HertsCam: A Teacher-Led Organisation to Support Teacher Leadership

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This article adopts a narrative style in presenting the case of a teacher-led network which is a significant source of support for teacher leadership in England and in other countries in Europe, the Middle East and Central Asia. The account explains the evolution of the organisation and explores some of the key features of its operation. It problematises teachers' professionality and gives an account of how the leadership of 'development work' enables teachers to collaborate to improve practice and build professional knowledge. It focuses also on the role of teachers as activists and facilitators of others' leadership, highlighting the role of scholarship. It touches on the nature of the programmes through which HertsCam supports teacher leadership, including the school-based Teacher Led Development Work programme and the MEd in Leading Teaching and Learning, a unique teacher-led masters degree programme. Networking and advocacy are also featured in this discussion

When I was a school teacher in the UK in the 1980s I felt directly the impact of what was referred to as 'the great debate' launched by Prime Minister Callaghan in the 1970s. He complained about the idea of the curriculum being a 'secret garden' tended only by teachers without any public accountability. This debate led, in the 1980s, to the launch of a national curriculum, standardised testing and a rigorous inspection regime. At a similar time in the US, the Carnegie Report led to the establishing of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (Carnegie Forum, 1986). Policy makers tended to see these reforms as much needed 'professionalisation' while some critics argued that their effect would be the very opposite - 'deprofessionalisation' (e.g. Bottery & Wright, 2000). In either case, the grammar suggests that policy levers can be used to try to shape teachers' professional identities or to raise the level of their professionalism. Some have argued that the concept of professionalization raises ethical issues (Soder, 1990) but rather than asking if it is right to try to influence teachers' professional identity, I suggest it is more productive to consider if it is actually possible and, if so, how this might be achieved. The essence of the argument presented in this article is that the kind of professionality that will lead to high quality education for all, cannot simply be mandated. The best that policy makers can do is to try to create the conditions within which teachers will develop such professionality for themselves and for each other. What we have learned from supporting teacher leadership within the HertsCam Network sheds some light on how this might be done.

Origins of HertsCam

The HertsCam Network is not an entity designed in advance and then launched ready formed; instead, it evolved out of a partnership between the University of Cambridge and a local education authority – Hertfordshire – eventually becoming an independent entity with charity status (www.hertscam.org.uk). When the partnership was first created in 1998, it featured what was referred to as a 'bespoke masters programme'. In fact, it was an iteration of the standard University of Cambridge Faculty of Education's MEd course, but with the taught sessions being held at the local authority's staff development centre. The content of the course was based on the outcomes of university-based research together with an expectation that participants would undertake a research project in their schools. Standard research methodology was taught. There was little thought given to how the outcomes of students' research projects would make a difference to practice in the schools, to professional knowledge within the education system or to policy. As an observer in the first year of the course, I saw teachers being disempowered by the presentation of esoteric ideas and the demand that they embrace alien ways of examining professional practice. When the original team of academics withdrew from these programmes, in order to concentrate on their research, I found myself propelled into the role of coordinator of the partnership. From this position, I was able to lay the foundations for what was to become the HertsCam Network.

The partnership seeded twenty years ago evolved into the HertsCam Network, an independent organisation led by teachers themselves and governed as a charity by a board of trustees. HertsCam promotes teacher leadership through the provision of programmes that support teachers in leading innovation and the development of practice. Experienced teachers facilitate school-based support groups, teach a masters degree course and organise network activities. Participation enables teachers to lead collaborative development projects that improve the quality of teaching and learning. The four core programmes: a) the Teacher Led Development Work (TLDW) programme, b) the MEd in Leading Teaching and Learning programme, c) the Networking programme and d) the publications programme – all enable teachers to initiate and lead change, build professional knowledge and engage in advocacy, internationally. The founding of the International Teacher Leadership (ITL) initiative in 2008 continues to extend our influence (Frost, 2011). These dimensions of our work are discussed in more detail below.

The Rhetorical Power of 'Teacher Leadership'

In the 1990s, when the activity that was to become HertsCam first began, the term 'teacher leadership' was not part of the professional discourse in the UK. At the time of writing, the use of this term remains marginal here. In the early 2000s, I was amongst a handful of British academics who saw an advantage in linking our interests to the American discourse about teacher leadership (Frost & Harris, 2003). The British situation was quite different of course. In the UK, schools, particularly at the secondary level (for students aged 11-18), were already accustomed to organisational structures in which management responsibility was distributed through a complicated range of positions that carried titles such as Head of Department or Year 3 Coordinator. Teachers would apply and be interviewed for such posts, each of which had a job specification and a separate salary scale. Subsequently 'middle management', as it was known, was re-styled by substituting the word 'leadership' for management, in order to highlight the need for post-holders to take responsibility for improvement and innovation (Bush, 2008). The National College for School Leadership (NCSL), founded in 2000, developed 'middle

leadership' programmes which reinforced the idea that leadership is necessarily linked to organisational structures that conform to Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy (NCSL, 2001). Critics noted the contradiction in that NCSL would also disseminate materials about distributed leadership (e.g. NCSL, 2004) while citing for example writers such as James Spillanne (Spillane, Halverson & Diamond, 2004), Peter Gronn (2000) and John MacBeath (2005). Recently, a visiting American researcher was impressed by what he termed the 'lattice of school leadership' in schools in England.

> The story of England's leadership development system is an instructive case of how to use the levers of policy to create a vision for school leadership, expand and formalize leadership pathways within schools, formulate models to build leadership capacity, attend to incentives to stimulate demand, and carefully push on the right pressure points to constructively focus schools on the important role of leadership in the improvement of teaching and learning. In taking these steps, the English have enmeshed school leadership into the core processes of school improvement. (Supovitz, 2015, p. 5)

Supovitz's perspective was shaped by the contrast with the situation in the US, where organisational structures remain relatively flat with principals continuing to carry the burden of what is known in that country as 'instructional leadership'. In that context, there was a need to address the challenge of what Susan Warren Little had referred to many years before as 'the conditions of productivity in schools' (Little, 1988). Her account of 'the prospects for teacher leadership' included consideration of the idea of 'career ladders' proposed widely in the early 1980s. She cites critiques from both the US (e.g. Rosenholtz, 1985) and the UK (e.g. Bennett, 2005) which cast doubt on the idea that incentives of this kind will actually result in professional commitment and leadership. Nevertheless, the assumption that the lack of what Linda Lambert has called 'leadership capacity' (2005) could be addressed by the appointment of teacher leaders in the US, has flourished (York-Barr & Duke, 2004). This has led to the proliferation of preparation programmes for teacher leaders and eventually specifications of the competences involved (Teacher Leadership Exploratory Consortium 2011).

The adoption of the term 'teacher leadership' by HertsCam in the early 2000s was an attempt to transcend the limitations of the concepts that dominated discussions about the role of the teacher in the enterprise of educational change. The term 'continuing professional development', although perhaps more humane than the 'staff training' it replaced, nevertheless rested on the idea that teachers should be expected to improve their understanding, knowledge and skills in order to meet the expectations of those who hold teachers to account. This is essentially a deficit model. Where teachers had come into contact with university departments of education, they often found themselves being asked to engage in 'practitioner research' and 'action research', concepts which seemed at first glance powerful and emancipatory. However, John Elliott, while being a major advocate for action research, was also aware of the hazard of academic imperialism:

Action research and the 'teachers as researchers' movement are enthusiastically promoted in academia. But the question is: are the academics transforming the methodology of teacher-based educational inquiry into a form which enables them to manipulate and control teachers' thinking in order to reproduce the central assumptions which have underpinned a contemplative academic culture detached from the practices of everyday life? (Elliot, 1991, p. 14)

I shared Elliott's concern with the issue of academic imperialism and came to regard the teacher-as-researcher idea, as it had actually developed, as patronising. It served to exclude teachers from decision making in schools and to render them 'ghosts at the feast' of policy (Bangs & Frost, 2012). It became clear to me that what really makes a difference, whether it be to the piecemeal improvement of practice or the larger scale enterprise of educational transformation, is leadership. However, it seemed to me that opportunities for improvement and reform were being lost because school leadership was not only confined within formal hierarchies, but it was also disconnected to inquiry and scholarship. A new language was needed and the term 'teacher leadership' seemed to have the potential to be more empowering. The title of Katzenmeyer and Moller's book, 'Awaking the sleeping giant of teacher leadership' (2001), provided HertsCam with a good slogan which we have used continuously to make the point that there is an enormous untapped potential within the profession for transformation.   But, how to wake the giant? Our answer to this question has evolved over a period of 25 years or so and continues to evolve today. This has been possible because, as an academic at Cambridge, I have enjoyed a high level of academic freedom which has allowed me the space to build the necessary collaboration with teachers and schools. I have been able to respond to, and work with, teachers who welcomed the opportunity to challenge the restrictions that come with an education system plagued by performativity (Ball, 2003) and the measurement culture (Biesta, 2009).

The HertsCam Approach
Our approach to promoting extended professionality is currently manifest in the form of the programmes outlined below.

The MEd in leading teaching and learning. The MEd is a two-year programme which teachers and other education professionals from all phases of schooling undertake alongside their full-time employment. It enables participants to plan and lead development projects in their schools. This very practical endeavour is enriched and made rigorous by the application of a high level of scholarship and critical analysis drawing on relevant literatures and domains of knowledge.   The HertsCam MEd is unique in that it is taught entirely by practitioners. Across the world, there are many cases of degree programmes which have elements taught by school teachers, but usually the programme will have been designed and managed by the university. In contrast the design and management of the HertsCam MEd is in the hands of a teacher-led organisation, the HertsCam Network. The facility to award a recognised masters degree is a product of a partnership with the University of Hertfordshire. The Teaching Team consists of twelve experienced teachers. The programme operates through three 'Residential Conferences' each year. These take place on a Friday and Saturday using a hotel close to our partner university which allows us to use their library as part of the conference experience. Between conferences we have a series of workshops which take place at the end of the teaching day and are hosted by one of the schools in the network. A full account of this programme can be found

in the book *Teachers as Agents of Change: a masters programme taught by teachers* (Frost, Ball, Hill & Lightfoot, 2018).

The Teacher Led Development Work (TLDW) programme. This programme also enables practitioners to lead development projects. The support framework comes in the form of school-based groups facilitated by an experienced teacher within the same school. Facilitators belong to the TLDW Tutor Team which meets four times a year to discuss the operation of the programme. They have access to a shared body of resources – tools designed to enable reflection, dialogue and planning in workshop activities. The TLDW programme extends over approximately nine months at the end of which participants submit a portfolio of evidence both of their participation in the programme and their leadership of a development project. These are assessed in order to award the HertsCam Certificate in Teacher Leadership. A full account of this programme has been published (Hill, 2014).

The networking programme. The events within this programme provide a shared space for MEd and TLDW participants to meet and engage in dialogue about their common experience of leading change in their schools. Network Events, five or six each year, take place normally at the end of the teaching day – around five o'clock. They typically involve between 50 and 150 teachers and other practitioners who participate in a variety of ways. Each event is hosted by members of the Tutor Team in one of the schools in the network. They design their particular approach and manage the process on the day. Typically, participants will choose either to display a poster about their development project and invite others to discuss and critique it or to lead a workshop in which they give an account of their project and engage participants in discussion. These events are brief so that they can be squeezed in between the end of the teaching day and getting home for dinner. Towards the end of the academic year the entire network comes together for the Annual Conference which takes place on a Saturday at one of the schools in the network. Every aspect of the event is managed by teachers including the staffing of the registration desk, stewarding, facilitating seminars and hiring the caterers. A more detailed account of the programme is published as a book chapter (Anderson, Barnett, Thompson, Roberts, & Wearing, 2014).

Publications strategy. HertsCam also has a commitment to advocacy which features the celebration of teachers' leadership of development work. In the early stages this took the form of the journal 'Teacher Leadership' which adopted the style of academic journals but did not employ a peer review procedure. Instead rigour was assured through the assessment processes that come with the certification and the award of a masters degree outlined above. Later, accounts of teachers' development work were published in book form with *Transforming Education Through Teacher Leadership* being published in English, Russian, Serbian and Kazakh. We have also sought to disseminate information about the work of the HertsCam Network through chapters in edited volumes such as *Flip the System* (Evers & Kneyber, 2016).

The International Teacher Leadership (ITL) initiative. The ITL initiative came about ten years ago when a number doctoral students and academic colleagues from other European countries expressed interest in what HertsCam was doing. We launched the initiative with a two-day seminar in Cambridge and invited colleagues from Croatia, Greece, Portugal, Spain and Turkey to participate. We also invited a programme manager from the Open Society Institute in Budapest which was pivotal. With the help of Open Society Foundations, we were able to share our ideas and tools with potential partners in many Western Balkan countries and a number of other countries in the European Union (Frost, 2011). Between 2009-2011, teachers in HertsCam were able to facilitate a series of international conferences which supported the founding of teacher leadership support programmes in 15 countries including for example Bosnia & Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, Portugal and Turkey. Many of the programmes founded in 2009-10 continue to flourish to this day and new programmes have joined ITL in countries including Egypt, Palestine and Kazakhstan.

Developing HertsCam: The Role of Teacher Activists

In the early stages of HertsCam's evolution, I was fortunate in meeting teachers who shared my professional values. For example, Jo Mylles, was a teacher of Modern Foreign Languages who had been given the additional responsibility of 'Assistant Headteacher'. She asked me to visit her school to talk about my book, *Teacher-led school improvement* (Frost, Durrant, Head, & Holden, 2000). I spoke to the whole staff (faculty) and, what emerged from the discussion that followed, was the creation of a teacher leadership support group co-facilitated by myself and Jo and based at the school (Mylles & Frost, 2006; Mylles, 2017). Teachers were invited to take up the challenge of leading change in the school and join the group. Each of the 10 or so group members would be enabled to design and lead a development project over the course of a single academic year at the end of which they would submit a portfolio of evidence that portrayed the process and outcomes of the project. Each would be awarded a certificate in recognition of their achievement. The terminology we used to refer to this was 'teacher-led development work', a terminology that I had begun to use in conference papers in 2001 and which featured in the title of a book (Frost & Durrant, 2003). The pilot at Jo's school was very successful, and the group has been reconstituted on an annual basis ever since (Mylles, 2017). What emerged from this was a much larger Teacher Led Development Work (TLDW) programme with support groups in many schools in this region. The programme was subsequently adopted and adapted by partners in eighteen countries around the world under the banner of ITL (Frost, 2011). Jo played a key role in the project, leading workshops at conferences around the world.

Jo Mylles exemplified those teachers who emerged as key activists in what later became HertsCam. Most of these were members of senior leadership teams in schools which, in English schools, also involves a demanding schedule of classroom teaching. The exception to this would be a small number of primary school headteachers who had devoted all their time to 'instructional leadership'. A common factor was that they had been participants in the Cambridge masters course for Hertfordshire; they had studied leadership and school improvement and had drawn upon their scholarship to try to build capacity in their schools. Jo was just one of many 'scholar practitioners' (Herbert, 2010) who stepped forward to become activists within the network and facilitators within our programmes. What follows are brief sketches of just a few of them:

Val Hill was an assistant headteacher at Birchwood High School when she joined the HertsCam MEd in 2006. She was responsible for developing the quality of teaching and learning across the school and wanted to find a strategy to fulfil this expectation. She established a TLDW group at her school and subsequently helped to establish such groups in a number of other schools. She then became a member of the MEd Teaching Team. Val played a key role in the launch and co-ordination of the ITL project. When HertsCam became independent and launched the teacher-led version of MEd, Val was its first Programme Leader.

Tracy Gaiteri was a headteacher of a small primary school in Hertfordshire when she joined the HertsCam MEd, graduating in 2007. As a headteacher, she raised funds to enable every member of staff at her school to follow her footsteps on the masters programme. She joined the Teaching Team and, when she took on her second headship at Wormley CoE Primary School, she continued to enable colleagues to join the masters programme but also hosted a TLDW group which served a group of neighbouring schools. Tracy has played a significant advocacy role, speaking at teacher leadership events in Bosnia & Herzegovina and Portugal.

Paul Barnett was Deputy Headteacher at Barnwell School in Stevenage, Hertfordshire when he joined the HertsCam MEd, graduating in 2004. He subsequently established one of the early TLDW groups at his school and played a key role in the launch and coordination of the ITL initiative, helping to run events in Greece, Macedonia, Bulgaria and Serbia. He recently took early retirement and joined the Teaching Team of the MEd.

Sheila Ball is a teacher of English at the Meridian School in Royston, Hertfordshire. She graduated from the forerunner of the MEd in 2002 and later joined the Teaching Team. She is currently the Programme Leader for the TLDW programme. Sheila has also played a major part in launching and coordinating the ITL initiative and was particularly instrumental in launching the most recent new TLDW programme in Kazakhstan.

Paul Rose is Deputy Headteacher at John Henry Newman Catholic School in Stevenage, Hertfordshire. He graduated from the forerunner of the HertsCam MEd in 2007 and shortly after that became a supervisor on the programme. He established, in 2008, a TLDW group at his school which continues to thrive. When the teacher-led masters was launched in 2015, Paul was a member of the Teaching Team and his school hosts the school-based sessions.

Sarah Lightfoot was a primary school teacher and early years specialist when she graduated from the earlier version of the HertsCam MEd in 2003. She subsequently joined the supervision team on the masters programme and, when the new teacher-led masters was launched in 2015, she joined the Teaching Team. She also set up a TLDW group for early years practitioners serving a number of schools. Later she became the MEd's second Programme Leader when Val Hill was forced to step down due to ill health.

There are many others who have similar profiles. Currently the MEd Teaching Team has 12 members and the TLDW team includes 22 teachers who facilitate group sessions in their schools. These teachers not only see themselves as leading change themselves but also enabling others to do so.

The Concept of Development Work

The core commitment in HertsCam is to make a difference to professional practice and thereby to the quality of students' learning. We know that the process of change in education cannot be achieved through some kind of immediate implementation. There are layers to change: at the surface there are new materials, beneath this layer is the skills and knowledge necessary to use the materials effectively and beneath that layer is the values that underpin the practice (Fullan, 1993b). For this reason, change has to be construed as a process which enables those involved to develop their understanding, learn new skills and reflect on the values that correspond with the innovation. All of this takes time and requires both leadership and the careful management of the process of development. It is also vital to develop a sense of ownership amongst those affected so that innovations become embedded in routine practice.

To enable teachers to lead change we have found the idea of the development project useful. There are several advantages: first, it is time bounded and therefore seems a practical proposition to busy teachers; second, it is focused on a specific challenge or problem; third, it demands a design and an action plan.   Our own need to clarify this arose when, in 2014, we entered into the process of validation with the University of Hertfordshire whereby our programme could lead to the award of a masters degree. We were asked to define key concepts such as 'development work' which led to the following agreed statement.

> (*Development work is*) strategic, focused and deliberate action intended to bring about improvements in professional practice. It takes the form of collaborative processes featuring activities such as consultation, negotiation, reflection, self-evaluation and deliberation which take place in planned sequence. (Frost, Ball, Hill, & Lightfoot, 2018)

The teacher-led development work methodology rests on the proposition that professional knowledge can be created and enriched through the leadership of a carefully designed and rigorously accounted for processes of practice development in educational settings (Frost, 2013). This challenges dominant assumptions about how knowledge is created, which was explained in the first book in the LfL Teacher Leadership series as an alternative to university-based research:

> …it is more like Mode 2 knowledge production, which is socially distributed, action–focused and subject to multiple accountabilities (Gibbons et al., 1994; Nowotny et al., 2003). (Anderson, Barnett, Thompson, Roberts, & Wearing, 2014)

Because development projects are necessarily collaborative, they tend to have a transformative effect on the school's organisational structures and professional culture (Frost, 2012). Those who design and lead development projects may not have the authority that may be assumed to flow from a formal leadership position but there are different sources of authority (Sergiovanni, 1992). Our assumption is that, rather than depending on the authority that might flow from a formal positon, teachers should focus on the capacity to organise and manage collaborative activities in which colleagues can be drawn into the process of reflection, evaluation, review and innovation on an invitational basis (Purkey & Novak, 1996; Frost, 2012).

Facilitation and Empowerment

The concept of facilitation is central to HertsCam's programmes and we are aware of the need to clarify the concept. At the moment, available literature tends to be located in the field of medicine and health care (e.g. Harvey, Loftus-Hills, Rycroft-Malone, Titchen, Kitson, McCormack & Seers, 2002). Our own need to clarify this arose when we entered into the process of validation of our masters programme referred to above. We were asked to produce a document setting out our approach to teaching and learning on this programme. When re-designing the HertsCam MEd in 2014, we consulted teachers who had participated in the previous programme taught by members of our team. We asked them about the kind of teaching strategies that enabled them to become effective agents of change. Their comments enabled us to draft a written document which, through a process of consultation, became the following statement of our pedagogical principles:

> Principle 1: our approach must cultivate participants' moral purpose as a dimension of their professionality.

> Principle 2: our approach must enable participants to design and lead development projects aimed at improvements in professional practice.

> Principle 3: our approach should enable the development of a learning community in which enhanced social capital allows critical friendship to flourish.

> Principle 4: our approach should enable participants to reflect on their experience and make sense of it through participation in structured dialogic activities.

> Principle 5: our approach should build the capacity for critical reflection and narrative writing through which participants can apply their scholarship to illuminate problem solving in professional contexts.

> Principle 6: our approach should feature the use of discursive and conceptual tools to deepen understanding of themes relevant to the development of educational practice.

> Principle 7: our approach should include the organisation of networking and opportunities for international engagement in order to build professional knowledge and foster mutual inspiration.

The full document provides detailed explanation of each principle and illustrative examples of the practices through which they are enacted. Having an explicit statement about our pedagogical principles has enabled us to generate tools for self-evaluation and monitoring. These principles reflect our shared professional values which guides the evaluation and development of the programme.   The principles set out above were designed specifically for our masters programme and we are currently in a process of review to explore the extent to which they serve also for the Teacher Led Development Work programme.

The Value of Narrative and Experience
Hopefully it is clear from the statement about pedagogy above, particularly Principle 4, that sharing experience is an essential part of the learning process whatever the programme. Every participant has their own concern, their own focus, their own project plan and their own story to tell about the enactment of the development work. We proceed on the assumption that narratising our experience helps to build our agency, reflect on the way we interact with the world and exercise some control over future events (Bruner, 1990; Cortazzi, 1993; Polkinghorne, 1995).
Among the tools we have devised and use within both the TLDW and the MEd programmes are vignettes and facsimiles which help participants to imagine their own possibilities. For example, the following vignette would be used in the early stages of the TLDW process. It is a facsimile in that, although based on actuality, it has been simplified and polished.

Livia's Story

Livia taught Maths and had only been teaching for 2 years. She was concerned that some students were obviously not engaged in Maths lessons. She wanted to find ways to liven up her teaching in the hope of capturing the attention of these students. At a department meeting she explained her problem to her colleagues and gave them a proforma which asked them to list the 3 of the most effective teaching techniques or activities they had used. Livia collated these into a list and then went to see individual colleagues to get more detailed guidance where it was needed.

Livia then systematically tried out each of the strategies on the list. She used them in her teaching and evaluated each one by keeping notes of her own observations, asking students to fill in a feedback sheet and occasionally asking colleagues to observe when they had a few spare moments.

A few months later, Livia was able to give her colleagues feedback on the strategies she had evaluated in action. This was very informative for colleagues who had never tried some of the things on her list. The discussion about teaching and learning was very rich and enthusiastic, thus contributing to building capacity in the team and developing everybody's teaching repertoires.

Livia then approached colleagues in other subject departments asking for their 3 best teaching techniques. She found that many of these ideas could be adapted for Maths and it also stimulated discussion about teaching repertoires across the school.

A discussion activity using this vignette would enable teachers to talk to each other about Livia's experience and then move on comfortably to their own concerns and possible ways forward.

Narratives are also used to highlight particular issues. For example, the vignette below, drawn from a published narrative, has been used within a workshop about curriculum policy on the masters programme.

Cristina's Story

Cristina joined the TLDW programme where she found the emphasis on vision, values and collaborative development empowering. She embraced the idea that capacity building at the school depended on everyone seeing the school's transformation as their responsibility. She planned a development project that, although focused on her own concern with Dance, would nevertheless have a 'whole school' perspective. In discussions with colleagues, Cristina explored the possible link between students' engagement with extra-curricular activities and the development of their work ethic and enthusiasm for school in general. The central role of self-efficacy beliefs in learning and achievement was well established in the psychology literature (Bandura, 1997). Cristina's development project aimed at helping students to acquire the values associated with being a dancer: for example, being well-organised, committed and striving for success artistically, academically and professionally. (Paige, 2014)

Narratives are also a key feature of HertsCam's Networking programme outlined earlier in this article. These events are further opportunities for story-telling, but in this case between practitioners who do not necessarily already know each other or each other's institutional contexts; this increases the need to make experiences and situations visible. Nothing can be taken for granted. Fresh perspectives are brought to bear and participants are encouraged to act as critical friends for each other (Costa & Kallick, 1993; MacBeath & Jardine, 1998). The ensuing dialogue serves to nourish and enrich the collective stock of professional knowledge within the network. This is not to say that knowledge can be neatly catalogued and commodified in the way that is assumed within the field of knowledge management (Gamble & Blackwell, 2001), rather we are talking about knowledge as a collective phenomenon that can be discerned within the flow of interaction. In the language of Mode 2 knowledge production, it is socially distributed and therefore more fluid (Gibbons, Limoges, Nowotny, Schwartzman, Scott & Trow, 1994).

It is tempting to see teachers' networking as opportunities either to disseminate 'best practice' or to enable teachers to pass on 'tips for teachers'. The former is problematic because the success of any professional practice is determined by so many contextual factors (Fielding, Bragg, Cunningham, Erault, Horne, Robinson & Thorpe, 2005) and the latter, while valuable, is limited. At HertsCam Network events, teachers certainly pass on 'tips' such as: 'this great new website we have been using to…', but more importantly, we see teachers engaging in robust dialogue about more fundamental pedagogical issues. Participants are provided with guidance about the preparation of their posters and the design of their workshops to ensure maximum provocation and deep exploration involving all those attending.

There is also a strong moral dimension to the narratives presented at our network events both locally and in sister networks founded under the ITL banner. The following vignette is often used in presentations about HertsCam/ITL to illustrate how the 'virus of moral purpose' spreads.

Ivanka's Story

At a network event in the Bulgarian city of Veliko Tarnovo, an elementary teacher spoke about her project. She had been faced with a challenge when a nearby school closed and the students were re-distributed to other schools in the city. A group of six Roma children were transferred to her school. The teacher explained that the children lacked basic literacy and it was obvious to her that they had not received even a basic education in the past. Her interpretation was that they had been effectively excluded from education and she expressed her sense of injustice about this. She reported how she had consulted her colleagues who agreed to meet to discuss what could be done. Together they devised a strategy which included an initial programme of intensive work on basic skills followed by gradual integration into the mainstream class. (Frost, 2012, p. 220)

In this story, the message disseminated is not so much to do with the technicalities of how to provide for previously poorly educated minority students, but more about the moral outrage felt by the teachers who recognised social injustice and rose to the challenge. It is routinely observed that the stories told at network events, whether they be in HertsCam or in Sarajevo, carry moral messages which are inspiring. When moral messages are conveyed in this way, rather than, for example, in the form of an exhortation from a local district official who presents statistics about the numbers of students performing below the national average, they tend to be heard.

This question of inspiration relates to the nature of community. Fielding's critique of Senge's concept of the 'learning organisation' is helpful, drawing as it does on the philosophy of John MacMurray to highlight the essential features of community and how these are distinct from those of an organisation (Fielding, 2001). Teachers are wary of organisations that they see as being linked to the government and to policies that may be perceived to be part of the accountability framework. A good example of this would be the now defunct General Teaching Council for England which saw itself as a teachers' organisation, but teachers were suspicious of it and resented the fact that membership fees were automatically deducted from salaries. It would be helpful to verify this empirically of course, but I suggest that one of the benefits teachers in the HertsCam Network feel is that they experience a sense of belonging to an independent, teacher-led community. It is a voluntary commitment and involves many other like-minded teachers. They share a commitment to leading change regardless of policy rather

than because of it. Through their participation in the network they are a source of mutual inspiration develop which helps to nurture a sense of collective self-efficacy (Goddard, Hoy & Woolfolk-Hoy, 2000).

The Rationale for Teacher Leadership

In his 2005 book '*Connecting teacher leadership and school improvement',* Joseph Murphy sees teacher leadership as 'piece of equipment in the school improvement toolbox'. I suggest that this is a narrow interpretation. Murphy quotes Katzenmeyer and Moller (2001: 34) who said that 'the ultimate value of teacher leadership is improvement of practice and increasing student performance'. Of course, it is difficult to quarrel with the aim of improving professional practice and thus the life chances of the children in our schools. However, if we want a more profound level of transformation, we need to see teacher leadership more broadly as a strategy for enabling teachers to reconstruct their professionality, by which I mean the way they see their role, its scope and purpose. When enabled to exercise leadership, teachers inevitably extend their professionality such that it becomes wider in scope (Eltemamy, 2017b; Ramahi, 2017b; Lightfoot & Frost, 2015).

At an early stage in the evolution of HertsCam, I was drawn to Fullan's argument in the early 1990s which was that every teacher should be an agent of change; I paid particular attention to this statement:

> …we need a new conception of teacher professionalism that integrates moral purpose and change agentry. (Fullan, 1993, p. 2)

Helpful as this was, the word 'professionalism' was problematic. Those of us who had worked in education in the 1970s and 1980s had been sensitised to the politicisation of the concept of professionalism. A cynical view of the professions was particularly rife in the Thatcher era. In the 1970s, Eric Hoyle had offered a useful alternative term – 'professionality' – which focuses more on constructions of identity and role rather than complications of vested interest, gatekeeping, qualifications and status (Hoyle, 1974). At that time, he had also offered the idea of the 'extended professional' which he reflected on more recently:

> An extended professional was construed as a teacher for whom teaching was a rational activity, who sought to improve practice through reading and through engaging in continuous professional development, who was happily collegial, and who located classroom practice within a larger social framework. (Hoyle, 2008, p. 291)

As a practicing school teacher and emerging writer, I found these ideas nourishing. They enabled us to clarify the proposition that exercising leadership is simply a dimension of what it is to be a professional. This idea was an extension of both Eric Hoyle's 'extended professionality' (1974) and Judyth Sachs' 'activist professionalism' (2003), conceptions which did not include a focus on leadership. This is why we found the rhetoric of teacher leadership helpful. We could use it to suggest a form of professionality which is maximally agential. We have used the graphic representation in the Figure 1 below for some years to suggest that teachers have a choice, to construct their professional identity either as one that has the characteristics listed in the left-hand column or one that corresponds more with the right-hand column. The use of this kind of tool enables us to have an explicit debate about professionality.

Individualistic – focused on classroom practice	**Focus** _____	Collegial, a member of a learning community
Compliance, implementation	**Orientation** _____	Agential, innovation
Standards, rules, inspection outcomes	**Drivers** _____	Educational principles, moral purpose, inquiry
Well trained, informed and up-to-date	**Knowledge** _____	Knowledge creator, inquiry
Being led	**Leadership** _____	Providing leadership

Figure 1. Alternative Modes of Professionality

Various terms have been used to refer to the mode of professionality represented in the right-hand column of the graphic representation above, but the one that has a respectable history is 'extended professionality' (Hoyle, 1974), as already mentioned above. At the centre of the graphic is the idea of moral purpose being a powerful driver and an alternative to more extrinsic drivers such as specifications of professional standards. The HertsCam and related ITL experience suggests that teacher leadership can be a key strategy for mobilising the moral purpose of teachers and enabling them to lead development projects which result in improvement of aspects of professional practice, impacting on the quality of learning (Eltemamy, 2017b; Ramahi, 2017b). The key to this is that teachers are invited to reflect on their values and experience in order to identify a professional concern. Here is an extract from a teacher's account which illustrates this:

> My development work stemmed from my observations of the young children
> I taught. I was concerned that many appeared to be unfocused, lacking in
> motivation and seemingly without a desire to learn. I was determined to
> address this problem. (Vicary, 2018, p. 18)

This is typical of how teachers on HertsCam programmes express their professional concerns.
Another important dimension of the representation of alternative modes of professionality above is the question of leadership. The idea that leadership should be seen as part of extended professionality was expressed well by Val Hill, a teacher and key activist within HertsCam.

> (we) propose that leadership could be a dimension of all teachers' professionality…. we argued for an approach to teacher leadership, which does not assume that leadership is linked with positions in the organisational hierarchy of the school. Instead, it recognises the potential of all teachers to exercise leadership as part of their role as a teacher. We believe that all teachers and education practitioners have some leadership capacity. After all, leadership is a dimension of being human. In HertsCam and the wider International Teacher Leadership (ITL) network, we argue that it should be seen as an essential part of teachers' professionality. (Hill, 2014, p. 74)

The vision that Val portrays here is of an approach which is inclusive and democratic in that it offers the means to enable any practitioner to develop their leadership capacity. Leadership in this context is conceptualised as influence, a defining characteristic of leadership practice (Leithwood & Riehl, 2003; Yukl, 2010).

A significant implication of this view of professionality is that our programmes should be open to any teacher or indeed to any education practitioner including those in support or auxiliary roles. Our approach to teacher leadership does not require, or depend upon, a formal designation or position of responsibility, either in the way described in the Supovitz report (2015) or by selecting talented teachers and appointing them to posts that carry the title of Teacher Leader.   We began to use the term 'non-positional teacher leadership' as a short hand for our commitment to the idea that it is possible for any practitioner to develop their capacity for leadership. We subsequently found that the idea of 'non-positional teacher leadership' is one that travels well. The International Teacher Leadership (ITL) initiative outlined above led to the formation of teacher leadership programmes, many of which not only flourished but have since grown in number (Redondo-Sama, Miljevic, Georgieva, Josevska & Anderson, 2017). The report of this included the following key statement:

> Teachers really can lead innovation; teachers really can build professional knowledge; teachers really can develop the capacity for leadership, and teachers really can influence their colleagues and the nature of professional practice in their schools. However, what is abundantly clear is that teachers are only likely to do these things if they are provided with appropriate support. (Frost, 2011, p. 57)

The wording of this statement was agreed by all partners as a basis for further advocacy. Since this report was published we have worked with partners in Egypt, Palestine and Kazakhstan (Eltemamy, 2017a; Ramahi, 2017a) to establish further teacher leadership programmes and are currently planning an initiative in Morocco. These more recent initiatives have reinforced the conviction that teacher leadership can cultivate extended professionality based on teachers' moral purpose.

Beyond School Improvement
It could be argued that the idea of extended professionality based on the teacher's moral purpose is not really at odds with Murphy's proposition, indicated above, provided that the term 'school improvement' is understood in its broadest possible sense. After all, we are all interested in improving what happens in schools. However, there are other considerations.

First there is the issue about the recruitment and retention of teachers. It is our experience in HertsCam that, when teachers are able to act with agency and fulfil their moral purpose, they tend to become more committed to the teaching profession and to the particular schools in which they been able to experience extended professionality (Frost, Ball, Hill & Lightfoot, 2018).

Second, we have found that where there is a culture in which teacher leadership is a strong feature, initiatives and reforms introduced externally by government for example, have a better chance of being taken up and implemented with fidelity. It is clear that authentic change depends on what teachers value, think and do in their classrooms (Josevska & Kirandjiska, 2017). We have learned from the recent ITL related teacher leadership initiatives in Taraz and Kokshetau, Kazakhstan for example that there is a danger of the extensive resources which have been poured in to education reform in the last ten years might be wasted unless teachers are empowered in ways which enable them to that they take on the problem of improving practice (Kanayeva, 2016).

Third, teacher leadership in the way conceptualised above can contribute to social and political reform. In the ITL initiative we learned, especially from our partners in the Western Balkans, that teacher leadership can aid the growth of democracy, conflict resolution and inter-cultural understanding. In a country such as Bosnia & Herzegovina, democracy may have been framed by constitutional arrangements, legal frameworks and political processes, but the democratic way of life that Dewey wrote about is a work in progress. Our experience is that non-positional teacher leadership contributes by enabling voice, collaboration and egalitarian ways of working in institutions, but most importantly by cultivating an enhanced sense of moral purpose (Frost, 2011; Vranješević & Čelebičić, 2014; Woods & Roberts, 2018). Intercultural understanding can be fostered by casting teachers as agents of change who are committed to devising ways to make cultural difference visible and promoting dialogue about them (Vranješević & Frost, 2016; Vranješević & Čelebičić, 2014). More recently, our partners in the occupied territory of Palestine have argued that non-positional teacher leadership can have an emancipatory by helping to change the way teachers and their students construct their identities and assumptions about their roles, enabling them to build alternative narratives. This is particularly important in situations characterised by oppression (Ramahi, 2015; Ramahi, 2016).

Governments around the world are looking for strategies to advance professionalization in their school systems and to improve the effectiveness of teachers' practice (Townsend & Bates, 2007; Schleicher, 2016). Organisations such as UNESCO (www.unesco.org) and movements such as the Global Campaign for Education (www.campaignforeducation.org) are concerned about the lack of access to quality education on the part of many millions of children worldwide. Teacher leadership is clearly a contender for the list of key strategies that address these concerns but, if teacher leadership is to flourish and realise its full potential as a force for reform, I suggest that we need to explore approaches that focus on the transformation of teachers' mode of professionality. I think that a study of the way HertsCam operates might be illuminative in this regard and therefore productive in the pursuit of successful education reform policies that feature teacher leadership. I suggest that, in the long run, we need to support teachers who want to 'flip the system' (Evers & Kneyber, 2015) and I believe that HertsCam has something to say about that.

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