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Training for a Profession as a Vocational Teacher: The Transition from the Course to the Workplace

Abstract: A teacher training program is mandatory for vocational teachers, but vocational colleges decide how to support a transition from the course to workplace. Before 2010, the transition process was regulated by a ministerial order, but now the market has created variation in the training. The case presented here is four vocational colleges where teachers attend a teacher training course. The study is based on the documentary analyses, focus group interviews and observations. Using Evetts' concept of professionalism, the analyses show different logics at vocational colleges. Managers implement the course at vocational colleges by choosing different strategies for *organizational professionalism*. However, the teachers construct other learning trajectories by moving between classroom teaching and teamwork, which in the article is perceived as part of occupational professionalism. These coinciding logics might influence the transition from course to workplace.

Keywords: Professionalism, market, vocational teacher education, co-operation, vocational colleges

The article addresses what may be seen as a marketization of a teacher training course with a reform in 2010. The course is aimed at vocational teachers at vocational colleges. The article analyses how managers and teachers act in relation to a teacher training course that leaves any practical training to the schools. On the one hand, managers at vocational colleges design this procedure, for example, the handling of tasks by managers with competences in HR and general as well as strategic management in relation to the pedagogics at the college. It can also be a handling of tasks by managers who understand teaching and pedagogy, and can handle the practical and administrative work. Accordingly, the organizational work involved in the teacher training often includes several managerial employees, which makes integration of the teacher training course a hierarchical and generalized task in the organization. On the other hand, the teachers develop organizationally adapted conduct in order to apply their teacher training course in teaching at vocational colleges. The balance between the two approaches, as presented be managers and teachers, is analysed in the article. The analytical approach is illustrated by the three points in the triangle in Figure 1: market (the teacher training course takes place in a market), teachers (who are assumed to develop occupational professionalism through the course), and managers (managers at vocational colleges strive to apply the course content at the college based on organizational professionalism). Coherence makes up the base of the triangle; the article analyses the transition from the course to the

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workplace with a focus on the relation between the two forms of professionalism. Below, I will unfold some aspects of teacher professionalism and coherence at Danish vocational colleges.
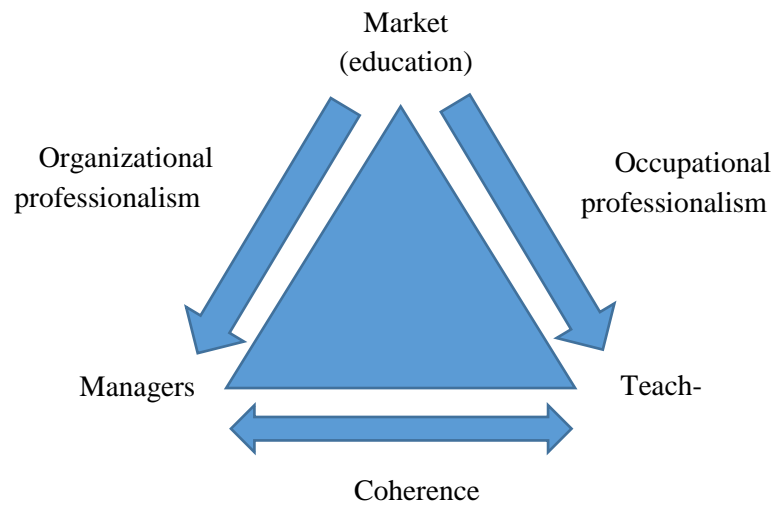
Market
(education)

Organizational
professionalism

Occupational
professionalism

Managers

Teach-

Coherence

Figure 1. *The transition from the course to the workplace.*

Vocational colleges in Denmark, teacher professionalism, and coherence

Vocational teachers' pedagogic education and its historical development can be seen in the light of an expanding state and growing professionalism (Duch & Andreasen, 2017a). During the course, the teachers teach at vocational colleges, and the state has played a central role in developing the dual model at vocational colleges, in other words, the education takes place at the vocational colleges as well as in practical training (Greinert, 2004). The above-mentioned changes to the governance of vocational colleges and the teacher training can be seen as altered relations between the welfare state, bureaucracy, and professionals (Carvalho, 2012). Welfare issues such as social inequality and the match between labour, supply, and demand are politically and administratively handled via reforms of vocational educations (Jørgensen, 2014). The relation between bureaucracy and professionals—in this case at vocational colleges—may vary as some professionals operate in the bureaucracy as managers and administrators designing organizational and administrative frameworks, while employees in collegial collaborations may establish other forms of professionalism with different relations to bureaucracy (Evetts, 2009). At vocational colleges, this is manifested in evaluations and quality systems (Friche, 2010). Likewise, the political-administrative systems, the managers' organizations and the teachers' organizations have different takes on why the new teacher training program was needed (Duch & Rasmussen, 2016). The consequence may be, as the analysis will examine, that two different professions at the same vocational college have different understandings of transitions from the course to the workplace. Different approaches to teacher training courses in an educational market may, therefore, become decisive in the sense that marketization concerns not only external factors such as supply in a market but also the internal significance of marketization when professional groups have different priorities (e.g., Fejes, Runesdotter, & Wärvik, 2016).

Coherence

When professionals in a workplace participate in education in another context, it may be a challenge to ensure that the workplace benefits from the new knowledge and establishes coherence between knowledge from the course and practice at the workplace in order to prevent a counterproductive "gap" between theory and practice (Heggen, Smeby, & Vågan, 2015). There are indications that the teacher training course has an effect on teaching at vocational colleges, but the course–workplace relationship is challenged (Duch & Andreasen, 2017b; 2017c).

Research in other settings shows that managers, context as well as education affect the employees' learning and thus their possibilities for transition (Aili & Nilsson, 2016). Education enhances professionalism in terms of critical thinking, autonomy, jurisdiction and discretion at a time when administrative and political governance plays such a large role (Aili & Nilsson, 2016). Learning contexts in the workplace are important in terms of both learning visions and learning opportunities for new employees in an organization (Eraut, 2006). Moreover, managers play a central role in the learning culture (Eraut, 2007). Managers who want to support learning have to ensure that the employees are adequately challenged, promote opportunities for learning via teamwork and one-to-one coaching, mediate in groups, establish a positive learning culture, work with feedback and take emotional factors that affect the employees' work into consideration (Eraut, 2010).

In the continental research tradition, professions are mainly educated for (partly) publicly financed institutions, and the state vouches for certificates of education via the accreditation of institutions (Muzio & Kirkpatrick, 2011). This is the case with vocational teacher education. It is therefore interesting whether employees are seen as passive victims or active agents who establish new strategies and protect their jurisdictions and privileges in the organization, as mentioned by Muzio and Kirkpatrik (2011). Research shows that the outcome may be a change of the profession and professionalism, an improvement or a new co-created form of professionalism that redefines the profession internally in the organization (Muzio & Kirkpatrick, 2011; Noordegraaf, 2007; 2015). It is, therefore, interesting to study how a new teacher education affects teachers' behaviour and practice in their organization and in their teaching.

Organizationally, professionalism requires *organizational sense* in terms of how professionals in an organization handle cross-pressures (Gaglio, 2014). Organizational sense has three dimensions: balancing in turbulent surroundings and handling daily tasks; acting in a political organization with an asymmetric relation between the political system and the professional; and handling duty and loyalty in the organization (Gaglio, 2014). Studies of the teacher training program show, however, that professionalism may be expressed in different ways. Rather than *one* type of professionalism for teachers, *personal professionalism* is found in the English HE system (Bathmaker & Avis, 2013). New teachers' learning trajectories may lead them to full participation in the teacher community out of the community or to peripheral participation (Bathmaker & Avis, 2013).

Vocational teachers' education differs in the Nordic countries, just as the Nordic youth educations have developed in different ways (Haue, 2014). In Norway, there are two programs for vocational teachers at different levels and with different structures. The choice of program depends on the individual teacher's level of education (Grande, Lyckander, Landro, & Rokkones, 2014). In Denmark, all employed vocational college teachers have access to the same education program.

This article takes its empirical point of departure in professionals' theoretical continued education in the field of vocational colleges in Denmark. In 2010, the pedagogic teacher training course for teachers at vocational colleges was reformed. Before that, the education consisted of alternating training, in other words, practical coaching by an experienced teacher at the employing college along with a theoretical course. A ministerial order described how the provider of the mandatory education

and the vocational college would contribute to establishing coherence between the theoretical education and the practical training at the employing vocational college (Duch & Andreasen, 2017a). The program had a fixed structure. In other words, there was collegial training and socialisation to teacher professionalism in the specific vocational field. There was one provider of pedagogic training for vocational teachers. In 1969, the provider became a state institution, but in 1996, it became self-governing and a fee was introduced for the vocational teacher program. The vocational college payed the fee for employees when they attended the program. Since the 1990s, vocational colleges in Denmark have been self-governing, state-subsidized institutions based on, for example, enrolment. However, most vocational college students are employed by a private or public employer after their first-year core curriculum, and the social partners are key players in terms of content and the supply of internships for vocational educations (Juul & Jørgensen, 2011). This educational structure is still in effect with the latest reform of vocational educations at vocational colleges (Government et al., 2014).

The new teacher training course has abolished the requirement for coaching at the vocational college, but the college is obligated to ensure that the employees complete their degree within the first four years of employment (Ministeriet for Børn, Uddannelse og Ligestilling [Ministry of Children, Education and Equality], 2016). Politically, the change is seen as an upgrade of the pedagogical teacher training course (Duch & Rasmussen, 2016). The course ranks at level 6 in the European Qualifications Framework (EQF) and consists of six modules that are completed with exams, often over a number of years. The teachers thus alternate between teaching at the vocational college and studying. Some teachers study full time for three to nine weeks, depending on the module; others study part time over a longer period. The courses are provided by university colleges that are accredited by the state. There is a fee for the program as well as a state subsidy, and the vocational college—not the teacher—pays the fee. This may affect the weighting assigned to teachers' and managers' requirements in the choice of provider Since 2010, the number of providers in Denmark has increased to six. The vocational colleges decide which provider they want to use and how the individual teacher's education is planned. The college organizes enrolment in the program and keeps track of the teachers' absence from the work due to the course, which affects overall scheduling. In other words, the vocational colleges have to handle a number of administrative and planning-related tasks. In addition, as self-governing institutions, their state subsidy to vocational colleges is contingent on various control mechanisms (Kondrup & Friche, 2016). After the reform of the teacher training course, the colleges establish structures and procedures and strive to compensate for or introduce new understandings of the teachers' pedagogic training (EVA [Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut], 2015).

Research questions

As mentioned, the new teacher training course changes how vocational colleges formally plan practical training and integration in the course, which may require new administrative and managerial approaches at the colleges. Likewise, the new course requires that teachers within such organizational frameworks use the pedagogic training. The research question is: Which organizational frameworks are planned by managers for teacher training, and how do the vocational college teachers apply the pedagogic training using collegial teamwork? Based on the answer to the question, the managers' and the teachers' approaches are compared in order to discuss how coherence can be qualified in a marketized education program. The purpose is to qualify teachers' education to benefit students' learning at vocational colleges.

Analytical tools

British professor Julia Evetts (2003; 2009; 2011; 2013) studies professions in terms of different traditions, values in professions and the conceptual development of theories of professions. This article is based on her ideal types of professionalism (Evetts, 2009). Evetts identifies two ideal types of professionalism, *organizational professionalism* and *occupational professionalism*, which are constructed for micro- and macro-levels but are applicable to analyses at the micro-level, which she finds particularly interesting: "the complexities at micro levels are particularly interesting and worthy of further analysis" (Evetts, 2009, p. 248). Evetts' aim is to demonstrate that a new form of professionalism has emerged as a consequence of new public management and how this new form differs from earlier forms of professionalism.

Organizational professionalism implies a controlling discourse that is based on rational and formal authority. The basis is standardized procedures defined in a hierarchical decision-making structure. The occupational professionalism is the discourse that teachers create as professionals. There is a collegial authority, and the work is controlled by the professionals based on their professional discretion. The authority is assigned via trust from students and employers, for example, businesses, and employers at the vocational college, for example managers, whereas control is exercised by the practitioners. The two forms of professionalism are illustrated in Table 1. The columns in the table show the ideal types of professionalism and the rows show the discourse, authority, procedures, decision-making and control as described above.

Table 1
Ideal types in knowledge-based work (based on the excerpts from Evetts, 2009, p. 263)

Professionalism	Organizational	Occupational
Discourse	Control by managers	Constructed within professional groups
Authority	Rational-legal	Collegial
Procedures	Standardised	Discretion and occupational control
Decision-making	Hierarchical structures	Trust by clients and employers
Control	Managerialism	Controls operationalized by practitioners

In this article, the two forms of professionalism are analysed in light of the program for vocational teachers and its effect on tasks at vocational colleges, both for managers and teachers. I use the ideal types as analytical tools for my empirical study of different understandings and practices of professionalism and apply them at two levels: at the meso-level in order to analyse administratively constructed models at four colleges, and at the micro-level to analyse two teachers' learning trajectories that deviate from the school models because the teachers participate in collegial teamwork. Organizational professionalism is thus understood as the managers' intended and planned learning trajectories for the employees, and occupational professionalism is seen in light of the teachers' experienced learning trajectories at the vocational college. Learning trajectories are here seen in a socio-cultural tradition that recognizes formal as well as informal learning (Eraut, 2010; 2011).

The implication of using Evetts' ideal types is that teachers and managers are seen as separate actors, although in reality, from a social cultural standpoint, they are two sides of the same coin in an organization. However, as an analytical tool, it is helpful to analyse the actors, managers and teachers from the point of departure that their professionalisms differ. In academia, it is discussed whether and how profes-

sionalism should be understood in new ways in view of current societal developments (Noordegraaf, 2007; 2015). Using concepts such as *hybridized professionalism* and *organizing professionalism*, Noordegraaf (2007; 2015) demonstrates that professionalism is developing in relation to its surroundings, which is in line with the changes Evetts (2003; 2009) analyses. The point of using ideal types as analytical tool is to examine two diverging conceptions in a specific context instead of going into a more general theme of the development of professionalism.

In the analysis of the workplace context, I apply Professor Michael Eraut's approach, which is based on his empirical analyses. Eraut (2007, p. 418) lists three important factors for new employees' learning at their workplace: allocation and structuring of work, including individual participation, expectations to employees' performance and progress, and challenges and relations at work. As far as supporting individual employee's learning trajectory in the workplace, Eraut (2011, p. 11) mentions teamwork and emphasizes collaborative work, facilitating social relations, joint planning and the ability to engage in and promote mutual learning. I use these terms to categorize the teachers' learning trajectories in collegial teamwork (see Table 2, Appendix 1 below).

Method

The article is based on focus group interviews with managers in the fall of 2014 from four vocational colleges with very different approaches to teacher training (Barbour, 2007). Follow-up meetings with the management were held in 2015 and 2016. The managers represent the strategic, the organizational and the practical matters in relation to the teachers' education. They are hierarchically placed in the organization—some are in top management, some are in mid-level management, and some are close to the teachers and the daily teaching. As a group, their statements thus range from strategic approaches to practical problem solving. I interviewed two managers at one school and three managers at three schools. The schools chose the managers and the number of managers to inform about the different levels in the organization in relation to the teacher training course. In the interviews, I asked about the school viewpoint on the course and how it works to integrate it; how they view the coherence between workplace and course. I also conduct document analyses of school procedures to examine how the schools work with the teacher course (Prior, 2011). In the analysis, I focus on two of the four colleges, as cases with variation (Yin, 2014): a technical college and a health and social care college, with procedures that emphasize the period before and the period during the program and representing different views on learning trajectories. Table 2 (Appendix 1) gives an overview of the school models.

Focus group interviews were held at each of the four vocational colleges. Teachers were interviewed with a focus on their application of the curriculum in their teaching. Two focus group interviews with the same teachers were conducted at three of the colleges during spring and fall 2016; only one focus group interview was conducted at the commercial college, since the teachers had completed or were close to completing the course. A total of 20 teachers are included in the study. Eight were observed for one day in their classroom at the vocational college (see Table 2, Appendix 1). The observations focus on how the teachers apply the curriculum in their teaching, and the meaning and form of collegial teamwork vary significantly. In the two selected cases, colleagues at the team office play a central role socially and in terms of joint planning. The other informants mention collegial teamwork, but the role of the physical premises stands out in observations of Brian and Bodil (teachers at the colleges), and they trand their school are therefore central cases in the analysis. The method is participant observation in the sense that I spoke sporadically with colleagues and students but communicated continuously with the informant about using the course (Kristiansen & Krogstrup, 2015). The observation day starts with a

brief meeting where the teacher being observed informs the observer of the didactics in the day's classes at the vocational college and ends with a recapitulation.

The question technique and interview guides were very open, and only in the later categorization did I use the above-mentioned approach to teamwork. The focus group interviews and individual interviews have been transcribed (Bloor, 2001), and field notes were typed up immediately after observations (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2001).

The initial analyses focused on the total material (Table 2, Appendix 1), after which two cases were selected, for example, the technical college with the teacher Brian and the health and social care college with the teacher Bodil. Below, the managers' planning of the organizational framework for the course and the teachers' transition from course to workplace are analysed.

Management's control of transition from the course to the workplace

The analysis consists of two parts: organizational professionalism (i.e., the management's planned model for transition from the course to the workplace) and occupational professionalism (i.e., the teachers' transition from the course to the workplace).

At all the colleges, the managers have developed a standardized procedure for handling the course: the technical college have a pre-course procedure, the health and social care college have a during-course procedure. Both models contain some measure of control. The difference lies in the 'authority' in relation to the outcome of the program (Evetts, 2009). The health and social care college has a rational approach; the objective is to change practice, and one of the outcomes, amongst others, is defined as including IT in teaching. The management anchors the model in theories on transfer, and, in that sense, the model has an explicit learning vision. Teachers are paired and conduct a teaching experiment in the classroom that is observed by a colleague. The expectation is that this will link teaching and the course. Likewise, management has decided that employees learn most by being with colleagues employed in the same type of vocational college and with a similar educational background. This implies a hierarchy of vocational teachers in different types of vocational programs (Duch & Andreasen, 2015). We might say that the transition is well defined and management imposed.

The technical college only operates with pre-course procedures, among other things in order to prepare the teachers for completing the program. The aim is that HR managers establish a dialogue with the teachers to support their learning objectives, but the individual teachers define their goals. This indicates a broad learning vision, and the managers at the college emphasize the integration of new pedagogic knowledge in the organization. The aim is to find a qualified approach to the course as alternating training, but a specific method has not been defined.

Based on the concept of organizational professionalism, we can thus say that the managers have designed rational models to comply with the above-mentioned formal requirements for vocational colleges and to handle the educational requirements for the teachers via an organizational, standardized approach. At the health and social care college, the model reaches all the way into the classroom, whereas the technical college emphasizes preparation for the course and engages in ongoing dialogue afterwards. This model is less hierarchical regarding how individual teachers can apply their training in their teaching.

At the two other colleges, the school models differ. The school models at the commercial college and the combined college focus on the time during the course, but the understanding of transition is different. The combined college emphasizes the coaching of employees directly in relation to exam papers but in the long term sees the teachers as agents in the realization of its pedagogic value basis in close cooperation with the management. The commercial college involves teachers in the

course directly in its committees as a means of organizational learning. An underlying objective of the models—except at the social and health care college—is to ensure that the employees are prepared for the educational level in the course, which may be especially challenging for teachers in technical subjects, as many of them are skilled workers (Duch, 2016).

Teachers' transition from the course to the workplace

After having analysed school models, I now address teachers' transition from the course to the workplace. Using Eraut's (2011) terms, the potential for collaborative work differs widely for the eight teachers who were observed (see Table 2). Uffe from the technical colleges does collaborative work, the teachers at the health and social care college explicitly demand it, and the teachers at the combined college talk about it in the interviews. Facilitation of social relations is observed for Brian from the technical college, Bodil from the health and social care college, and Tue from the combined college. All observations except one include joint planning—Dorthe is only observed in the classroom. The ability to engage in and promote mutual learning is mentioned by Brian from the technical college and is expressed as a wish by the other teachers. Three teachers—Tue, Bodil, and Brian—deviate in the sense that all the mentioned forms of collegial collaboration are present in the data. Since both Tue and Brian teach in technical programs at vocational colleges, even though they are employed at different schools, Brian is chosen as a case in the following analysis, as is Bodil. Tue, unlike Brian, finds it difficult to apply knowledge from the course in his teaching, and he emphasizes collaboration and pedagogics less. As mentioned, the cases were selected to ensure variation in terms of vocational colleges, school models and their transition from the course to the workplace. In addition, the role of the physical premises stands out in the cases of Bodil and Brian. The facilitation of social relations is not observed in the case of Fie, even though she works at the same vocational college as Bodil.

Bodil is observed on one day of teaching at the health and social care college and Brian is observed at a technical college. During the day, they both spend time at an office where they discuss current teaching-related issues with a few, close colleagues. They both have approximately four years of teaching experience, are around 40 years of age, but their educational backgrounds differ. Brian has a four-year vocational education at EQF level 3 or 4, Bodil has a 3.5-year, medium-cycle higher education at EQF level 6. Brian says that he and the team have developed both the content and the organization of the teaching he implements. In Evetts' (2009) terms, the procedures are thus developed by the teachers. Bodil sees the process as management-imposed, so she and the team attempt to fill out a framework that they basically see as flawed. These procedures are, in Evetts' (2009) terms, standardized. Both teachers are organizationally interested and involved. Brian finds that he is included by the management and has great autonomy and influence; Bodil experiences success in being able to influence forward-looking organizational initiatives and in counteracting management decisions that she sees as detrimental. Bodil encounters inconsistencies and barriers to the teaching she wants to practice based on knowledge she has gained in the course, whereas Brian focuses on new opportunities. In Evetts' (2009) terms, "trust" between the teacher and the management differs.

They also have different experiences with the course. In the first focus group interview, Brian talks about unexpected success in the educational system, getting good grades and devoting a lot of resources to decoding the examination system. Bodil finds the exams easy, and she talks about differences in relation to her former job in the healthcare sector and misses opportunities to work with the vocational education at a higher theoretical and reflective level. Brian finds it more difficult to transfer knowledge from the course to his own teaching. However, they both see collegial collaboration and social relations in the office as central. In Evetts' (2009)

terms, they both prefer that the professionals construct the discourse, the authority and the procedures.

Brian: Team development of teaching at the technical college

Brian's office has several functions. It is the team's workplace and functions as a centre for planning and coordination. The common, physical planning tools are visible, as described in the observation:

> The office is a small room where six small work desks combined into one large desk take up most of the space. The desks are cluttered with the teachers' work tools. There is just enough space between the desk and the wall to edge by. The wall is full of A4 sheets with joint plans for teaching. We talk a little bit about Brian's teaching plan, but he mostly talks about the team. It sounds like they all agree that they are working in a new way and that they see this as the work method of the future. They work closely together and have considerable authority. (Field notes, 2015)

The quote can be understood based on Evetts' (2009) and Eraut's (2011) analytical tools. The team members have different educational preconditions, but they coordinate the topic´s content and agree on their work methods. The team has collegial authority to make organizational decisions and control various procedures. According to their discourse, their team has found an ideal way to work that includes collaborative work and joint planning. Coordination also takes place during classroom teaching: "Before the break, a colleague wants to say something to the students; Brian goes to fetch her, but it turns out that it can wait" (Field notes, 2015).

During lunchbreak at the office, the team members talk about what is important in teaching:

> Teaching can become too scholastic for the students, like in elementary school. That's why Brian verbalizes reality in his teaching. He did not talk about educations in today's teaching but about jobs in reality. I ask why. The answer is that vocational colleges are characterized by close interaction with the labour market. A colleague talks about objectives in vocational teaching: It has to prepare the students for a vocation, and it has to prepare them for the next module in the basic curriculum. (Field notes, 2015)

I read this as an expression of the teachers' common understanding of their task, and in that sense we can say that the vocation for which the students are being trained is indirectly present as a form of control of the performance of a profession. Theoretically, and based on Evetts' (2009) ideal types, decision-making is based on continued trust by clients. We can talk about a shared discourse in the understanding of the central aspect of teaching (Evetts, 2009) because based on the context of vocational education we might imagine other responses concerning the importance of young people completing a youth education or wanting to take further education (Ministry of Children, Education, and Equality, 2016).

The conversation during lunch switches to Brian's teaching:

> The aim of the teaching today was to give all students a learning outcome; student with reading disabilities were in focus and were put in a special group, and then he wanted the students to reflect on their own learning process. Brian finds that teachers often focus only on the specific content of the teaching. (Field notes, 2015)

Teaching went beyond the vocational content; that is, the didactic planning aimed at learning via reflection and group formation. Brian explains to the students that the

day has a new structure: "They have now been at the school for 17 weeks and have to try something new" (Field notes, 2015). It becomes clear that the control of what is expedient in the teaching is with the teacher and that the teacher is willing to experiment (e.g., Evetts, 2009).

The evaluation of Brian's teaching continues during lunch:

> Brian has learned something new today. He notes that some students in a group had not paid attention and the expected knowledge sharing has not happened. Many elements in the course make sense today, and he explains it as a new realization in terms of paying attention to the students. (Field notes, 2015)

Brian thus connects his pedagogy developed by the team with the course and establishes a link between the course and his workplace. Using Eraut's (2011) terms, the team facilitates social relations, and the joint plans that are posted in the office become part of the ability to engage in and promote mutual learning. The collaboration with the team contradicts his description of power struggles against a standardized focus in the management and against routines established by experienced colleagues in his department:

> Oh my god, you've fought alone for a long time, and it is really hard to talk about pedagogic initiatives when you are talking to someone who's worked 30–40 years and go "no, things are the way they are." You've been in the minority a lot, and you really need support from the system, from all the bodies in the system that want pedagogy. Luckily, that's becoming more pronounced; I feel it. (Focus group interview, Fall 2015)

Based on the ideal types, we can say that there are several different discourses among colleagues at the technical college, and it appears that the teachers are exercising a form of control of each other (Evetts, 2009). However, via the team, Brian adheres to his preferred discourse and is optimistic about the work in the future. The bodies that Brian refers to in the quote may be the special unit at the college that works with school models for the course and pedagogic development in general. The school is, thus, described as being divided between the team and the department that favours pedagogy and other colleagues. Based on Evetts' (2009) ideal types, we can say that Brian sees a connection between organizational and occupational professionalism, but that there is disagreement internally among the teachers. Brian is the only case whose data includes all of Eraut's (2011) categories, collaborative work, facilitation of social relations, joint planning, and abilities to engage in and promote mutual learning.

Bodil: Collegial collaboration on task solution at the health and social care college

Bodil spends the four daily breaks in the eight-person office at the health and social care college. The desks are partially shielded and there is a larger meeting table for gathering during breaks. The room is light and the individual desks are cluttered with personal as well as work-related items.

During the first break, Bodil receives some teaching material from her colleague Inge that she uses immediately after the break. Bodil and Inge make up a team and discuss different things:

> We go to the staff room during breaks. We take coffee and fruit and go to the team office. Inge and Bodil exchange teaching material as Bodil receives some copies. They talk about teaching evaluation, about upcoming class formation … and about individual students. At 9:35, we go back to teaching. (Field notes, 2016)

During the next break, they discuss the general pedagogic problem of teaching students to select topics to work on in different assignments:

> There are again collegial exchanges in the office. They talk about how the students cannot identify problems but go straight to solutions. It is difficult for the students to identify job-related problems. (Field notes, 2016)

During lunch, a specific appointment is made with a colleague and the next day's teaching is discussed collegially:

> A colleague from the office notes that she will come to the classroom to fetch a student for a contact teacher conversation. Bodil and Inge discuss tomorrow's teaching. (Field notes, 2016)

During the last break between 13:25–13:40, they again discuss pedagogic issues and the next day teaching:

> Again, collegial sparring with Inge and discussions about group formation and groups' choices of problems. I note that they share their ongoing reflections on such a day, and they start to plan tomorrow together. (Field notes, 2016)

As the above quotes show, they talk about different things at different levels, but based on Eraut's (2009) concepts, it all concerns joint planning and problem solving in teaching here and now or the following day. In general, based on the analytical tools, the discourse in the office belongs to the teachers in the sense that management decisions or views are not mentioned and the conversations are close to the ongoing teaching and thus areas controlled by the teachers (Evetts, 2009). Several joint decisions are made about the planning of teaching, class formation and group formation with the teachers as the authority. The office is a confidential space in the sense that the teachers discuss individual students and teaching-related issues that cannot be discussed in the halls or classrooms.

This is an example of what Evetts (2009) calls procedures with discretion and occupational control in relation to teaching. When collegial agreement is reached on the nature of a problem (e.g., that the students "go straight to solutions"), it is a collegial construction and control of the dominant discourses that are formulated in the office (Evetts, 2009). They do not discuss whether their pedagogic approach to teaching might cause the problems in class and whether they could choose different approaches. The professionalism is thus clearly defined by joint planning and social relations in the office.

The collegial conversations in the office are not directly related to the teacher training course, but Bodil says earlier in a focus group interview that she applies a didactic model from the course indirectly in her teaching:

> I never use it when I'm preparing, but it has somehow become integrated in my way of thinking when I'm with the students, when I'm in the classroom and when something isn't working out. Then that's the model I have in my head so that I am able to change something or do something. It helps me analyse a situation. (Focus group interview, fall 2015)

However, after the observation in 2016, Bodil is more preoccupied with dissatisfaction regarding the management's framing and planning of teaching, the fact that she cannot work with teaching at a more overall level and that she has to work with colleagues during breaks to complete the required planning. One interpretation, based on Eraut's (2011) concepts, is that she wants collaborative work and the ability to engage in and promote mutual learning. If we see the management's model for

integration of the course in the light of Bodil's case, it is difficult to find a connection between her experiences and the management's intentions. Evetts' (2009) two ideal types for professionalism may provide an explanation: The management at the health and social care college has one discourse with standardized procedures in a hierarchical structure, but in the office the discourse is defined by the collegial group that controls what is important and necessary (i.e., the discourse is constructed within the professional group). This difference is discussed after the conclusion and related to the marketization of education.

Coherence in a diverse market

The analyses lead to the conclusion that school models, as an expression of organizational professionalism, represent different forms of rational procedures. However, managers have different approaches to establishing coherence between the vocational college as an organization and the teacher training course. The social and health care college has chosen a special learning approach and procedure that emphasizes direct transformation to teaching at the college. The technical college focuses on supporting the individual teachers and their goals to ensure pedagogic development. As mentioned, the two other colleges have different models.

If we compare school models with the form of occupational professionalism as it appears in observations and focus group interviews with teachers, a different picture emerges. At the social and health care college, the case with Bodil shows social relations and joint planning, but she expresses that she prefers teamwork and the ability for mutual learning. Her learning trajectories deviate from the assumptions in the school model. The case of Brian at the technical college demonstrates a professionalism that is developed via teamwork, social relations, joint planning, and mutual learning. One interpretation is that there is coherence between this and the school model, since teamwork supports his individual goals and thus potentially his pedagogic development, which is a goal of the school model. According to Brian, there are different collegial discourses, so the coherence that emerges is not clear-cut or general to the school.

The technical college and the health and social care college have different approaches to organizational professionalism, and Bodil's and Brian's learning trajectories in occupational professionalism differ even though they both participate in collegial collaboration, which contributes to shaping their professionalism. The school models do not appear to play a central role in the teachers' work day; instead, Brian forms alliances with his team and others who favour pedagogy, but he sees himself as being in opposition to another group of teachers. We can thus say that overall the course reinforces Brian's professionalism in an interplay with the team (Muzio & Kirkpatrick, 2011). In contrast, the course polarizes Bodil in relation to the managers, because she is now in a position to argue against their decision and her autonomy in pedagogic planning has been restricted. Conceptually, this amounts to a reduction of her work as a teacher, and we can theoretically talk about a change of the profession or a new form of professionalism (Muzio & Kirkpatrick, 2011; Noordegraaf, 2007; 2015). Evetts' (2009) two ideal types thus analytically illustrate certain difficulties in transforming knowledge from a teacher training course into an organizational context due to a discrepancy between the intended learning trajectory in the management's school model and the learning trajectory experienced by teachers and demonstrated in observations. The question is whether the two forms of professionalism can be developed and can support each other via learning processes supported by management or colleagues, which Eraut (2010) finds to be crucial in his analyses of newly graduated professionals. As mentioned, the teachers, except Brian, talk about forms of collaboration that are not being practiced and lacking possibilities for learning through collaboration. Based on this, all the teachers have op-

portunities for development, even though we have to talk about personal professionalism, as they all exhibit different learning trajectories and professionalism (Bathmaker & Avis, 2013).

As described in the introduction, the teachers' training course takes place in a market that is affected by various factors, for instance whether the supply of modules matches the schools' logistics in terms of planning, the geographic placement of modules and the price. The above analyses draw attention to the issue of whether the supply promotes organizational and occupational professionalism. Bodil's and Brian's cases illustrate a point here. In Brian's case, a connection is formed between what he calls "bodies" that favour pedagogy and the team's collegial work. The school model, the teamwork and the course encourage him to pursue a professionalism that goes against that of other colleagues. Brian becomes a frontrunner and the client—in this case, those who favour pedagogy—in a market logic is satisfied. The challenge to the vocational college and to the provider of the course is those colleagues who are not participating in the process of change. The market challenge is thus whether the client sees this need and whether the provider can deliver 'a product' that covers this new demand. It cannot be a standard product, since the colleague at the same technical college does not participate in similar collegial collaborations, see. Table 2. In other words, the market exhibits some diversity, and internal relations at the vocational colleges may demand different things from a provider (Fejes et al., 2016).

In Bodil's case, we do not find the same coherence between organizational and occupational professionalism, since she also wants collegial collaboration that is not possible. In a market situation, providers thus have to choose between educating for an occupational profession where the management does not assign the same value to collegial collaboration (the school model and standardized procedures) and the teachers. The providers therefore have to be able to deliver an educational product that satisfies managers as well as teachers, and this requires different supplies. Likewise, technical colleges and health and social work colleges have different demands for providers in terms of organizational learning.

The above analyses give rise to the question of how interaction between the two forms of professionalism can be promoted with a view to coherence and thus increased use of the teacher training course in teaching at vocational colleges. As possible answer is found in the concept of hybrid professionalism with reflexive practice and trade-offs in the relation between organizational and occupational professionalism or in organizing professionalism, where professionals take on new roles (Noordegraaf, 2007; 2015). Such new understandings of professionalism can challenge the content in the existing teacher training course. The practical implications of this understanding in the context of vocational colleges require more research.

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Appendix 1

Table 2

Overview of school models and collegial teamwork

The columns show the school models, teachers, and ways to collaborate: teamwork, facilitationg social relations, joint planning and ability to engagen in and promote mutual learning. The rows show the four different colleges.

	School models	Teachers	Teamwork	Facilitating social relations	Joint planning	Ability to engage in and promote mutual learning
			Observed = x According to interviews: e = exist, w = wanted			
Technical college	Pre-course: Prepare the students for the course	Uffe			x	w
		Brian	x	x	x	x
Health and social care college	During course: Control with a view to implementation in teaching	Bodil	w	x	x	w
		Fie	w		x	w
Commercial college	During course: Integration in the school's committees and development projects	Naja			x	w
		Dorthe				w
Combined commercial/technical college	During course: Internal coaching concerning examination papers on the course	Charlotte	e		x	w
		Tue	e	x	x	w