Sue Ellis

The Strathclyde Literacy Clinic: Developing Student Teacher Values, Knowledge and Identity as Inclusive Practitioners

Background: The Problems of Initial Teacher Education

There remains much debate about the features of initial teacher education (ITE) programmes that will produce effective professionals, able to exercise the agency and values that promote flexible, adaptive self-expanding and evidenced-informed professional knowledge. There is particular concern about how to develop teachers who understand inclusion, social disadvantage and who can deliver educational equity through their teaching. Research reviews have drawn attention to the design principles and organisation of ITE programmes that develop knowledgeable, effective and reflective practitioners. The most convincing research approaches use impact evidence to identify those programmes that produce effective teachers and analyse their features (see for example Darling Hammond 2012). From such analyses we have learned that there can be many pathways to successful outcomes, but that the quality of opportunities to make sense of placement experiences and apply academic knowledge is important.

To develop student teachers' professional efficacy and their commitment to social justice, ITE programmes need to provide varied opportunities that develop professional identity and professional knowledge. 'Clinical' approaches, which bring university academics and professional staff into partnership, are considered effective ways forward, but there is often little specific analysis of how such approaches actually work in practice to develop student teachers' professional knowledge and identity. This lack of analysis matters: in England, the Secretary of State for Education has promoted 'clinical' solutions that widen the routes for achieving qualified teacher status. Traditional university-based ITE courses continue to exist, but more favoured approaches fund schools (or academy chains of schools) directly to 'train' their own staff. Schools may choose to buy specific services from universities or commercial training organisations, or not. In Scotland, policy makers are currently choosing to retain universities as centrally involved in the teacher qualification process but have strengthened the requirements for school-university partnership working. There are, therefore, just two main routes to becoming a qualified primary teacher: a four-year undergraduate degree that confers a Teaching Qualification with Education and /or other areas of study, and a one year Post-graduate Diploma that also confers such a teaching qualification. Both qualifications require a minimum number of weeks spent on 'teaching practice' with the student teacher being assessed by both school and university staff. Candidates then enter a one-year probationary teacher period, with structured assessments by school staff, which must be satisfactory to achieve qualified teacher status. The system is overseen by a professional body, the General Teaching Council for Scotland, which keeps a register of all teachers qualified to work in Scotland. However, despite the different approaches in England and Scotland there have been few descriptions of the affordances and constraints within each system to develop the professional knowledge and identity of student teachers. Both systems are premised on the assumption that school placement, with supervision by the school, provides the type of practical experience that student teachers need.

Various theoretical models describe how student teachers develop a professional identity by gradually becoming encultured into the profession (see for example, Cochran-Smith et al. 2008 and many chapters in this volume). Whilst school-based clinical models solve some problems, it is likely that they may bring others to the fore. It is important to understand the affordances and constraints that different kinds of school placement experience provide, and the extent to which traditional school placements may simply encourage student teachers to accept and reproduce the inequities that already exist in the system. To explore this we need to examine how student teachers negotiate a positive and productive professional identity by participating in school placements. Several studies of both student teachers on placement and early-career teachers indicate the challenges this involves. One challenge highlights the delicate balance student teachers must strike between the desire to present themselves as competent professionals and the need to be allowed to be seen by others, and themselves, as learners. This is a unique and crucial 'dance of identity' (Boaler 2003) because, to access the nuanced knowledge of more experienced professionals student teachers must be able and willing to initiate and sustain in-depth professional discussions about practice and to acknowledge what is complex, difficult or unjust. Socio-cultural theorists position these very early career experiences as ones in which student teachers, through participatory activities, learn to exercise agency and negotiate the 'landscapes of practice' (Wenger 1998). They learn to align different kinds of knowledge, envisage new professional applications, contexts and roles and, through this, negotiate their identity. Lave and Wenger (1991) present a model in which the student teachers' participation may begin at the periphery of the organisational action, but it is facilitated by the context in which it takes place to gradually develop more central involvement.

Empirical research into student experiences on placement however, indicates that this may not be exactly what happens in practice (e.g. Bartow-Jacobs 2014; Huntly 2008). Hall et al. (2012) studying Irish student teachers, found that the power relations in schools and the student teachers' desire to be seen as competent professionals constrained them from exercising any agency to present themselves as learners. Instead of engaging in the sort of rounded 'legitimate peripheral participation' that would gradually deepen their understanding of teaching and learning, the student teachers adopted, and strove to satisfy, narrow and sometimes superficial conceptions of teaching, learning and of being a teacher. Whist this served an immediate purpose, it meant they forged professional identities that made it difficult to admit to uncertainty, and conversations that may have challenged and deepened their professional understanding and developed a broader cultural script about teaching, learning and about being professional, did not take place.

The four-year ITE course at Strathclyde University has developed several initiatives to help student teachers develop a professional identity that is agentic, focused on students understanding themselves as learners, and it strives to make it the norm for students to seek social justice and to problematize and enquire into professional practice. Many of these initiatives are located outside traditional 'teaching placement' experiences. For example, when students start their course, they are introduced to the principle of students as leaders of learning. They are told that the collective knowledge of all those in the room far exceeds the knowledge of a single person and that their professional training will involve learning to debate and share all sorts of knowledge that may be useful to primary teachers. Some of the University structures that can make this happen include: the Student Teacher CPD (Continuing Professional Development) Society, run by students, for students that encourages students to offer workshops on their own areas of expertise (recent workshop topics included 'Christmas Traditions in Germany'; 'British Sign Language for Teachers'; 'What it Means to Be a Muslim' and 'Scottish Country Dancing'). They are encouraged to join student-driven

community projects such as a Homework Support Club that serves children in local disadvantaged communities, and are encouraged to attend regular Teach-Meet meetings, where educators from Directors of Education and top Inspectors to first year students will share recent experiences, questions, projects and professional learning.

All these initiatives are designed to create an engaged, knowledgeable, inquiring and pro-active student body, committed to principles of inclusion and social justice. They offer opportunities for student teachers who are at the very start of their professional journey to begin to develop positive professional values and identities by participating in a range of activities and contexts, and to see themselves as competent, socially engaged and well-networked learners. Although participation offers no academic credit (a founding principle being that student teachers should engage because the activities are worthwhile in themselves) they offer distinct advantages for student learning. Driven by students, the power relationships are often more equitable and participation is outside the official course, so membership can be less formal. There is no assessment or close-scrutiny so students can engage on their own terms, be driven by their own motivations and are free to try things out and experiment.

Strathclyde Literacy Clinic: Theoretical and Professional Knowledge

The Strathclyde Literacy Clinic was born from this context but stands in different relation to the other student activities. It is a distinct collaboration between university academics, local school management teams and the Strathclyde student body, and is specifically designed to help student teachers understand how poverty impacts on literacy. Although it involves student teachers teaching in schools, it is not a traditional school placement because it does not directly involve the class teacher, and nor is it a club. It makes explicit use of the academic research expertise that resides in the university to enhance the professional knowledge of student teachers and impact on the lives of local children who are experiencing difficulties in learning to read. Students in the third or fourth year of Strathclyde's 'BA in Primary Education with Teaching' course can sign up to work in the literacy clinic for a 10 week block. In the clinic, the students work in teams of four and each team works with one pupil from a disadvantaged community who has had difficulty learning to read. The lesson is a half-hour, one-to-one withdrawal lesson. This means that one student teacher in the team goes on Monday, one on Tuesday, one on Wednesday and so on, so that the pupil gets four lessons per week.

The student teams do not follow a programme. Instead they must work as a team to share their professional observations of the pupil's learning and, in discussion with university academic tutors who have professional and research expertise in literacy and of the mechanisms whereby poverty impacts on literacy, teams agree the learning and teaching mix that is likely to give the biggest payoff for the child. Once this is agreed, all student teachers in the team work to deliver it. The focus is on fast, responsive teaching, closely tailored to the child and to the professional knowledge that emerges as each lesson unfolds. All sessions will involve the child reading continuous texts –sometimes more than one text - and the ITE students taking a running record and miscue analysis of this. They coach the child into using reading cues and strategies efficiently and check that the text offers the child an appropriate level of interest, challenge and agency. All sessions also encourage comprehension in the form of Reader Response conversations (Rosenblatt 1978). Beyond these basic elements, the student teams decide what takes place in the sessions, in consultation with the child; the session may involve writing or drawing, reading to the child for relaxation, oral storytelling, phonics, spelling, handwriting, comprehension discussions or skills practice. The child can

express an opinion about what happens (one child asked to learn to read the menu from a popular Hamburger chain so he 'didn't look stupid' when he went out with his friends, for example). The team members source, share and discuss appropriate activities and resources. They do not write lesson plans, but write brief notes after each lesson in a folder, which is kept in the school. These notes record the activity (in brief) plus important observations about the child as a reader that might be significant for the child's future learning. All team members, the university academics, the class teachers and the Head Teachers have access to this folder. Team members also telephone the student teacher who will go in the following day and give a brief oral report of what they did, what they noticed and what they think the next priority should be. In this way, the focus is kept on interactive teaching and fluent pedagogies that are responsive to real-time observations. All third year students and some fourth year students participate in the clinic on a voluntary basis but fourth year students can also choose to write up their clinic experiences as a case study for academic credit towards their final degree classification. Some students participate on a non-credit basis in Year 3 and then for credit in Year 4. All student groups are supported by a weekly tutorial with a university academic. Each tutorial contains 3-4 groups, who present and analyse evidence, discuss the lessons that have taken place, their thoughts about the diagnosis, the learning mix that is likely to work and the range of practical activities that could take this forward. The students talk about the knowledge that emerges during their teaching, what they have tried, what worked and what needed to be adapted or abandoned.

Although the student teachers do not follow a set programme their observations, analysis and diagnosis are all informed by a Strathclyde-developed assessment tool that helps them design a productive, child-focused learning and teaching ecology for literacy. It offers *3 Circles* or *Domains* for thinking about what matters in becoming literate and how experiences of literacy at home, in the community and in school impact on young children (Ellis and Smith in press). The model makes explicit the need for professionals to negotiate multiple paradigms if they are to understand the whole child as a learner at school and in the family and community. Theoretically the model is underpinned by an explicit acceptance that literacy is not autonomous skill and that becoming literate is a process that is at once cultural, social and cognitive. The model is designed to help our ITE students think about the key influences on literacy, and work out what educators need to notice and do to design a learning mix that is likely to work. It is presented as a 'Venn Diagram' that brings together three circles, each representing a domain of professional knowledge. These domains are not precisely defined for the student teachers, but offer an intuitive validity.

The first circle (*Cultural Capital*) asks them to think about the child's cultural capital for, and their socio-cultural understanding of, literacy. This includes the child's funds of knowledge from outside school, the frequency and nature of the literacy experiences they have the importance attached to these by people in their family and the wider community. The student teachers have to think about what the child has experienced, what they know and can do outside school in relation to literacy and in relation to the child's wider knowledge and interests, what they believe literacy to be for, and the specific literacy practices in which they will have engaged. These form the child's starting point. The student teachers then have to think about how well this matches with the assumptions that may have been made by the school system, and whether there are experiences, knowledge or understandings that they can provide which may benefit the child

The second circle (*Personal Identity*) asks the student teachers to think about the child's identity as a learner in general, as a literate being and as a literacy learner. They must consider the sorts of things the child would like to be able to read, how the child sees himself/ herself as a reader, how they would like to be seen by others and how others to see them.

They need to note evidence about the extent to which a child has a 'growth mindset' (Dweck & Rule, 2013) about being a reader, what the child believes it might be possible to achieve in relation to becoming literate, what they believe they need to do and think about whilst reading, how the child is socially, emotionally and academically positioned by others in the classroom in relation to literacy, and how much this matters. Student teachers then have to think about how well all this contributes to helping the child learn effectively, whether some beliefs, practices or attitudes need to be addressed, and how this might be done.

The third circle (*Cognitive Knowledge and Skills*) concerns the child's cognitive skills and knowledge about reading. This involves their concepts about print, their phonological awareness, phonic and letter knowledge, their sight vocabulary, comprehension, the cues and strategies they use for working out unknown words when they encounter them in continuous text, as well as their reading behaviours, stamina and persistence.

The two biggest factors that impact on how quickly and easily children learn to read in school, not just in Scotland but internationally, are poverty and gender. Evidence from longitudinal studies, attainment surveys and cohort studies shows that these two factors are systematically and consistently associated with literacy attainment. Explanations for this draw on sociological concepts and theories that speak directly to the first two circles, cultural capital and identity. However, the vast majority of intervention programmes that teachers are directed to use for children struggling to read draw almost entirely on psychology theories and the cognitive knowledge and skills embodied in the third circle. One important factor therefore in the design and use of the *3 Circles* model is that it prompts emerging professionals to negotiate across different knowledge domains to understand the whole child. Each domain has a different evidence-base, different theoretical framework and different kinds of explanations for how and why disadvantage arises. The model is an explicit prompt to consider each and bring them into some sort of alignment. This model of professional learning draws on Wenger-Trayner et al (2015) who argue that acquiring professional knowledge involves learning to negotiate a complex landscape of practice that looks seamless but actually brings different kinds of knowledge into focus at different points. Through participation, professionals learn to understand each domain, to negotiate across the boundaries of practice that they present and to bring them into alignment. Appreciating the insights each individual domain affords in understanding a particular context and juxtaposing the insights from several domains promotes flexibility and allows professionals to make nuanced decisions as they operate in complex landscapes of practice. It also provides a basis for professional refection and learning.

The study

ITE students from one Literacy Clinic cohort were interviewed about the process of working in the literacy clinic and about what they had learnt. The interviews were conducted by researchers who did not know the ITE students, were not connected to the course, and who were not connected with the schools in which the clinics took place. The interviews lasted between 25-40 minutes, were conducted by telephone, and took the form of semi-structured conversations with pre-identified lead questions and sub-questions that could be used to prompt further explanation or examples. The ITE students were drawn from both third and fourth year, had all volunteered to be interviewed and knew that the interviews were anonymised and would have no impact on their academic grades. The interviewer took copious notes and typed these up immediately after the interview, using wherever possible the interviewees own words. These transcripts were sent to the interviewees for checking and interviewees were invited to add further clarification or additional examples and information

if appropriate. The interviews were then subjected to iterative coding processes by two researchers. The data reported here relates to the categories of professional agency, collaborative enquiry, professional identity and professional knowledge.

Results and discussion

Several themes from the analysis indicated that the Literacy Clinic experience impacts on student teachers' emerging professional identities and understandings of how education practices can perpetuate inequality in ways that are different from traditional school placements. One strong theme concerned the opportunities provided for student teacher agency. Because participation was located outside the usual placement experience, the Literacy Clinic offered new and different opportunities for professional discussion and learning. It was clear from almost all the interviewees that in traditional school placement contexts, student teachers are highly mindful of the pedagogical and conceptual priorities and practices of both their supervising teacher and of the wider school. They have limited freedom to question or challenge dominant practices and assumptions (even when they are patently unjust), or to introduce and try out their own ideas because they are, in effect, working under licence in another person's professional space. Introducing new practices or doing things differently requires a careful dance of courtship, where the student teacher must 'sound out' the supervising teacher to see how the new activity or ideas fit within the teacher's own plans, priorities and the established routines and practices. Some teachers make this easier than others, but all students were clearly aware of the delicacy of such negotiations, were cautious about how they innovated, and for some any innovation was a considerable source of anxiety. Working in the Strathclyde Literacy Clinic afforded students a new kind of freedom to exercise professional agency. This was evidenced in several ways. For some it involved the freedom to try out new ideas, quickly and without having to expend emotional energy thinking about how to 'prepare the ground' or convince a more experienced professional that this was a potentially fruitful way forward. In the Clinic context, actions could be prompted simply by the student teacher's judgement that it might address some of the child's needs. For example, one student described how she noticed that the child did not expect reading to make sense. She felt that this was partly because his reading scheme books were designed for much younger readers and did not offer age-appropriate meaning-making opportunities. She decided to take the child off the official reading scheme and teach him using an age-appropriate Joke Book instead. She used this to coach the child to use a range of strategies to decode the text, and they talked about the jokes – which ones were funny and not funny, how the humour was created; they talked about puns, about syntactic 'garden-path' jokes, about the child's home life and family jokes. The child spontaneously began writing his own book of jokes, based on those he collected from friends and family. The class teacher noted that this was the first time that this child had ever voluntarily initiated a literacy activity. The interviewee said that she would not have dared to suggest this on a normal school placement, although she might now feel more confident because of this positive experience. Of course, not all activities were successful, but the Clinic context supported innovative teaching because the students were aware that if an idea did not work, the only people to know would be the child and the other students in the team. This gave student teachers the confidence to innovate, and some support to reflect on why their innovations were successful or unsuccessful. They were able to learn from this and from the innovations of others. Freedom to innovate is an important part of developing professional agency and identity; it allows student teachers to envisage the sort of teacher they want to be, to think

about how they use evidence, to apply their knowledge and try out different kinds of action to create new professional understandings.

Several interviewees also raised a much more fundamental point about agency and the range of pedagogical activities that engage student teachers on traditional school placements. When a student teacher arrives in a class, they are given the teacher's attainment groupings - those arrangements the teacher considers will best facilitate appropriate delivery of teaching and learning. These are commonly called the 'ability groups' in the class. Inevitably there is a small group of 'strugglers', sometimes called 'individuals', whose literacy is so poor they cannot fit into a group. Several interviewees pointed out that these individuals were invariably on an intervention programme chosen by the teacher and focused on what was seen as the *Cognitive Domain* in the Strathclyde model. As students apprenticed to the teacher, they were expected to follow this programme. They had no licence to make their own diagnosis, to question the evidence-base on which the diagnosis had been made or to adapt or supplement the programme. Interviewees in the fourth and final year of their ITE course pointed out that they had never been asked to diagnose why an individual reader might be struggling to learn and come up with their own suggestions about what could be done, and they could not think of a single friend on the course who had been asked to do this either. If we do not give student teachers opportunities to engage in these types of decisions as student teachers on an ITE course, the first time they make them is in the relatively unsupported and busy context of being a probationary teacher. This is a point in their career where they are mastering many new procedures and practices, have many calls on their time and attention and may have scant access to advice from experienced practitioners (Shoffner, 2011).

The interviewees also described some distinctive elements of the agency and knowledge exercised through collaborative discussions with their peers as they determined the learning mix that would give the biggest payoff for their child. Negotiating across the different knowledge domains of the *3 Circles/Domains* involves balancing different kinds of evidence and it offers no single way forward. Some students were clearly more familiar and comfortable working within just the cognitive domain. As a consequence, there was strong professional debate, and occasionally heated arguments, about what should be prioritised and why. Taking explicit account of the evidenced-base amassed across all the domains was, for most students, a new way of thinking about teaching. Although the university ITE course covers sociological concepts and both school and national policy documents routinely acknowledge the importance of homes and families, many students had absorbed the idea that this implied a line of impact that went in just one direction - from 'school to home'. This was the first time they had been asked to think about how a child's experiences outside school might impact on the learning mix provided in school. Some student teachers embraced the idea that schools might acknowledge some children's experiences more than others, and for some it challenged institutionalised views that 'good teaching' is rooted in prescriptive programmes of study, delivered as specified by the publisher. Several interviewees described heated debates within the group about whether to move the child away from a reductive and skills-based focus on teaching decoding through phonics, or a heavy focus on reciprocal reading and decontextualized comprehension teaching to introduce more contextualised, meaningful approaches, what these might look like, and how they might relate to the evidence collected around the *3 Circles* model.

The 'Clinic' context gave these decision-making processes a hard emotional and professional edge. Whereas the university parts of the ITE course often involve collaborative discussion and joint projects, the Literacy Clinic discussions were not just of theoretical interest, but offered a real opportunity to impact on a child's life. The one-to-one context captured the ITE students' emotional energies, which drove the discussions and helped to cement their

commitment to social justice. One interviewee explained that the more equal power-dynamics of the peer group and the absence of an inherited historical pedagogy within their Literacy Clinic group allowed them to exercise their pedagogical imaginations, envisage new teaching approaches and to challenge each other freely. There were many instances of professional learning from the Literacy Clinic discussions, both informal discussions within the group and also in tutorials with the university academic tutor and other groups.

Of course some groups collaborated more frequently and meaningfully than others. Those teams that worked most closely together reported generating ideas and understandings in formal pre-arranged meetings, but also through informal conversations amongst friends. These often started with one or two group members chatting (sometimes with friends who were not participating in the Literacy Clinic), but then fruitful ideas were taken to the group. Even where groups worked together more lightly, there was evidence that the weekly commitment of working with the child created an imperative that meant that there were no instances where groups did not collaborate or a where a single student 'opted out'. Those working in friendship groups were quick to 'hit the ground running' in terms of establishing communication networks and dialogue, but several interviewees said that they had enjoyed working with people outside their established friendship networks. They felt they had gained different insights from this. Interestingly, even students working with their friends felt that they discussed teaching in a new way. Previously, discussions had focussed on generic issues and requirements - the 'correct' format for planning documents, the classroom organisational patterns and the school's expectations. Engaging in a joint endeavour, focused on a specific child, prompted 'in depth' discussion of literacy teaching and learning issues, and sharing of resources and knowledge that they had not previously experienced.

The learning the interviewees reported came from their own participation in teaching and from discussion of how other students taught. It included learning about persistence, timing and adaptation of activities to make them meaningful to the child, to make them work in the context of use, and to address particular learning goals. Student teachers described paying new attention to the children's lives, interests and aspirations, to observations and evidence that emerged during a lesson, and they described becoming more responsive during lessons (they talked about learning to "teach on the hoof" and "dealing with what the child needed to know"). Several said they were more thoughtful and reflective between sessions. The fact that each student was only teaching for 30 mins, once each week, created a new dynamic for reflection. It offered important 'cooking time' for ideas; student teachers could assimilate what had happened, think about what it meant, engage in some research and discussion, and allow new interpretations and understandings of the child as a learner to grow. This was a new balance that mixed participation and activity with opportunities for vicarious learning from the participation and activities of other students, and unpressured opportunities to think, reflect and read about issues before the next participatory session seemed to be important, and an area for wider discussion, particularly given the increasingly content-heavy nature of many ITE courses.

Final Word

It has not been the intention of this chapter to suggest that traditional school placements should be replaced by a Literacy Clinic model. Instead it has tried to suggest that offering a variety of contexts for professional participation in teaching and learning activities can afford different opportunities to exercise agency, challenge the status quo and develop professional knowledge. Different contexts present student teachers with different scripts for

understanding what it means to be a professional and for developing their professional values towards issues such as inclusion and equity.

Identity is a complex and multi-faceted beast, hard to pin down but central to developing strong professional values around issues such as equity. Professional identities are developed across the context of a person's life and present differently in different contexts and groups. There is no sure-fire way to ensure that student teachers on ITE courses develop positive and productive professional identities, understandings of equity or inclusion. This makes it all the more important for ITE courses to pay explicit attention to the affordances that different contexts offer. It is certainly an area that needs close attention and further research.

Of course, a profession is defined by the knowledge its members hold, but this knowledge is never exactly delineated. It is complex, drawing on different disciplines with different epistemologies, understandings of evidence and definitions of what matters. Prioritising different knowledge domains creates different views of the child, and different agendas for action. It is important that ITE courses embrace this complexity and do not to present professional knowledge in reductive or superficial ways. This means we must continue to provide contexts for student teachers to freely engage with the *3 Domains*, and we need an explicit 'theory of change' about how the contexts, planning, implementation and assessment tools we provide may help ITE students to participate in ways that deepen understanding, within and across knowledge domains.

All knowledge has an emotional and social dimension, and the act of learning new knowledge cannot be divorced from the contexts in which it takes place. It is important that ITE research recognises the emotional and social context of student teacher learning, both in the formal learning structures ITE courses present and the informal networks created by student teachers themselves. Doing so does not diminish the importance of professional knowledge, but positively enhances it. Shulman, writing about his early model of professional knowledge reflects that, whilst it successfully captures some aspects of professional knowledge, it fails to capture other significant elements, namely the "…emotions, affect, feelings and motivations that underpin wider concepts of professional identity, moral judgement and reasoning." (Shulman, 2015, p.9)

Wenger-Trayner et al. (2015) identify participation, alignment and imagination as central to identity formation, but it is easy to make assumptions about the agency and opportunities that student teachers have to understand educational inequality on traditional placements. Any hierarchical system – and Scotland like most countries has deeply hierarchical power relations in its schools – feels more equitable and accessible to those who have been successful. ITE research needs to play explicit attention to how different practice contexts affect student teacher values and agency. We need to listen closely to what the student teachers themselves say about how the power relationships on traditional placements actually feel to them and the impact on agency. We need to think about how effectively we enable them to negotiate their own pathways in a complex landscape of professional practice. These points are important for university-based and for school-based ITE courses. We need information about the affordances and constraints of school-based training and how this affects student teacher values, identities and knowledge.

We have no evidence for the long-term effects of student teacher participation in the Strathclyde Literacy Clinic, and make no claims about this. Identities develop and change over time and ITE courses do not offer a life-long inoculation against powerlessness or ignorance. However, putting professional conversations onto a wider evidence-base (and perhaps therefore a more nuanced one) can support student teachers in becoming more agentic and initiate conversations that both help them to learn and encourage them to evolve

practices that better-address all children's needs. An anecdotal event serves as a post-script to this: A Head Teacher recently telephoned to say she had one of our Literacy Clinic student teachers on placement. The student teacher had approached her with *3 Circles* evidence for two children of the negative consequences of the school's policy that prevented children from borrowing 'reading for pleasure' books from class. The student teacher asked that the policy be reconsidered. The Head Teacher was impressed with the professionalism, agency and commitment to making a difference this small act demonstrated. It is anecdotal evidence, but illustrates how professional knowledge can drive agency, and create professionals who take full responsibility for delivering inclusion and ensuring that schooling meets the needs of every child.

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