examples of how teacher unions and government framed teacher professionalism discourses.

7.1 Summary of the Findings

7.1.1 Summary of NZEI Findings

The introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms was viewed as posing a considerable challenge to the teaching profession and public education. NZEI strongly challenged the competition and fragmentation of the education system that was introduced or facilitated by the education reforms. It argued that the education reforms had fundamentally undermined the collective nature of the teaching profession, the complexity of teaching, the trust in the professional role of teachers, and the collaborative and collegial culture among teachers. This was partly demonstrated in NZEI's concern about the potential introduction of performance pay into the teaching profession. The union leaders also argued that governments tended to view teachers and their unions as selfish. Partly as a response to this, the union leaders

stressed the connection between teachers' and students' interests, the role of NZEI in promoting quality education, and the connection between public education and social justice. Nevertheless, a few union leaders mentioned that the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms also functioned to increase the connection between school education and communities.

NZEI was concerned that its professional role had been undermined since the late 1980s; governments tended to view NZEI as an industrial union and a barrier to education reforms and therefore, diminished teacher unions' role in education policy. More specifically, the Tomorrow's Schools reforms posed a significant challenge to the professional role of NZEI. The union leaders interviewed argued that this changing socio-political context forced NZEI to focus more on industrial issues than professional issues. Some retired union leaders questioned whether NZEI still had a strong professional role. Current union leaders argued that, while NZEI still maintained a strong professional role, its professional voice was seriously 'diluted' by other stakeholders, which it believed was the governments' intention to disempower the teacher unions. Nevertheless, NZEI appeared to play an important role in education policy. The professional role was still viewed as an essential role of NZEI and there were calls to enhance it.

The union leaders maintained that NZEI's industrial and professional roles were inseparable as both professional and industrial issues existed in teachers' working lives. The separation of these two roles was viewed as a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of NZEI. For example, it would be misleading for NZEI to be viewed as solely an industrial union that only cared about the interests of teachers, sometimes at the expense of the interests of children. The union leaders argued that it was government that tended to view NZEI merely as an industrial union; by doing this, they aimed to disempower NZEI. Moreover, NZEI's professional and industrial roles were seen to "crossover and leverage" each other. It was argued that industrial activities were sometimes used for professional aims, and conversely, professional issues were sometimes used for industrial aims. The intertwined industrial and professional activities and aims made it difficult to distinguish whether an activity was professional or industrial; it was necessary to investigate an activity's purposes and contexts to determine it.

When it came to the professional role of the Teaching Council, NZEI sought to establish an independent professional body that maintained national professional standards. NZEI actively participated in the establishment of TCA in the 1990s, which aimed to cope with the

voluntary registration policy and increasing politicisation in education. However, NZEI's stance on the Teaching Council changed as successive governments made changes to the Teaching Council over time. On the one hand, some retired union leaders questioned the credibility of the Teaching Council as an independent professional body. They argued that the Teaching Council was controlled by governments and was not a strong, representative professional body like NZEI. On the other hand, current union leaders of NZEI supported the professional role of the Teaching Council. They argued that the increasing professional leadership of the Teaching Council functioned to depoliticise education and that the Teaching Council should perform the professional leadership role rather than the Ministry of Education (MoE). Thus, the current union leaders argued that NZEI maintained a positive relationship with the Teaching Council on educational issues. Thus, NZEI's attitude shifted from challenging the Teaching Council having a professional role to supporting it, NZEI maintained that the Teaching Council should be an independent professional body owned by teachers and free from government intervention.

NZEI strongly opposed the National Standards policy that was imposed on the teaching profession without NZEI having a professional voice in the process of developing the policy. Consequently, teachers became demoralised, more compliant and lost their sense of ownership of the profession. NZEI also believed that the National Standards policy was an attack on teachers' professional role, and would intensify their workload and undermine the richness of the curriculum. Moreover, NZEI was concerned that this policy would introduce performance pay into the teaching profession. Partly in order to depoliticise education, some union leaders argued that NZEI actively informed teachers about the National Standards policy and mobilised them to participate in developing the policy. Some union leaders stressed that NZEI, as teachers' collective agency, was a democratic organisation and a powerful policy actor, which allowed it to be more frank and critical about education policy.

7.1.2 Summary of PPTA Findings

The PPTA believed that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms introduced a competitive business model into public education which led to the fragmentation of the education system. For example, many union leaders stressed that the potential introduction of performance pay would undermine the collaborative, collegial culture in the teaching profession, and the rich, moral nature of teaching and learning. They also argued that the fragmentation of the education system has resulted in a lack of national connections in the teaching profession and made it

harder for teacher unions to maintain a collective voice. Moreover, the notion of provider capture prevalent in official discourses considerably undermined the professional role of teachers and their unions in the public eye. It was argued that governments did not trust teachers and their unions as professionals, and their professional voices were marginalised or removed in the education policy-making process. Union leaders also mentioned that the increasing mistrust between teachers and the (National-led) government became a barrier to policy implementation. Partly as a response to being removed from education policy development, PPTA collaborated with other policy actors (parents and communities) to enhance its political influence. Furthermore, union leaders who had been active in the late 1980s argued that it was problematic having people working at the management level of the MoE who did not have professional teaching experience. Union leaders mentioned several advantages of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms: the changing role of the MoE as a policy-making body provided an opportunity for PPTA to play an important role in facilitating policy implementation; the fragmentation of central agencies provided opportunities for PPTA to take a national leadership role; and it enhanced the involvement and connection of parents and the community with school education.

PPTA's focus prior to the Tomorrow's Schools reform was professionally orientated through maintaining professional partnerships with governments and being progressive on professional issues. However, the union leaders argued that the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms forced PPTA to focus more on industrial issues and only began to reclaim its professional role in the late 1990s and early 2000s. They argued that the professional standing of PPTA needed to improve among its teacher members and in the public eye during this period. PPTA's emphasis on its professional role was also viewed as a 'survival strategy'; PPTA aimed to enhance its political influence in education policy by increasing its role in teachers' professional lives. The organisation of professional conferences was viewed as a sign that PPTA was reclaiming its professional role, which would help it maintain a positive public profile and actively set its own professional agenda for the education reforms in the 2000s.

Professional and industrial roles were intertwined within PPTA, with union leaders arguing that there were no issues that were purely professional or industrial. Instead, PPTA's professional and industrial roles were seen as benefiting each other; its industrial activities (or 'industrial muscle') were used for professional aims and its participation in professional issues enhanced its influence on education policy. It was argued that it would be problematic to regard

PPTA as just an industrial union which used its professional role to achieve its industrial aims. The professional role was viewed as a basic role of PPTA. PPTA believed that it was a member-driven, democratic organisation, representing teachers' collective professional voice. The union leaders also argued that PPTA maintained a closer relationship with governments on professional issues during the last two decades. The union leaders also referred to PPTA's role in defending public education from the Tomorrow's Schools reforms, improving education quality, and embracing social commitments and responsibilities. Although the professional role was essential to PPTA, there was still a view that professional issues were 'the icing on the cake' when compared with industrial issues.

PPTA actively participated in the establishment of the TCA, which was viewed as a way to deal with the deregistration policy. The removal of compulsory registration was viewed as an attack on the teaching profession. PPTA was seen to defend professional standards by maintaining that teachers needed training and registration. It believed that the Teaching Council should be an independent professional body that was controlled and owned by teachers. However, the Teaching Council turned out to be a government body, external to the teaching profession. With changes to the Teaching Council, PPTA's attitudes towards it shifted over time. It was argued that this was largely determined by how much governments trusted teachers and their unions or the governments' willingness to allow them to participate in education policy.

The union leaders believed that the Teaching Council lacked credibility in the teaching profession, arguing that its professional role was contradictory to its registration role and it should therefore limit its role to that of a registration body. The union leaders also argued that the Teaching Council's professional role threatened the professional role of PPTA. The establishment of the Teaching Council was viewed as the government's attempt to remove the professional voice of teacher unions. The union leaders argued that governments aimed to disempower or destroy teacher unions by limiting the role of teacher unions to industrial matters only. In addition, as one union leader mentioned, his views on the make-up of the Teaching Council had changed over time to be more 'pragmatic': the Teaching Council should include not only teachers but also students and parents, which could balance the different interests of relevant actors and cope with the negative image of teacher unions in the public eyes.

The findings also showed that PPTA maintained complex stances on education policies, such as NCEA and CoLs. PPTA initially welcomed NCEA as a standards-based assessment that would benefit the education system. However, with the implementation of NCEA, PPTA gradually adopted a critical stance on this policy. It was argued that NCEA significantly increased teachers' workload and had a political agenda. PPTA's stance on CoLs was more supportive of, and cooperative with, the government. PPTA maintained that CoLs would increase collaboration among teachers, which they had advocated for several years. However, there was still a concern that CoLs would lead to the introduction of performance pay. Overall, PPTA tended to cooperate more with governments with respect to education policy over the last 20 years, albeit with varying degrees of suspicion and critique.

7.2 RQ 1: Historically, Where did Teacher Professionalism Discourses Come From?

As discussed in the theoretical framework (Section 3.1), discourses are socially constructed; it is necessary to position them within their specific socio-historical and political contexts to understand them. Therefore, to conceptualise these contexts, this study explored the socio-historical and political contexts in which teacher professionalism discourses were located. The significant historical moments identified by participants were largely chosen from their union activities over the last 30 years. Therefore, the collection of document data was limited to relatively recent events occurring in the last 30 years.[11] It allowed the researcher to gain a rich and deep understanding of the historical development of teacher professionalism discourses since the watershed system reforms of the late 1980s.

The union leaders interviewed in the current study also viewed the late 1980s as a significant historical moment in the development of teacher professionalism discourses in their unions. The analysis in this part of the chapter therefore explores how the teacher unions constructed their teacher professionalism discourses in response to the administrative and subsequent reforms of these decades. This study sought to understand how the socio-political contexts shaped and informed this process, and to identify the similarities with, and differences

[11] Previous research has shown that teacher professionalism discourses in the teacher unions can be traced back to as early as the 1950s. For example, O'Neill (2001) argued that teacher professionalism discourses in PPTA can be traced back to the 1950s when it was established. In a similar vein, in the case of NZEI (1883-present), these discourses may be traced back to earlier times.

from the past, and the continuities and discontinuities of the meanings of teacher professionalism held by the teacher unions.

7.2.1 Socio-political Contexts: Multiple and Competing Ideologies in the Education Reforms

Critical policy scholarship has identified and unravelled the political agenda and various ideologies underlying education reforms over the recent decades (Apple, 1996, 2005, 2006; Rogers et al., 2016). For example, Apple (1996, 2005, 2006) argued that the education system has faced the combined challenges of neoliberalism, neoconservatism and new managerial ideologies. Neoliberal reforms emphasise the importance of marketisation and privatisation in education, stressing that the private is good and the public is bad (Apple, 2012). This ideology has significantly undermined one of the main functions of public education – to promote social equality (Apple, 1996). Neoconservatism highlights the state's control through educational standards. By imposing national-level standards or achievement policies, governments increase their control over the whole education system (Young & Diem, 2017). The new managerial ideology emphasises the measurable aspect of teaching and learning (accountability). Apple (2005) argued that the emphasis on standardisation and accountability contributes to building an audit culture in the education system. These ideologies are collectively 'new public management' ideologies that emphasise "marketisation, privatisation, managerialism, performance measurement and accountability" (Tolofari, 2005, p. 75).

New public management ideologies also characterise the education reforms in New Zealand over the recent decades (Clark, 2005; Olssen et al., 2004). In public education, this was primarily demonstrated with the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms in the late 1980s (together with parallel reforms in early childhood education and tertiary education). The introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms fundamentally changed the public schooling system (Codd, 1993). According to Olssen et al. (2004), the effects of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms (new public management ideologies) on public education marked a new direction, 'a sharp turn', and a decisive break with the past in the development of public education in New Zealand.

Critical policy studies in New Zealand have also explored the competing and overlapping ideologies in the education system (Alison, 2007; Court & O'Neill, 2011). For instance, the tension between governments' neoliberal ideology and the teacher unions' social-democratic ideology (Alison, 2007). Marketisation in education was reputed to enhance

parental choice and community involvement, and increase efficiency and flexibility. However, in practice, it introduced competition and inequality that have had detrimental effects on public education (Codd & Openshaw, 2005). Within this context, the current study examined how these competing and overlapping ideologies were manifested by NZEI and PPTA leaders' framing of teacher professionalism discourses. This is discussed in the following sections.

7.2.2 Impacts of the Tomorrow's Schools Reforms on the Teaching Profession

Most union leaders interviewed argued that the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms posed significant challenges to the teaching profession and the public education system. This aligns with previous studies that highlight how neoliberal education reforms can work to undermine teacher professionalism where teachers experience a process of de-professionalisation (Codd, 2005b). As a response to this, most union leaders interviewed explicitly criticised the marketisation and privatisation of education, and highlighted the fundamental incompatibility between the logic of professionalism and marketisation in line with the research by Firestone and Bader (1992) and Freidson (2001). NZEI and PPTA also worked to maintain counter-discourses of teacher professionalism to those of successive governments by stressing the complexity, collaboration, collegiality and trust in teacher professionalism. This was illustrated by the teacher unions' opposition to the introduction of performance management and the increasing number of political agendas in education policy (Section 7.3). These contradictory ideologies and mistrust between teacher unions and governments were voiced by union leaders interviewed in this study.

Although the Tomorrow's Schools reforms posed a significant challenge for the teaching profession, the NZEI and PPTA leaders interviewed viewed the reforms as providing new opportunities for the development of the two teacher unions (notably, very few participants mentioned this). For example, the worsened relationship between teachers and governments enhanced teachers' affiliation with NZEI; and the change from the DoE to the MoE allowed PPTA to increase its role in assisting policy implementation. NZEI and PPTA union leaders mentioned that the lack of national professional leadership (in the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms) allowed the two teacher unions to increase their role as national professional leaders.

Although NZEI and PPTA union leaders generally maintained a negative stance towards the Tomorrow's Schools reforms, some either overtly or covertly pointed out the

positive impacts of the reforms on the teaching profession, such as an increased connection between parents, communities and school education. Notably, other union leaders did not share the same idea, see Section 7.4.3. Some union leaders became more open to other policy actors' involvement in educational issues. These were signs that the official discourses of teacher professionalism influenced teacher union leaders in different and sometimes contradictory ways.

In summary, the union leaders felt that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms in the late 1980s fundamentally changed the socio-political contexts within which teachers and their unions were located. The increasing marketisation and politicisation of public education were seen to pose a significant challenge to the teaching profession. This is further illustrated in the following sections.

7.3 RQ 2: How Have Teacher Unions Framed Teacher Professionalism Discourses in Use Since the Late 1980s?

This discussion considers how NZEI and PPTA framed teacher professionalism discourses over the last 30 years compared with official discourses. It explores the main characteristics of these professionalism discourses during a period when the teacher unions believed that teachers experienced de-professionalisation and increased politicisation.

7.3.1 *The Teaching Profession Experienced a Process of De-professionalisation*

Previous research in other jurisdictions shows that teachers (and their unions) and governments tend to maintain markedly different understandings of teacher professionalism; governments adopt discourses of managerial professionalism, while teachers and their unions subscribe to democratic professionalism (Alexander et al., 2019; Sachs, 2016; Whitty, 2000) (Section 2.1.1). Managerial professionalism dominates teacher-related official policies and emphasises teacher accountability, performativity, competitiveness and external control, which further de-professionalises teaching (Alexander et al., 2019; Whitty, 2000). As a response to this, teacher unions explored alternative discourses to the dominant official discourse of teacher professionalism (Ball et al., 2011; Osmond-Johnson, 2018; Stevenson et al., 2020).

Findings from the current study are generally consistent with studies in other countries, suggesting that the teacher unions in New Zealand maintained different teacher professionalism discourses from those of governments. Union leaders felt that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms undermined what they regarded as a rich, highly trusted, and respected teaching profession.

This finding aligns with previous studies, arguing that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms changed the nature of teacher professionalism considerably (Codd, 2005b; O'Neill, 2005; Olssen et al., 2004).

The findings of the current study show that, from the union leaders' perspective, the Tomorrow's Schools reforms caused a process of de-professionalisation within the teaching profession. Although very few union leaders used the word 'de-professionalisation', most argued that the education reforms had seriously or fundamentally undermined some aspects of teacher professionalism. For example, some union leaders argued that the introduction of performance management undermined the complexity and moral nature of teaching and the collaborative culture among teachers. The evidence suggests that the teacher unions strongly opposed the political rhetoric of teacher professionalism and maintained counter-discourses of teacher professionalism from those of successive governments.

Previous critical policy scholarship studies concerning teachers' work have warned of the risk that contemporary education policy tends to simplify teachers' work ignoring its richness and complexity, and to intensify teachers' work by increasing external control or accountability (Apple, 2013; Ball, 2003b; Codd, 2005b; O'Neill, 2002). Findings from this study agree. The teacher union leaders stressed the complex, relational, moral nature of teachers' work which cannot be measured by visible performance indicators. Most argued that teaching and learning were complex processes, and some argued that a significant part of teaching was building relationships between teachers and students. However, many union leaders interviewed claimed that these characteristics of the teaching profession had been seriously undermined by governments' emphasis on accountability and extrinsic motivations (performance pay) to improve teaching quality.

Teacher union leaders also stressed the importance of collaboration and collegiality in teachers' professional development. Many mentioned that teaching should be viewed as teamwork because teachers' professional development relies on collaboration and sharing amongst teachers. However, some were very concerned about the effects education reforms had on teachers' ability to work collaboratively as colleagues. Some union leaders were strongly opposed to performance pay as it would result in competition among teachers and undermine the collaborative culture in the teaching profession. The evidence suggests that, from the perspective of the union leaders, the political rhetoric of teacher professionalism would actually work to further de-professionalise teachers to varying degrees. Given that the

teaching profession in New Zealand has historically had a culture of collaboration and collegiality (O'Neill, 2001), the union leaders defended the traditional features of teacher professionalism from education reforms. Overall, the evidence suggests that, while governments emphasise performance management, teacher unions stress the unmeasurable aspects of teaching, such as its complexity and relational nature.

Findings from this study show that an inherent and enhanced tension or mistrust has characterised the relationship between the teacher unions and governments since the late 1980s, which most union leaders thought was a deliberate intention to undermine the professional voice of teachers and their unions. For instance, some union leaders, especially those participating in union activities in the late 1980s and 1990s, mentioned the strong tensions or contradictions in the relationship between the teaching profession and governments. In particular, they viewed the notion of provider capture as an insult to the integrity of teachers as professionals. These tensions seemed to remain, with some union leaders who were active in the last 20 years still warning of the potential risk of de-unionisation, arguing that a government agenda aimed to undermine or remove the power of teacher unions. In short, the evidence suggests that, from the union leaders' perspective, governments maintained a mistrustful attitude toward teachers and their unions.

In turn, as Alison (2007) argued, the worsening relationship between the teaching profession and governments has resulted in teachers' resistance to any official education policy initiative regardless of the quality of the policy. The current study supports this argument. For example, some union leaders argued that with governments' increasing control over the teaching profession and the increasingly imposed nature of education policy, teachers' suspicious attitudes towards official education policy, especially from National-led governments, intensified. Some union leaders argued that as a result of the worsening relationship between the teaching profession and governments, it became hard for teacher unions to persuade teachers to participate in the implementation of education policy even when the policy might benefit their practice. This finding echoes the research of Alison (2007), which revealed that the worsening relationship between the teaching profession and governments resulted in teachers' withdrawing their cooperation with NCEA – a form of assessment initially called for by the teaching profession (Section 7.5.1).

7.3.2 *Increasing Politicisation of the Teaching Profession*

It has been argued in the literature that there have been increasing assaults on the professional role of teachers and their unions (Gordon, 1993; Jesson & Simpkin, 2007). After analysing official education policy texts in the late 1980s and early 1990s in New Zealand, Gordon (1993) found that teachers were viewed as acting "with a massive self-interest which has subverted the reforms of educational administration, has hijacked the new state system, and has worked against the interests of learners (which are, by definition, opposed to their own)" (pp. 39–40). In official discourses, teachers were also viewed as workers or employees rather than professionals; teachers were positioned as merely classroom workers who implement policy (Codd, 2003; O'Neill, 2010).

Findings from this study also show that when discussing education policies over the last 30 years, the union leaders described them as 'imposed', 'forced' or 'dictated'. As most union leaders interviewed argued, governments increased their central control over teachers' work and marginalised the professional voice of teachers and their unions. Most union leaders interviewed strongly challenged the lack of their professional voice and influence on the education policy-making process, arguing that the increasing governments' control over teachers' work demoralised and disempowered teachers. They emphasised the importance of teachers participating in policy making and argued that the education reforms should facilitate teachers to exercise their agency or empower teachers rather than introduce more external control over teachers. This evidence indicates that while teacher professionalism discourses are used by governments to gain occupational control over the teaching profession, they are also used by teachers and their unions to protect their occupational power from dilution (Ozga & Lawn, 2017).

Previous research has suggested that the political work of the teacher unions has become more visible since the 1980s (Gordon, 1992; Jesson, 2003). Findings from the current study also show that the teacher unions had sought to increase their political influence in the policy-making process over the last 30 years, and that the political aspect of teacher unions became apparent, particularly pertaining to shaping professionalism discourses. For example, many union leaders argued that their unions were powerful policy actors who actively sought to collaborate with other actors to increase their political influence. This was illustrated by NZEI's strategies in the campaign to see the National Standards policy removed: NZEI built

its political influence by educating parents and communities, and by working with political parties.

It seems from the current study that the increasing politicisation of education is part of the reason that the teacher unions seek to increase their own political influence. If this is the case, the teacher unions' focus on their political influence could be viewed as a survival strategy. However, the paradox is that while the teacher unions strongly opposed the politicisation of education, they themselves explicitly increased their political influence in education in response to governments' efforts. This was illustrated by union leaders' view that administrators without professional knowledge were problematic when they themselves appointed people without professional knowledge as union leaders, such as Rosslyn Noonan (NZEI National Secretary, 1988–1996), Paul Goulter (NZEI National Secretary, 2008–2022), and Kevin Bunker (PPTA General Secretary, 1977–2014).

Grace (1995) argued that the political aspect of professional issues is more visible in teacher unions' accounts than in those of individual teachers. The current study provides some evidence in support of this argument. One of the unique features of contemporary teacher unions as collective agencies is the articulation of more visible, explicit political professional discourses (Section 7.4.4). It is worth noting that this study initially planned to focus on professional issues in teacher unions and deliberately avoid political and industrial issues. However, as the research progressed, especially with the collection of empirical data, the political aspect of professional issues in teacher unions gradually became more salient. Indeed, it was the union leaders who argued that it was impossible to separate the professional, industrial and political dimensions of unions' work (Section 7.4.1). Thus, the current study incorporated the political nature of teacher professionalism in teacher unions. In addition, I assumed at the beginning of this study that teachers were professionals rather than state workers and that the teaching profession should be self-regulated. However, at the end of this study, it seems more appropriate to ask how teachers can be professionals and state workers simultaneously and how they can be self-regulated professionals within an increasingly politicised education system.

The politicisation of the teaching profession was also illustrated by how the teacher unions and the government disagreed about the professional role of the Teaching Council. Most NZEI and PPTA union leaders interviewed argued that the Teaching Council should be an independent professional body and that the teaching profession should be self-regulated and

free from government intervention. In the case of PPTA, the union leaders consistently opposed the Teaching Council having a professional role, wanting to limit its role to a registration body, although they modified their position slightly after changes were made to the Teaching Council. Similarly, the NZEI leaders' attitudes towards the Teaching Council changed as changes were made to the Teaching Council by successive governments over time. This evidence suggests that the teacher unions' attitudes towards the professional role of the Teaching Council were largely determined by the degree of the governments' trust in them. The union leaders of NZEI argued that the teaching profession should be free from political intervention. It seems reasonable to conclude that NZEI and PPTA shared similar professionalism discourses.

It was surprising to note that while the retired NZEI leaders interviewed in this study shared PPTA's opposition to the professional role of the Teaching Council, the NZEI leaders in office (when the interviews were conducted) supported it. The current union leaders felt that the professional leadership role of the Teaching Council functioned to depoliticise education. A possible explanation for the current NZEI leaders' stance is that in 2018 the Labour-led coalition government changed the Education Council to the Teaching Council, which they may have interpreted as greater government trust in the teaching profession. Another possible explanation is that the Teaching Council mainly functions to ease the tensions between NZEI and the government with respect to education policies and therefore, NZEI was seen as being more supportive of the Teaching Council. The current NZEI and PPTA leaders' quite different stances on the professional role of the Teaching Council may be partly due to their respective union's history and philosophy.

The Education Workforce Advisory Group (2010) indicated that the differences between primary and secondary sectors make it difficult to establish "an independent voluntary, teacher-run professional body" (p. 24). In the current study, NZEI and PPTA sometimes showed different stances on the professional role of the Teaching Council but the similarities of their attitudes toward its professional role generally outweighed the differences. They both maintained that the teaching profession should be self-regulated and free from government intervention. The evidence suggests that the differences between NZEI and PPTA had little influence on the establishment of a national organisation with professional leadership.

Moreover, the NZEI and PPTA union leaders in the current study showed many similarities in the process of constructing teacher professionalism discourses over the last 30 years, albeit sometimes with different strategies. This was illustrated by the Teaching Council,

the education standards policies (Section 7.5) and CoLs. For example, while on the surface, PPTA seemed to support the introduction of CoLs, NZEI strongly opposed it. However, after examining the reasons for their support or opposition to this policy, there were no apparent differences; NZEI and PPTA agreed that there was a need to increase collaboration and worried about the potential risk of introducing performance pay. Also, as mentioned in Section 7.3.1, NZEI and PPTA leaders believed that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms weakened teacher professionalism, and the teaching profession was experiencing de-professionalisation and increasing politicisation. The evidence suggests that, to a large degree, the two teacher unions shared similar teacher professionalism discourses.

A possible explanation for these similar teacher professionalism discourses despite different historical development trajectories is that both NZEI and PPTA faced significant challenges from the Tomorrow's Schools reforms. When taking into consideration the several activities on which NZEI and PPTA cooperated over the last three decades (such as, teacher appraisal, class size and bulk funding), it is reasonable to conclude that NZEI and PPTA shared certain ideas and values, and are getting closer, at least at the ideological level, with respect to teacher professionalism discourses. Nevertheless, this result should be treated with caution because it may be influenced by the types of data this current study collected (that is, from union leaders).

In summary, from the NZEI and PPTA leaders' perspectives, the teaching profession experienced increasing de-professionalisation because of performance management and experienced increasing politicisation partly as a consequence of the mistrust between teachers and governments. As a response to this, the teacher unions strongly challenged the role of the education reforms in professionalising the teaching profession, and overtly and explicitly critiqued official discourses of teacher professionalism. To a certain extent, this finding aligns with the research of Osmond-Johnson (2015), who argued that teacher unions (in the Canadian context) provide alternative discourses of teacher professionalism that counterbalance dominant official discourses that limit the role of teachers to classroom teaching. The characteristics of the teacher unions framing professionalism discourses or the ways they provide alternative professionalism discourses are discussed in the following sections.

7.4 RQ 3: What are the Key Features of Teacher Unions Framing Teacher Professionalism Discourses?

The findings from this study show that the professional role of the teacher unions has changed over the last 30 years. While NZEI and PPTA attempted to balance professionalism and unionism, they also took on wider social responsibilities and collaborated with other policy actors to increase their public legitimacy and political influence.

7.4.1 Inseparability of the Industrial, Political and Professional Roles of Teacher Unions

The reviewed literature indicated that before the late 1980s, the teacher unions in New Zealand were more professional associations than industrial unions due to their political influence and participation in the policy cycle (Gordon, 1992; Jesson, 1995). Although the Tomorrow's Schools reforms were viewed as posing a significant challenge to the professional role of teacher unions (Alison & Aikin, 2013; Gordon, 1992; Jesson & Simpkin, 2007), this professional role is still essential (Jesson & Simpkin, 2000; O'Neill, 2003). Findings from the current study align with these previous studies. For example, some union leaders in both NZEI and PPTA indicated that initially their unions were more professional organisations or the professional role was historically inherent in their unions, and most union leaders considered that the professional role was still essential.

The findings from the current study show that the teacher unions considered the Tomorrow's Schools reforms posed a significant challenge to their professional role. For example, PPTA identified three historical development phases: it was progressive in professional issues before the late 1980s; its professional role was seriously undermined by the Tomorrow's Schools reforms in the late 1980s and 1990s; and it reclaimed its professional role in the late 1990s and early 2000s. These historical phases exist more conceptually than in practice; PPTA's actual professional role changes are more complex. Although NZEI did not show clear historical development phases, the findings did show that its professional role was undermined by the Tomorrow's Schools reforms and needed to enhance its professional role over the last two decades.

In the current study, many union leaders in both NZEI and PPTA mentioned that it was the governments' intention to limit the role of teacher unions to industrial issues only. By doing this, the union leaders felt that governments aimed to disempower their unions. Thus, it is not surprising that the union leaders in the current study strongly opposed governments' intentions

to remove their professional role in education policy and constrain their role to industrial matters related to remuneration and conditions of work. Therefore, the evidence suggests that while the Tomorrow's Schools reforms undermined the professional role of the teacher unions, they attempted to firmly maintain it.

Previous studies have argued that it is unhelpful and over-simplistic to separate professional and industrial issues in New Zealand and many other Western countries (Carter et al., 2010; O'Neill, 2017d; Stevenson & Gilliland, 2015). They are constantly intertwined within teacher unions' activities (O'Neill, 2017d). Findings from this study support this argument; most NZEI and PPTA leaders viewed the professional and industrial roles as inseparable. Some union leaders pointed out that many activities, such as class size, look like industrial issues but are essentially professional issues. The two teacher unions used their industrial activities to achieve their professional aims and vice versa. This was also evident in the research of Jesson and Simpkin (2007), who argued that the governments' refusal to consult with the teacher unions in the 1990s had made the teacher unions try to effect education policy through industrial negotiations. Moreover, in the current study, some union leaders argued that it would be simplistic to argue that the professional role was only used to achieve industrial aims because this captures just one part of the picture and is a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of the teacher unions. Similarly, Stevenson and Gilliland (2015) argued that the separation between professional and industrial issues is 'unhelpful' for understanding the political aspect of education policy; it would be too naïve to merely focus on professional issues without locating these issues within their political contexts. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that it is necessary to include industrial and political aspects when exploring the professional role of the teacher unions.

7.4.2 The Enlarged Professional Role of Teacher Unions

In the New Zealand context, research has argued that the teacher unions showed little interest in wider social issues, such as social inequalities before the 1980s (Gordon, 1992). However, findings from the current study showed that the teacher unions have been explicit in articulating teachers' wider responsibility in the domains of social justice and democracy since the 1980s by actively participating in professional and social debates, collaborating with other policy actors (Section 7.4.3), and emphasising teachers' collective responsibilities and the important role of public education in dealing with social inequalities. The union leaders interviewed in this study also often stressed the connection between the interests of teachers

and students. Some viewed this connection as an important way to deal with the negative profile of teachers and their unions in the public eye.

This finding is consistent with previous studies where it is argued that contemporary teacher unions (in other jurisdictions) tend to combine the profession's self-interest and public interest to explicitly articulate their wider educational and social responsibilities, which helps teacher unions improve their public profile and legitimacy as teachers' representatives (Bascia, 2004; McAlevey, 2016; Stevenson & Gilliland, 2015). According to McAlevey (2016), when teacher unions connect their concerns with those of the wider community, it makes them "more structurally powerful" and enhances their influence in political areas (p. 29). Overall, the evidence suggests that the enlarged role of the teacher unions in recent decades was associated with seeking public legitimacy and defending the professional role of teachers and their unions in the public eye and thereby increasing their political influence.

Critics in the literature argued that teacher unions' (in other jurisdictions) emphasis on their professional role is mainly rhetorical and is only used to improve teacher unions' public profile and political influence, by which they aim to pursue their own occupational interests (Golin, 1998; Lilja, 2014b; Moe, 2011). The findings of the current study are in line with Bascia (2000), who argues that teacher unions' emphasis on their professional role involves more than these instrumental motivations. The union leaders in this study argued that their unions' focus on professional and industrial issues mainly originated from the needs of their teacher members. That is, teachers' working lives entailed both professional and industrial elements, making them inseparable within education activities. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the unions' professional role should be viewed as more than rhetoric but as an essential role of teacher unions.

It is worth noting that previous studies have found that the professional role of teacher unions (in other jurisdictions) is limited to, and used more by, union leaders rather than accepted by teachers and governments (Adelberg, 2008; Simsek & Seashore, 2008). In the current study, the mistrust between the teacher unions and governments (Section 7.3) suggested that governments did not accept teacher unions' professional role to a certain extent. Lilja (2014b) showed that in the Swedish context teacher professionalism discourses in teacher unions mainly made teacher unions more professional associations in the public eye rather than actually facilitating the professionalisation of individual teachers. However, an investigation

of whether teacher professionalism discourses in the teacher unions actually functioned to promote individual teacher professionalisation was beyond the scope of this study.

Evidence from the current study indicates that to understand the role of teacher unions, it is necessary to position them within the context of the relationships between themselves, teachers and governments. That is, teacher unions are supposed to represent the voice of teachers and negotiate with governments, which requires them to adopt political strategies to achieve their aims. Alison (2007) argued that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms posed a significant challenge to the professional role of teachers, which worsened the relationship between teachers and governments, meaning that teacher unions could not avoid dealing with the tension between teachers and governments. Therefore, an investigation of the discourses of teacher unions in New Zealand must consider this context. It is also worth noting the differences between the views of teacher unions and teachers. For instance, O'Neill (2001) argued that, although there were increasing conflicts between PPTA and governments with respect to some teacher professionalism discourses, PPTA discourses were not necessarily reflected in teachers' discourses. In other words, the discourses of teacher unions were not identical to those of teachers. This means that teacher professionalism discourses held by teacher union leaders and discussed in the current study do not necessarily represent those of teachers.

7.4.3 Openness: Involvement of Other Policy Actors

Evidence from this study showed that the teacher unions generally welcomed the involvement of other policy actors (such as parents) in the education policy-making process, albeit sometimes with concerns. Although most NZEI and PPTA leaders interviewed in this study strongly opposed the Tomorrow's Schools reforms, some agreed that the reforms had certain advantages, such as increasing parental involvement in school education that helped schools to be more open to their community. Some other union leaders argued that parental involvement already existed before the late 1980s and did not view that the Tomorrow's Schools reforms significantly increased parental involvement in school education. A possible explanation of this discrepancy is that the teacher unions generally maintained a negative stance on the Tomorrow's Schools reforms, as findings showed that NZEI and PPTA leaders felt that the negative impacts of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms overshadowed its few positive impacts.

Previous research has shown that a significant part of the international political rhetoric of education reforms in the late 1980s was to empower parents, which would increase tension between parents and teachers (Grace, 1995; Hargreaves, 2001b; Heystek & Lethoko, 2001). The current study showed some evidence to support this argument in the New Zealand context. For instance, a small number of union leaders were concerned about the potential effects of boards of trustees (BoTs) introduced as part of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms: parents may become over-involved in the professional-educational aspects of schooling and constrain teachers' professional judgement and having 'laypeople' at the governance level would be a significant distraction for teachers. However, most union leaders made little or no mention of parental involvement in their interviews, and some expressed a relatively positive attitude towards it. An explanation for this may be that policymakers initially positioned parents as managers and teachers as employees (as mentioned by some union leaders). However, it actually eventuated that parents often supported teachers in school education; when parents increased their involvement in school education, they had a better understanding of the complexity and highly demanding nature of teachers' work, which consequently enhanced parents' support for teachers. The evidence from this study suggests that cooperation between parents and teachers outweighed any contradictions, and the tension between inexpert governors and teachers' professional autonomy was less visible.

Previous studies also have suggested that many teacher unions in other jurisdictions sought support from parents and other policy actors to promote their own political agenda (McAlevey, 2016; Stevenson, 2015; Stevenson et al., 2020). The findings from the current study also showed that NZEI and PPTA leaders emphasised the shared interests of teachers, students and parents, which were mutually compatible rather than contradictory as portrayed by governments. By doing this, the teacher unions aimed to enhance their legitimacy in society, mobilise public support for their ideas and policies, and deal with governments excluding teachers' voices from education policy. Overall, the evidence suggests that the teacher unions became more open to other policy actors' involvement and by explicitly seeking these actors' support, they aimed to increase their political influence in education issues.

7.4.4 Teacher Unions: The Collective and Critical Actor

One of the fundamental flaws of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms was the fragmentation of the education system (Wylie, 2012). Findings from the current study are consistent with this argument. Some union leaders interviewed argued that the Tomorrow's

Schools reforms seriously undermined the collective aspect of the teaching profession; teacher unions found it very difficult to maintain a collective professional voice for teachers as teachers became more accountable to individual schools rather than to the teaching profession as a whole. Therefore, the teacher unions viewed teaching as a national profession and emphasised teachers' commitment to the teaching profession and the maintenance of national professional standards. Some union leaders were also concerned that a weakened collective professional voice would permit more political interference in the teaching profession. The evidence suggests that maintaining and enhancing the collective professional voice of teachers was a strategy to deal with the increasing politicisation of the teaching profession and depoliticise it.

International studies showed that in the face of increasing politicisation in education policy, there was a call for teachers to exercise their own agency (individually and collectively) in setting their professional agenda and thereby gain a sense of ownership of their profession (Freidson, 2001; Osmond-Johnson, 2015; Sachs, 2001, 2003). Sachs (2003) referred to this as activist professionalism. The findings from the current study align with this argument; NZEI and PPTA informed and mobilised individual teachers to participate in education policy. For example, they informed their members of what education policies meant for them and mobilised members to actively participate in educational debates and the education policy-making process. It is notable that when the teacher unions helped teachers to understand education policies, they often impeded their implementation, as was the case with National Standards and NCEA (Section 7.5). This finding also echoes the mistrust between teacher unions and governments during the period under study.

Grace (1995) found that most individual teachers were compliant or silently resistant to education reforms, while teacher unions explicitly resisted them. This suggests that there were more visible and explicit contradictory ideologies between teacher unions and governments than between individual teachers and governments. The findings from the current study also showed that, as collective actors, the teacher unions in New Zealand were committed to explicitly articulating criticism of official professionalism and other policy discourses. For example, some union leaders in this study highlighted that their union had the advantage of being the collective professional voice of teachers and could therefore articulate alternative discourses. NZEI leaders said that the powerful collective voice allowed NZEI to be more 'frank' and 'critical' about education policy, as was illustrated by NZEI's strongly opposing stance on National Standards (Section 7.5.2). In short, the evidence suggests that the teacher

unions had a unique and critical role as collective agencies. In this current study, given the context of fundamental education reforms, I argue that the critical role of the teacher unions is essential in two ways: it provides an important opportunity for teachers to collectively express the confusion, tensions and anxieties caused by the education reform, and it assists teachers as a body to articulate a clear, resistant voice that can contribute better to a sound and meaningful educational debate.

Findings from the current study also suggest that the teacher unions were relatively constrained in actively setting their own professional agendas. For instance, the PPTA leaders mentioned that PPTA had been progressive before the late 1980s, but the Tomorrow's Schools reforms became a significant distraction and the increasing industrial activities undermined PPTA's ability to give full attention to professional issues. Some NZEI leaders thought that NZEI risked losing its professional role and that its professional voice was diluted. The evidence suggests that, although the teacher unions have played an important role in shaping the teaching profession and public education, this role was generally constrained by the increasing industrial tensions and education reforms. This finding largely aligns with the research by Kerchner and Koppich (2004), who argued that teacher unions in the United States context lost the momentum to participate in the process of developing alternative educational discourses and they became more defensive in the face of education reforms. Consequently, there have been calls in the international literature for teacher unions to play an active role in shaping teacher professionalism discourses (Bascia, 2004; Bascia & Osmond, 2012; Kerchner & Caufman, 1995). Teacher unions generally played a more defensive role than a progressive role in shaping professional discourses and there is still a need to enhance teacher unions' capability to shape and define alternative teacher professionalism discourses.

In summary, the evidence suggests that the professional role of the teacher unions has been enlarged in certain areas over the last 30 years. The professional, industrial and political issues are inseparable. By mobilising teachers to exercise their agency and collaborating with other policy actors, the teacher unions increased their ability to shape teacher professionalism discourses and advocate for the development of democratic professionalism (Section 2.1.3). While NZEI and PPTA criticised official discourses concerning professional issues, their capability to lead the teaching profession was constrained. The relationship between the teacher unions and governments in shaping teacher professionalism discourses is illustrated in the following section.

7.5 RQ 4: How do Teacher Unions Frame Teacher Professionalism Discourses in Relation to Governments' Discourses?

As discussed in Section 7.3, NZEI's and PPTA's professionalism discourses opposed those of governments, and their relationships with governments were deeply rooted in distrust and tension. However, the findings from the current study also showed that the teacher unions sought to cooperate with governments on professional issues. Therefore, it is necessary to explore how teacher unions managed to maintain a positive relationship with governments in relation to professional issues while simultaneously maintaining counter-professionalism discourses. While NZEI and PPTA endorsed similar broad definitions of teacher professionalism, they adopted quite different stances and strategies on teacher-related policies. This was illustrated in this study through the introduction of two specific education policies in the 2000s and 2010s: NCEA (from 2002) and National Standards (from 2010). Although NCEA and National Standards are both instances of official achievement and assessment standards introduced into secondary and primary school education, respectively, PPTA and NZEI responded quite differently. For example, PPTA welcomed the introduction of NCEA, while NZEI strongly opposed the introduction of the National Standards policy. Therefore, it is also interesting to investigate how they adopted quite different stances on these education standards policies, while generally maintaining a similar understanding of teacher professionalism.

7.5.1 PPTA and NCEA: Standards-based Assessment and Intensification

Previous research has shown that teacher unions in other Western countries sought to have an impact on education policy by cooperating with their governments on professional issues (Bascia & Osmond, 2013; Kerchner & Koppich, 2004). For instance, Bascia and Osmond (2013) found that when teacher unions were threatened with being excluded from the education policy-making process, they tended to adopt more supportive stances on education reforms. In the current study, this argument has been manifested to some degree by PPTA over the last 30 years. The findings showed that the professional voice of PPTA was seriously undermined and even excluded from the development of education policy in the 1990s (Section 7.4.1). PPTA then shifted its general strategy from confrontation with governments on professional issues to one of cooperation, which was particularly evident in the late 1990s and early 2000s. By doing this, PPTA aimed to have an increased, meaningful involvement in the education policy-making process.

The findings of this study showed that tensions between PPTA and governments were evident on professional issues, such as PPTA's position on the NCEA policy. The current study found that PPTA initially supported the introduction of NCEA and viewed it as a way to improve the quality of teaching and learning. However, PPTA adopted a more suspicious, critical attitude towards the NCEA policy as it was being implemented. NCEA dramatically increased teachers' workloads and made teachers' work 'unmanageable', which led PPTA to strongly criticise the NCEA implementation. This finding partially aligns with the research of Evetts (2009) and Hargreaves and Goodson (2003), who argue that the discourse of managerial professionalism is sometimes welcomed by teachers as a means to improve the professional role of teachers but, in practice, it mainly functions to intensify teachers' workloads and exploit them rather than empower them. The findings of this study also showed that PPTA initially promoted internal assessment over problematic external assessment. Yet in recent years, mainly due to dramatically increased workloads, PPTA gradually changed its position by calling for more external forms of assessment. PPTA's changing discourse over time is evidence of the interplay and meshing of discourses between teacher unions and governments on teacher professionalism in practice.

Alison (2007) argued that the mistrust between the teaching profession and governments largely contributed to PPTA changing its attitude to the NCEA policy from being supportive to being critical of it. This current study aligns somewhat with her study as it too found evidence of a worsening relationship between the teaching profession and the government, which in turn made it more difficult to persuade teachers to engage and participate in education policy discussions about changes (Section 7.3.1). The current study also contributes a new insight into understanding why PPTA gradually became more critical of the NCEA policy by suggesting that, from PPTA's perspective, the government's political rhetoric of professionalisation actually led to an intensification of teachers' workloads.

PPTA also considered that the NCEA policy had a more political agenda; the government was using the policy to increase central control over the teaching profession. This finding aligns with the research of Evetts (2009), who argued that managerial professionalism adopted by governments aims to enhance the state's external control over the teaching profession rather than the profession having self-control. PPTA blamed the government for failing to provide enough support for the implementation of NCEA and argued that the fragmentation of central agencies failed to provide systemic support to teachers. The evidence

suggests that, although PPTA supported the education standards policy, it was also critical of its effects in practice.

Overall, it is reasonable to conclude that both cooperation and tension characterised PPTA's relationship with governments with respect to the NCEA policy. Although PPTA officially supported the NCEA policy, tension and mistrust were already deeply rooted in its relationship with governments. In contrast, the findings showed that NZEI was strongly opposed to education standards policy (in the form of National Standards). The evidence suggests that NZEI experienced greater tension and confrontation with governments in relation to education standards. The following section outlines the relationships between NZEI and governments with respect to education standards in learning outcomes (National Standards).

7.5.2 NZEI and National Standards: Politicisation

Previous research suggests that the teaching profession suffered from increasing government interventions that emphasise the role of standards in teaching and learning (Apple, 2013; Ball, 2003b; Day, 2002a, 2002b). In the New Zealand context, National Standards were viewed as the introduction of a high-stakes assessment and audit culture that intensified teacher workloads and tension among teachers (Thrupp & White, 2013). The current study aligns with these previous studies; findings from this study show that NZEI saw the introduction of the National Standards policy as an attack on the professional role of teachers. Teachers were positioned as technicians who did not need to make professional judgements and therefore, were subjected to increasing external controls. The National Standards policy was also seen as dramatically increasing teachers' workloads, assisting the introduction of performance pay and a competitive model into the teaching profession, and increasing the government's central control of the teaching profession. The evidence suggests that, with respect to the National Standards policy, NZEI's professionalism discourses were fundamentally different from the government's.

Thrupp (2017) argued that the National Standards policy was primarily dictated by a political agenda rather than engaging with teachers. However, Evetts (2009) argued that "when the discourse is constructed 'from above', then often it is imposed, and a false or selective discourse is used to promote and facilitate occupational change (rationalization) and as a disciplinary mechanism of autonomous subjects exercising appropriate conduct" (p. 22); this type of teacher professionalism functions as a managerial instrument to exert external control

over the teaching profession. The findings of the current study align with this argument; many NZEI leaders stated that there had been little or no professional voice in the introduction and implementation of National Standards, which significantly undermined teachers' sense of ownership of their own profession.

A possible explanation for PPTA and NZEI adopting quite different positions on the respective education standards policies lies in their different historical development experiences. PPTA had historically advocated strongly for achievement-based assessment to replace the existing examination-based system (Alison, 2007). Therefore, PPTA could at least see traces of how they envisioned a professional assessment model in the NCEA policy. In contrast, NZEI opposed national standards in primary schools as a matter of principle (NZEI, 2010a). NZEI's opposition to the introduction of national standards may also be related to PPTA's experience of increased teacher workloads with the standards-based assessment of NCEA. When National Standards were introduced in the late 2000s, NZEI may have strongly opposed them partly on the basis of the envisaged workload.

Given when NCEA and National Standards were introduced, it seems from this study that the changing character of political parties (and combinations of parties) in government would impact the teacher unions' stances on the education standards policies. A Labour-led coalition government introduced NCEA, which PPTA supported, and a National-led coalition government introduced National Standards, which NZEI opposed. However, the current study did not find direct evidence supporting the argument that the leading political party directly affected the respective teacher union's position on education standards. Although some NZEI and PPTA leaders mentioned that they tended to have an easier relationship with a Labour-led government than a National-led government, they denied that a change of political party in government would affect their stance on particular education policies. Thus, the union leaders stressed that their union was not affiliated with a particular political party and emphasised their union's independent role in the education policy-making process. Moreover, some NZEI and PPTA union leaders mentioned that the worsened relationship between teachers and the National-led government resulted in teachers opposing the education policies being initiated by the National-led government, even though teaching and learning might benefit from these policies (Section 7.3.1). However, the education policy in question was mainly referred to as the CoLs. In short, the data from this current study provide no conclusive evidence to support

the argument that changing the political party in power would affect teacher unions' stance on education standards policy.

The current study also showed little evidence that teacher unions' relationship with governments would be significantly affected by different political parties in power. Generally, the findings from the current study show that the relationship between the teacher unions and government was seriously weakened in the 1990s and gradually recovered in the 2000s and 2010s. This was partly illustrated by PPTA's organisation of professional conferences in the 2000s. The conference was first organised in 2002 to deal with the Labour-led coalition government's (1999–2008) marginalisation and exclusion of its voice in education policy. By the end of the 2000s, PPTA ceased these conferences partly because the National-led coalition government (2008–2017) became more engaged with the teacher unions on professional issues. The evidence suggests that the changing political parties in power did not have a significant effect on the relationship between the teacher unions and governments, at least concerning professional issues over the last 20 years.

Jesson and Simpkin (2007) found that the separate teacher unions in New Zealand made it difficult to maintain consistent national teacher professionalism. There was some evidence from the current study that NZEI and PPTA adopted quite different stances on the introduction of education standards into the primary and secondary education sectors. However, both unions were also strongly critical of the implementation of education standards, indicating that the political rhetoric of professionalisation led to an intensification of teachers' workloads and the teaching profession consequently suffered from increasing politicisation. The evidence suggests that NZEI and PPTA shared similar teacher professionalism discourses even though they sometimes adopted quite different or contradictory strategies (Section 7.3.2). In this regard, it is difficult to determine whether the differences between NZEI and PPTA have been barriers to teachers collectively shaping teacher professionalism discourses or made it difficult to maintain and enhance national teacher professionalism.

7.5.3 Cooperation between Teacher Unions and Governments

The findings of the current study show that while tension and distrust were deeply rooted in the relationship between the teacher unions and governments, they were often cooperative with respect to professional issues. In other words, although the teacher unions' understandings of teacher professionalism differed markedly from the governments (Section

7.3), the unions were usually ready to work with governments and attempted to maintain a working level of cooperation with respect to professional issues. For example, the current study showed that, except for National Standards, NZEI maintained a positive relationship with governments and quasi-governmental agencies, such as NZEI's cooperation with the Teaching Council in many professional activities. PPTA generally sought to work cooperatively with governments on professional issues and in supporting education policies, such as NCEA and CoLs, albeit with varying degrees of tension, over the last 20 years.

Teacher unions have cooperated with governments to ensure they have a voice in the policy-making process. Given that governments often play a dominant role in shaping teacher professionalism discourses, it could be argued that the teacher unions have no other choice but to work with governments. This helps to explain why teacher unions often cooperated with governments despite having different teacher professionalism discourses. Also, given the intertwined professional, industrial and political roles of teacher unions, the professional role sometimes functioned to ease the relationship between teacher unions and governments in industrial issues. Overall, the evidence from this study suggests that teacher unions had a cooperative relationship with governments.

The findings from this study also showed that the teacher unions' cooperation with governments did not significantly weaken their ability to criticise education policy, such as the introduction of education standards. This differs from the research of Lilja (2014a, 2014b) in Sweden where cooperation became a barrier for teacher unions to then critique education policy. The evidence from the current study suggests that cooperation between the teacher unions and governments in New Zealand was more evident as an organisational strategy deployed by the unions to increase their political influence in the education policy-making process.

The findings of the current study also suggest that a new type of relationship is developing between the teacher unions and governments characterised as both cooperative and tense. Jesson and Simpkin (2000) argued that PPTA was more resistant to the government in the 1990s than NZEI and wondered whether PPTA's relationship with the government in the 2000s would shift to the 1980s' collaborative one. The current study provides some evidence that tensions continue to be deeply rooted between the teacher unions (PPTA and NZEI) and governments and that NZEI particularly has sometimes maintained a strong resistant stance over the past 20 years. It seems reasonable to conclude that it is necessary to continue exploring ways to build a collaborative or cooperative relationship between the teacher unions and

governments. However, rather than establishing a purely collaborative relationship as in the past, the evidence from the current study suggests that in future, cooperation (or collaboration) and tension (or contradiction) will both characterise the teacher unions' relationship with governments on professional issues. This is especially true given the fundamental changes in the socio-political context over the last 30 years; Jesson and Simpkin (2007) also identified this new context.

In summary, it appears that both tension and cooperation between the teacher unions and governments underpin the context within which the teacher unions frame teacher professionalism discourses. Tensions or contradictions tended to be more ideological, while cooperation tended to be apparent in practice.

7.6 Summary

This chapter provided a summary and discussion of the four research questions:

RQ 1: Historically, where did teacher professionalism discourses come from? The current study was initially located in the socio-political context (marketisation and politicisation of public education) in the late 1980s. Since then, the meanings of teacher professionalism have been developed by competing and overlapping discourses within the education system.

RQ 2: How have teacher unions framed teacher professionalism discourses in teacher unions in use since the late 1980s? The leadership in both unions generally viewed official government rhetoric of teacher professionalism de-professionalised the teaching profession, largely caused by the Tomorrow's Schools reforms. The teaching profession became increasingly politicised, which led to teacher unions rejecting calls for greater teacher professionalism as it was framed in official policy discourses. It seems reasonable to conclude that the competing and conflicting professionalism discourses between the teacher unions and governments were apparent in the current study.

RQ 3: What are the key features of teacher unions framing teacher professionalism discourses? To explore the professional role of the teacher unions, it was essential to deal with the relationships between professional, industrial and political issues. The teacher unions appeared to combine occupational interests with public interests and collaborated with other policy actors to increase their public legitimacy and political influence. While the teacher unions strongly criticised the dominant official professionalism discourses, they were also

more defensive than progressive in leading the development of the teaching profession and shaping teacher professionalism discourses over recent decades.

RQ 4: How do teacher unions frame teacher professionalism discourses in relation to governments' discourses? The evidence suggests that tension and cooperation both characterise the relationship between the teaching unions and governments on professional issues. Although mistrust and tension were deeply rooted in the teacher unions' relationship with governments, the teacher unions also generally actively sought to cooperate with governments concerning professional issues. The teacher unions also seemed to use this cooperation as an organisational strategy to increase their political influence on education policy.

Overall, the teacher unions in New Zealand are critical of official government discourses of teacher professionalism. They play an important role in balancing the power relations between teachers and governments in shaping teacher professionalism discourses and tend to counterbalance the education reforms – they both simplify and intensify teachers' work, as well as politicise and marketise public education – which constrains the professional role of teachers. Yet, it seems that the mistrust between teachers (and their unions) and governments, to a certain extent, constrain the teacher unions' ability to play a leading role in shaping teacher professionalism discourses.

Chapter 8
Conclusion

Teacher unions have played a crucial role in defining how the teaching profession is perceived in New Zealand. However, few studies have focused on how teacher unions shape teacher professionalism discourses within the socio-political contexts of New Zealand. Thus, this study adopted a CEPS approach, positioning teacher professionalism discourses within their socio-political contexts; it explored how the meanings of these discourses were constructed and how teacher unions as collective actors have shaped these discourses over the last 30 years. This chapter briefly summarises the primary findings of the current study and then elaborates on the significance of these findings and their contributions to the literature. This is followed by the discussion of the implications of the study for teacher unions and policymakers. It concludes with an exploration of the limitations of the study and recommendations for future research.

8.1 Overview of the Findings

Three key findings were identified in this study. First, the teacher unions, as teachers' collective actors, tended to highlight the tension or conflict between the teaching profession and governments with respect to the meanings of teacher professionalism. The teacher unions challenged the views of teacher professionalism presented in official discourses and viewed these functioned in practice to de-professionalise the teaching profession. The teacher unions also highlighted the contradiction between the logic of professionalism, marketisation and new public management ideologies. In this regard, the teacher unions defended the teaching profession and public education from both market managerialism and political interference. This was illustrated the teacher unions defending and maintaining certain characteristics of teacher professionalism, such as the complexity and relational aspect of teaching, collaboration and collegiality, self-regulation (independence) and trust in the teaching profession.

Second, as well as defending the teaching profession, the teacher unions were also involved in developing democratic professionalism by emphasising the openness of the teaching profession. For instance, the teacher unions welcomed the involvement of, and collaboration with, other policy actors on professional and educational issues, albeit with certain concerns. The teacher unions also actively exercised their collective agency in education policy formation and mobilised teachers to exercise their individual agency by

participating in the education policy-making process. It is worth noting that, despite the teacher unions' efforts and given that governments dominate teacher-related policies, the teacher unions' collective agency or role in shaping teacher professionalism discourses was constrained in this process.

Third, the role of the teacher unions has expanded over the last 30 years. Rather than just focusing on teachers' professional lives, the teacher unions explicitly articulated their concern for wider educational and social issues, and increased their political influence. For example, the teacher unions explicitly articulated the role of the teaching profession in promoting education quality and social equality, and in the face of their role being marginalised or excluded from education policy, the teacher unions mobilised public debate to advocate their own understanding of teacher professionalism. Compounded by what was regarded as an increasing politicisation of education, the teacher unions also attempted to increase their own political influence to defend the teaching profession from external political interference. Overall, the teacher unions increased their political influence in shaping teacher professionalism discourses and politics became a key feature of the professional role of the teacher unions.

8.2 Contributions to Literature

This study contributes to recent debates on teacher professionalism in teacher unions by enhancing the understanding of the ideological and political nature of teacher unions' professional role. Although the professional role of teacher unions has been highlighted in England (e.g., Bangs & MacBeath, 2012; Stevenson & Gilliland, 2015) and North America (e.g., Bascia & Osmond, 2013; Kerchner et al., 1997), few studies have examined the professional role of teacher unions in New Zealand. To address this lack of research, this study attempts to shed light on how the two main teacher unions in New Zealand have shaped teacher professionalism discourses. As part of this, this study provides a deeper insight into the professional role of the teacher unions in contemporary socio-political contexts in five aspects.

First, this study contributes to the existing literature by providing evidence to support the theories of Evetts (2006, 2009, 2011) and Sachs (2003, 2016) to understand the tensions and sometimes contradictions between teacher unions and governments with respect to how teacher professionalism is framed. This study highlights the role of teacher unions in challenging managerial professionalism and developing democratic professionalism. This

study also adds to the emergent literature by highlighting teachers' collective agency in developing democratic professionalism (Stevenson & Gilliland, 2015; Whitty, 2000). Given that few studies have focused on teacher unions' collective agency in developing democratic professionalism in a specific jurisdiction, this study provides an example of this. In particular, this study provides further evidence to the argument that teacher unions play a central role in developing democratic professionalism (Stevenson & Gilliland, 2015). As part of this, the study describes how the teacher unions actively collaborated with other policy actors and mobilised teachers to exercise their individual agency in education policy.

Second, this study also sheds new light on understanding the relationship between teacher unions and governments in shaping teacher professionalism discourses. Little is known in previous research about how teacher unions manage to maintain a positive relationship with governments in relation to professional issues while having a very different understanding of teacher professionalism. This study provides insights into this area. For example, this study noted that the teacher unions' cooperation with governments on professional issues did not weaken their capacity to articulate an explicit criticism of official education policy. This finding seems to be related to the historical heritage of the teacher unions as professional associations that legitimates their involvement in education policy. The combination of professionalism and unionism also empowers the teacher unions to articulate a powerful professional voice for teachers.

Third, this study is the first research on teacher professionalism discourses in the two main teacher unions in New Zealand. There have been some studies on certain professional activities or the changing role of one teacher union, namely PPTA (Alison, 2007; Jesson, 1995). However, there is limited research on the professional role of NZEI and no research on the professional role of these two unions (NZEI and PPTA). By examining how these two teacher unions adopted quite different strategies to frame often similar teacher professionalism discourses, this study contributes to understanding the complexity of the teacher unions' construction of teacher professionalism discourses.

Fourth, this study sheds light on understanding why and how the teacher unions have become 'resistant' in the teaching profession, in the sense of 'conserving' historical advances and achievements for the teaching profession. The findings of the study show that the teacher unions viewed the education reforms as de-professionalising the teaching profession. As a response to this, the teacher unions maintained a strong criticism of the teacher-related policy.

As part of this, the teacher unions maintained and preserved certain key features of teacher professionalism, such as complexity, collaboration, trust and the collective and relational aspects of the teaching profession. It was argued in this study that governments viewed this as a sign of the teacher unions being resistant to education reforms and were positioned by the policy milieu as more industrial unions than professional associations. The findings from the study also suggest that the increasing politicisation of education resulted in teachers being demoralised and losing their sense of ownership of the teaching profession, as well as the teacher unions increasing their political influence concerning professional issues. In this regard, the suggestion that teacher unions became more resistant in professional issues can be viewed as a response to, and a result of, the education reforms and increasing politicisation of education, or the worsening relationship between the teaching profession and governments.

Fifth, this study also challenges the argument that the emphasis on the professional role of teacher unions is merely rhetorical (Golin, 1998; Lilja, 2014b; Moe, 2011), especially in the New Zealand context. First, the findings of the study highlight the connection between the role of the teacher unions and the needs of teacher members. As teachers' representatives, teacher unions maintain a strong connection with their teacher members and represent their industrial and professional needs. Thus, teacher unions focus on both industrial and professional issues, especially when education reforms put significant challenges on teachers' working lives and there is an increasing politicisation of education. Second, the teacher unions played a crucial role in challenging official discourses concerning teacher professionalism and an important role in developing democratic professionalism. This finding also contributes to increasing the legitimacy of teacher unions in education policy by emphasising their unique role in promoting teacher professionalism. Third, unlike teacher unions in many other jurisdictions, the teacher unions in New Zealand have a long history of being predominantly professional organisations, especially in the case of NZEI (Simmonds, 1983). It seems reasonable to conclude that the professional role of teacher unions is more than rhetoric at least in New Zealand.

8.3 Implications of the Study

This study assists in deepening the understanding of the professional role of the teacher unions by describing and interpreting the nature of the teacher unions, revealing the paradoxes of teacher unions increasing their political influence, and emphasising their collective and critical role in challenging education policy. More specifically, this study discusses the changing nature of teacher unions as both professional and industrial associations. The teacher

unions appear to be positioned by governments as more industrial unions than professional organisations. The findings of the study indicate that the teacher unions need to maintain and preserve their historical heritage as teachers' professional associations and work to ensure the visibility of their professional role to both the public and their members. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the teacher unions should return to their role as purely professional organisations. In the face of the increasing politicisation of education, it would be naïve to view the teacher unions as such. Rather, the findings from this study suggest that the teacher unions need to actively position their professional role in a new socio-political context that makes the political nature of teacher unions clear. There is still a need for the teacher unions to increase their legitimacy as professional associations and increase their new professional-political standing in the public eye, otherwise they may continue to face the constant risk of being undermined or made less visible.

A further implication of this study is that, when teacher unions increase their political influence over professional issues, they must deal with paradoxes relating to the tension between their professional and industrial nature. For example, while the increasing political role of teacher unions may be used to defend teaching and learning from external political interference, it also seems reasonable to argue that the teacher unions' increasing political influence has contributed to the politicisation of education. In turn, this has increased the politicisation of teacher union strategies and engagement, albeit perhaps unintentionally. In this sense, the increasing political role of teacher unions seems to work against their attempt to depoliticise education. Another paradox is that the increasing political role of teacher unions empowers them to articulate a strong professional voice in the education policy-making process. However, it also leads to teacher unions facing a legitimation risk. That is, the increasingly political role of teacher unions also results in their professional role being somewhat overshadowed, at least in the public eye. It seems that alignment between professionalism and unionism or the political aspect of the teacher unions' professional role is still a work in progress.

To address these paradoxes, it would be beneficial for the teacher unions to highlight their collective and critical role in challenging education policy in the public sphere. The findings from this study suggest that the teacher unions in New Zealand are able to clearly and strongly articulate their criticism of teacher-related policies despite the fact that they often cooperate with governments on professional issues. Given that individual teachers tend to offer

silent resistance if they consider education policy professionally unsound, it becomes important for teacher unions as collective actors to take a critical stance toward education policy. In the face of fundamental education reforms, the critical role of teacher unions becomes essential. That is, the teacher unions provide an important opportunity for teachers to collectively express the confusion, tension and anxieties caused by education reforms. The teacher unions also assist teachers to articulate a clear, resistant voice, which ensures a sound and meaningful educational debate. By doing this, the teacher unions establish their reputation and enhance their legitimacy as the collective professional voice of teachers in the education policy-making process.

This study also indicates that it is hard for teacher unions to adopt a more progressive stance on professional issues unless the socio-political context fundamentally changes, or governments genuinely trust the teaching profession. The findings from this study suggest that the nature of the relationship between teacher unions and governments determines whether the teacher unions shape teacher professionalism in a progressive or defensive way. In other words, when governments trust the teaching profession, the teacher unions appear to be more progressive on professional issues. When governments do not trust the profession, the teacher unions tend to be more resistant on professional issues. The findings of this study indicate that mistrust between teachers and governments has dominated education policy over the last 30 years. Consequently, the teaching profession is perceived to be resistant to education reform. Within this context, there seems to be a need for governments to show more trust in the teaching profession to encourage the teacher unions to be more progressive in education reforms.

In addition, this study has identified issues relevant to the potential for the two teacher unions to be amalgamated. Historically, the amalgamation of the two teacher unions was often proposed (Gordon, 1992; Jesson & Simpkin, 2007). For example, in the face of fundamental challenges presented by the Tomorrow's Schools reforms, the two teacher unions initiated efforts to amalgamate in the 1990s (Gordon, 1992). Later, some academics called for the merging of the two teacher unions to enhance the collective national voice of teachers (Jesson & Simpkin, 2007). The current study offers an opportunity for communication between NZEI and PPTA by highlighting the similarities in how they define teacher professionalism. These similarities can be viewed as one of the foundations for the future amalgamation of these two teacher unions. Nevertheless, the current study provides no evidence that the two teacher unions intended to merge during the last 20 years. The evidence also suggests that their amalgamation is unlikely to occur without a fundamental change in the socio-political context.

8.4 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

As discussed in Section 3.3.4, my non-native researcher identity presented some challenges to conducting a CEPS study. Given that the researcher is the research instrument (Cohen et al., 2018; Pezalla et al., 2012), the knowledge and experience of the researcher play a crucial role in this study. In particular, the CEPS approach ideally requires the researcher to have a rich background knowledge to uncover the power relations behind the research activities. However, I am not a native researcher from New Zealand, and consequently, my personal background may have limited my critical perspective in this study. Conversely, my non-native researcher identity also offers me a special perspective from which to explore the professional role of teacher unions. In this sense, my identity contributes to this critical study. For example, as a non-native researcher, I planned to focus on professional issues only at the outset of the study. However, as the study progressed, I gradually became aware of, and appreciated the intertwined nature of professional, industrial and political issues within the teacher unions. I also became more cautious of the political aspect of the teacher unions and noticed apparent paradoxes within these organisations; while the teacher unions strongly opposed the political agenda in education, they also deliberately increased their political influence on education policy.

Also, although the CEPS study has informed the current study and assisted in answering the research questions, this study did not conduct an in-depth CEPS study as originally planned. For example, partly due to the impact of the pandemic (COVID-19) and limited access to organisational documents, the study did not provide a rich description of the professional role of teacher unions or comprehensively reveal the complexity of power relations in how teacher unions framed professionalism discourses. In addition, given the different participation rates from NZEI and PPTA union leaders, the NZEI case was less rich than PPTA's. This also prevented me from conducting a rich, in-depth study and making comparisons between the two cases.

There are four areas that further research could examine to shed more light on the professional role of teacher unions. First, it would be beneficial to trace the historical development of teacher professionalism discourses in the teacher unions' document data over the full archival record, such as their newspapers or journals. Second, this study clearly illustrates the perspective of union leaders on how the teacher unions construe teacher professionalism, but the extent to which teachers align their accounts with these discourses was

beyond the scope of this study. Future research could examine the extent to which teachers share the discourses of teacher professionalism of the teacher unions. As secondary school teachers appeared to welcome the introduction of education standards while primary school teachers strongly opposed them, it would be interesting to investigate the perceptions of primary and secondary school teachers. Third, the mainstream media have proven to be an important data source for investigating the role of teacher unions. However, in the current study, the mainstream media data were mainly used to provide an impression rather than an in-depth understanding of the image of teacher unions. Further research could carry out a more comprehensive and systematic study of the data of mainstream media. Fourth, the bicultural context is an important constitutional feature in New Zealand; however, very few union leaders interviewed in this study mentioned it; consequently, this bicultural lens was absent from the current study. Future studies could focus on how the teacher unions deal with Māori cultural and political traditions, as well as how the bicultural context is manifest in the discourses of the teacher unions with respect to professional issues.

8.5 Final Thoughts

The political and critical role of teacher unions with respect to professional issues can be viewed as the result of changing socio-political contexts and teacher unions exercising their collective agency. The critical role of teacher unions is essential in the context of major, rapid education reforms as it facilitates participatory democratic dialogues concerning professional issues. In the face of the increasing politicisation of education, it also seems necessary for teacher unions to increase their political influence to ensure their professional voice is heard in education policy formation. In this regard, a salutary example is that Sweden defines teacher unions as professional associations, which significantly weakens their capacity to influence education policy and represent teachers' professional voices (Lilja, 2014a, 2014b). Thus, the current study concludes that if teacher unions aim to maintain a highly representative and powerful professional voice for teachers, they must continue to engage in the kind of socio-political context that has developed in New Zealand over the last 30 years.

The current study seems timely as New Zealand is currently experiencing one of the biggest education system changes since the Tomorrow's Schools reforms. As stated by the MoE, the new Education Work Programme intends to develop a high-trust model in the education system, showing more trust in teachers (Barker & Wood, 2019). This seems to provide a positive socio-political environment for teacher unions to develop their professional

role and be progressive on professional issues. By tracing and revealing the development of the professional role of the teacher unions over the last 30 years, the current study offers a valuable reference for teacher unions to develop or rebuild their professional role in the new era.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: The Data Collection Process – Mainstream Media Online

Media 1: Otago Daily Times (2008–2021)

1. Searched time: 9/09/2021; Search words: teacher union (including education union/PPTA/NZEI); Number of articles: 890.

(Exclude: industrial activities, such as pay (Novopay) and strike, teacher shortage, teacher/student behaviour problem/school violence, etc.)

Articles (after sifting): 99

2. Searched time: 16/09/2021; Search words (Number of articles): PPTA (214)/NZPPTA (1).

New Articles: 7

3. Searched time: 19/09/2021; Search words: NZEI; Number of articles: 285.

New Articles: 11.

In total: 117 (after sifting)

The identified keywords: National Standards/NCEA, competition, (charter schools)/class sizes.

Media 2: Scoop (1999–2021)

1. Searched time: 19/09/2021; Search words: teacher union (including education union/PPTA/NZEI)

(Number of articles (byline): New Zealand Politics (562). (NZEI (280); PPTA (36); New Zealand Government (59); New Zealand National Party (44); New Zealand Educational Institute (26); NZEI Te Riu Roa (19); Ministry of Education (12); New Zealand Labour Party (10); Education Forum (7)).

Articles (after sifting): 74

2. Searched time: 19/09/2021; Search words: PPTA (byline PPTA): New Zealand Politics (630)/ NZPPTA (22).

New articles (after sifting): 47

3. Searched time: 20/09/2021; Search words: NZEI (byline NZEI): New Zealand Politics (327)/ NZEI Te Riu Roa (149)

   New articles (after sifting): 36

   In total:157 (after sifting)

The identified keywords: Privatisation, (charter schools), performance pay, class size, NCEA, National Standards, (IES/COL), Teaching Council, quality teaching, the negative profile of teacher unions (criticism).

(Note: Left-wing Scoop Media. See in https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/aug/21/iraq.technology)

Media 3: The New Zealand Herald (2000–2021)

1. Searched time: 24/09/2021; Search words: teacher union (including education union/PPTA/NZEI); Number of articles: 434.

   Articles (after sifting): 39

2. Searched time: 03/10/2021; Search words (Number of articles): New Zealand Educational Institute (347) and NZEI Te Riu Roa (125)

   New articles (after sifting): 56

3. Searched time: 03/10/2021; Search words (Number of articles): Post Primary Teachers' Association (880).

   New articles (after sifting): 89

   In total: 184 (after sifting)

The identified key words: Marketisation (competition)/(privatisation (charter school)), National Standards, NCEA, class size, quality teaching, Teaching Council, the negative profile of teacher unions (criticism).

Articles in Three Media Sources

In total: 458.

The identified keywords: National Standards, NCEA, marketisation (competition), performance pay/class size, quality teaching, Teaching Council, the negative profile of teacher unions (criticism), (privatisation (charter schools), IES/COL).

(Notes: (1) The search words were slightly different when searching these three media websites according to the different website styles. For example, when the word "New Zealand Educational Institute" was used to search the webpage of the Otago Daily Times, it could not help to locate the relevant articles. Thus, "NZEI" was used as a search word. (2) All the collected articles were copied into word.)

Appendix 2 Word Cloud of the Articles in Mainstream Media

Word Cloud of 458 Articles in Mainstream Media

Word Cloud of 53 Articles in Mainstream Media

Appendix 3 Information Sheet – NZEI

INFORMATION SHEET – NZEI

Tēnā koe,

My name is Huidan Niu, and I am a PhD candidate in the Institute of Education at Massey University, Palmerston North. This project aims to understand the professional role of teacher unions. I will examine the development of professionalisation and professionalism discourses in the two main teacher unions in Aotearoa New Zealand, the New Zealand Educational Institute Te Riu Roa (NZEI) and the New Zealand Post-Primary Teachers' Association Te Wehengarua (PPTA). This project will help us to understand the professional role of these two teacher unions in the New Zealand context.

You have been identified as a current or former senior leader in NZEI Te Riu Roa, someone with extensive expert knowledge and experience of the professional role of this union. You are invited to have your voice and your views heard on this research topic by participating in an interview.

Project Description

In the first phase of my research, I plan to interview a small number of senior leaders, including the current or former president and secretary of NZEI Te Riu Roa. These interviews aim to identify the key historical moments in the development of the professional role of NZEI Te Riu Roa. Once these key moments have been identified, I will search archives and publicly available documentation to build a rich description of the key moments. I will also aim to interview a small number of union leaders who participated in these key moments to complete the rich descriptions.

Project Procedures

The interview will take place at a mutually agreed location, either face to face or via Zoom. The interview will take between 1 and 2 hours to complete and will be audio recorded so I can transcribe and analyse it.

You will be provided with the opportunity to review and amend the transcript of the interview prior to the analysis. You may choose whether you wish me to use your real name in my thesis and in other presentations and publications arising from this project. If you do not

wish to have your real name used, I will make every effort to remove identifying details in any extracts from your interview that are used in the thesis.

Data Management

- The information that will be gathered from interviews will be transcribed and returned to participants for editing before further processing.
- All data collected will be used for research purposes only and will be accessed by the researcher and her PhD supervisors only.
- All data will be stored securely in password-protected electronic files or locked filing cabinets for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to take part. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- Withdraw from the study at any stage, before the data has been analysed (deadline of 31st July 2021).
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation.
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you wish it.
- Be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.
- Ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Project Contacts

You can contact my supervisors and/or me if you have any questions (details below), and we would be happy to discuss any aspect of the project with you.

Professor John O'Neill	Dr Genaro Vilanova Miranda De Oliveira	Huidan Niu
Primary supervisor	Co-supervisor	Researcher
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Ngā mihi nui,

Huidan Niu

Ethics Notification Number: 4000022616

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Prof Craig Johnson, Director, Research Ethics, telephone 06 356 9099 x 85271, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix 4 Information Sheet – PPTA

INFORMATION SHEET – PPTA

Tēnā koe,

My name is Huidan Niu, and I am a PhD candidate in the Institute of Education at Massey University, Palmerston North. This project aims to understand the professional role of teacher unions. I will examine the development of professionalisation and professionalism discourses in the two main teacher unions in Aotearoa New Zealand, the New Zealand Educational Institute Te Riu Roa (NZEI) and the New Zealand Post-Primary Teachers' Association Te Wehengarua (PPTA). This project will help us to understand the professional role of these two teacher unions in the New Zealand context.

You have been identified as a current or former senior leader in PPTA Te Wehengarua, someone with extensive expert knowledge and experience of the professional role of this union. You are invited to have your voice and your views heard on this research topic by participating in an interview.

Project Description

In the first phase of my research, I plan to interview a small number of senior leaders, including the current or former president and secretary of PPTA Te Wehengarua. These interviews aim to identify the key historical moments in the development of the professional role of PPTA Te Wehengarua. Once these key moments have been identified, I will search archives and publicly available documentation to build a rich description of the key moments. I will also aim to interview a small number of union leaders who participated in these key moments to complete the rich descriptions.

Project Procedures

The interview will take place at a mutually agreed location, either face to face or via Zoom. The interview will take between 1 and 2 hours to complete and will be audio recorded so I can transcribe and analyse it.

You will be provided with the opportunity to review and amend the transcript of the interview prior to the analysis. You may choose whether you wish me to use your real name in my thesis and in other presentations and publications arising from this project. If you do not

wish to have your real name used, I will make every effort to remove identifying details in any extracts from your interview that are used in the thesis.

Data Management

- The information that will be gathered from interviews will be transcribed and returned to participants for editing before further processing.
- All data collected will be used for research purposes only and will be accessed by the researcher and her PhD supervisors only.
- All data will be stored securely in password-protected electronic files or locked filing cabinets for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to take part. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- Withdraw from the study at any stage, before the data has been analysed (deadline of 31st July 2021).
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation.
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you wish it.
- Be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.
- Ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Project Contacts

You can contact my supervisors and/or me if you have any questions (details below), and we would be happy to discuss any aspect of the project with you.

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Primary supervisor	Co-supervisor	Researcher
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Ngā mihi nui,

Huidan Niu

Ethics Notification Number: 4000022616

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Prof Craig Johnson, Director, Research Ethics, telephone 06 356 9099 x 85271, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix 5 Consent Form

The professional role of teacher unions in New Zealand

CONSENT FORM

I have read and I understand the Information Sheet. I have had the details of the study explained to me. Any questions I had have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether to participate in this study and I understand participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time.

1. I agree to the interview being sound recorded.
2. I have been given the option to have my recordings returned to me.
3. I have been given the option of using my real name in the thesis, presentations and publications arising from the research.
4. I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Declaration by Participant:

I _____ [print full name] hereby consent to take part in this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix 6 Interview Schedule (I) – Key historical moments

Personal experience

1. What membership and leadership role(s) have you had in your union (and when)?
2. In your experience, what have been the key historical moments in the development of the professional role of your union?
    - What are your strongest memories of the significant activities/events and people at these moments?
    - What were the most difficult/challenging and enjoyable/satisfying things at these moments?
    - What background or context factors contributed to the occurrence of these activities/events?
    - What have been the short and long-term impacts of these activities/events and personalities on the development of your union's professional role?

Professional issues

3. In what ways is your union a professional organisation?
4. What factors have impacted your unions' professional strategies?
    - In your experience, what is the influence of official education policy on teacher professionalism?
    - How does NCEA impact teacher professionalism?
    - How do political parties impact your union's professional strategies?
    - How does the bicultural (the Crown and Māori) context impact teacher professionalism?
5. What is the future professional role of your union?

Key people and documents

6. What are your suggestions for exploring these key historical moments in the development of your unions' professional role?
7. What else do I need to know about the professional role of your union?

Appendix 7 Interview Schedule (II) – NZEI

1. What membership and leadership role(s) have you had in your union (and when)?

(In my interviews with NZEI leaders so far, three key historical moments or events have been mentioned. I'd like to talk with you about these and any others that you think are particularly important to understand NZEI's professional role. The three are: (i) the Tomorrow's Schools reforms; (ii) the New Zealand Curriculum (2007); (iii) National Standards (2010–2017).)

2. How did the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms impact your union's professional role?
    - What the professional role of NZEI has changed since the late 1980s?
    - What has been the relationship between your union and the government and the Ministry of Education since 1989?
    - What has been the relation between your unions' professional and industrial roles?
3. What is the role of your union in the introduction and implementation of the curriculum?
    - What is the role of your union in the introduction and implementation of the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (1993–2006)?
    - What is the role of your union in the introduction and implementation of the New Zealand Curriculum (2007)?
4. What is the role of your union in the introduction and implementation of National Standards (2010–2017)?
    - What is the role of your union in the removal of National Standards?
5. In your experience, what is the role of your union in teacher professional learning and development and has this changed over time?
6. In your experience, how to understand your union performing a professional leadership role?
7. How do you see the Teaching Council having a professional leadership role?

- How do you see the respective professional leadership roles of the Teaching Council and NZEI?

8. What is the future professional role of your union?
9. What are your suggestions on exploring the professional role of your unions?
    - Are there any other key historical moments or events you would like to talk about?
10. What else do I need to know about the professional role of your union?

Appendix 8 Interview Schedule (II) – PPTA

1. What membership and leadership role(s) have you had in your union (and when)?

(In my interviews with PPTA leaders so far, four key historical moments or events have been mentioned. I'd like to talk with you about these and any others that you think are particularly important to understand PPTA's professional role. The four are: (i) the evolution of PPTA's professional role from its formation until the late 1980s; (ii) the Tomorrow's Schools reforms; (iii) the introduction of NCEA; and (iv) the establishment of the Teaching Council.)

2. What do you remember as important for PPTA's professional role prior to the late 1980s?
3. How did the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools impact your union's professional role?
    - What has been the relationship between your union and the government and the Ministry of Education since 1989?
    - What has been the relation between your unions' professional and industrial roles?
4. What is the role of your union in the introduction and implementation of NCEA?
    - What was your union's role in the design and introduction of NCEA in the 1990s?
    - What has been your union's role in the implementation of NCEA since 2002?
5. What is the role of your union in the introduction and implementation of curriculum since the 1990s?
6. In your experience, what is the role of your union in teacher professional learning and development and has this changed over time?
    - How do you see the PLD fund in 2019?
7. What is the role of your union in the design and implementation of the Communities of Learning (CoL)?
8. In your experience, how to understand your union performing a professional leadership role?
9. How do you see the Teaching Council having a professional leadership role?

- How do you see the respective professional leadership roles of the Teaching Council and PPTA?

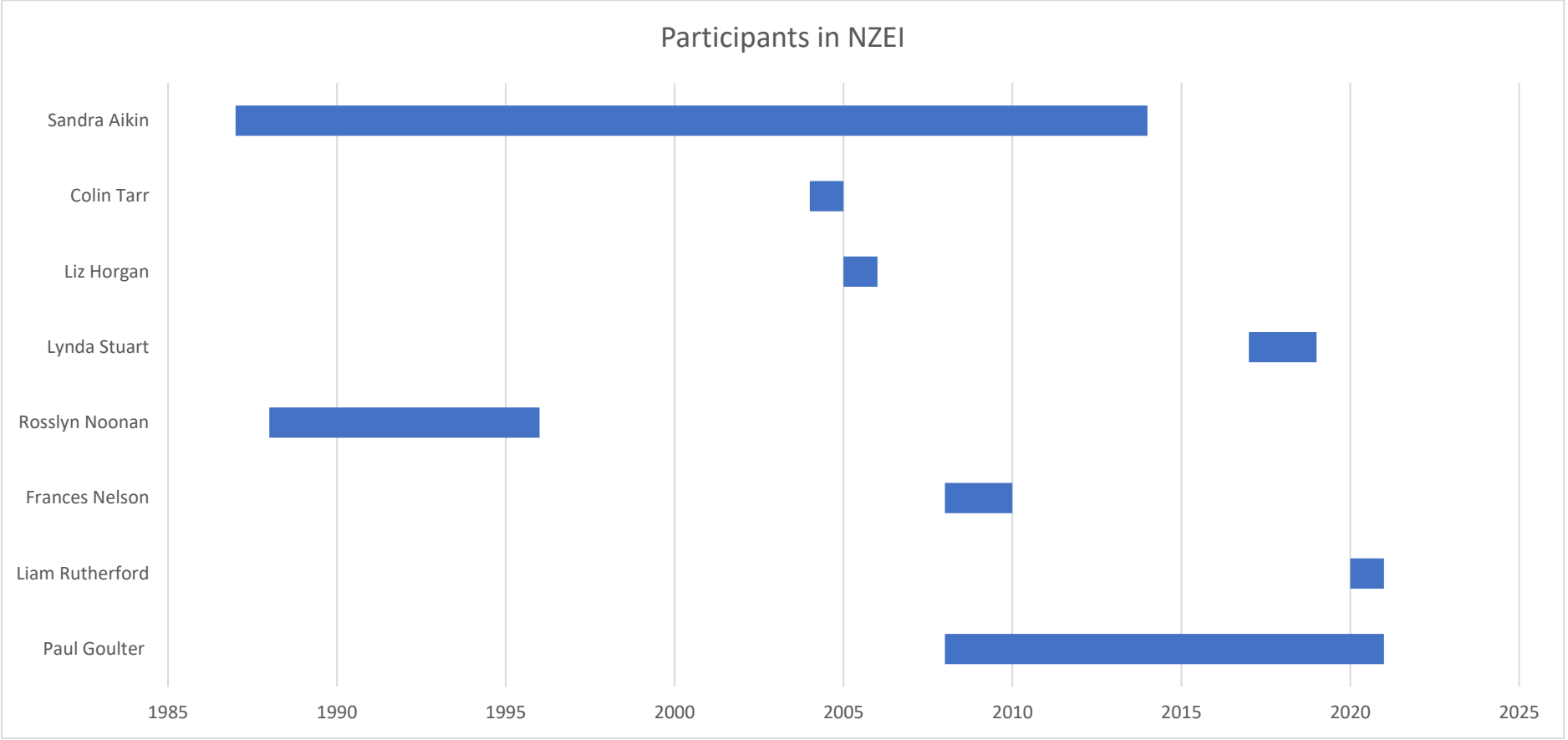
10. What is the future professional role of your union?
11. What are your suggestions on exploring the professional role of your unions?
    - Are there any other key historical moments or events you would like to talk about?
12. What else do I need to know about the professional role of your union?

Appendix 9 Eight Participants in the NZEI interviews

N	Participants	Time and Position (Mainly)	Status in NZEI (when interviews were conducted)	Interview time (Duration)
1	Paul Goulter	2008–2022, National Secretary	National Secretary	17 May 2021 (1 hour)
2	Liam Rutherford*	2020–present, National President	National President	28 May 2021 (1 hour)
3	Frances Nelson	2008–2010 National President	Ex-Executive	8 June 2021 (1.5 hours)
4	Rosslyn Noonan	1988–1996 National Secretary	Ex-Executive (currently, Human Rights & Organisational Development Consultant)	17 June 2021 (1 hour)
5	Lynda Stuart	2017–2019 National President	Ex-Executive (currently, Principal at May Road School)	22 June 2021 (1.2 hours)
6	Liz Horgan	2005–2006 Chair NZEI Principals' Council	Ex-Executive	28 June 2021 (1.5 hours)
7	Colin Tarr*	2004–2005 National President	Ex-Executive (currently, Service Manager - Learning Support at the Ministry of Education)	9 July 2021 (2 hours)
8	Sandra Aikin*	1987–2014 Teaching and Learning Officer	Ex-Executive	9 July 2021 (2 hours)

Note. * means interview in person, otherwise interview via Zoom.

Timeline of NZEI Participants



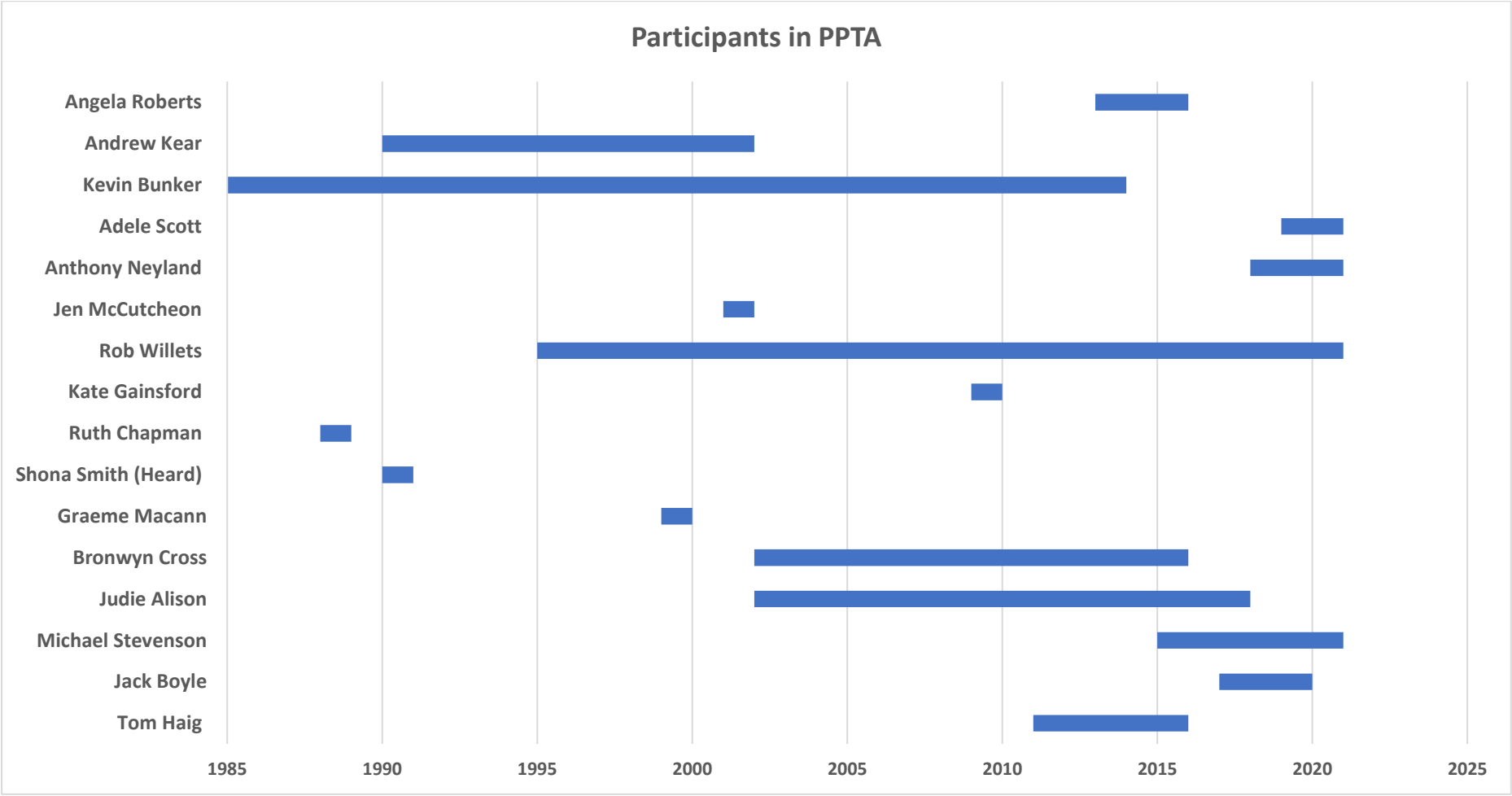
Appendix 10 Sixteen Participants in the PPTA Interviews

N	Participants	Time and Position (Mainly)	Status in PPTA (when interviews were conducted)	Interview time (Duration)
1	Tom Haigh	2016–2019 Deputy General Secretary, Policy	Ex-Executive (currently, Chief Adviser, Sector Capability at Ministry of Education)	3 December 2020 (1 hour)
2	Jack Boyle*	2017–2020 President	President	17 December 2020 (1.5 hours)
3	Michael Stevenson*	2015 – present, General Secretary	General Secretary	17 December 2020 (1 hour)
4	Judie Alison	2002–2018 Advisory Officer (professional issues)	Ex-Executive	25 January 2021 (2 hours)
5	Bronwyn Cross	2002–2016 Deputy General Secretary	Ex-Executive	29 January 2021 (1.5 hours)
6	Graeme Macann	1999–2000 President	Ex-Executive (currently, Education Consultant)	4 February 2021 (2 hours)
7	Shona Smith	1990–1991 President	Ex-Executive (currently, Accredited Facilitator (English-medium) and Consultant, CORE)	9 February 2021 (2 hours)
8	Ruth Chapman	1988–1989 President	Ex-Executive	15 February 2021 (2 hours)
9	Kate Gainsford	2009–2010 President	Ex-Executive (currently, Chair of the New Zealand Secondary Principals' Council, Principal at Aotea College)	24 February 2021 (1.5 hours)

10	Rob Willets	1995–present, Advisory Officer (industrial issues)	Advisory Officer	9 March 2021 (2.2 hours)
11	Jen McCutcheon	2001–2002 President	Ex-Executive	9 March 2021 (1.3 hours)
12	Adele Scott	2019–present, Advisory Officer (professional issues)	Advisory Officers	12 March 2021 (2.1 hours)
13	Anthony Neyland	2018–present, Advisory Officer (professional issues)	Advisory Officers	
14	Kevin Bunker*	1977–2014 General Secretary	Ex-Executive (currently, Public Service Association (PSA) union organiser)	17 March 2021 (1.5 hours)
15	Andrew Kear*	1990–2002 Advisory Officer	Ex-Executive	19 March 2021 (2 hours)
16	Angela Roberts	2013–2016 President	Ex-Executive (currently, Member of Parliament)	29 March 2021 (1 hour)

Note. (1) * means interview in person, otherwise interview via Zoom. (2) The table mainly shows one key moment that interviewees were involved in PPTA activities. For example, Judie Alison was also an Executive member from 1994 to 2000 and a Vice President in 2000; Ruth Chapman was also the Deputy General Secretary from 1996 to 2002.

Timeline of PPTA Participants



Appendix 11 The Codebook of the NZEI Interviews

Themes	Key points	Key codes	Code samples
Impacts of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms on the teaching profession	Challenges to the professional role of teachers: De-professionalisation	Fragmentation	Connections/Working relationship Inspectorate/professional leadership Separation
		Competition	A market-based model Private operators (PLD) Teacher appraisal/Collaboration Public education/Parents' choice
		Mistrust	Provider capture/Anti-union Political interference Imposed/No consultation/trust No ownership Demoralised
		Relationships (Politic actors)	Principal DoE/MoE BoT Parents
	Challenges to the professional role of NZEI	Professional (role)	Professional voice/basis Industrial-based model Diminished Students
		Inseparability	Intertwined/Crossover/Overlap Member-driven Weaken (dilute)
Politicisation of the teaching profession	Examples: Mistrust (NZEI and government)	National Standards	Simplistic measurement Teacher workloads Political agenda Confrontation/Criticise Collective/Individual voice Powerful organisation
		Teaching Council	Professional standards Cooperation Teacher agency Representative Independence
	Organisational strategies	Connections	Classroom teachers Networks/Seminar Bus tour (Communities)

			Political leverage Academics/research

Note. The frame of the codebook was adapted from Saldaña and Omasta (2016, pp. 228–229).

Appendix 12 The Codebook of the PPTA Interviews

Themes	Key points	Key codes	Code samples
Impacts of the Tomorrow's Schools reforms on the teaching profession	Challenges to the professional role of teachers: De-professionalisation	Mistrust/Provider capture	Attacks A low-trust model Control/Top-down/Imposed Anti-union/Voice removal Teacher appraisal Parents/Community/Cross-sector
		Competition/Performance pay	Simplistic metrics Business transaction/Bulk funding Professional collaboration/Collegiality Relational pedagogy/Human interactive/Ethics
		Devolution (Fragmentation)	Devolved administration/School-based management Individual schools (Employers) A national profession/connection Subject Associations
		Relationships (Politic actors)	DoE/MoE No teaching experiences Inform policy BoT/Boards of Governors
	Challenges to the professional role of PPTA	Progressive (organisation)	Professional organisation/basis Involvement/Consultation Corporal punishment
		Industrial activities	Distraction Less time and energy Industrial officer/activities Members' memory/need
		Professional leadership	Political landscape Professional officers/issues Professional conference Teacher agency Policy input Teacher-driven/PLD
	The professional role of PPTA	Inseparability	Government/members Class size/Professional development Crossover Empower/Industrial muscle
		Professional role	Professional standards/TRCC

			Collective voice Member-driven/Democratic organisation Positive relationships Public education/Polarisation
Politicisation of the teaching profession	Examples: Mistrust (PPTA and government)	NCEA	Qualification/QFI Political agenda Workload/Lacking support/NZQA Curriculum/Assessment-driven No consultation
		CoLs (Collaboration)	Cooperation Collaboration Internal conflict The Collective Agreement
		Teaching Council	Delicense/Untrained and unqualified teachers Independence/Teachers' ownership Compliance Overstep Mistrust/Tension/Voice removal

Notes. Qualifications Framework Inquiry (QFI)

Appendix 13 Word Cloud in the NZEI Interviews: 50 Most Frequent Words

Notes: 1. Search limitations: The minimum length of the search term is 4 letters; Grouping 'with stemmed words (e.g., "talk" "talking"). 2. The word 'educators' refers to 'educated', 'education', 'educational', educative'; 'tomorrow' refers to 'Tomorrow's Schools'; 'standards' mainly refers to 'National Standards'.

Appendix 14 Word Cloud in the PPTA Interviews: 50 Most Frequent Words

Notes: 1. Search limitations: The minimum length of the search term is 4 letters; Grouping 'with stemmed words (e.g., "talk" "talking"). 2. The word 'educators' refers to 'educated', 'education', 'educational', educative'; 'tomorrow' refers to 'Tomorrow's Schools'.