Teacher education policies in Chile: From invitation to prescription

Chapter · December 2014

DOI: 10.3138/9781442619999-024

3 authors:

Cristian Cox
Universidad Diego Portales
94 PUBLICATIONS **1,729** CITATIONS
SEE PROFILE

Lorena Meckes
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile
20 PUBLICATIONS **217** CITATIONS
SEE PROFILE

Martín Bascopé
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile
30 PUBLICATIONS **492** CITATIONS
SEE PROFILE

Do universities have a role in the education and training of teachers?

An international analysis of policy and practice

Edited by **Bob Moon**

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS
www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.
It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of
education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.
Information on this title: education.cambridge.org/

First published 2015

Printed in the United Kingdom by Printondemand-worldwide, Peterborough
A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Includes bibliographical references and index
ISBN 13-xxxxxxxxxxxxxx Paperback

CONTENTS

	Notes on contributors	v
	Series Editors' Preface	xi
Chapter 1	The issues and tensions around teacher education and training in the university *Bob Moon*	1
Chapter 2	Academic and practical: Research-based teacher education in Finland *Hannele Niemi*	19
Chapter 3	Norwegian teacher education: Development, steering and current trends *Elaine Munthe and Magne Rogne*	35
Chapter 4	Teachers for the twenty-first century: A transnational analysis of the role of the university in teacher education in the United Kingdom *Vivienne Baumfield*	57
Chapter 5	The role and place of training organisations, the state employer and university in initial teacher training in France (1990–2015) *Guy Lapostolle*	75
Chapter 6	Universities and the preparation of teachers in the Mediterranean: Cautionary tales from the global South *Ronald G. Sultana*	85
Chapter 7	The changing role of universities in US teacher education *Ken Zeichner*	107
Chapter 8	Cinderella faculties: The changing and unchanging nature of teacher education in Australian universities *Tony Taylor*	127
Chapter 9	Teacher education in universities: A case from India *Shyam B. Menon and Rama Mathew*	149

Chapter 10 The development of key normal universities in China: Challenges and transformations
Yan Hanbing, Li Xiaoying and Xiao Yumin 169

Chapter 11 Teacher education in Chile: Trends in social and policy pressures for change and evolution of its organisational and knowledge bases
Cristián Cox 187

Chapter 12 The missions and meanders of teacher education in South Africa
Irma Eloff 213

Chapter 13 Teacher education in Uganda: Policy and practice
Jessica Norah Aguti 231

Chapter 14 Building an agenda for the reform of teacher education and training within the University
Bob Moon 251

Index 267
Acknowledgements 270

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Bob Moon is Emeritus Professor of Education at The Open University (UK). He taught in a range of secondary schools and was headteacher of two schools before being appointed to The Open University in 1988. He has published widely on curriculum, international education and teacher education. He has been advisor to many national governments and international organisations, including the EU, DFID, OECD, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNRWA and the World Bank. In 2012, he was made a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences for his contribution to research in education.

Hannele Niemi, PhD, is Professor of Education (1998–) at the Faculty of Behavioural Sciences, University of Helsinki. She has been the Vice Rector for Academic Affairs (2003–9), the Dean of the Faculty of Education (2001–3) and the Head of the Department of Education (1998–2000) at the University of Helsinki. Niemi served as a Professor of Education in the Teacher Education Departments of Oulu, Turku and Tampere Universities in Finland (1987–98). She also has served as a Visiting Professor at Michigan State University (1989) and as a Visiting Scholar at Stanford University (2010, 2013 and 2015). Her main research interest areas are teachers' professional development, quality of teacher education, moral education, and technology-based learning environments. She has published several articles and books on education in Finland and on Finnish teacher education.

Elaine Munthe is Professor of Education and Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Education at the University of Stavanger. For the past five years, she has chaired the panel assessing the 2010 teacher education reform in Norway. Her research is concerned with teachers' classroom work, teachers' professional

learning through collaborative studies, student teachers' learning and teacher education. She has been a member, and is currently Chair, of a research programme at the Norwegian Research Council directed at increasing research and innovation in education.

Magne Rogne is Associate Professor in Norwegian at the University of Stavanger. For the past five years, he has been the leader of the secretariat for the panel assessing the 2010 teacher education reform in Norway. His fields of research include both teacher education and curriculum development. He has been a lecturer in Norwegian didactics in the four-year Initial Teacher Education programme and the one-year postgraduate programme. Rogne has a PhD in Literacy Studies from the University of Stavanger.

Vivienne Baumfield is Professor of Pedagogy, Policy and Innovation in the School of Education at the University of Glasgow. Her teaching and research focus on the role of inquiry and the relationship between theory and practice in professional learning. She is interested in the role of teacher educators in universities in the creation and translation of knowledge about teaching and learning. Baumfield belongs to the Curriculum, Assessment and Pedagogy Educational Research Group, which takes a transnational perspective on the development of policy for teacher education and its impact on practice in the four jurisdictions of the UK.

Guy Lapostolle is Professor of Education Sciences at the University of Lorraine. He worked as Vice Director and Teacher Trainer at the IUFM (Institut universitaire de formation des maîtres) of Bourgogne until 2014. Since then, he has worked in the Department of Education Sciences at the University of Lorraine. He teaches political science, vocational training and education history. He leads his research in the team NEV (Normes et Valeurs) in the Lab LISEC (Laboratoire interuniversitaire des sciences de l'éducation et de la communication). His research concerns teacher training and education policies, particularly the way in which teacher trainers, teachers and headteachers accept and deal with political reforms. His current research focuses on the political conditions needed to help headteachers and teachers innovate in the field of education.

Ronald G. Sultana is Professor of Educational Sociology and Comparative Education at the University of Malta, where he directs the Euro-Mediterranean Centre for Educational Research (EMCER), and where he has recently chaired a teacher education reform committee. He has studied education in Malta, the UK and New Zealand, and was Fulbright Fellow at Stanford University.

Professor Sultana is the author or editor of 21 volumes, and has published over a hundred articles and chapters in refereed journals and books focusing mostly on teacher education, educational innovation and evaluation, and the links between education and work. His research has taken him to several countries in the Mediterranean region, Africa and Europe, and he has been an adviser to a number of agencies, including UNESCO, UNICEF, GIZ, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the European Union, and various Ministries of Education.

Ken Zeichner, a former elementary teacher, is the Boeing Professor of Teacher Education at the University of Washington, Seattle. He is an elected member of the National Academy of Education, a Fellow in the American Educational Research Association (AERA), and a former Vice President of AERA. His recent publications include 'The Struggle for the Soul of Teaching and Teacher Education' (*Journal of Education for Teaching*, 2014), 'Venture Philanthropy and Teacher Education Policy in the U.S.' (*Teachers College Record*, 2015), 'Democratizing Teacher Education' (*Journal of Teacher Education*, 2015) and *Teacher Education and the Struggle for Social Justice* (Routledge, 2009). His current work focuses on teacher education policy and engaging local communities in teacher education.

Tony Taylor, University of Technology Sydney, was a member of the Monash University Faculty of Education, 1990–2013, where he was Course Coordinator, Campus Coordinator, Associate Dean and Director of the Commonwealth government's National Centre for History Education. His main research areas are history education and the politics of education. Between 2003 and 2011, he successfully gained, as principal Chief Investigator, two Australian Research Council (ARC) Discovery Grants and one ARC Linkage Grant. He was also co-investigator in a second Linkage Grant. He is currently Adjunct Professor in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at UTS. He holds various degrees including a PhD from the University of Cambridge.

Rama Mathew is Professor in the Faculty of Education, University of Delhi, and a former Dean. Previously she taught at the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad, where she was involved in English-language education with a specific focus on language teacher education and assessment for more than 20 years. She has worked as Project Director of many national and international projects focusing on teacher development and language assessment. Her current research interests include teaching English to adult and young learners, continuing professional development, and proficiency assessment, including online assessment.

Shyam B. Menon is Vice Chancellor of the Ambedkar University Delhi, a public university of the social sciences and humanities, since its inception in 2008. He was Dean, Faculty of Education at the University of Delhi, and, prior to that, Director, School of Education, Indira Gandhi National Open University. He started his career as a teacher educator at the MS University of Baroda. He was at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, as a Fulbright Fellow. His work has mainly been in curriculum studies, higher education and teacher education. He edited the journal *Perspectives in Education* for several years.

Yan Hanbing, East China Normal University, was awarded her PhD for educational information technology in 2003. In 2008, she was a Visiting Scholar at The Open University in the UK for one year. As a Professor of the School of Open Learning and Education, her research and practice are mainly focused on quality assurance of online education, teacher training and IT-supported instruction. As the Vice-Dean of the school, she has directed several teacher-training programmes. To date, the school has trained more than 480 000 K-12 teachers; results show that teachers benefit greatly from the training programmes. From 2013, she has been an important expert of MOE for the National K-12 teachers' ICT Application Competencies Improvement Project in China, which gave her an excellent opportunity to understand the whole framework and future direction of teacher education in China.

Cristián Cox, Universidad Católica de Chile, is a Chilean sociologist who was awarded his PhD from the University of London. He is Professor at the Catholic University of Chile's Faculty of Education, where he founded and led the Center for Research on Educational Policy and Practice (CEPPE, www.ceppe.cl). In the 1990s, he was a policy-maker at the Ministry of Education of Chile, responsible for a major reform of the country's school curriculum. He has served as a consultant to OECD, UNESCO, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, and was Tinker Visiting Professor at Stanford University (2005). His main research interests are educational policies, teacher education, curriculum and citizenship education.

Irma Eloff is the Dean of Education at the University of Pretoria. She is the founder of the African Deans of Education Forum (ADEF). She is rated as a researcher by the National Research Foundation in South Africa and she has been named as one of the top three 'Most Influential Women in Business and Government' in the Education category. She is also a registered educational psychologist and has served as the Head of Educational Psychology at UP, prior to her term as Dean. She is currently the Chair of the Education

Commission and Deputy-Chairperson of the Council of Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns. She is an ASSAf (Academy of Science of South Africa) member and a past President of the Education Association of South Africa (EASA). She has published more than 70 academic articles and book chapters, and over 50 Master's and doctoral students in Education and Educational Psychology have completed their studies under her supervision. She has co-authored the book *Life Skills & Assets* and she is co-editor of *Keys to Educational Psychology*. She obtained her PhD at the University of Stellenbosch.

Dr Jessica Norah Aguti is an Associate Professor in the Department of Open and Distance Learning, Makerere University, but is currently away on secondment as an Education Specialist, Teacher Education, at the Commonwealth of Learning (COL). She joined the Department in 1990 and played a major role in the growth and development of distance education in Makerere and in Uganda more broadly. She has also played a part in leadership in Makerere at various levels, including being a Deputy Principal of the College of Education and Eternal Studies. She has vast experience, acquired over 30 years as a teacher and teacher educator, and has liberally shared this in a number of fora and through her publications.

SERIES EDITORS' PREFACE

The manifold dimensions of the field of teacher education are increasingly attracting the attention of researchers, educators, classroom practitioners and policymakers, while awareness has also emerged of the blurred boundaries between these categories of stakeholders in the discipline. One notable feature of contemporary theory, research and practice in this field is consensus on the value of exploring the diversity of international experience for understanding the dynamics of educational development and the desired outcomes of teaching and learning. A second salient feature has been the view that theory and policy development in this field need to be evidence-driven and attentive to diversity of experience. Our aim in this series is to give space to in-depth examination and critical discussion of educational development in context with a particular focus on the role of the teacher and of teacher education. While significant, disparate studies have appeared in relation to specific areas of enquiry and activity, the *Cambridge Education Research Series* provides a platform for contributing to international debate by publishing within one overarching series monographs and edited collections by leading and emerging authors tackling innovative thinking, practice and research in education.

The series consists of three strands of publication representing three fundamental perspectives. The *Teacher Education* strand focuses on a range of issues and contexts and provides a re-examination of aspects of national and international teacher education systems or analysis of contextual examples of innovative practice in initial and continuing teacher education programmes in different national settings. The *International Education Reform* strand examines the global and country-specific moves to reform education and

particularly teacher development, which is now widely acknowledged as central to educational systems development. Books published in the *Language Education* strand address the multilingual context of education in different national and international settings, critically examining among other phenomena the first, second and foreign language ambitions of different national settings and innovative classroom pedagogies and language teacher education approaches that take account of linguistic diversity.

We are very pleased to include *XXXXXX* in our series as part of the collection of books.

Colleen McLaughlin and Michael Evans

1 The issues and tensions around teacher education and training in the university

Bob Moon

The purpose of this book is to explore the role that universities have in the education and training of teachers. Twelve case studies of contrasting national and regional contexts provide the basis for an analysis of policies and practices in this strategically significant area of educational development. The perspective is global and seeks to establish common ground between different countries, irrespective of wealth or tradition.

Teacher education and training has become contested territory, with complex pedagogic and ideological forces interacting with historical structures and ideas. Teacher education is a relative newcomer to the world of universities. It does not have the historical lineage of medicine or law, and teacher preparation is a large-scale, mass, not elite, endeavour. Teachers make up one of the world's biggest occupation groups. The UNESCO eAtlas of Teachers estimates that there are 29 million primary teachers, with many more needed to support expansion in the sector. The different structures of secondary education make numerical estimates more difficult, but we can see that an occupation group in excess of 50 million requires significant provision to cover pre-service and ongoing professional education and training.

It could be argued that universities are well placed to respond to the challenge of scale that teacher preparation represents. The tertiary sector, in most parts of the world, is expanding fast. A few decades ago, a university education was unquestionably a select process. This is changing, with many countries now sending over half of young people onto some form of higher education, and a few sending an even higher proportion. The evidence suggests, as the case studies will demonstrate, that, for the most part, bringing

teacher education into the university has been, and is still, a problematic process. I want, in this opening chapter, to describe the issues and tensions associated with this, and to point to some general concerns that seem to occupy many countries, despite the very different contexts that they represent. I will return to this in the final chapter, where I will explore the extra dimension that the detailed case studies provide. I will then assess the extent to which an informed agenda can be developed that would identify points for reform and improvement relevant to all the major stakeholders.

In an important sense, the history of teacher education is a success story. Over the past three centuries, and especially in the twentieth century, institutions of teacher education, increasingly university-based, expanded in all parts of the world. Recognition of the importance of educating teachers has become a part of the policy agenda for most national governments. The need to 'qualify' teachers is now widely recognised and is an unquestioned assumption in most countries. Teachers are seen to have played an important role in the remarkable improvements in the range and quality of schooling in many countries, with South Korea, Singapore and the Shanghai region of China providing just three examples.

Yet, despite this record, teacher education in the first decades of the twenty-first century has experienced unrelenting criticism.

Arne Duncan, President Obama's long-serving Secretary of Education, one of the leading critics, has said:

> By almost any standard, many if not most of the nation's 1450 schools, colleges and departments of education are doing a mediocre job of preparing teachers for the realities of the 21st century classroom.

And *Time* magazine, one of the journals reporting the speech, was equally forthright:

> It was a damning, but not unprecedented, assessment of teacher colleges, which have long been the stepchildren of the American university system and a frequent target of education reformers' scorn over the past quarter-century. (*Time* 23 October 2009)

In England, similar, perhaps even more strident, political attacks have characterised debate over the past two decades. In 1990, Conservative government proposals to give schools rather than universities the major say in teacher training were warmly supported in The Times (11 June): 'Current teacher training courses lack rigour and are not up to university standards.'New regulations were put in place to require that four-fifths of all teacher-training

courses took place in schools, a move that was strongly supported by some right-wing think tanks. The response of the teacher education community to such political intervention (interference, some would say) was almost wholly negative. One leading academic journal of teacher education, published from the UK, headed an editorial 'May Day? May Day!' (*Journal of Education for Teaching* 1994, 20:2).

The debate in England has rumbled on for more than 20 years. In 2013, the then minister argued strongly that 'the best people to teach teachers are teachers', rather than, as he saw it, the prejudiced community of education professors (reported in *The Telegraph*, 21 March). This assertion was made without reference to the strong evidence that courses were receiving increasingly strong approval from trainees and the headteachers who subsequently employed them (Furlong et al. 2006) – a trend that continues, despite recent research demonstrating the strengthening relationship between schools and universities working in partnership (Evans 2013).

Concern about the quality of teacher education goes well beyond the developed world. Successive UNESCO Global Reports monitoring the progress to secure a school place for every child by 2015 have called for the reform of a teacher education and training system perceived as outdated, insufficiently practical and failing to prepare teachers who, in developing countries, can be effective in the classroom (UNESCO 2004, 2014).

The aim of this book is to reach beyond the rhetoric and political positioning that can be associated with teacher education policy to examine in some detail the experience of 12 countries and geographical contexts spread across the globe. How widespread is the public and political unease about teacher education? How strong is the position of the university in different places and contexts? What strategies and practices underpin the work of university-based teacher educators in these different places?

The 12 countries have been selected from across the globe. Over many years working in developed and developing parts of the world, I have been struck by the community of common interests that there are around the way teachers are prepared. There are, of course, many contextual differences. It is important to acknowledge and understand these. But universities have a unique place in all societies, and, increasingly, have been acquiring a major role in the process of teacher education. Schoolteachers, the focus of this book, represent one of the world's biggest occupational groups, and the university task in teacher education represents a sizeable and logistical challenge. I was fortunate that a distinguished panel of experts from such diverse geographical contexts accepted the invitation to contribute to this book. In

that invitation, I suggested a number of issues they might consider in preparing their contributions. These included:

- the origins of the university role in relation to teacher education and training
- the evolution of the teacher education role of the university to present times
- the nature of any political and public debates about the quality of teacher education and training (identifying key stakeholder groups and the way they inter-relate)
- the research record about the effectiveness of the university role in teacher education and training
- contemporary trends, and possible future scenarios, in the structure and organisation of teacher education and training
- current research within the national context that might assist in any changes in teacher education and training
- reflections on the political and public confidence in the university role in teacher education and training (to include an analytical consideration of the forces underlying such confidence/lack of confidence).

I did not want the varied contributions to be formulaic in necessarily responding to each of these issues. One of the fascinating outcomes of this process is to observe how, given a common task, different emphases and pressing concerns emerge. The aim was to make this book valuable to everyone with a stake in the way universities prepare teachers. The different case studies and the accompanying analyses seek to provide a mirror that will allow anyone with an interest in this process to think about the ways their own policies and practices might develop. The question in the title of this book is set to highlight the uncertainties that exist in many countries. I believe that these concerns need addressing more robustly than has hitherto been the case. As I will go on to suggest, I share some of these uncertainties but, along with all the contributors to this book, my answer to the question in the title is yes, universities do have a role in teacher education and training. In some countries, however, there are strong political pressures suggesting otherwise and the arguments underpinning this stance need understanding and response. This is one of the purposes of this book.

In this first chapter, I want to look more closely at the dichotomy between the world of university-based teacher education and the public and political

scrutiny it has undergone in the past and is still undergoing. I want to suggest that we look beyond the politicisation of teacher education and examine the deeper social pressures that are often overlooked in the debates and controversies around teacher preparation and support. The teacher education community needs, I believe, to be responsive to these pressures and map out a reform strategy that takes account of social, political and professional unease. I will suggest the directions that this needs to take.

In doing this, it is important to stress that I am not thinking of any one national system. There is now a strong global discourse around the education and training of teachers. There are many interesting, usually localised, examples of new and innovative practice that do address the issue of public confidence, and some of these I will refer to. My main concern is with systemic change and at scale. To achieve this, I think we need to rethink some of the ideas and assumptions that underpin present practice. I want to look at general concepts, and to do this I need to look first in more detail at what I have termed the 'success story' of teacher education and the problems that have arisen subsequently.

Formal provision for educating teachers, in Europe, goes back some way. Jean Baptiste de la Salle established the first French école normale in Reims at the end of the seventeenth century (Johnson 1968), and the first German seminary for teachers was set up in Gotha in 1698 (Neather 1993). In England, the first teacher-training college was established in Southwark, London, in 1798. Nearly 40 years later, the first teacher-training 'normal school' in the USA was set up by Cyrus Peirce in Lexington (Provenso 2011).

These institutions focused almost wholly on preparing teachers for the elementary or primary phases of schooling. As primary education expanded, becoming universal in most parts of Europe by the end of the nineteenth century, so the institutions of teacher education proliferated. These were single-purpose institutions with, in some countries, strong links to the church. By the early years of the twentieth century, such institutions were educating very large numbers of teachers for the rapidly newly created mass education systems.

The origins of teacher education are, therefore, unlike professions such as medicine or law, outside the academy or university. This was to change through the twentieth century. What one commentator (Neave 1992) has termed the 'universitisation' of teacher education began to take hold.

The incorporation of teacher training into the university sector proceeded at different rates from country to country. In the USA, the move took place primarily in the 1930s; in England, in the 1970s; in France, in the 1990s; and

in South Africa, in the first decade of the present century. Other countries moved at varied timescales but, in most parts of the world today, teacher education is either provided by universities or validated by universities. As primary teacher education became incorporated, so the pressure to provide teacher education for secondary teachers increased and it became increasingly recognised that a subject degree was insufficient for entry into teaching. One, sometimes two, years of pedagogic preparation for pre-service courses quickly became the norm.

The involvement of the university in teacher education has had important consequences. The increasing number of primary teachers educated to degree level contributed to the rising status of the primary sector. The universities, for the most part, guarded closely an academic freedom and autonomy that, initially at least, protected teacher education from government intervention or regulation.

Over the past 25 years, however, the role of the university and the practices of the university in teacher education and training have come under relentless scrutiny. In England and the USA, the politicking around teacher education has been highly confrontational, but there are other examples.

In France, the Sarkozy government in the first decade of this century set about abolishing the equivalent of university departments of education (the Institut Universitaire de Formation des Maîtres-IUFM) and moving teacher education into the subject departments of the universities (Lapostolle & Chevaillier 2011). A study for UNESCO found that the vast majority of European countries had introduced regulatory or legislative reform to improve the quality of teachers (Moon et al. 2003). In Australia, there have been numerous governmental and state reviews of teacher education. The Ramsey report for New South Wales (Ramsey 2000, 24) pressed the need 'To align teacher education with the needs of our times: in too many current instances this seemed not to be the case', and suggested that:

> The current way of conceptualizing teacher education reflects a traditional adherence to discipline areas, and precludes the involvement of multi skilled educators in the school environment […] the current paradigm for thinking about teacher preparation programs is outdated and has been over-taken by changes to work patterns and practices.

The report looked at the position of teacher education within the university:

> Teacher education is less connected to the other disciplines in universities than it has ever been. In the very period when the university disciplines should have engaged with teacher education, they have distanced themselves from it as much

> as teacher education has from them. Equally, teacher education in the State's [New South Wales] universities does not generally operate within models that make strong connections with schools. (Ibid, 25)

If we are to understand the situation of teacher education today, and if we are to set out proposals for repositioning and reform, then it is necessary to examine the origins of this sort of disquiet. How did a system of teacher education that had gone unchallenged for most of the twentieth century gain such critical political attention and, in some countries, acquire such notoriety?

It is important to remember that criticism has come from across the political spectrum, Democrats as well as Republicans, Socialist as well as Conservative parties. The concern represents something more than party politics.

I believe that the worry about teacher education is part of a wider social unease about the quality and effectiveness of schools generally. In Europe, North America and Australasia, and increasingly in developing countries, concern about achievement in schools is a major political issue. It is not only national achievement overall, as judged for example by international tables such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), but also the inequalities of achievement within countries that are creating unease. These doubts are expressed across the political spectrum.

I think that the concern about teacher education is, in no small measure, a consequence of the progress made in education. Over the past 50 years, larger proportions of the populations than ever before, in most developed countries, are achieving educational success. In the UK, over 40% of the population go on to higher education, compared to less than 10% in the middle of the previous century. In South Korea, the proportion of young people entering university has just topped 80%. In France, the same proportion pass the secondary-school-leaving baccalaureate.

These improvements have led to many more educated parents who, implicitly or explicitly, know the social and economic importance of education for their children. It is unsurprising, therefore, that a less deferential, more abrasive approach to the quality of schooling has come to characterise our social institutions. Parents are prepared to be critical of schools and teachers. Where politicians take up the standards issue, they are plugging into a deep source of parental worry. This is not confined to the richer nations. A report by The Nelson Mandela Foundation in South Africa, aptly titled 'Emerging Voices' (Nelson Mandela Foundation 2005) provides vivid testimony of the disquiet of parents about the quality of teachers. And on YouTube, you can

watch demonstrations by parents and children about the quality of their teachers in places as far apart as India and Mexico. Is it any wonder that teacher education becomes a central feature in this broader picture?

Political scrutiny and attacks on teacher education also reflect the ambiguous status of teacher education within the university. One perceptive commentator in England (Hencke 1978) has part of the explanation for this:

> Teacher training began in 1798 in Southwark, a slum district of London. That Southwark rather than Oxford or Cambridge was the home of teacher training explains many of the problems facing teacher educators today […] unlike theology, medicine or law it has no historic claim to a university tradition of academic excellence or respectability. It has more in common with medieval craft guilds, whose apprenticeship system preceded modern technical education.

I have already referred to Arne Duncan's views on teacher education and training in the USA. Critiques in that country go back some way. The much-quoted report of the Holmes Group (1995) on Schools of Education in the USA presents a damning indictment of teacher educators who, in the unsuccessful quest for status and legitimacy in the academic community, became cut off from their central mission, the world of schools and the work of teachers.

I think it is worth dwelling on the teacher educators' 'quest for legitimacy' because I believe this to be one of the major fault lines of the present structure of teacher education. As teacher education institutions became part of the universities, so the staff that made the transition had to adjust to new systems of status and reward. Research and scholarship had much higher visibility than in the teacher-training colleges or colleges of education that existed formerly. The 'practical' work of preparing teachers for the classroom sat uneasily with prevailing cultural norms of academic life. Although doctors, lawyers and architects embraced 'the practical', there was less of a perception that this was necessary in teaching.

Given this context, teacher educator legitimacy was sought more easily in the social sciences, particularly sociology. The bourgeoning development of the sociology of education followed the influx of teacher educators into the universities. The forms of social sciences, to which many teacher educators were drawn, were not primarily focused on practical and professional work. While significant work was carried out on issues such as the social origins of the curriculum, the relationship of social stratification to schooling and the nature of disadvantage, teacher education began to acquire a reputation in schools for overly theoretical courses unrelated to the real world of teaching.

There are consequences from this. The quest for legitimacy has only been partially successful. Teacher education has remained the poor relation in many parts of higher education. The practice of teaching has struggled to gain legitimacy. In England, tutoring on the Post Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) does not always have the status it deserves, although universities have improved their standing with schools (Furlong et al. 1994. In the USA, most of the schools of education in the leading universities do no teacher preparation. It is unsurprising, therefore, that as many teacher educators move away from the 'practical', so they expose themselves to the criticism of being out of touch or too concerned with theory. The practical component of teacher education has repeatedly come under criticism for lacking articulation with other course components, and in many education courses across the world the practicum takes up only a small component of time.

The gap between teacher educators and schools continues to be significant. In many countries, teacher educators (as the Australian review suggests) have failed to establish a support base either within the schools or within the wider university academic community. Into this vacuum, governments have been regulating and legislating independently of the teacher education community within the university. For the most part, these interventions have championed practical skills, competences and performance-orientated modes of teacher education and training. The universities, often outside this discourse, have been unable to establish an alternative capable of convincing political opinion.

In some contexts, it is true, the teacher educator community has sought to mediate between the governmental and university perceptions of the teacher education curriculum. In England, for example, where the conflicts between government and teacher educators has been especially acute, some universities sought to anticipate concern with a more practically focused approach to education and training. As a young headteacher in Oxford in the 1980s, I was involved in the school-based model developed by Harry Judge and colleagues at the University Department of Education, the Oxford internship scheme, modelled, as the name implies, on approaches to medical education. Few universities followed this approach until required to do so by government regulation. And regulation in turn created an ideological battlefield between those advocating craft skills and competence (governments) and others (teacher educators) advocating a more rounded education embracing grounding in theory as well as practice.

Let me, therefore, summarise this discussion:

First, the universities have played a pivotal role in raising the status and ambitions of teacher education. This has been especially true for primary teachers and for secondary teachers who had previously been trained outside the university. In most countries, the university maintains a strong involvement in the teacher education process.

Second, departments of education in universities have become increasingly isolated from schools. And the links between education and other disciplines within the universities are weak.

Third, the curriculum of teacher education has been strongly influenced by ideas and concepts from the social sciences, and this has laid university departments open to the criticism of being overly theoretical and lacking in engagement with the practice of teachers. Partially as a consequence, quite instrumental skills-based and competence/performance-orientated regulatory frameworks have been prescribed by governments and government agencies.

Fourth, teacher preparation has, in many countries, become embroiled in political and ideological debates that have created defensiveness in the teacher education academic community.

Fifth, given the increasing levels of distrust between university-based teacher educators and governments, departments of education have become less influential in the policy and practice debates about school improvement and reform.

You will find aspects of this summarising analysis in the case-study chapters that follow. I think there is sufficient breadth to bring out some general conclusions that will be of value to the policy community around teacher education, particularly those working in universities. In the final chapter of the book, I will begin the process of exploring the new directions that policy might follow.

I have grouped the case studies with the European contributions together in Chapters 2–6, before extending the analysis to high-income countries such as the USA and Australia. The growth economies of India, China and Chile precede two case studies from sub-Saharan Africa. To provide an initial orientation, each of the case studies is briefly summarised in the final section of this chapter.

In Chapter 2, **Academic and practical: Research-based teacher education in Finland**, Hannele Niemi provides a brief overview of Finnish teacher education and its position in the Finnish higher education system, particularly in the university context. All primary- and secondary-school teacher education was moved to universities in early the 1970s, and, since 1979, teacher

qualifications have been awarded through MA degrees consisting of five-year university programmes. This chapter discusses how studies of content knowledge and pedagogical methods for teaching content knowledge are integrated and how teaching practice is organised in university teacher-training schools and local-partner schools. Teacher education is research-based and research-informed, and all student teachers have authentic experiences pertaining to knowledge creation in their research studies. This chapter also describes tensions that have existed between different actors in university-based teacher education and how these have been resolved. Major pathways to successful solutions have been traversed through joint forums for discussion, strategic planning and joint research projects within universities, co-operation between universities, and cooperation with different stakeholders in society. An important condition for research-based teacher education is that teacher educators have high levels of practical expertise and a strong research orientation in their work.

In Chapter 3, **Norwegian teacher education: Development, steering and current trends**, Elaine Munthe and Magne Rogne present the historical development and the blurring of the two main tracks of teacher education in Norway – the consecutive at the universities, historically intended for work in upper secondary schools, and the concurrent model at the seminars and colleges, which was mainly intended for work in compulsory school years. The development of these two tracks is discussed in relation to legal, financial, informative and controlling policy instruments. The first central development identified is 'national versus global steering'. This development is addressed using a model depicting the influence of stakeholders, systems and processes. In the second half of the chapter, the authors identify other major discourses and tensions that have evolved in recent years. One tension is described as the 'research turn' and the 'practice turn' in teacher education, and a second tension is between 'professional autonomy' and 'market management'. Finally, they conclude by taking a closer look at ongoing structural changes (mergers) in higher education, and competence-based approaches to learning outcomes in elementary and secondary schools, and reflect on how these issues may influence future teacher education.

In Chapter 4, **Teachers for the twenty-first century: a transnational analysis of the role of the university in teacher education in the United Kingdom**, Vivienne Baumfield argues that, although provision for the education of teachers is diverging, the contribution of universities continues to be recognised; views on what this is are shifting. It is the role of the academic teacher

educator that is being questioned and the continuation of university-based teacher education programmes will depend on understanding their contribution to developing and sustaining viable school–university partnerships. Transnational study of the role of the university in teacher education in the four jurisdictions of the UK provides insight into the influence of international trends in education policy discourse on the formation of teachers. As trajectories in national policy develop, the positioning of the university in teacher education is an indicator of different perspectives on what and how teachers should learn, with implications for the nature of teaching as a profession.

In Chapter 5, **The role and place of training organisations, the state employer and university in initial teacher training in France (1990–2015)**, Guy Lapostolle gives a clearer idea of the developments in the role and place of training organisations (IUFMs – Insituts universitaires de formation des maîtres [University Institutes for Teacher Training] and ESPEs – Ecoles supérieures du professorat et de l'éducation [Higher Schools for Teaching and Education]), the state employer and universities in initial primary- and secondary-school teacher training in France from 1990 until the present day. The intention is to show that the role and place attributed to these institutions and the relationships between the institutions themselves have significant impacts not only on the development of training curricula, but also on the way student teachers adapt to these curricula. This chapter will shed light on the obstacles that hinder the effective use of such curricula by student teachers in training.

In Chapter 6, **Universities and the preparation of teachers in the Mediterranean: Cautionary tales from the global South**, Ronald Sultana explores the role of universities in teacher education in Mediterranean countries. 'Partnership' has been increasingly touted as the way forward in the initial and continued formation of teachers, with key partners being universities and schools, as well as a range of other 'stakeholders', government included. The claims made in favour of 'partnership' are scrutinised through a series of critical reflections that take into account the political and ideological contexts in which current notions of 'partnership' are embedded. It is argued that while 'partnerships' do have a place in the 'discursive ecologies' that can be assembled together when considering teacher education, it is crucial to also acknowledge and confront the tensions that 'partnering' entails. Such tensions play themselves differently in the global North and South, and are particularly productive if we embrace an enhanced notion

of professionalism that sees education not as a technicist endeavour but as a socially reconstructive project. The implications of this critique for the countries bordering on the southern Mediterranean are examined in relation to the role played by universities in preparing teachers as agents of educational and social reform.

In Chapter 7, **The changing role of universities in US teacher education**, Ken Zeichner outlines the historical development of formal teacher education in the US since its beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. He discusses the variety of reasons why alternative pathways into teaching in the US have emerged in recent years, and summarises the different criticisms that have been made by academics, policy-makers and the public about the largely public and university-based system in the country. The criticisms of university-based teacher education in the US are discussed in relation to the decline of government support for public universities. The chapter also summarises the main arguments made by both defenders and critics of the current system and examines what research evidence exists in support of the various arguments. It concludes with reflections about the future of US teacher education, which will be one either in which the university role has been eliminated or where new hybrid programmes involving universities become the dominant form of preparing teachers. The emergence of these new hybrid and democratic forms of teacher preparation and the huge role that private money has played in dismantling the university-dominated system are two factors in the US case that merit international attention.

In Chapter 8, **Cinderella faculties: The changing and unchanging nature of teacher education in Australian universities**, Tony Taylor outlines, analyses and discusses in general terms the previous and current status of education faculties in Australian universities. Using the Monash University and Australian Catholic University faculties as illustrative examples, he examines the effects of radical late-1980s changes in Australia's higher education system, which drew almost all teacher education providers into a unified national university system, creating both opportunities and challenges for restructured faculties of education. He argues that, despite these changes and the best intentions of many teacher educators, education faculties remain the poor relations of the Australian university system, its 'Cinderella faculties', with only modest levels of overall research productivity, issues in some faculties with controversially low student entry levels, a consistent pattern of accusations that pre-service education in these faculties is losing touch with its schools constituency, and a steady barrage of professional and political

criticism that too many graduating teachers are under-prepared for their careers. He concludes the chapter with a discussion of the context for, and conclusions of, the 2014 Australian Teacher Education Ministerial Advisory Group (TEMAG) inquiry and its 2015 report *Action Now: Classroom Ready Teachers*.

In Chapter 9, **Teacher education in universities: A case from India**, Rama Mathew and Shyam B. Menon briefly trace the history of teacher education in India and provide an overview of the systems and institutions as they have evolved. The focus is on university departments of education and their roles, both scripted and enacted, in the initial preparation of school-teachers and teacher educators, as well as in in-service teacher education. In India, there are university departments of education that emerged out of secondary teacher 'training' colleges and there are others, particularly in the newly established universities, which focus entirely on Master's and research programmes in education. In trying to understand the relatively marginal position of the departments of education in the university space, the chapter attempts to problematise the struggles they go through in negotiating their dual identity as a teacher education institution and a university department. The chapter will examine the complex trajectory of these institutions and will argue that their relationship with the school system is somewhat troubled. Examples will be drawn from the Faculty of Education of the University of Delhi, where the authors have been deans, and also from other institutions where relevant.

In Chapter 10, **Development under pressure and competition: Chinese normal universities' role, challenges and changes**, Yan Hanbing, Li Xiaoying and Xiao Yumin study the policies and initiatives adopted by China's key normal universities to meet the challenges and transformations of teacher education reform. The chapter firstly presents the whole picture of the teacher education and training system in China, and then presents and analyses the policies and initiatives adopted by key normal universities. From the perspective of pre-service teacher education, the challenges are as follows: the opening-up of the normal education system, the policy of free teacher education, a comprehensive evaluation index on universities, and the debate of the necessity of keeping a balance between teacher education and academic research, and so on. To meet the challenges, the normal universities are actively carrying out different initiatives to respond to the changes. From the perspective of in-service teacher education, it is urgent that normal universities improve the quality of faculty and their curriculum leadership

as well as the quality of distance service provided to schoolteachers, and the abilities of those guiding professional training. From the perspective of the integration of pre-service teacher education and in-service teacher training, normal universities see it both as a challenge and an opportunity for inquiry into the possibility of integration of human resources, innovation in training mechanisms and integrated applications of curriculum resources.

In Chapter 11, **Teacher education in Chile: Trends in social and policy pressures for change and evolution of its organisational and knowledge bases**, Cristián Cox explores the long and recent history of the universities' relationship with teacher education in Chile and the public debates and policies that have defined the arena for the development of the sector since the mid-1990s. He appraises the research connected with the main issues, and its impact, or not, on the policy debates and strategies. In the third section of the chapter, the author stands back from the characterised evolution of the sector, and the policies attempting to reform it, and discusses the limits and possibilities of the social, policy-related and institutional forces at work. Chile's case is an interesting one from the viewpoint of policies aimed at redefining the status and quality of teacher education institutions, curricula and practices: indeed, government policies have attempted, since the mid-1990s, to reform the sector in a context of contradictory market- and state-shaping forces, and weak results, which the chapter will discuss, bringing into the picture the university institutions and the academia of the faculties of education.

In Chapter 12, **The missions and meanders of teacher education in South Africa**, Irma Eloff shares some of the key historical moments of teacher education in South Africa, ponders the current challenges, and shares some thoughts on the future role of universities in teacher education. Teacher education in South Africa has been intricately linked to the history of the country. From the first antecedents within small Protestant missions, which were established in colonial South Africa, through the ravages of separate education systems under apartheid, to the trends within an emerging democracy, teacher education has always been on the receiving end of political turmoil. Often used as a vehicle for social transformation, teacher education in South Africa has proven to be highly adaptable to changing social agendas. While huge challenges such as the closure of teacher-training colleges, inadequate investment in language diversity and questions about the status of the profession remain, teacher education at universities is typified by high levels of responsiveness to societal demands and a deep commitment to quality.

In Chapter 13, **Teacher education in Uganda: Policy and practice**, Jessica Aguti discusses some of the education and political debates taking place in Uganda and identifies some of the initiatives that could form the nuclei for the transformation of teacher education in the country and in the East African region in general. East Africa – comprising Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi – sits on 1.8 million square kilometres and has a population of 143.5 million (2013 est.) with 39 000 451 of this population (27.1%) aged 5–14 years, implying that the region has a huge burden of providing schooling to a large proportion of the population. Over the years, the school system has grown tremendously, especially since Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Universal Secondary Education (USE) were launched in the region. However, there is evidence to indicate that the expansion in the school system has led to compromises in the quality of education being provided. To cope with the growing demand, there have been various efforts to ensure effective and efficient teacher education; but there are still many challenges and gaps.

In the final chapter of the book, **Chapter 14: New directions for the reform of university-based teacher education**, I summarise some of the most significant issues arising from the different case studies. I then seek to identify key directions for reform that would strengthen and legitimise the role of teacher education within the university.

References

Evans, M. (2013). *Teacher Education and Pedagogy: Theory, Policy and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Furlong, J., Barrett, E., Barton, L. & Miles, S. (1994). 'Integration and Partnership in Initial Teacher Education – Dilemmas and Possibilities'. *Research Papers in Education*, 9:3, 281–301.Furlong J., Campbell, A., Howson, J., Lewis, S. & McNamara, O. (2006). 'Partnership in English Initial Teacher Education: Changing Times, Changing Definitions. Evidence from the Teacher Training Agency National Partnership Project'. *Scottish Educational Review*, 37:1, 32–45.

Hencke, D. (1978). *Colleges in Crisis; The Reorganisation of Teacher Training 1971–77*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Holmes Group (1995). *Tomorrow's Schools of Education: A Report of the Holmes Group*. Lansing, MI: Holmes Group Inc.

Johnson, J. (1968). *A Brief History of Student Teaching, Creative Educational Materials*. De Kalb, IL: Illinois University Press.

Lapostolle, G. & Chevaillier, T. (2011). 'Teacher Training in France in the Early 2010s'. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 37:4, 451–9.

Moon, B., Vlasceanu, L. & Barrows, L.C., eds (2003). *Institutional Approaches to Teacher Education within Higher Education in Europe: Current Models and New Developments*. Bucharest: UNESCO.

Moon, B. (2013). *Teacher Education and the Challenge of Development*. London: Routledge.

Neather, E.J. (1993). 'Teacher Education and the Role of the University: European Perspectives'. *Research Papers in Education*, 8:1, 33–46.

Neave, G. (1992). *The Teaching Nation. Prospects for Teachers in the European Community*. Oxford: Pergamon.

Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005). *Emerging Voices*. Johannesburg: Mandela Foundation.

Provenso, E.F. (2011). 'Teacher Preparation and Staffing in US Schools'. In F.W. English, ed. *The SAGE Handbook of Educational Leadership*. London: SAGE.

Ramsey, G. (2000). *Quality Matters: Revitalising Teaching: Critical Times, Critical Choices*. Sydney: New South Wales Department of Education and Training.

Times Educational Supplement (8 December 2010). 'Gove Serves Notice on Teacher Training'.

UNESCO (2004). *The Quality Imperative, 2005 Global Monitoring Report*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2014). *Teaching and Learning: Achieving Quality for All, 2013–14 Global Monitoring Report*. Paris: UNESCO.

2 Academic and practical: Research-based teacher education in Finland

Hannele Niemi

A BRIEF HISTORY OF FINNISH TEACHER EDUCATION: BECOMING A PART OF THE UNIVERSITIES

The Finnish educational system has undergone deep and holistic changes since the late 1960s and early 1970s. The earlier parallel school system was based on an early selection of 10-year-old students (i.e. after fourth grade) into two routes: an academic route leading to universities and practical routes without access to higher education. This selection was often based on the children's families' socio-economic background. This was made worse because the academic schools frequently charged tuition fees. The big reform of Finland's education system started in the 1960s and was carried out over ten years. The whole system moved to one common comprehensive school for all children, providing nine years of basic education totally free of charge. The teachers had to teach the whole age cohort without selection. The system put a strong emphasis on inclusiveness, special-needs education and the students' holistic wellbeing.

This big system reform had a remarkable consequence for teacher education (Niemi 2012a; Sahlberg 2015). In the process, many important decisions had to be made. All teacher education was moved from the earlier colleges or seminars to universities between 1971 and 1973. This was a big change, particularly to primary-school teacher education, which was also raised to the Master's degree level (five-year programme). Class teachers/primary teachers had earlier received their pre-service teacher education in teacher-training seminars or colleges. The programmes varied from one to three years in length. The new university-based teacher education programmes started in 1979.

The secondary-school teachers had earlier studied their majors in universities to at least Bachelor's level – in many subjects they even had a Master's degree – and after their degree they received a one-year practicum in a teacher-training school. After the changes had been introduced, all secondary-school teachers were required to have a Master's degree and the scope of their pedagogical studies widened. Pedagogical studies could be offered concurrently or consecutively.

The aim was to unify different teacher categories and make all teachers familiar with the latest research in academic subject matter and pedagogy. Universities were seen as the most relevant place for teacher education because they provided the highest-quality research environments.The change made teacher education a part of the academic community. Educational sciences became a discipline that provided Bachelor's, Master's and doctoral degrees. Teacher education degrees for primary teachers comprised a major in education with teaching practice and a minor in academic subjects, while secondary-school teachers had a major in an academic subject and a minor in educational sciences, which also included teaching practice.

Teacher education (TE) reform was connected with the comprehensive-school model and it was also part of a big reform of university degrees that was started and completed in Finnish higher education in all universities in the 1970s. The Master's degree became a main degree in almost all disciplines. Teacher education and educational sciences were regarded as parts of this university degree reform. All degrees were at that time very strictly defined programmes and the Ministry of Education followed up teacher education degrees. The centralised system led to a high degree of uniformity throughout the country's teacher education institutions. In the middle of the 1980s, a strong movement towards decentralisation was implemented in all of Finland's public administration. This also concerned education and higher education, including teacher education. Teacher education departments now had more freedom to organise their own degrees and connect teacher education to their university's profiles. However, they also had to produce teachers who had a Master's degree qualification.

The teacher education degrees have been updated in different phases, depending on changes in the educational system. One example of decentralisation throughout Finnish society and higher education should be mentioned. When local providers were given more freedom to design their own curricula in the late 1980s and early 1990s, it also meant that the teachers needed to be capable of taking on this responsibility in the schools.

TEACHER EDUCATION AS A PART OF BOLOGNA-PROCESS DEGREES IN FINNISH UNIVERSITIES

One of the recent TE reforms is linked with the European Bologna process. This reform was carried out from 2004 to 2006 in all Finnish universities (Jakku-Sihvonen & Niemi 2006). Teacher education was structured into Bachelor's and Master's degrees, but the teacher qualification still required both degrees (Niemi & Jakku-Sihvonen 2006). The traditional distinction between class teachers and subject teachers was retained, but the structures of the respective degree programmes allowed them to take very flexible routes to include both in the same programme or to permit a later qualification in either direction.

In Finland, the Bologna process was implemented in educational sciences and teacher education very interactively, both at a national level and also in the universities (Jakku-Sihvonen & Niemi 2006). Nationally, all teacher education departments and other academic departments that had responsibilities in teacher education were invited to cooperate in making the draft recommendations for TE degrees. During that process, there were also many meetings and discussions with labour-market representatives about the teacher qualification. The common opinion was that teachers should have a Master's degree. The project operated from 2004 to 2006 and was mindful of universities' autonomy. However, teacher education departments wanted to create some common guidelines (Niemi & Jakku-Sihvonen 2006). These could work as recommendations for how to combine degrees and also provide a basis for quality assurance. Consequently, the following main recommendations were agreed:

The teacher education curriculum should include the following components:

- the latest scientific knowledge of subject matter and studies, and how to transfer this knowledge into pedagogical content knowledge
- a research-based knowledge of pedagogy and subject matters
- research-informed professional skills and the competences required to guide and support different learners
- an understanding of the social and cultural dimension of education, which allows teachers to respond to the needs of individual learners in an inclusive waystudies that open the student teachers' awareness of the teachers' roles as representatives of a moral profession and as public intellectuals in educational issues.

The teacher qualification requires 300 European Credit Transfer System credits (ECTS) (BA is 180 ECTS + MA is 120 ECTS). Portions of different kinds of studies can be summarised in the following way:

- **Academic disciplines (**approximately 30–40% from 300). Academic studies include a major or minors, depending on the qualification being sought. Class teachers have a major in educational sciences and minors in other disciplines. Secondary-school teachers have whatever disciplines are taught in schools or educational institutions.
- **Research studies** consist of methodological studies, a BA thesis, and an MA thesis (approx. 20% from 300).
- **Pedagogical studies** (min. 60 ECTS) are obligatory for all teachers, and should also include teaching practice (approx. 20% from 300).
- **Communication, language and ICT** studies are also obligatory (approx. 15–20% from 300).
- **The preparation of a personal study** plan was a new element in university studies in Finland. Its main function is to guide students to develop their own effective programmes and career plans, and to tutor them in achieving their goals (approx. 2% from 300).
- **Optional studies** may cover a variety of different courses through which students seek to profile their studies and qualifications (depending on other choices).

Finnish teacher education has aimed at the integration of practice and theory. The leading principle has been that teachers are educated to fill an autonomous professional role.

PRACTICE IN FINNISH TEACHER EDUCATION

The teachers' pedagogical studies include guided teaching practice (approx. 20 ECTS). The aim of guided practical studies is to support students in their efforts to acquire professional skills in researching, developing and evaluating teaching and learning processes. In addition, students should be able to reflect critically on their own practices and social skills in teaching and learning situations. During guided practical studies, the students should meet pupils and students from various social backgrounds and psychological

orientations, and they should have opportunities to teach them according to the curriculum.

Teaching practice is integrated with all levels of teacher education time. It is supervised by university teachers, university training school teachers, or local school teachers, depending on the phase of practice (Jyrhämä 2006). All of the supervisors have special training to work as mentors and to support the student teachers' reflective practice.

Teaching practice is divided into different phases. The pedagogical studies begin with an orientation phase that allows the student teachers to observe and analyse students and schools from a teacher's perspective, after being a student for most of their lives. The second phase is an intermediate practice during which the student teachers start to plan lessons and take on teachers' responsibilities in the classroom, and which also allows them to gradually widen their professional work. The last phase is called advanced practicum, where the student teachers deepen and widen their competences. This can happen in local, affiliated schools or teacher-training schools. It is worth noting that teacher-training schools play an important role in the Finnish teacher education system.

All of teacher education departments have teacher-training schools. These schools are parts of universities and specialise in supporting the student teachers' professional development. They also have a commitment to develop teaching and learning by creating and applying new methods in learning environments. Teacher-training schools implement a research-based approach to all parts of Finnish teacher education. The teacher-training school in the University of Jyväskylä describes its work as follows (University of Jyväskylä 2015):

> The Teacher Training School's responsibilities also include research and development of the supervised teaching practice, learning and teaching. Teaching and teacher training are developed in a science-based manner: exploring and experimenting. On the basis of their job description, the school's teachers are developer-teachers, and the school is a developer-school; in particular, within the sphere of supervised teaching practice, which is one of its core functions […]
>
> The University of Jyväskylä Teacher Training School has its own publication series. The series includes reports and articles from research, experimental and development projects implemented in the school, mainly written in Finnish. Several University of Jyväskylä students also complete their theses at the Teacher Training School, and they are assessed by their respective departments. Students can apply for permission to undertake a thesis or other research from

the principal or the person coordinating the school's research, experimental and development activities.

RESEARCH-INFORMED AND RESEARCH-BASED TEACHER EDUCATION

The research component is an essential part of Finnish teacher education programmes. (Jyrhämä et al. 2008; Jyrhämä & Maaranen 2012; Kansanen 2006; Niemi & Nevgi 2014; Niemi & Jakku-Sihvonen 2006). It makes up approximately 20% of the whole of TE studies for both elementary (major in Education) and secondary-school teachers (major in an academic subject). Research-oriented studies include research methodological courses, research seminars, and writing both BA and MA theses.

It can be asked why Finnish teacher education emphasises a research-based orientation. In international literature, there are often tensions related to the concept of research-based education and a confusion between several closely related concepts: research-based, research-informed, research-led, evidence-based and evidence-informed policy and practice (Biesta 2007; Boaz & Ashby 2003; Gerrish et al. 2007; Marston & Watts 2003; Ozga 2000; Pawson 2001, 2002; Sebba 2004).

Many researchers warn that education is one of the most difficult fields for research and/or evidence-based policy and practice (e.g. Berliner 2002; Hammersley 2004; McCormick 2003; Ozga 2000). The major problem is of who has ownership of knowledge and knowledge creation. Is it coming from academic- or policy-level communities, outside practitioners' work, or are teachers themselves knowledge creators in their own profession? Berliner (2002) and Ozga (2000) see that education is a contextual activity. It is very difficult to provide recommendations based only on experiments or data that have been collected outside the practitioner's own field. Elliott (1991, 2001) has for a long time proposed action research as a tool for teachers' professional development and there is a rich literature on how action research and design-based research can work in schools (Borko 2004; Dick 2006; Issitt & Spence 2005; Ragland 2006).

In Finnish teacher education, the concepts above are used complementarily. Research-based means that teacher education is grounded in continuous research-based inquiry in academic disciplines, including educational sciences, and this provides a basis for the improvement of the curriculum in teacher education. Teacher educators in university departments and teacher-training schools are seen as teachers and researchers. Teachers in schools may

also work as research-based professionals when they use scientific inquiry and methods in their work. Teachers can conduct action research projects or small case studies in classrooms or school communities. Research-informed and research-led concepts mean that knowledge from the scientific communities or practitioners' own inquiry-based communities is used in teaching and when selecting materials and methods for different learners. Teachers need knowledge about learners' development, recent scientific results in subject matters, and information about why some pupils learn and some don't. Teachers need scientific literacy as well as their practice-based evidence in order to understand on what grounds they can build their work. Teacher education must lead student teachers to this kind of culture. Even though educational research cannot provide direct applications for teachers, there are many ways in which it can inform or lead teachers' work. Design-based approaches in which practitioners and researchers work together in teachers' in-service training provide many options for practitioners to create a basis for their own work. Prospective teachers must learn how knowledge is constructed, and how they use different sources of evidence in their work.

In Finnish teacher education, teachers are seen as experts who have responsibility for developing their work in changing conditions. They also have to make decisions in classrooms and also at more strategic levels, e.g. developing a local curriculum and supporting different learners by using special-needs resources. Evidence does not only grow from systematic research. It can also grow from observations and experiences of experts, policy-makers and practitioners in their own fields (e.g. Issitt & Spence 2005). Hammersley (2004) argues that although this evidence does not necessarily emerge from systematic investigation, it can still be important, and may even be more important. When practitioners are informed through evidence, regardless of its origin (e.g. research or practitioners' own observations), they have the right and obligation to assess its relevance. The users must judge what works when applying evidence to practice. There is always a specific context and they have to ask not only what works but for whom, under what circumstances, and so on. How to use research or evidence-based knowledge thus depends upon a mix of evidence and judgement. Overall, this is a dynamic process in which the teacher is also attuned to the effects and consequences, and uses this knowledge to loop back into the process. If teachers are expected to work as professionals who have freedom and autonomy to make decisions in changing contexts, then they must also be in a position to evaluate what works and what does not. This kind of capability starts already in pre-service teacher education.

To meet the challenges that changes of knowledge and society bring to teacher education, we need the following three components of research-based orientation in teacher education:

- Teachers need a profound knowledge of the most recent advances in research for the subjects that they teach. In addition, they need to be familiar with the latest research on how something can be taught and learned. Interdisciplinary research on subject content knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge provides the foundation for developing teaching methods that can be adapted to suit different learners.
- Teacher education in itself should also be an object of study and research. This research should provide knowledge about the effectiveness and quality of teacher education implemented by various means and in different cultural contexts.
- The aim is that teachers should internalise a research-orientated attitude towards their work. This means that teachers learn to take an analytical and open-minded approach to their work, that they draw conclusions based on their observations and experiences, and that they develop their teaching and learning environments in a systematic way.

Finnish teacher education's journey to integrate research studies with other parts of teacher education programmes has been a long one. And there are still lessons to learn (Niemi & Nevgi 2014). There were difficulties when research studies were introduced in teacher education programmes in the 1980s. Now we have feedback that research studies are among of the best parts of elementary-school teacher education (e.g. Niemi & Kohonen 1995; Jyrhämä & Maaranen 2012; Niemi & Nevgi 2002, 2014). We also know that the quality of these studies matters, and that the topic of the thesis and its relevance to the teacher's work are also important.

Based on the findings of the current research on research studies in teacher education (Niemi & Nevgi 2014), we may conclude that through these studies student teachers learn critical thinking, independent inquiry and many other skills that are necessary in knowledge creation. Student teachers regard these studies as important from the viewpoints of general scientific inquiry, of the teaching profession and of their own professional development. This supports the paradigm that teachers' own research processes are important for their professional development. Niemi and Nevgi (2014) found that research studies consisting of theoretical bases of research work (e.g. reading and reviewing research literature, learning research methods, and

conducting authentic research projects linked with writing BA and MA theses) had an effect on student teachers' professional development, particularly on their ethical commitment and conception of their own professional learning. Research studies also affected students' ability to deal with learners' differences and collaborate with different partners in educational questions, and even helped them in their everyday classroom teaching. Research studies in TE can prepare teachers for the role they are expected to fulfil when promoting twenty-first-century skills, while simultaneously bringing additional value to teachers' professional duties in schools and classrooms.

Professors in teacher education departments have a responsibility to guide students in the research-oriented aspects of their education. The main object of this guidance is not the completion of the Master's thesis itself, but to actually further the processes by which students come to see themselves as actively studying and working subjects. In this aspect of the degree programme, the processes of active working and thinking are integrated in various complex, and sometimes unexpected, ways. The aim of the guiding process is to help students discover and tap their own intellectual resources and to make them better able to utilise the resources of the study group that the student is working with (Nummenmaa 2004, 117).

But we also have findings (Niemi & Nevgi 2014) that research studies must be integrated with other parts of teacher education. Student teachers' comments show that becoming a teacher who creates knowledge to improve a school is a holistic process and requires support from competent supervisors as well as a teacher education curriculum design that connects and integrates different studies with each other. We can see that research studies have a much stronger influence on student teachers' professional competences if teacher education programmes provide active learning experiences (Niemi 2002; Niemi & Nevgi 2014).

In many international discussions and conferences, it has been asked if the five-year Master's degree explains students' high learning outcomes in Finland. In light of the Finnish studies (e.g. Niemi & Nevgi 2014), it is not only a question of the length of teacher education. What is equally important is how the studies have been constructed and implemented. Active learning experiences in teacher education reinforce the research studies' positive effect on professional competences. Niemi and Nevgi (2014) also found that the role of a research supervisor is crucial as s/he must understand teachers' professional development, make research studies pedagogically meaningful, and clarify the objectives and criteria of these studies. This supports findings from other countries as well (Cornelissen & Van der Berg 2014).

OVERCOMING TENSIONS TOWARDS THE FUTURE

In its development, academic teacher education has faced several tensions. Some have been overcome while others remain a topic of debate. These tensions can be described in terms of cultural, academic and strategic aims.

A transfer from the old teacher-training seminars to the universities in the 1970s was a considerable cultural change. Primary teacher education had its own traditions in seminars and small colleges. Teaching had previously focused on practical issues, and it often had a normative nature. The seminars also had a strong commitment to educating teachers on the values of Finnish society and to providing teachers with an understanding of the high value of their cultural work in villages. Universities were seen as a cold environment that did not support the teachers' professional development and that valued only objective knowledge. This view was reinforced by a strong positivistic paradigm in education at that time. In the universities, community-based events, such as Christmas or spring-term celebrations, did not unify students as they did in small seminars and colleges. It took time for the new teacher education departments in the universities to learn to combine the best parts of both the seminars and the universities. It also required that professors and teacher educators in teacher education departments and academic faculties started to see that student teachers needed support for their professional development, and not only for the academic content. When research paradigms opened towards qualitative and mixed-method approaches, research studies became more relevant for teachers. The constructivist and socio-constructivist concepts of learning provided an important basis for teaching in teacher education. When the concept of reflection in teaching emerged internationally in the 1980s, it was adopted by Finnish teacher education.

In the 1980s there were academic tensions within universities, especially in secondary-school teacher education. There were several contradictory aims and visions, in some cases even strong conflicts between academic disciplines and education departments. A major reason for these tensions focused on questions of how much pure academic knowledge the teachers need to understand and how deep an understanding of pedagogical studies they should have. From the viewpoint of academic disciplines, content knowledge was the most important aspect in the teachers' work, while the educational faculties stressed the teachers' capacity to interact with the students and to take care of learners. This polarity has slowly decreased during the past 20 years. This process has been helped because education faculties and academic disciplines have increasingly found consensus on the principle that teacher

education must equip teachers with both research-based knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge, and that they can be can be even integrated (Meisalo 2007, 174). There has also been growing interest in research on subject pedagogy/didactics. Meisalo writes that:

> One indication of this is the organising of research symposia and conferences. There has been a long tradition of more than 100 years of meetings and conferences for practising teachers including aspects of in-service training. However, research-oriented conferences and the foundation of associations of researchers started only in the eighties. At the same time, departments of teacher education started publishing report series for applied educational research. They offered a forum for publication of research papers even by subject teacher educators. (Meisalo 2007, 174)

Since 1987, there has been a tradition for researchers of different subject matter pedagogy to have national annual seminars, which are mostly organised in Helsinki. These forums provide researchers who are interested in subject didactics with an opportunity to hold discussions and interact with other researchers and active teachers.

SUMMARISING WHAT UNIVERSITY-BASED TEACHER EDUCATION MEANS

When teacher education became part of universities, it had the same responsibilities as other disciplines. Teacher education must have a strong strategy for the future, and it should also have a clear position in the universities' strategies. Teacher education should have its own faculties and its own decision-making procedures. TE also became responsible for the quality of academic degrees and research done in their departments (Niemi & Lavonen 2012). In the university community, disciplines are assessed using academic criteria, such as doctoral degrees, publications, and the quality of teaching and research. At the beginning of the reform period, these were lacking because there were no typical indicators in teacher education. Gradually, they were set and they now work in such a way that society trusts teachers' work in schools, and TE departments are now recognised parts of Finnish universities and are included in their strategies. However, there is a constant competition for resources between the various faculties in Finnish universities. While public funding for universities is decreasing, each discipline must work hard to justify its existence. Teacher education must fulfil both academic and professional criteria. To achieve high-quality outcomes, Finnish

teacher education has been systematically reviewed nationally and internationally over the past 20 years (e.g. Buchberger et al. 1994; The Committee Report 1994; Jussila & Saari 1999; Ministry of Education and Culture 2007). There have also been many research projects and smaller studies that describe the strengths and weaknesses of teacher education programmes (e.g. Niemi 1996; Niemi 2012a&b; Niemi & Jakku-Sihvonen 2006; Niemi & Jakku-Sihvonen 2011; Niemi & Kohonen 1995; Niemi & Kemmis 2002; Niemi & Nevgi 2014).

Based on these evaluations we can see that typical features of Finnish teacher education include the student teachers' strong commitment to the teaching profession and their awareness of the ethics of teaching. They have good skills in planning teaching and using different teaching methods. In addition, they are aware of their own teaching philosophy and their responsibilities. Student teachers also consider the research component of teacher education as valuable for their independent and critical thinking. According to evaluations and research, student teachers are extremely engaged in their studies. However, the skills needed for a wider interaction with different partners in school communities, parents and society more broadly should be improved. The majority of these skills can be learned when working in schools as teachers. However, the basics should be provided during pre-service. Urgent areas that should also be developed in Finnish teacher education include the induction and mentoring of new teachers in order to support their wider cooperation in society.

Teacher education has been very successful in attracting talented, highly motivated high-school students to teacher education. Primary teacher education is among the most sought-after academic programmes in Finland's universities. Over the past 20 years, teacher education departments have had excellent applicants. Selection is very competitive: class teacher programmes accept 5–10% of all high-quality applicants; in subject teacher education programmes, acceptance is 20–40%, depending on the subject matter; and in mathematics it has been between 20–25% (Kumpulainen 2014; Niemi & Jakku-Sihvonen 2011).

Finnish teacher education has now been a part of the university system for over 40 years. During that time, there has been much debate about whether or not the universities are an appropriate context and partner for teacher training. In the early 1990s, in a series of economic crises, there was debate about whether the universities were the right place for teacher education. There was even pressure to lower the level of teacher qualifications. However, this debate has been silenced following Finland's very high Programme for

International Student Assessment (PISA) achievement results since 2000. There is now a high degree of consensus that teacher education should be a part of the university system.

REFERENCES

Anon. (1975). Vuoden 2073 Opettajankoulutuskomitean mietintö (The Memorandum of the Teacher Education Committee in 1973). Helsinki: Ministry of Education (in Finnish).

Berliner, D. (2002). 'Educational Research: The Hardest Science of All'. *Educational Researcher*, 31:8, 18–20.

Biesta, G. (2007). 'Why "What Works" Won't Work: Evidence-Based Practice and the Democratic Deficit in Educational Research'. *Educational Theory*, 57:1, 1–22.

Boaz, A. & Ashby, D. (2003). 'Fit for Purpose?' *Assessing Research Quality for Evidence Based Policy and Practice*. Queen Mary, University of London, ESRC UK Centre for Evidence Based Policy and Practice.

Borko, H. (2004). 'Professional Development and Teacher Learning: Mapping the Terrain'. *Educational Researcher*, 38:8, 3–15.

Buchberger, F., De Corte, E., Groombridge, B. & Kennedy, M. (1994). *Educational Studies and Teacher Education in Finnish Universities*. A Commentary by an International Review Team. Ministry of Education. Division of Educational and Research Policy. 14. Helsinki.

Cornelissen, F. & Van der Berg, E. (2014). 'Characteristics of the Supervision of the Postgraduate Teachers' Action Research'. *Educational Studies*, 40:3, 237–52.

Dick, B. (2006). 'Action Research Literature 2004–2006: Themes and Trends'. *Action Research*, 4:4, 439–458.

Elliott, J. (1991). 'Changing Contexts for Educational Evaluation: The Challenge for Methodology'. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 17:2–3, 215–38.

Elliott, J. (2001). 'Making Evidence-Based Practice Educational'. *British Educational Journal*, 27:5 2001.

Gerrish, K., Ashworth, P., Lacey, A., Bailey, J., Cooke, J., Kendall, S. & McNeilly, E. (2007). 'Factors Influencing the Development of Evidence-Based Practice: A Research Tool', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 57:3, 328.

Hammersley, M. (2004). 'Some Questions about Evidence-Based Practice in Education'. In G. Thomas & R. Prong, eds. *Evidence Based Practice in Education*. Maidenhead: OUP/ McGraw-Hill.

Issitt, M. & Spence, J. (2005). 'Practitioner Knowledge and the Problem of Evidence Based Research Policy and Practice'. *Youth & Policy*, 88, 63–82.

Jakku-Sihvonen, R. & Niemi, H. (2006). 'The Bologna Process and its Implementation in Teacher Education'. In R. Jakku-Sihvonen & H. Niemi, eds. *Research-Based Teacher Education in Finland – Reflections by Finnish Teacher Educators*. Turku: Finnish Educational Research Association, 17–30.

Jussila, J. & Saari, S. (1999). *Opettajankoulutus tulevaisuuden tekijänä* (Teacher Education as an Agency for the Future). Finnish Higher Education Council. Korkeakoulujen arviointineuvoston julkaisuja 11. Edita: Helsinki (in Finnish).

Jyrhämä, R. (2006). 'The Function of Practical Studies in Teacher Education'. In R. Jakku-Sihvonen & H. Niemi, eds. *Research-Based Teacher Education in Finland – Reflections by Finnish Teacher Educators*. Turku: Finnish Educational Research Association, 51–70.

Jyrhämä, R., Kynäslahti, H., Krokfors, L., Byman, R., Maaranen, K. & Toom, A. (2008). 'The Appreciation and Realization of Research-Based Teacher Education: Finnish Students' Experiences of Teacher Education'. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 31:1, 1–16.

Jyrhämä, R. & Maaranen, K. (2012). 'Research-Orientation in a Teacher's Work'. In H. Author, A. Toom & A. Kallioniemi, eds. *Miracle of Education: The Principles and Practices of Teaching and Learning in Finnish Schools*. Rotterdam: Sense, 97–114.

Kansanen, P. (2006). 'Constructing a Research-Based Program in Teacher Education'. In F.K. Oser, F. Achtenhagen & U. Renold, eds. *Competence Oriented Teacher Training. Old Research Demands and New Pathways.* Rotterdam & Taipei: Sense, 11–22.

Kumpulainen, T., ed. (2014). Opettajat Suomessa 2013 (Teachers in Finland). Follow-Up Report 2014. Helsinki: Finnish National Board of Education (in Finnish).

Marston, G. & Watts, R. (2003). 'Tampering with the Evidence: A Critical Appraisal of Evidence-Based Policy-Making', *The Drawing Board: An Australian Review of Public Affairs*, 3:3, 143–63.

McCormick, R. (2003). *Reliable Evidence for Policy Making in Complex Settings*. Paper presented to EMINENT IV Conference, Geneva, 9–10 October 2003.

Meisalo, V. (2007). 'Subject Teacher Education in Finland: A Research-Based Approach – The Role of Subject Didactics and Networking in Teacher Education'. In R. Jakku-Sihvonen & H. Niemi, eds. *Education as Societal Contributor.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 161–80.

Ministry of Education and Culture (2007). Opettajankoulutus 2020 (Teacher Education 2020) (in Finland). Committee Report 44. Helsinki. www.minedu.fi.

Niemi, H. (2012a). 'The Societal Factors Contributing to Education and Schooling in Finland'. In H. Niemi, A. Kallioniemi & A. Toom, eds. *The Miracle of Education: The Principles and Practices of Teaching and Learning in Finnish Schools*. Rotterdam: Sense, 19–38.

Niemi, H. (2012b). 'Teacher Education for High Quality Professionals: An Analysis from the Finnish Perspective'. In Oon-Seng Tan, ed. *Teacher Education Frontiers 2020*. National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, 43–70.

Niemi, H (2002). 'Active Learning – A Cultural Change Needed in Teacher Education and in Schools'. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 18:7, 763–80.

Niemi, H. (1996). 'Effectiveness of Teacher Education. A Theoretical Framework of Communicative Evaluation and the Design of a Finnish Research Project'. In H. Niemi & K. Tirri, eds. *Effectiveness of Teacher Education. New Challenges and Approaches to Evaluation*. Reports from the Department of Teacher Education in Tampere University A 6, 11–32.

Niemi, H. (1999). 'ICT in Teacher Education'. In M. Sinko & E. Lehtinen, eds. *The Challenges of ICT*. Jyväskylä: Atena, 145–73.

Niemi, H. & Jakku-Sihvonen, R. (2006). 'Research-Based Teacher Education'. In R. Jakku-Sihvonen & H. Niemi, eds. *Research-Based Teacher Education in Finland – Reflections by Finnish Teacher Educators*. Turku: Finnish Educational Research Association, 31–50.

Niemi, H. & Jakku-Sihvonen, J. (2011). 'Teacher Education in Finland'. In Milena Valenčič Zuljan & Janez Vogrinc, eds. *European Dimensions of Teacher Education, Similarities and Differences*. Ljubljana: University of Ljubljana and The National School of Leadership in Education, 33–51

Niemi, H. & Kemmis, S. (1999). 'Communicative Evaluation: Evaluation at the Crossroads'. *Lifelong Learning in Europe (LLinE)*, IV:1, 55–64.

Niemi, H. & Kohonen, V. (1995). *Towards New Professionalism and Active Learning in Teacher Development: Empirical Findings on Teacher Education and Induction*. University of Tampere. Department of Teacher Education. Research series A 2.

Niemi, H. & Lavonen, J. (2012). 'Evaluation for Improvements in Finnish Teacher Education'. In J. Harford, B. Hudson & H. Niemi, eds. *Quality Assurance and Teacher Education: International Challenges and Expectations*. Vol. 6. Oxford: Peter Lang, 159–86.

Niemi, H. & Nevgi A. (2014). 'Research Studies and Active Learning Promoting Professional Competences in Finnish Teacher Education'. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 43, 131–42.

Nummenmaa, A.R. (2004). Akateemisen opiskelun työprosessien ohjaus (Supervising the General Work Processes in the Different Context of the Academic Education). In A. Järvinen, ed. *Puheenvuoroja kasvatusalan yliopistokoulutuksen kehittämisestä*. University of Tampere, Faculty of Educational Sciences, 111–24 (in Finnish).

Ozga, J. (2000). *Policy Research in Educational Settings. Contested Terrain*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Pawson, R. (2001). *Evidence-Based Policy:1. In Search of a Method*. Queen Mary, University of London, ESRC UK Centre for Evidence Based Policy and Practice.

Pawson, R. (2002). 'Evidence-Based Policy: The Promise of "Realist Synthesis"'. *Evaluation*, 8:3, 340–58.

Ragland, B.B. (2006). 'Positioning the Practitioner-Researcher: Five Ways of Looking at Practice'. *Action Research*, 4:2, 165–82.

Sahlberg, P. (2015). *Finnish Lessons, What Can the World Learn from Educational Change in Finland*. 2nd edition. New York: Teacher College Press.

Sebba, J. (2004). 'Developing an Evidence-Based Approach to Policy and Practice in Education'. In G. Thomas & R. Prong, eds. *Evidence Based Practice in Education*. Maidenhead: OUP/McGraw-Hill.

Slavin, R. (2002). 'Evidence-Based Education Policies: Transforming Educational Practice and Research'. *Educational Researcher*, 31:7, 15–21.

The Committee Report (1994). Educational Sciences Towards the Future. The final report of the Committee for the Evaluation and Development of Educational Sciences. Ministry of Education. Division of Educational and Research Policy. 16. Helsinki (in Finnish; abstract in English).

University of Jyväskylä (2015). Teacher Training School. University of Jyväskylä. www.norssi.jyu.fi/info-1/university-of-jyvaeskylae-teacher-training-school-normaalikoulu (retrieved 20 June 2015).

3 Norwegian teacher education: Development, steering and current trends

Elaine Munthe and Magne Rogne

INTRODUCTION

Teacher education is complex and there are several qualifying routes to teaching work, depending on whether the main goal is to work in day care kindergartens, in compulsory education (grades one through ten), in upper secondary schools qualifying for academic studies, or in vocational schools, or whether the main goal is to become a specialist teacher in, for example, the arts. For this chapter, we have chosen to concentrate on the two main tracks that qualify for teaching in the compulsory school years (grades one through ten; the children are 6–16 years old) and upper secondary schools (grades 11 through 13; normally for adolescents aged 16–19 years) that qualify for further studies at university level. These are the oldest teacher education programmes.

In this chapter, we will provide a description of the historical development of these tracks and how they have been steered in relation to providers' and stakeholders' involvement. Through our analyses, we have identified three major developments or ongoing discourses: (1) national and global steering, (2) research and practice, and (3) market and autonomy.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSECUTIVE AND THE CONCURRENT TRACK OF TEACHER EDUCATION

In the nineteenth century, teachers for the post-compulsory years, or what we now call upper secondary schools (age group 16–19), were recruited on the basis of having completed studies in disciplines from the University of

Oslo. There were no official requirements for pedagogical or practical exams to teach in schools that prepared for higher education. Several official commissions proposed such requirements, but the University of Oslo, which was the only university in Norway at the time, rejected the idea. The Pedagogical Seminar was not established until 1907, and then as a result of a resolution in the Norwegian parliament. The background documents suggested a one-year programme, but since the university was sceptical, they compromised on a half-year programme concerned with practical-pedagogical education in an independent institution separate from the university (Dahl 1964; Sundet 1982; Myhre 1994; Aasen 2008).

The Pedagogical Seminar was described as a 'one-man company' the first decades, but the leader, Otto Andersen, succeeded in merging the seminar with the university in 1918, mainly on the basis of strong personal ambitions. When Andersen died in 1922, the Pedagogical Seminar was separated from the university again, on the grounds that the academic standards were not high enough for the university and because the seminar required its own rector (Sundet 1982).

Three new seminars were established as new universities were founded in Bergen (1955), Trondheim (1963) and Tromsø (1973). These seminars were programmes within the universities and did not meet problems related to university status. The Act of Teacher Education (1973) transformed the Pedagogical Seminar in Oslo into a teacher education college (Pedagogisk høgskole) with its own board, and the right to employ faculty was transferred from the ministry to this board (Næss 1974; Sundet 1982). Finally, in 1988, the Pedagogical Seminar in Oslo became a part of the University of Oslo again. In 1991, the half-year programme provided nationally was extended to a one-year programme. In 1992, the ministry introduced a national curriculum for all the pedagogical seminar programmes at all universities and university colleges (Myhre 1994).

Until 1992, the only national regulation of the pedagogical seminars was found in laws and regulations that provided brief descriptions of pedagogical content and a few requirements for subject methodology and practice (Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education 1968, 1979). The 1992 national curriculum introduced a new way of steering. This document (189 pages) has detailed descriptions of the value base, assessment, organisation, content in pedagogical theory and subject didactics, and so on (NMCER [Norwegian Ministry of Church, Education and Research] 1992). In 1999, the ministry presented a new national curriculum, this time a total of 207 pages (NMCER 1999a). The next national curriculum came only four years

later, and is still in use. Now the document is more similar to older versions in length (18 pages), and it consists of overarching objectives for the students (NMER [Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research] 2003a).

The development of five-year concurrent programmes to prepare for teaching in lower and upper secondary schools is a new development in this context since this development started in 2000. The five-year concurrent programmes are university-based and are now provided by universities in Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim, Tromsø, Stavanger, Kristiansand and the Norwegian University of Life Sciences. In 2013, the ministry presented a new national curriculum for these programmes. This document is only four pages long, and it is designed according to the European Qualifications Framework (EQF), with overarching learning outcomes for students (NMER 2013).

Concurrent programmes have, however, always been the norm for teacher education for the compulsory school years. It took about one hundred years from the first law for schools in Norway, which came in 1739, until the government decided to establish a public teacher education for compulsory schools. During this period, teachers were mainly chosen from promising youths in the region by the vicars. From 1828 to 1839, five teacher education seminars were established – one in each of the dioceses. Until 1890, there were no common laws or curricula for these institutions. The headmaster, who was often the vicar as well, had almost all authority over the two-year programmes, and he reported directly to the ministry (Karlsen 2003; Kvalbein 2003; Myhre 1994; Dahl 1964). Students that attended the seminars were students who were not intended for university degrees. They would not have completed the *examen artium* and were not qualified to study at universities.

The Seminar Law of 1890 covered all public seminars that educated teachers for compulsory schools, and it also allowed private seminars to set up teacher exams. One consequence was the establishment of several private seminars. The law (13 pages) included admission requirements, content descriptions of the different subjects and recommendations for exam exercises (Seminar Law 1890). In addition to this, there were more than 30 pages of regulations that described the content of the subjects in more detail, teaching hours, and so on (Seminar Regulations 1891). The programmes were supervised by an exam commission, and the exams were national. A new law in 1902 extended the teacher education programme to three years, and the name of the institutions was changed from *seminars* to *teacher schools* (Næss 1974).

The next changes of major importance came in 1930 with a new law that added one more year to the programme, making teacher education a four-year

concurrent programme for students who had not completed *examen artium*. But, now, a two-year 'student-programme' was introduced, intended for those who were qualified to study at the university level (Teacher Education Law 1930). This is an interesting development because it also reflects a change among who was recruited to teach, and not least the increase in female students who completed their *examen artium* and were qualified to continue with university studies, but who often opted for a teaching degree.

There are direct links between changes in compulsory school and changes in teacher education programmes. In 1938, for instance, a new law for teacher education was enacted to, among other things, establish English Language as a subject, because this was a new subject in the schools. The political willpower to steer the institutions was still strong, and the law, with regulations and a national curriculum, now had a size of nearly 150 pages (Teacher Education Law 1938).

More changes were made: in 1973, the four-year and two-year programmes were merged into one three-year programme, which required that all candidates had finished upper secondary school (had completed *examen artium*). In this 1973 law, the requirement for compulsory subjects was removed, with exceptions for pedagogical theory and some courses in subject didactics. This meant that, for the first time, the students themselves could decide which subjects they wanted to learn more about, and the institutions were given more latitude to decide the content of the subjects and the course examinations. The exam commission had been replaced by the Teacher Education Council in 1965, and now the institutions could choose whether their students should take national exams or not. A minor change in the law in 1979 made Norwegian, Christianity and one practical-aesthetic subject compulsory for the students again (Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education 1979; Rogne 2005; Skjelmo 2007).

From 1992, an intense period of reforms followed. The programme was extended to four years, and steering was tightened with more compulsory subjects and a national curriculum of more than 300 pages (NMCER 1994). In 1999, the Teacher Education Law was integrated in a new law for universities and university colleges. Again, more compulsory subjects were determined, but with fewer details (174 pages) (NMCER 1999b). Only four years later, a new national curriculum was introduced, this time with fewer compulsory subjects and even fewer details (58 pages) (NMER 2003b).

When the 2010 reform for teacher education was being developed, there was much talk about 'reform-fatigue' and that this had to be the last one for a long time. The 2010 reform was a major reform. What had previously always

been a comprehensive programme for all the compulsory school years was now differentiated into two separate programmes: one for teaching grades one to seven and one for grades five to ten (see Munthe, Malmo & Rogne 2011 for more details). However, in 2015, a public committee was appointed to formulate a new national curriculum for two new five-year concurrent teacher education programmes at the Master's level, thus reforming the 2010 programmes from four-year BA programmes to five-year MA programmes. The new programmes will be introduced in 2017.

STEERING IN NORWEGIAN TEACHER EDUCATION

Gunnar Karlsen (2005) has developed a model to depict steering in Norwegian teacher education. He points out, with reference to Lundgren (1990), four main groups of policy instruments in use:

1 Legal: laws, regulations, directives and agreements

2 Financial: economic resources and their allocationInformative: national curricula and guidelines

3 Controlling: reporting systems, internal and external evaluation, and accreditation.

Our brief presentation above has mainly touched on the legal and the informative, showing a development along two tracks where government steering has mainly been involved in the teacher education track for the compulsory school years. We have also described issues related to the controlling aspect of steering: the initial two-year concurrent programmes were mainly regulated by individual vicars (in a country with a state church), and teacher education became controlled by national exams more or less until 1973. Karlsen (2005) points out that Norwegian teacher education mainly has its origin in the political system. From the 1890s, the government intensified the legal and controlling steering of teacher education, with a new law and the introduction of a public exam commission. In this way, the programmes were subject to a bureaucratic steering logic. The economic crises in the 1920s and 1930s led to an overproduction of teachers, and the market situation resulted in a reduction of private teacher education. The strong national political steering of teacher education and the close connection to the school system lasted until the 1970s. During the same period, the corporative influence had been significant, because the faculty in the teacher education institutions were

strongly involved in education policy-making, particularly in the first part of the twentieth century (Karlsen 2005).

In the 1970s, a process of essential changes in the steering systems started. The concurrent track of teacher education was formally, and gradually in real terms, a part of the higher educational system in Norway. The programmes had regional administrative boards, and the responsibility for teacher education was moved from the School Department to the Department for Higher Education in the ministry. In the 1990s, New Public Management made its mark on teacher education, as market logics and competition became more important to achieve higher production and quality. The method was centralisation of learning outcomes and control, while other policy instruments were decentralised. This led to reorganisation and repetitive new reforms. The direct administrative line from the ministry to the teacher education institutions was broken, and the Teacher Education Council was terminated – resulting in less corporative influence. International influence, on the other hand, increased, i.e. with the participation in the Bologna process (Karlsen 2005).

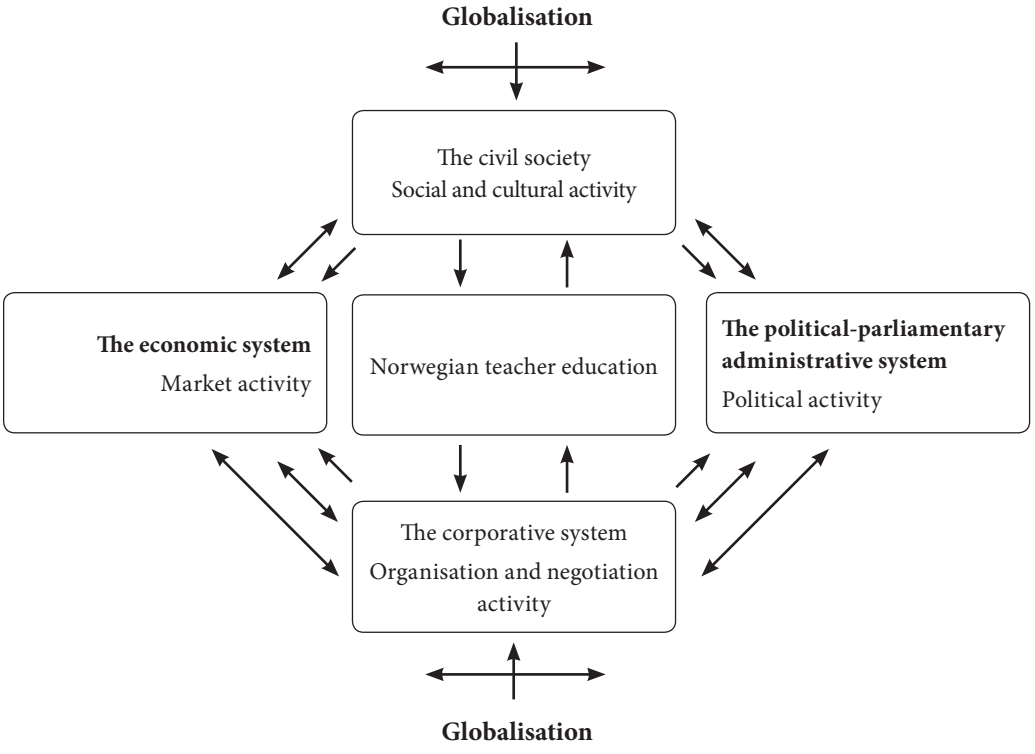
Karlsen's conclusion is that legal policy instruments have been important for a long time. Gradually the specific legal policy instruments have been weakened, while general legal policy instruments and control have become more important – e.g. with more use of evaluation and accreditation (the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education [NOKUT] was established in 2003). Financial policy instruments have been used all the time but, in recent years, they have also been linked to measurable results and market thinking. Informative policy instruments, especially national curriculum documents, have been important as well, but they have probably lost steering impact as they have gradually become shorter and less specific (Karlsen 2005).

WHO INFLUENCES THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHER EDUCATION IN NORWAY?

In the model below, political activity and market activity are highlighted. Both of these systems are also highly evident in the above description of the development of teacher education programmes, not least the political-parliamentary administrative system and its use of legal, financial, informative and controlling instruments. The economic system has influenced the development of compulsory and upper secondary education, e.g. with the introduction of English as a subject in schools, and has thus influenced the development of teacher education as well.

The influences of participants, systems and processes are indicated in this model:

Figure 3.1: Model for analysing steering of teacher education



Source: Karlsen 2005, 404; our translation from Norwegian

The role that the national economic system plays appears to be increasing. New agents are joining the debate on learning and schools, e.g. The Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise (in Norwegian, Næringslivets Hovedorganisasjon, NHO), which is Norway's major organisation for employers, as well as being a business lobby. Economic research on education is also increasing its impact. During the past two years, NHO has brought up early learning and teacher education in several ways: they co-organised a debate on early learning together with the Parents' Association for Kindergarten, and in 2014 the yearly conference they arrange, which attracts massive media attention and gathers high-ranking politicians and business leaders from the whole country, had 'The learninglife' as its title (as

opposed to the term 'businesslife'). Business leaders were invited to discuss early learning and learning in schools, the digital revolution that needed to be more present in schools and higher education, the problem of dropouts from upper secondary schools, and more. Universities and university colleges have too many similar education programmes and we need more national steering to avoid this, the leader of the National Student Organisation, Ola Magnussen Rydje, maintained. When the university and college sector cannot steer itself, politicians and business leaders must demand national plans (Magnussen Rydje 2014).

The degree to which the university sector can steer itself has also been questioned concerning, in particular, one report commissioned from the Centre of Economic Research (Strøm, Falch, Gunnes & Haraldvik 2013) by the Ministry of Education and Research. This is the first of 24 reports commissioned by the ministry during the period 2005–13 that addresses higher education, and the question that the ministry was interested in learning more about was the use of grades in higher education (assessment grades) and how this was related to quality in higher education. Based on previous studies, there were two main assumptions about grading: (1) that it could be a relative measure – relative to the other students enrolled – and (2) it could also be a strategic measure since the number of students that pass has a direct financial consequence for the institutions (see Strøm et al. 2013). A main finding in this report is that the four 'old universities' (Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim and Tromsø) have a 'strict' grading system illustrated as a minus effect on grades compared to what students had when leaving upper secondary school (and controlled for by type of subject); most of the new universities (university colleges that have gained university status the past ten years) are around a zero effect; and the majority of institutions that are university colleges all have a plus effect relative to grades on leaving upper secondary school.

The issue of grading practices was also raised by the panel that was appointed to follow the implementation of the teacher education reform in 2010. In their reports (five reports from each of the five years – see Følgjegruppa 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015), they question why there appears to be variation both across institutions and across subjects. There are many more students that receive higher grades in the subject area 'pedagogy and knowledge of children' than in other subjects, and there are rather large variations in grading and how many students fail exams, especially in mathematics, across institutions. This is despite the fact that the grade average for enrolment is similar across institutions, and they have the same national guidelines for subject areas with specified learning outcomes (NMER 2010b).

However, the guidelines are operationalised locally, and exams are also constructed locally.

The main question here is whether the use of grades reflects variations in what ITE (Initial Teacher Education) programmes regard as relevant and important qualifications for teaching. If this is the case, who should take the lead in these discussions?

THE NORWEGIAN AGENCY FOR QUALITY ASSURANCE IN EDUCATION

The Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT) was established in 2003 as an independent non-political agency whose main role was to ensure that all institutions had quality systems in place and to ensure accreditation of programmes and institutions. The agency had more of a macro or overall approach to quality, but this is changing. At the 2015 NOKUT conference, a new model for the agency's work with quality was introduced. The main message was that NOKUT will be more involved in quality development and will approach this by getting closer to what is actually going on within the subject areas – i.e. teaching and learning.

One measure that has already been introduced is the 'Study Barometer' (NOKUT 2014), an online survey of studies and institutions answered by students in higher education. One main intention is that students will be able to look up programme results, and results about possible places for their future studies, as one way to find out where they would like to become students. NOKUT describes the intention as a way to spread knowledge about quality in higher education. The question of what kind of quality the Study Barometer reflects is highly relevant, but not addressed on the website, other than making clear that it is 'perceived quality'.

The Ministry of Education and Research gave NOKUT the responsibility to develop a national (part) exam in mathematics for teacher students in ITE for one to seven and five to ten in autumn 2014 (NMER 2015a). The intention is to be able to assess providers of teacher education programmes, i.e. to assess quality of instruction through one part exam administered at one point in time. The National Council for Teacher Education (NRLU – see below) opposed this on the grounds that there is local autonomy to develop the content of courses in teacher education and that the time frame would not allow for any serious development of valid tests. One consequence of their conversations with the ministry is that maths educators in teacher education are taking part in the development of the test. The Centre for Educational

Measurement at the University of Oslo was asked to assess the possibility of developing a test in mathematics and their response was that there was too little time to develop any valid tests that could be used to assess quality across institutions. Despite feedback from the teacher education sector and from researchers in the field, the test has been developed and was administered in December 2015. The intention is that results from this part exam will also be registered on student diplomas. NOKUT will be responsible for both sending out the exam and administering assessment. This reflects a major step away from institutional autonomy and even towards the reestablishment of an external examination board.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR TEACHER EDUCATION (NRLU)

The National Council for Teacher Education (NRLU) is an academic unit under The Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions (UHR). The members are academic leaders (deans or heads of departments) from all the institutions providing teacher education, representatives from student organisations, academic unions and the municipal sector organisation (KS). The main responsibilities of NRLU are to coordinate and strengthen teacher education provision and research in teacher education. The council meets three times each year and intends to actively influence the policy agenda for teacher education, and it provides an arena for high-stakes discussions. However, since teacher education is clearly steered from the political level, the degree to which NRLU can set the agenda is also relative to the role of the Ministry of Education and Research.

The ministry has tightened steering of teacher education through NOKUT's involvement in the Study Barometer, the part exams and NOKUT's future role concerning teaching and learning, but at the same time the responsibility for updating and developing the national guidelines for the subjects in teacher education was transferred to NRLU (The Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions 2015). We can identify processes that strengthen the political/administrative system at the same time as we also see a shift in influence from the political/administrative system to the academic/institutions and corporative system.

DIRECT POLITICAL STEERING

The historical presentation of the development of the concurrent track for teacher education (above) shows the closeness of church and state as well as the very direct role that the church has played in teacher education. It is still the case that political parties directly influence the content of teacher education, and in particular the role of religion. An example of this is the continuous debate about which elements should be given most weight in the subject area 'Christianity, Religion, Spirituality, and Ethics' and that the Christian Democrats (KrF) in return for their support of the government demanded that religion again become compulsory in the concurrent track of teacher education. The government agreed, and the result is that the committee appointed to formulate the new national curriculum for a five-year MA programme for ITE one to seven and ITE five to ten must include 15 ECTS in the subject concerned with 'Pedagogy and knowledge of children' (National Curriculum Committee 2015). This is a reflection of the strength of political parties' ability to influence the content of teacher education for the compulsory years.

GLOBALISATION

So far, we have discussed the role of national agents. The above model could have had very dark and broad arrows from 'globalisation' towards the political system, the economic system and teacher education to reflect the relative strength of current influences from global trends. It is impossible to do justice to the role of globalisation in this chapter. PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) results, TALIS (Teaching and Learning International Survey) results, international summits on education, specific reports from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) on Norwegian education all contribute to the development of policy for teacher education. One aspect of the 2010 reform of teacher education was to enable students in ITE five to ten to select fewer subject areas and, rather, to have more ECTS in each subject area. The PISA tests have brought about an awareness of the need for teachers who have subject-matter knowledge in what they teach. There are now regulations that stipulate that teachers in grades eight to ten (lower secondary schools) must have a minimum of 60 ECTS in Norwegian, Maths and English to teach these subjects. Schools in Norway can, however, be quite small and principals find it difficult to hire

teachers that have the subject areas needed. A national system for further professional development has also been introduced ('Competence for quality'), which covers up to 75% of the cost for teachers to access 30 ECTS courses in various subjects. It is, however, the case that the demand for ECTS in subjects taught is still for the upper-grade teachers, and only concerns some subjects.

One of the important questions concerning globalisation is whether teacher education is a global enterprise or whether it is still relevant to think of it as a national concern fulfilling national needs. Are there some issues that are generic across countries – for instance, the need for teacher education to address literacy and numeracy, classroom leadership and teacher–student relations? The European Commission has also played a major part in developing European awareness about the need for teacher educators with more than a background in a discipline, and through various Peer Learning Activities the EC has also proposed policy changes across nation states (see e.g. European Commission 2013).

The Nordic Council of Ministers comprises ministers from the Nordic countries, and is, as such, not a global venture – but at least a transnational venture. This group has organised conferences on teacher education where researchers from the Nordic countries have presented, and, in 2015, a working group with one representative from each country was established to give advice on policy for teacher education. It remains to be seen what kind of recommendations the group arrives at and what consequences they may have.

POLITICAL AND PUBLIC DEBATES ABOUT THE QUALITY OF TEACHER EDUCATION

So far, we have provided an overview of some of the stakeholders and agents in the development of teacher education. We have seen that teacher education for the compulsory school years especially has been politically steered through the ages. The 'quality of teacher education' is understood in very many different ways, depending on whom is asked. A political party or lobbyist may believe that the quality is poor because a certain topic is missing from the curriculum. A minister of education or a reader of a newspaper may believe that the quality is poor because the majority of a sample of students (representing, say, about 25% of the total number of students) report that they are not satisfied with the feedback they get (re the Study Barometer), or that the grades given appear to be 'too high'. Most public discussions about teacher education tend to be concerned with the 'poorness' of it and how it

needs to be improved. Strengths and positive developments simply do not make the headlines.

But what about the role of universities (or university colleges)? In questioning the role of universities in teacher education, one main feature of universities is blaringly missing: the role of research. Another feature that has not been specifically addressed, although it permeates the section above, is the role of autonomy. In the following, we will therefore address these two main debates concerning the quality of teacher education.

THE RESEARCH TURN AND THE PRACTICE TURN

We have used the conjunctive term 'and' in the title of this section (rather than 'or') to illustrate that both debates are ongoing in and about Norwegian teacher education, though the degree to which they are regarded simultaneously varies.

As pointed out by Smeby (2015), prior to 1960, short-cycle programmes oriented towards professions such as teaching, social work and nursing were not regarded as higher education (8). This has changed since the 1960s, resulting in what is called 'academic drift' (Kyvik 2009; Smeby 2015). Kyvik (2009) describes academic drift as a tendency to strive for a higher institutional status (e.g. colleges become universities), the extent to which faculty are engaged in research, the types of programmes offered (postgraduate degrees), and the content of the programmes offered. The term 'academic drift' describes the changes that have occurred in teacher education in Norway, and also the direction that we see in the near future with mergers between colleges and universities, thus reducing the number of colleges.Academic drift presupposes research. All higher education in Norway is subject to the same law, which stipulates that higher education is 'research-based' and that higher education is responsible for conducting and advancing research as well as disseminating research. Providing a research-based programme is therefore an important aspect of quality. A main outcome for ITE programmes for grades one to seven and grades five to ten is to qualify students for 'research-based work' as teachers (NMER 2010a). There is little discussion about the need for research to permeate programmes that qualify in medicine, but there is still some contention about what kind of research is relevant for teacher education programmes and whether teacher educators need to be researchers themselves (Kyvik & Vågan 2014).

Prior to the 2010 teacher education reform, a government White Paper was issued (NMER 2008–9). Chapter 2.2.6 in this report is concerned with 'strengthened research and development' in teacher education. The reasons for this need to strengthen research and development is as follows:

> Teachers in schools need knowledge from research in the subjects they teach, and about how the subjects can be taught and learned. It is therefore necessary for teachers to be able to navigate relevant school research and educational research and to be able to use new knowledge. The teacher who has a reflexive attitude to his/her own teaching practices, and who is motivated to participate in and carry out systematic development work, will be best able to contribute to development in his/her own school. A main goal is that students in teacher education develop their capacity for critical reflection about their own and the school's collective practice, to collaborate and to use new knowledge. Research and development work in teacher education must have a profession's perspective and be closely related to the new subject 'education and knowledge of children'. (NMER 2008–9, 24; our translation)

The research needed is both within the school subject that the students will be teaching, and about the professional work of teachers in those subjects from a more general perspective. The reasons for this knowledge provided by the Ministry of Education and Research in this White Paper are related to development work in schools and to implementing new knowledge in critical ways. The background for the kind of 'academic drift' described here is not in academia per se – it is in the schools or workplaces. It is, in many ways, an intentional drift instigated at the national policy level.

The Ministry of Education and Research's intentions to strengthen research in teacher education have been very clear for several years. Since 2005, increasing sums for research funding have been delegated to the Norwegian Research Council. The first research programme developed from 2005 was specifically targeted to enhance practice-based research in teacher education, creating possibilities for funding of projects that would be relevant for the content in teacher education (PraksisFoU). In 2010, another programme took over, but was also designed to strengthen practice-based research (PRAKUT). A third programme, Education 2020, coincided with PRAKUT, and both programmes were finally replaced by the current research programme, Research and Innovation in Education (FINNUT) (Norwegian Research Council 2015).

Two other strategic policies have been implemented: two national research schools were established about eight years ago. One (NATED) was within

educational sciences on a more general level, and the other (NAFOL) was specifically for PhD projects in teacher education. Along with this strategy, the Ministry of Education and Research has also established an increased number of PhD stipends for the professions.

This approach to intentionally strengthening research in teacher education is very different from the approach taken in Denmark. In Denmark, teacher education is placed in 'Professional Colleges' where the faculty can only provide education at the BA level, and until 2013 they were not expected nor given the right to conduct research. Denmark stands out in the Nordic countries by taking a very different approach from Iceland and Finland (where all teacher education is at the MA level), as well as Sweden and Norway.

In the quote from the government White Paper (above), we see how the current understanding of research based in studies for teaching is clearly related to the future work of the students – their future practice. 'Practice' is a central term in the White Paper, and research is regarded as one way to strengthen knowledge about practice, or knowledge that is relevant for practice. We might conclude that the White Paper reflects an understanding of 'research *and* practice'. This interrelatedness of research and practice can also be described as 'research-informed clinical teacher education' (Conway & Munthe 2015), an international discourse on teacher education that many trace back to John Dewey's paper, 'The relation of theory to practice in the education of teachers' (1904), and which has influenced an understanding of teachers as researchers (e.g. Stenhouse 1975), and the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (e.g. Hutchings, Huber & Ciccone 2011).

But how do teacher educators and student teachers understand the notion of a research-based teacher education? In a recent study concerned with ITE for grades one to seven and five to ten (Munthe & Rogne 2015), a main conclusion was that there is a tendency for research in the four-year BA teacher education programmes to be more teacher-led than student-led. Teacher educators, when asked how they understood the concept 'research based ITE', were quick to mention that reading lists contained state-of-the-art research, and that they emphasised research literature in their lectures. The possibility of conducting research was unevenly distributed both between institutions and within institutions, despite being subject to the same national framework and guidelines for ITE. Teacher educators tended to emphasise academic writing over academic reading, even though, as practising teachers, they will most likely be more in need of skills to read, understand and critique research literature than to write research literature. Students also mentioned research literature as well as their own research projects,

and how they learned observation in the first practice session during their first semester. There were few indications of a coherent plan for the development of students' capacity to work in 'research-based ways', and several of the teacher educators also commented that they had not discussed this goal across subjects within ITE. The study was based on interviews carried out at one time point with six teacher educators from each of six higher-education institutions (N=36), and an equal number of students. As shown in the overview of faculty with and without a PhD in this study (Munthe & Rogne 2015, 20), more than 60% of the faculty in teacher education in Norway do not hold a PhD. With an increased emphasis on research capacity, an increased emphasis on research in ITE, and still meagre resources for research time, there may well be local tensions concerning whether or how ITE can or should be 'research-based'.

MARKET MANAGERIALISM AND PROFESSIONAL AUTONOMY

There is also a call for more research in teacher education from teacher educators. But the history of research in teacher education can best be described using McClelland's (1990) and Evetts' (2003) two types of professionalisation: (1) professionalisation from within, and (2) professionalisation from above. Whereas medicine would be described as professionalisation from within, and earlier research in education initiated at the University of Oslo would also be characterised as 'within', the emphasis on research in teacher education we have witnessed in later years can perhaps be described as professionalisation from above. Teacher educators may protest this description, and refer instead to financial possibilities for research: whereas university faculty at the four 'old' universities have had positions with a fair amount of research time, faculty at university colleges and 'new' universities spend more time teaching. Research did not play an important role at all; instead there has been emphasis on development work.

Research on professions emphasises the relationship between professional knowledge and autonomy (e.g. Freidson 2001). Professions with specific, scientific knowledge bases tend to enjoy more autonomy. Smeby (2015, 2) questions whether we are witnessing a conflict between the two kinds of professionalisation in relation to, for example, the academic drift of teacher education:

> Professionalisation from above is characterised by a new managerial strategy to improve the efficiency and quality of public services, which implies an extant lack of professional autonomy and discretionary space. ... Since a well-developed theoretical knowledge base is a characteristic of professionalisation from below, and to a lesser extent professionalisation from above, the debate on academic drift may also be part of the conflict between the two types of professionalisation.

Will we witness a struggle to gain more autonomy as the research and theoretical knowledge base particular to teacher education increases? Or will the fact that the strategy is 'from above' maintain the perception of 'poorness' and a need to 'fix' teacher education? During the next years, the number of faculty with PhDs and at the professor level must increase owing to the change from a four-year BA to a five-year MA. Providers of Master's degrees must have a faculty where at least 50% are at the PhD level and 10% must be at the professor level. How will this 'academic drift' influence the role of political parties? Will varying ideologies still compete with research-based knowledge?

Professionalisation from above is also linked to efficiency demands, and market managerialism has been introduced into higher education institutions (HEIs) in Norway. Teacher education faculty are expected to publish internationally and journals are ranked at two levels. External research funding is expected and incentives have been introduced to increase motivation to invest in applications. Rankings and results are increasingly emphasised. Key words are 'rigour' and 'sustainable'.Questions of rigour and sustainability are also addressed in the government White Paper no. 18 (2014–15), which draws a completely new map for HEIs in Norway: a restructuring of HEIs. Norway has had a history of strong district policies and has built university colleges in many places that today are considered more 'remote' and that have experienced a decrease in recruitment. Being a country that is long and narrow with numerous fjords and mountains, travelling takes time. Unlike Denmark, where you can drive from one end of the country to the other in a matter of hours, Norway is a geographically demanding country. In 2010, there were 19 HEIs that provided ITE for grades one to seven and five to ten, with a total of 2698 students enrolled as a new cohort (Følgjegruppa 2011).

From a regional perspective, having teacher education programmes in the vicinity is a main road towards recruitment of teachers (Gythfeldt & Heggen 2012; Heggen 2014). At least nine out of ten who graduated within professional studies (teaching, nursing, social welfare) from a university college located in the same area where they were born were also employed in that

region both two and five years later. In comparison, this was the case for less than half of those who studied at the regional university college but were not born in that area, though the fact that some did stay on also shows how studying in a different region can help recruit new teachers to that region.

However, the fact that some HEIs admit fewer than 20 students of teacher education each year is considered 'a problem', but not an economic problem. The 'problem' is framed as a question of quality. In the government White Paper no. 18 (2015b), 'Concentration for Quality', the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research explains (page 3; our translation):

> There are many positive signs of development in the Norwegian higher education sector. But there are also a number of challenges, especially in relation to small and vulnerable research environments and many distributed and small educational programmes with decreasing recruitment. The collective international participation is also lower than resources should indicate.

It is therefore necessary to change the structure of higher education and to gather resources in fewer but stronger institutions. The structural reform will strengthen the quality of education programmes and research. Access to higher education will be good throughout the country, and the institutions' regional roles will be further developed.

CONCLUSION

We can follow a long line of political (and church) influence especially on teacher education for the compulsory years, but less for teacher education for upper secondary schools. What has become more and more evident is the international influence on teacher education. So far, this has, surprisingly, not been discussed in any major way as invasive. Even the role of research in these teacher education programmes has, to a large degree, been professionalisation from above. The Ministry of Education and Research has emphasised the need for research in teacher education and the need to qualify more teacher educators as researchers. But: from a teacher education perspective, this can also be understood as a long-awaited policy change. It is a policy change that has not been made in, for instance, Denmark.

Teacher education has moved up. Academic drift may be one way to describe the changes, and in 2017 the next step up will be taken. What will be especially interesting for the future is how the increase in research, and thus the research base of teacher education, will influence the professionalisation

of teacher education and teacher educators, and whether this will have an impact on how teacher educators will be able to develop teacher education from within.

References

Aasen, P. (2008). 'Lærerutdanningen ved universiteter og høyskoler. Utdanningspolitiske perspektiver'. In G. Knudsen & T. Evenshaug, eds. *Universitetet og lærerutdanningen. Historiske perspektiver*. Oslo: Unipub.

Conway, P. & Munthe, E. (2015). 'The Practice Turn: Research-Informed Clinical Teacher Education in Two Countries'. In J.-C. Smeby & M. Sutphen, eds. *From Vocational to Professional Education, Educating for Social Welfare*. London and New York: Routledge, 146–65.Dahl, H. (1964). *Lærerutdanningen ved Universitetet i Oslo fra 1814 til i dag*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Dewey, J. (1904). 'The Relation of Theory to Practice in the Education of Teachers'. In *The Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education*. Bloomington: Public School Publishing Company.

European Commission (2013). *Supporting Teacher Educators for Better Learning Outcomes*, European Commission, Education and Training. Report. http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/school/doc/support-teacher-educators_en.pdf (retrieved 20 May 2015).

Evetts, J. (2003). 'The Sociological Analysis of Professionalism: Occupational Change in the Modern World'. *International Sociology*, 18:2, 395–415.

Freidson, E. (2001). *Professionalism, The Third Logic*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Følgjegruppa (2011). *Frå allmennlærar til grunnskulelærar. Innfasing og oppstart av nye grunnskulelærarutdanningar*. Stavanger (http://ffl.uis.no/).

Følgjegruppa (2012). *Med god glid i kupert terreng. GLU-reformens andre år*. Stavanger (http://ffl.uis.no/).

Følgjegruppa (2013). *Drivkraft i utviklinga av lærarprofesjonen? Framsteg og utfordringar for grunnskulelærarutdanningane*. Stavanger (http://ffl.uis.no/).

Følgjegruppa (2014). *Lærerutdanninger i endring. Indre utvikling – ytre kontekstuelle og strukturelle hinder*. Stavanger (http://ffl.uis.no/).

Følgjegruppa (2015). *Grunnskulelærarutdanningane etter fem år. Status, utfordringar og vegar vidare*. Stavanger (http://ffl.uis.no/).

Gythfeldt, K. & Heggen, K. (2012). *Er høgskolene regionale kvalifiseringsinstitusjoner? Likheter og ulikheter mellom høgskolene på Vestlandet og i hovedstadsregionen*. Oslo: Centre for the Study of Professions, Oslo & Akershus University College Report 3/29/12.

Heggen, K. (2014). 'Høgskule i distrikt – eit vilkår for å skaffe nok arbeidskraft?' In N. Frølich, E. Hovdhaugen & L.I. Terum, eds. *Kvalitet, kapasitet og relevans: Utviklingstrekk i norsk høyere utdanning*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 144–61.Hutchings, P., Huber, M.T. & Ciccone, A. (2011). *Scholarship of Teaching and Learning Reconsidered*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Karlsen, G.E. (2003). 'Styring av norsk lærerutdanning – et makroperspektiv'. In G.E. Karlsen & I.A. Kvalbein, eds. *Norsk lærerutdanning. Søkelys på allmennlærerutdanningen i et reformperspektiv*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Karlsen, G.E. (2005). 'Styring av norsk lærerutdanning – et historisk perspektiv'. *Norsk Pedagogisk Tidskrift, No. 6*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.Kvalbein, I.E. (2003). 'Norsk

allmennlærerutdanning i historisk perspektiv'. In G.E. Karlsen & I.A. Kvalbein, eds. *Norsk lærerutdanning. Søkelys på allmennlærerutdanningen i et reformperspektiv*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Kyvik, S. (2009). *The Dynamics of Change in Higher Education. Expansion and Contraction in an Organisational Field*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Kyvik, S. & Vågan, A. (2014). *Forskningsbasert utdanning?* Oslo: Abstrakt forlag.

Lundgren, U.P. (1990). 'Educational Policy Making, Decentralization and Evaluation' in M. Granheim, M. Kogan and U. Lundgren, eds. *Evaluation as policymaking. Introducing evaluation into a national decentralised educational system*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Magnussen Rydje, O. (2014). Presentation at the yearly NHO conference, 8 January 2014. www.nho.no/arskonferanse/Laeringslivet/Nyhetsarkiv/Kan-ikke-styre-selv/ (retrieved 20 May 2015).

McClelland, C.E. (1990). 'Escape from Freedom? Reflections on German Professionalization, 1870–1933'. In R. Thorstendahl & M. Burrage, eds. *The Formation of Professions: Knowledge, State and Strategy*. London: SAGE, 97–113.Munthe, E. & Rogne, M. (2015). 'Research Based Teacher Education'. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 46, 17–24.

Munthe, E., Malmo, K.-A. & Rogne, M. (2011). 'Teacher Education Reform and Challenges in Norway'. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 37:4, 441–50.

Myhre, R. (1994). *Den norske skoles utvikling*. Oslo: Gyldendal.

National Curriculum Committee (2015). *Mandat*. http://hihm.no/prosjektsider/rammeplanutvalg-for-grunnskolelaererutdanninger-paa-masternivaa/mandat.

NOKUT (2014). 'Studiebarometeret: Studentundersøkelse og nettportal' (The Study Barometer: Student survey and web portal). NOKUT web site: www.nokut.no/no/Universitet-og-hoyskoler/Studiebarometeret/.

Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education (1968). *Reglement for Det pedagogiske seminar ved Universitetet i Bergen*. Lovdata.

Norwegian Ministry of Church and Education (1979). *Lov av 8. juni 1973 nr. 49 om lærarutdanning, med endring sist ved lov av 6 april 1979*. Grøndahl & Søn Trykkeri.

NMCER (Norwegian Ministry of Church, Education and Research) (1992). *Rammeplan for praktisk pedagogisk utdanning ved universitet og vitenskapelige høgskoler*. Oslo.

NMCER (Norwegian Ministry of Church, Education and Research) (1994). *Rammeplan for 4-årig allmennlærerutdanning 1992, justert utgåve 1994*. Oslo.

NMCER (Norwegian Ministry of Church, Education and Research) (1999a). *Rammeplan og forskrift for praktisk pedagogisk utdanning*. Oslo.

NMCER (Norwegian Ministry of Church, Education and Research) (1999b). *Rammeplan og forskrift for allmennlærerutdanning*. Oslo.

NMER (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research) (2003a). *Rammeplan for Praktisk-pedagogisk utdanning*. www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/kilde/kd/pla/2006/0002/ddd/pdfv/175796-2rammeplan_2003_ppu.pdf.

NMER (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research) (2003b). *Rammeplan for allmennlærerutdanningen*. www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/kilde/kd/pla/2006/0002/ddd/pdfv/175666-rammeplan_2003_allmennlaererutd.pdf.

NMER (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research) (2008–2009). *Læreren, rollen og utdanningen. (St.mld. 11)*. Oslo.

NMER (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research) (2010a). *Forskrift om rammeplan for grunnskolelærerutdanningene for 1–7 trinn og 5–10 trinn*. www.regjeringen.no/nb/dokumenter/forskrift-om-rammeplan-for-grunnskolelar/id594357.

NMER (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research) (2010b). *Nasjonale retningslinjer for grunnskolelærerutdanningen 1–7 trinn*. www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/kd/rundskriv/2010/retningslinjer_grunnskolelaererutdanningen_1_7_trinn.pdf?id=2120258.

NMER (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research) (2013). *Forskrift om rammeplan for lektorutdanning for trinn 8–13*. www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/kd/vedlegg/rammeplanen/lektorutdanning.pdf.

NMER (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research) (2015a). *Høring om nasjonale deleksamener*. www.regjeringen.no/nb/dokumenter/horing-om-nasjonale-deleksamener/id2365449/.

NMER (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research) (2015b). *Konsentrasjon for kvalitet. Strukturreform i universitets- og høyskolesektoren. (St.mld. 18)*. www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/86d1e31e78b44de6a3a15e913b092bf4/no/pdfs/stm201420150018000dddpdfs.pdf.

Norwegian Research Council (2015). Årsrapport 2014. Program for forskning og innovasjon i utdanningssektoren/FINNUT. Oslo: Forskningsrådet.

Næss, E. (1974). *Pedagogisk oppslagsbok 2*. Oslo: Gyldendal.

Rogne, M. (2005). 'Norskfaget i allmennlærarutdanninga'. In M. Lea, ed. *Vekst og utvikling. Lærarutdanninga i Stavanger 50 år*. Stavanger: Universitetet i Stavanger.

Seminar Law (1890). *Lov om Seminarier og Prøver for Lærere og Lærerinder i Folkeskolen*. Kristiania: Grøndahl & Søns Bogtrykkeri.

Seminar Regulations (1891). 'Reglementariske Bestemmelser for Seminarierne'. In *Norsk Lovtidende*, 2. avd.

Skjelmo, R.H. (2007). *Endringer i norsk allmennlærerutdanningmot en sterkere enhetlighet. Desentralisert allmennlærerutdanning i Nord-Norge 1979–2006*. PhD Thesis, University of Tromsø.

Smeby, J.-C. (2015). 'Academic Drift in Vocational Education?' In J.-C. Smeby & M. Sutphen, eds. *From Vocational to Professional Education, Educating for Social Welfare*. London and New York: Routledge, 7–25.Stenhouse, L. (1975). *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development*, London: Heinemann Educational.

Strøm, B., Falch, T., Gunnes, T. & Haraldvik, M. (2013). *Karakterbruk og kvalitet i høyere utdanning. SØF-rapport 03/13*. www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/kd/karakterbruk_og_kvalitet_i_hoyere_utdanning.pdf.

Sundet, O. (1982). 'Pedagogisk seminar i tida 1907–1970'. In I. Grotnæss, S. Øygarden & O. Sundet, eds. *Søkelys på praktisk lærerutdanning*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Teacher Education Law (1930). 'Lov om lærerskoler og prøver for lærere i folkeskolen'. In *Norsk Lovtidende*. Kristiania: Grøndahl & Søns.

Teacher Education Law 1938 (1939). *Lærarskulen. Lov, reglement og undervisningsplaner*. Oslo: Grøndahl & Søns Forlag.

The Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions (2015). *NRLU*. www.uhr.no/rad_og_utvalg/nasjonale_rad/nrlu.

4 Teachers for the twenty-first century: A transnational analysis of the role of the university in teacher education in the United Kingdom

Vivienne Baumfield

INTRODUCTION

Our understanding of what the activity of teaching involves determines what we think teachers need to know, what the optimal conditions for learning to teach are and whose knowledge and expertise should count, and, therefore, the extent to which universities have a role to play in the education of teachers (Zeichner et al. 2015). Opinion on what is involved in becoming a teacher is divided as to whether it should be defined principally as the mastery of a craft or induction into a profession requiring participation in the creation of a distinct body of knowledge. The tendency to polarise theory and practice underpinning assumptions on both sides of the debate is disruptive to the dialogue between participants that the evaluation of teacher education requires. It is a dichotomy that should be challenged.

Full incorporation of teacher education into the university in the UK was a slow, often fraught, process with friction occurring between teacher educators, previously based in colleges of education, and educational researchers already working in departments or institutes of education in universities (Furlong 2013a). The educational researchers were as likely as academics from other disciplines in the university to resist the accommodation of teacher education on the grounds of its questionable intellectual value; teacher educators, on the other hand, concerned about threats to their autonomy, did not necessarily embrace the 'logic of mergers' (Dickson 2015). Currently, provision for the formation of teachers is under review in education systems across the world, and, particularly in the US and in England, the value of university-based teacher education is once again being questioned.

Evidence from school-improvement research suggesting that the critical factor in raising standards of achievement is the actions of individual teachers in the classroom has heightened the susceptibility of teacher education to be used politically as a mechanism for transforming schools (Furlong et al. 2000). Policy is also being influenced by international comparative studies identifying autonomy as a key characteristic of the best-performing schools, leading to the conclusion that strengthening the role of schools in teacher education will improve the quality of teachers: 'The closer you locate decision-making power, funding and tangible responsibility to the frontline in education, the better results you get' (Bell 2012, 5).

In England, the Department for Education devolved responsibility for the recruitment and professional development of teachers to the National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL), with the remit to improve education by encouraging schools to 'find local solutions to their challenges and remove any barriers to a school-led system' (www.gov.uk/government/organisations/national-college-for-teaching-and-leadership).

To fulfil this function, the NCTL promotes the self-improving school system based on the idea of knowledge-creating schools first mooted in the late 1990s (Hargreaves 1999), which charts progress 'towards maturity' (Hargreaves 2012) through school-to-school partnerships for joint practice development with leadership from training schools.

Regulation of the professional accreditation of teachers is another area in which changes to quality assurance and accountability processes have consequences for the extent to which universities are perceived to have, or would want to have, a role in teacher education. Reviews of education systems internationally reveal a complex dynamic between securing quality through the assessment of performance according to a set of standards or competences and the award of a higher education qualification. In the UK, a dual accreditation system was the norm and new entrants into teaching were awarded Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) by the government and a Postgraduate Certificate (Diploma in Scotland) of Education by the university. Following the introduction of school-based routes into teaching in England, new teachers enter the profession with QTS, having not studied for a higher education qualification. However, university-based routes into teaching remain more popular in England as students perceive the PGCE programme as being more rigorous and having a higher status, leading a recent government review of Initial Teacher Education (Initial Teacher Training [ITT] in England) to recommend that such 'misconceptions' be dispelled:

> Building on the development of school-led ITT, DfE should work in collaboration with those involved in ITT to consider the way in which teachers qualify, with a view to strengthening what has become a complex and sometimes confusing system. We would like applicants to understand that QTS is the essential component of ITT and that a PGCE is an optional academic qualification. (DfE 2015, 13–14)

Education systems in countries widely regarded as successful, such as Singapore and Finland, achieve a balance by developing the capacity to conduct research to form and inform teacher education and enable policy-makers, teachers and teacher educators to collaborate in identifying agreed standards and features of programmes of study. In the UK,

> [a]n important challenge for the teaching profession is to regain control of quality assurance and accountability mechanisms in schools and teacher education programmes that for the most part currently lack the capacity to build information systems able to demonstrate in a rigorous, systematic and cumulative manner future teachers' expected competencies and performance. (Tatto 2013, 17)

The necessity for periodic review of teacher education and the potential of new initiatives to be transformative are recognised by educationalists in universities who can see benefits for both schools *and* universities (Husbands 2013). Unfortunately, the impact of international trends on the governance of teacher education is accelerating changes in parts of the UK in which the contribution of the university is, increasingly, seen as optional (McNamara & Murray 2013). The re-imagining of the role of teacher educators (Dickson 2015) necessary for the full potential of the university's contribution to the formation of teachers to be realised is jeopardised by the impact of narrowly conceived accountability structures and competition for scarce resources across the sector. Faculties of education must now contest their position on two fronts: their relationship with other faculties within the university and their relationship with schools. In this context, variations emerging across the four jurisdictions of the UK can at least provide a glimpse of alternative possibilities.

THE STATE OF THE NATION: TEACHER EDUCATION IN THE FOUR JURISDICTIONS OF THE UK

It is hard to avoid the rhetoric that surrounds the vision of the teacher for the twenty-first century, expressed in policy documents on the reform of

teaching across the four nations of the United Kingdom. The need to reconsider traditional assumptions about the nature of knowledge is central to this vision, as is the aspiration to achieve closer alignment of teaching and learning with contemporary conditions of knowing and being (Hipkins et al. 2010). Hulme and Menter (2008), in their report of a Teaching and Learning Research Programme (TLRP)-funded scoping study comparing Initial Teacher Education (ITE) and Early Professional Development (EPD), explore the extent to which learning to teach in post-devolution UK can be characterised as a technical or an ethical process. Analysis of policy documents was followed up in regional seminars where the similarities and differences across the four nations were discussed and refined. They conclude that while there are powerful transnational forces leading to convergence, there are also differences resulting from the different political values and 'shaping myths' that inform policy-making post-devolution. The distinction between 'travelling' and 'embedded' policy (Jones & Alexiadou 2001; Ozga & Jones 2006) is employed to identify these similarities and differences. The 'travelling' policies influencing the conceptualising of teacher professionalism during the period covered by the review include the development of integrated frameworks for qualification, aspirations for all teachers to be qualified at Master's level and a drive to 'modernise' the profession. However, generic travelling policy is embedded in particular national contexts, in which 'history, political culture and the professional voice of the mediating community' (Hulme & Menter 2008, 50) support a degree of divergence. Examples of 'embedded' policy divergence across the four nations included: the extent to which the profession itself has been able to shape professional standards; the level of educational literacy expected of teachers; the degree to which the expression of the standards includes an emphasis on critical reflection; and the extent to which the teacher's role includes interaction with the wider community beyond the school. In England, there was sustained emphasis on a reductive view of practice that risked the 'pedagogical deskilling' of the profession (Robertson 1996) and, combined with the promotion of alternative routes into teaching, marginalised higher education institutions (HEIs). In Wales, teachers were more engaged in determining the future development of standards and there was a commitment to pursuing a distinctive Welsh approach to teaching and learning. However, the need to ensure that Welsh qualifications are recognised across the border in England was a constraint. In Northern Ireland, the review of teacher competencies conducted by the General Teaching Council (GTC(NI)) in 2005 provided the opportunity to directly involve the profession in defining the attributes of a teacher for the

first time. The GTC(NI) also led the way in establishing an integrated model of professional development throughout a teacher's career. In Scotland, where a degree of autonomy in educational matters had been in place since the signing of the Act of Union in 1707, there is a model of educational policy-making that seeks to promote consultation and collaboration. The Standard for Initial Teacher Education (SITE), drafted by a benchmarking group of representatives from HEIs, schools and local authorities convened by the General Teaching Council Scotland (GTCS), was moderated through wider discussion at a national seminar.

Divergence across the four nations of the UK has widened since the TLRP scoping study. In England, no sooner had the coalition government come to power in 2010 than the Minister of State for Education, Michael Gove, stated his views of teaching as a 'craft' best learned in a classroom through an apprenticeship model. This diminishing of any intellectual elements of pedagogical processes was accompanied by increased emphasis on 'scholarship' construed as subject (as opposed to curriculum) knowledge as the distinguishing feature of excellent teaching. In 2012, new *Teachers' Standards* came into effect and previous aspirations for a trajectory of incremental professional learning were reduced to a set of standards defining the minimum level of practice expected of a teacher, regardless of their career stage. While professional judgement is not entirely removed from the policy document, it is couched in terms of ensuring conformity to the standards through self-evaluation and the evaluation of others. The activity of teaching is described in terms of the performance of technical skills with specific prescription on matters such as the use of systematic synthetic phonics. The requirement for teachers to engage in systematic reflection, while still included in the standards, focuses on the evaluation of the effectiveness of an individual lesson according to the prescribed technical skills. Wider professional responsibilities are similarly constrained and limited to interactions with colleagues in school and one-way communication of expectations to parents. Any reference to personal and professional conduct is, similarly, construed in terms of conforming to the ethos of the school and upholding public trust. The pace of change with regard to alternative routes into teaching has also accelerated with initiatives such as School Direct diverting funding away from universities in favour of school-based teacher education.

The current situation in Wales is an example of the vulnerability of local circumstances to global forces. Following a review of teacher education (Furlong et al. 2006), there was a period of growing confidence in which the susceptibility to the recognition of Welsh qualifications to acceptance

in England gave way to a commitment to a model of teaching and learning that was 'Made in Wales'. The draft of the *Revised Professional Standards* published in 2011 promoted teaching as a profession in which the sharing and testing of beliefs and understandings with colleagues are central, and the knowledge required of teachers goes beyond simply subject knowledge to include an awareness of the implications for learning of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. The scope for action for the teacher is broadly conceived to include contribution to the community as a whole. However, a change of minister and the publication of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) league tables, resulting in the decision to set up a Standards Unit to galvanise an education community characterised as 'too cosy', put this confidence to the test. The professional learning communities that had been established were directed to focus on literacy, numeracy and the implementation of measures designed to counter social disadvantage (Murray & Wishart 2011). Comparison could be made here between the impact of PISA ranking on national education systems and the effect of the allocation of credit ratings by agencies such as Standard & Poor or Moody's on the economy of a country. Debate is pre-empted in the face of convincing others that your country is 'viable'; without any opportunity to critique how and by whom performance is being defined and measured, the scope for ideological manipulation is evident.

The GTC(NI) continues the work begun in the review of the standards of re-establishing teachers as 'lead intellectuals' in their local communities. The conception of the teacher as a public intellectual goes beyond setting an example, as in the English configuration of 'upholding public trust', to embrace activism for positive social change and a commitment to the radicalism that construing teaching as a reflective profession entails. The policy context in Northern Ireland is, however, also threatened by the economic situation and the operation of market forces on the allocation of increasingly scarce resources for education (Devlin, in Murray & Wishart 2011).

In Scotland, radical reform of the curriculum in *A Curriculum for Excellence* was followed by a major review of teacher education. The Donaldson Review (2010) presented a model of teaching as a complex and challenging profession in which both excellence and equity are important factors. The centrality of research-informed practice in teaching and teacher learning, in which the university plays a key role, is sustained; in fact, Donaldson extends engagement beyond departments of education to encompass other disciplines in the liberal education of teachers. The widening of the role of the university is mirrored by the widening of the role of schools. At the moment, the drive

in Scotland is for stronger partnerships between schools and universities in the preparation of teachers, and there is no appetite for multiple routes into teaching or wholly school-based provision.

Across the four jurisdictions of the UK, we can see differences in how the work of the teacher is conceptualised. In 2014, the British Educational Research Association (BERA) in partnership with the Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce (RSA) commissioned an inquiry on the contribution of research in teacher education and school improvement (BERA-RSA 2014). The inquiry concluded that:

> While the idea of teaching as a research-based profession is increasingly evident in Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales, it seems that England, at least in respect of the political rhetoric, recent reforms and explicit definitions, is fixed on a contrastingly divergent trajectory towards the idea of teaching as a craft-based occupation, with a concomitant emphasis on a (re)turn to the practical. (Beauchamp et al. 2015, 154)

The report also, however, counsels caution as, just as differences arise when international trends are mediated and enacted in national contexts, national policy changes when it is put into practice. The authors recommend the distinction between policies (goals and instruments), education politics (modes and actors involved in decision making) and polities (instrumental structure and decision making) in the transformation of education policy (Martens et al. 2010) as a check on making assumptions about the extent to which rhetoric matches reality. While analysis of the professional standards across the UK suggests a general trend towards 'performative' definitions of what teachers should know and be able to do that is most pronounced in England, there is a lack of evidence from research into how policy is enacted in teacher education (Menter et al. 2010). In the current political climate, it appears to be those education systems in the four jurisdictions of the UK with the confidence and independence of spirit to conceive a broad vision of teaching that offer most support for the involvement of universities in the formation of teachers in which teacher educators can continue to play a role.

RE-IMAGINING TEACHER EDUCATORS' PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY: DEFENDERS, REFORMERS AND TRANSFORMERS

The US is also experiencing a period of turmoil regarding provision for teacher education, and three types of response to criticism have been identified:

> The *defenders* [who] do not see the need for significant changes in the ways in which things are done now and want more resources to do these things better. Second, there are outsiders to the current system, and even some within, who have argued that education schools have failed and [need to be] replaced by an alternative based on deregulation, competition and markets […] These critics often refer to themselves as the *reformers*. Finally, there are those […] who see the need for substantive transformation in the current system of teacher education, but who do not support […] replacing it with a deregulated market economy. This position is that of the *transformers*. (Zeichner et al. 2015, 122)

Categories risk oversimplification but can act as a 'meaningful lens for considering different views on how to move forward in teacher education' (Zeichner et al. 2015, 122), which is how they are used here in considering response to change in the UK.

In 2013, the professional body responsible for teaching in universities, the Higher Education Academy (HEA), in response to growing concerns in the sector about the increasingly fragmented provision for teacher education following the introduction of different routes into teaching, convened a Social Science Teaching and Learning Summit. Leading researchers in teacher education were invited to form a 'State of the Nation' panel and the proceedings of the summit were published as a report, *Learning to Teach* (Florian & Pantic 2013). Contributors to *Learning to Teach* argue that university-based teacher education is essential for teacher professionalism as it enables teachers to be involved in developments in curriculum and pedagogy and participate in the wider debate about the purpose of education. They outline how changes in government funding are causing financial instability in departments of education – the money to support School Direct, for example, was diverted from the core allocation of training places in universities – and the acceleration of a technicist view of teaching in the adaptive model of professional learning promoted by recent government-sponsored initiatives. Teacher educators in universities are obliged to grapple with bureaucratic systems to ensure compliance with externally imposed standards for qualification, and are trying to maintain cordial relationships with schools in increasingly complex circumstances (McNamara & Murray 2013). Time spent in this way is at the expense of the activities valued by accountability systems within universities, where the emphasis is on research performativity.

The HEA summit concluded that the distinctive characteristics of university-based teacher education are:

> access and engagement with scholarly and disciplinary literature and knowledge/ participation in the scholarly communitiesthe questioning of accepted ways of

> doing things, developing independent views on alternatives based on the theoretical perspectives and systematic ways of thinkingthe space and time for reflection away from the busyness of schoolthe role that higher education can play in supporting the development of new practice in response to the changing world in which we live. (Florian & Pantic 2013 (Part 2), 4)

It is suggested that the predicament of the university teacher educator is indicative of a general malaise affecting higher education, induced by neoliberalism, and a solution will require nothing less than the rescue of the original 'university project':

> […] even in a world of uncertainty they […] retain one vitally important principle that marks them out from any other institution in contemporary society and that is their commitment to what we might call 'the contestability of knowledge'. (Furlong 2013a, 7).

Contributors to the summit convey a sense of being beleaguered and maligned, which is not entirely surprising given that they focus almost exclusively on recent developments in England, and nostalgia for what has been lost results in a response that is predominantly defensive. Recognition of the need for reform is not, however, entirely absent. The proceedings demand that the casualisation of teacher educators through the use of part-time teaching contracts and secondments, in which no provision is made for the fostering of a research culture, should end. What is less evident is a willingness to question the demarcation of theory and practice based on a radical epistemology for teacher education (Zeichner et al. 2015). We do, however, catch a glimpse of the potential for transformational change in university departments of education:

> That means putting far more effort than before into working collaboratively [with policy-makers and practitioners] in the development of research; working more effectively with 'knowledge brokers' such [as] think tanks; it even means thinking about the development of new institutional structures where the boundaries between schools, colleges, industry and universities are less sharply drawn. (Furlong 2013a, 8).

However, the interjection that it 'even' means thinking about developing new institutional structures for the education of teachers indicates a rather muted response to such change.

We must turn to the final report of another higher education-sponsored inquiry for a whole-heartedly transformational view of the involvement of universities in the education of teachers. In 2014, Research Councils UK

(RCUK) funded the School–University Partnership Initiative (SUPI) project to learn from existing work on partnerships and consider how their quality and impact could be enhanced to secure 'collaborative advantage' (Greany et al. 2014). Although national policy to enable schools and universities to work in partnership is neither coherent nor sustained, and sometimes contradictory, as in the case of attacks on the role of universities in ITE in England, the contemporary context presents opportunities as well as challenges. Universities are looking to demonstrate their commitment to public engagement and provide evidence of the impact of research, while schools are required to increase the use of evidence to inform practice and establish subject expertise 'hubs' informed by the latest research in the disciplines. Consequently, there is some recognition that schools and universities need each other and that scope for partnership can still be found within an apparently hostile climate:

> a self-improving school system couldn't be realised by schools alone […] schools don't have the capacity or skill by themselves […] We need to challenge the dismissal of the HEI role in ITE. (Headteacher of a school, in Greany et al. 2014, 9).

The potential of schools and universities working together to develop 'evidence-based teaching' was acknowledged by government policy advisers interviewed for the report who indicated that although the Department for Education (DfE) were taking a deliberately low-key approach, schools were felt to be 'quietly interested'. School Direct, the route into teaching apparently least favourable to the involvement of universities, gives schools the capacity to commission support from universities, but, as one headteacher indicated, approaches can elicit a 'wide spectrum of responses from universities from the defensive to the progressive', resulting in the school shopping around 'for a more creative HEI'. More creative responses from universities to requests from schools went beyond their traditional role in ITE to include collaborative research and the continuing professional development of teachers. Being 'a more creative HEI' in terms of developing school–university partnerships is not an easy task in what the authors of the report admit is a 'ludicrously crowded' space in which duplication is rife and funding increasingly tight. The solution proposed is for greater investment in an 'intermediary level' of professionals able to engage teachers and academics in dialogue, facilitate the translation of ideas across institutional boundaries and 'catalyse' partnerships. While the outcomes of the SUPI project endorse the role of the university in teacher education, little attention is given to the university teacher educator as the broker of relationships between partners. Instead, we find a

proposal for a new national network, with professional training or an award scheme; clearly, there is a gap to be filled, but, to take up this opportunity, nothing less than the re-imagination of the professional identity of teacher educators will be required.

Commentators on the development of ITE in Scotland illustrate how, even in the relatively benign climate afforded by a mature educational system with professional relationships based on a shared commitment to the democratic intellect (Humes 2015), re-imagining roles and professional identities is difficult. Early indications of the need for a new vision of partnership in which theory and practice permeate the joint working of universities and schools can be found in *Learning to Teach* (SED/GTCS 1978), commonly known as the Sneddon Report, a joint report of the Scottish Education Department (SED) and the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS):

> We are convinced […] that teacher training has failed so far to marry theory and practice satisfactorily; and it is unfortunately true that many students still regard their initial training as consisting of two separate and alternating experiences – their college course and their teaching practice. (SED/GTCS 1978, 17)

Resistance to change came from the teacher educators, who, despite having the opportunity to shape what the new model of partnership would be like, 'with relatively few exceptions […] failed to take this opportunity and introduced reforms only minimally and reluctantly' (McIntyre 2006, 8).

The situation in Scotland has continued to be one of tension between reaction and radicalism in which[…]

> the greatest resistance in innovations in working in partnership with schools in order to educate students has come from teacher educators. This bruising resistance to change makes the title of teacher educator for some a bastion of reactionary thinking. (Dickson 2015, 172)

The evaluation of a recent attempt to transform ways of working by embedding teacher educators in learning communities composed of groups of schools found that those not directly involved were defensive about the perceived encroachment of their professional expertise (Menter et al. 2011). Making the shift in identity required by partnership models for teachers' professional learning is particularly hard if it is construed as diminishing rather than expanding the sphere of action and status. It is particularly challenging in a political climate where the roles of an already fractured hybrid workforce of people from different backgrounds is being questioned:

> For many individuals there are not only tensions between the academic and professional aspects of their identities, but also tensions because of the changing nature of the institutional worlds, whether it be the impact of performativity in the university or the impact of technicisation in school teaching. This particular combination of forces makes for a 'heady mix' influencing the development of the professional identities of Scottish teacher educators. (Menter et al. 2011, 307)

McIntyre, writing in 2006, proposes four crucial ingredients for any attempt to transform teacher education (in Scotland or England):

> First, there has to be genuine respect for the expertise of practising teachers from academic teacher educators and recognition that, while each of them has important and rich but different expertise from which beginning teachers need to learn, it is the learning from teachers and in schools that is the more crucial. Second, to make that possible it is essential that substantial resources be specifically provided for this purpose. Third, there has to be a recognition on all sides that schools and teachers need to engage in new learning if they are to make more effective use of their expertise in teaching for helping beginning teachers to learn (and the expertise of university lecturers will be of only limited help in this). Finally, the centre of gravity of ITE curricula has to move from the universities into the schools. This will mean the planning of new kinds of school-based curricula […]; and it will also mean that faculties of education need to move into the kind of service role to support school-based learning that has already been pioneered in Scotland in for example the Chartered Teacher programme. (McIntyre 2006, 17)

This recipe for change does not, in my opinion, do justice to McIntyre's own achievements in building on the internship model for ITE while at Oxford and developing the Schools–University Partnership for Educational Research (SUPER) in Cambridge, both of which moved away from a theory-into-practice (or its reversal as practice trumping theory) conception towards an integrated practical theorising approach, to which teachers and lecturers contribute as equals (Wilkin 1990). Although the re-imagining of professional identities of teacher educators becomes ever more challenging, we know enough about how collaborative professional learning can bring about cultural change to be confident that 'a different future is possible' (Ellis & McNicholl 2015, 150).

SCHOOL–UNIVERSITY PARTNERSHIPS AS COMMUNITIES OF INQUIRY: DENYING THE THEORY/PRACTICE DICHOTOMY

Progress towards a different way of thinking about teacher education, which can 'more thoroughly interrogate […] challenges and can collaboratively innovate with new solutions to prepare the teachers our students need' (Zeichner et al. 2015, 132) is slow but has maintained momentum. Trends in public policy are rarely monolithic and opportunities can arise in unlikely places, as was the case in the UK in the late 1990s when, at the same time as policy documents were representing learning to teach as the acquisition of a set of practical skills, government funding was made available through the School Based Research Consortia (SBRC) initiative for the creation of partnerships between schools and universities to develop evidence-informed practice through engagement in and with research. The SBRC initiative was based on principles that can be traced back to the work of John Dewey, who, at the beginning of the twentieth century, recognised teachers as creators of knowledge and proposed the denial of a dichotomy between theory and practice, in which one would prevail over the other, in favour of holding them in a mutual fortifying tension so that differences can produce new insight (Dewey 1904). It also drew upon the work of contemporary researchers in the US such as Cochran-Smith and Lytle, who describe their collaboration with teachers as 'working the dialectic' as roles, responsibilities and fundamental relationships between theory and practice become problematic:

> The desire to locate our work at the intersection of two worlds deeply informed and continuously called into question our perspectives on collaboration and power, voice and representation, culture and difference, and the inter-relationship of inquiry, knowledge and practice. (Cochran-Smith & Lytle 2004, 633)

School–university partnerships are part of continued efforts to deny the dichotomy between theory and practice and offer a 'different view of research' (McLaughlin 2015) and it has proved difficult to secure recognition of what has been learned from such 'experiments in practice' (Baumfield 2015) in mainstream educational thinking. The process of professional learning developed within them has much in common with socio-material perspectives on workplace learning, which focus on:

- **attending** to minor, even mundane, fluctuations and uncanny slips
- **attuning** to emerging ideas and action possibilities – the ongoing mattering processes

- **noticing** one's own and others' effects on what is emerging
- **tinkering** amidst uncertainty
- **interrupting** black boxes of practice to hold open their controversies and disturbances.

(Fenwick 2013, 51)

In a recent overview of what we already know about teachers' professional learning and how we can build on it (Baumfield, 2015), three lessons from the experience of participants in the SBRC are highlighted: focusing on everyday circumstances of learning and teaching but in such a way that matters of fact become matters of concern, triggering authentic inquiry; developing pedagogical tools that can support and extend the reach of an inquiry by becoming 'epistemic objects' (Knorr Cetina 2001); and the role of teacher educators as 'pracademics'.

The term 'pracademic' is used in political science to denote someone who works at the intersection of the worlds of practice and theory to mediate the different 'constellations of logic' in politics and administration (Nalbandian 1994). Recently, it has been used in policy studies in education to describe people with the capacity to move between the institutional boundaries of the school and the university. Teacher educators are well equipped to cross boundaries and create bridges between the different worlds of the school and the university as this forms part of their daily experience. The university partners vital to the building of links with teachers in schools in the SBRC were the teacher educators, who could make connections both as former colleagues and through their current role in ITE. Crucially, this did not entail reverting to their residual identity as teachers by 'modelling' practice and thus encountering the pitfalls of trying to transmit knowledge compounded by the inauthenticity of the context (Dickson 2015). Neither did it demand that they 'reinvent' themselves by assuming an identity as academic researchers (Menter et al. 2011); rather, it demanded that they exploit their position of being simultaneously school-facing and university-facing to gain maximum advantage from the 'hybrid vigour' (Ellis & McNicholl 2015) of holding theory and practice in a mutually fortifying state of tension. Occupying such a position is uncomfortable, requiring a tolerance of ambiguity increasingly at odds with the current culture of performativity in schools and universities, and can only be sustained by a genuine interest in finding out what is happening:

> To be genuinely thoughtful we must be willing to sustain and protract that state of doubt which is the stimulus to thorough inquiry, so as not to accept an idea or make a positive assertion of a belief until justifying reasons have been found. (Dewey 1933, 16)

This re-imagining of the role of the teacher educator, while demanding, is one that they would, with support and recognition, be more than capable of filling. It does not assume there is a 'university project' to be rediscovered but invokes a transformative democratic future based on participation in a collegial community of critical inquiry into the meaning and purpose of education (Baumfield & Butterworth 2007). It is about creating a space in which the roles and responsibilities of participants in teachers' professional learning can be realigned, but this is a space within rather than a space apart from the messiness and complexity of our daily work. Change will be required in university structures to reverse the trend towards the casualisation of teacher education, which mitigates against developing the capacity to contribute to the improvement of education and depletes a resource with the potential to meet pressing matters such as widening participation, demonstrating the impact of research and the implications of the proposed introduction of a Teaching Excellence Framework.

> […] to get Education right in higher education and, indeed, in order to get teaching as a profession right, we need to do something about the work of HEI-based teacher educators. (Ellis & McNicholl 2015, 149)

References

Baumfield, V.M. (2015).

Baumfield, V.M. & Butterworth, M. (2007). 'Creating and Translating Knowledge about Teaching and Learning in Collaborative School/University Research Partnerships'. *Teaching and Teacher Education: Theory and Practice*, 13:4, 411–27.

Baumfield, V.M. (2015). 'Mind the Gap: Theory and Practice in Professional Learning'. *Professional Development Today*, 17:2, 8–17.

Baumfield, V.M. (2015). 'What is Making a Difference in Teachers' Professional Learning and How Can We Build On It? In C. McLaughlin, P. Cordingley, R. McLellan & V. Baumfield. *Making a Difference: Turning Teacher Learning Inside Out*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. See more at: http://education.cambridge.org/uk/subject/teaching-practice-and-professional-development/the-cambridge-education-research-series/making-a-difference-turning-teacher-learning-inside-out#sthash.MeFKaWwL.dpuf

Beauchamp, G., Clarke, L., Hulme, M. & Murray, J. (2015). 'Teacher Education in the United Kingdom Post Devolution: Convergences and Divergences'. *Oxford Review of Education*, 41:2, 154–70.

Bell, D. (2012). *Reflections on Reform*. Tribal Annual Education Lecture May 2012. Retrieved from www.tribalgroup.com.

BERA-RSA (2014). *Research and the Teaching Profession. Building the Capacity for a Self-Improving Education System*. Final Report of the BERA-RSA Inquiry into the Role of Research in Teacher Education. Retrieved from www.bera.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/BERA-RSA-Research-Teaching-Profession-FULL-REPORT-for-web.pdf.

Cochran-Smith, M. & Lytle, S.L. (2004). 'Practitioner Inquiry, Knowledge and University Culture'. In J.J. Loughran, M.L. Hamilton, V.K. LaBoskey & T.L. Russell, eds. *International Handbook of Self-Study of Teaching and Teacher Education Practices*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 601–49.

Department for Education (DfE) (2015). *Carter Review of Initial Teacher Training (ITT)*. London: The Stationery Office (DfE-00036-2015).

Department for Education (DfE) (2010). *The Importance of Teaching*. London: The Stationery Office.

Dewey, J. (1904/1964). 'The Relation of Theory to Practice in Education'. National Society for the Scientific Study of Education, Third Yearbook, Part I. In R.D. Archambault, ed. *John Dewey on Education, Selected Writings*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dewey, J. (1933). *How We Think*. Lexington, MA: Heath.

Dickson, B. (2015). 'Scotland: Radical Alternatives in Teacher Education'. In C. Brock, ed. *Education in the United Kingdom*. London: Bloomsbury.

Donaldson, G. (2010). *Teaching Scotland's Future*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Government.

Ellis, V. & McNicholl, J. (2015). *Transforming Teacher Education*. London: Bloomsbury.

Fenwick, T. (2013). 'Sociomateriality in Medical Practice and Learning: Attuning to What Matters'. *Medical Education*, 48:1, 44–52.

Florian, L. & Pantic, N., eds (2013). *Learning to Teach (Part 1 and Part 2)*. York: HEA.

Furlong, J., Barton, L., Miles, S., Whiting, C. & Whitty, G. (2000). *Teacher Education in Transition*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Furlong, J., Hagger, H., Butcher, C. & Howson, J. (2006). *Review of Initial Teacher Training Provision in Wales; A Report to the Welsh Assembly Government (The Furlong Report)*. Oxford: University of Oxford Department of Education.

Furlong, J. (2013a). 'The Discipline of Education: Rescuing the "University Project"'. In L. Florian & N. Pantic, eds. *Learning to Teach (Part 1)*. York: HEA, 5–9.Furlong, J. (2013b). *Education – An Anatomy of the Discipline: Rescuing the University Project?* London: Routledge.

Greany, T., Gu, Q., Handscomb, G. & Varley, M. (2014). *School–University Partnerships: Fulfilling the Potential. Summary Report*. Bristol: National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement.

Hargreaves, D.H. (1999). 'The Knowledge-Creating School'. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 47:2, 122–44.

Hargreaves, D.H. (2012). *A Self-Improving School System: Towards Maturity*. Nottingham: National College for Teaching and Leadership.

Hipkins, R., Reid, A. & Bull, A. (2010). 'Some Reflections on the Philosophical and Pedagogical Challenges of Transforming Education'. *The Curriculum Journal*, 21:1, 109–18.

Hulme, M. & Menter, I. (2008). 'Learning to Teach in Post-Devolution UK'. *SARE – South African Review of Education*, 14:1–2, 43–64.

Humes, W. (2015). 'Scottish Education in the Twenty-First Century: Continuities, Aspirations and Challenges'. In R. Anderson, M. Freeman & L. Paterson, eds. *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 346–62.Husbands, C. (2013). *Education Research and Education Practice in a Diversifying School System*. Keynote lecture at the BERA Annual Conference, University of Sussex, September 2013.

Jones, K. & Alexiadou, N. (2001). *Travelling Policy: Local Spaces*. Paper presented at the Global and National Reflections on the Experience of 3 European States symposium at the European Conference on Educational Research (ECER) Lille, September 2001.

Knorr Cetina, K. (2001). 'Objectual Practice'. In T.R. Schatzki, K. Knorr Cetina & E. von Savigny, eds. *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Martens, K., Nagel, A., Windzio, M. & Weymann, A., eds (2010). *Transformation of Education Policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

McIntyre, D. (2006). *Partnership in ITE in Scotland and England: Can We Learn Again from Research and Experience?* Retrieved from www.scotedreview.org.uk/media/scottish-educational-review/articles/222.pdf.McLaughlin, C. (2015). 'Strictly Partners – Schools, Universities and Research'. *Professional Development Today*, 17:2, 54–9.

McNamara, O. & Murray, J. (2013). 'The School Direct Programme and its Implications for Research-Informed Teacher Education and Teacher Educators'. In L. Florian & N. Pantic, eds. *Learning to Teach (Part 1)*. York: HEA, 14–19.Menter, I., Hulme, M., Murray, J., Campbell, A., Hextall, I., Jones, M., Mahony, P., Procter, R. & Wall, K. (2010). 'Teacher Education Research in the UK: The State of the Art'. *Revue Suisse des sciences de l'education*, 32:1, 34–48.

Menter, I., Baumfield, V., Carroll, M., Dickson, B., Hulme, M., Lowden, K. & Mallon, W. (2011). *The Glasgow West Teacher Education Initiative: A Clinical Approach to Teacher Education. Evaluation Report*. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.

Murray, J. & Wishart, J. eds (2011). *Teacher Education in Transition: The Changing Landscape across the UK*. Bristol: ESCalate.

Nalbandian, J. (1994). 'Reflections of a "Pracademic" on the Logic of Politics and Administration'. *Public Administration Review*, 54:6, 531–6.

Ozga, J. & Jones, R. (2006). 'Travelling and Embedded Policy: The Case of Knowledge Transfer'. *Journal of Educational Policy*, 21:1, 1–17.

Robertson, S. (1996). 'Teachers' Work, Restructuring and Post-Fordism: Constructing the New Professionalism'. In I.F. Goodson & A. Hargreaves, eds, *Teachers' Professional Lives*. London: Falmer Press, 28–55.SED/GTCS (1978). *Learning to Teach (The Sneddon Report)*. Edinburgh: HMSO.

Tatto, M.T. (2013). 'Changing Trends in Teacher Education Policy and Practice: International Perspectives and Future Challenges for Educational Research'. *Research Intelligence*, 21:Summer, 16–17.

Wilkin, M. (1990). 'The Development of Partnership in the United Kingdom'. In Booth, M., Furlong, J. & Wilkin, M., eds. *Partnership in Initial Teacher Training*. London: Cassell. Zeichner, K., Payne K.A. & Brayko, K. (2015). 'Democratising Teacher Education'. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 66:2, 122–35.

5 The role and place of training organisations, the state employer and university in initial teacher training in France (1990–2015)

Guy Lapostolle

INTRODUCTION

In the first half of the twentieth century, most secondary teachers in France came from bourgeois, middle-class families. They received a university education. Primary teachers, mostly from educated working-class families, were educated at training colleges then outside the university sector.

It was not until the 1950s that secondary teachers, given the post-war period of educational expansion, were increasingly drawn from across the social spectrum. Significant changes came from the knock-on effect of this democratic movement. Primary school no longer prepared pupils for entering the working world; it prepared them for starting secondary education. At the same time, those in lower secondary education, the 'school' that children attended from 11–14 years old, was becoming increasingly socially mixed. From the end of the 1990s onward, almost all primary-school pupils were pursuing upper secondary education at secondary school. The flow of pupils towards university was also steadily increasing.

It is perhaps now difficult to comprehend that, through much of the latter part of the twentieth century, primary teachers, without a university education, were preparing pupils, many of whom would go on to the higher education sector. Equally, secondary teachers, working with much more socially mixed classes, had only academic university preparation for the task. Some on-the-job professional support was given, but it always seemed to fall short. It became inevitable that the academic status of primary teachers and the professional preparation of secondary teachers needed attention in a more unified system of teacher preparation. This began to take shape in the 1990s.

IUFMs (*Instituts universitaires de formation des maîtres* – University Institutes for Teacher Training) were established, which allowed primary- and secondary-school teachers to be trained in the same establishment, providing training that was not identical but tended to be organised in the same way. As the intention was to simultaneously provide university and professional training to primary- and secondary-school teachers, these IUFMs underwent several reforms, which led them to become ESPEs (*Ecoles supérieures du professorat et de l'*éducation – Higher Schools for Teaching and Education) in 2013. Yet despite changes enforced by the state that were intended to correct a certain number of issues, one common issue has never been properly resolved: how to link up university training and professional training. One of the purposes of this chapter is to show that these reforms to teacher training have continued to cause tension between the requirements of a university education and those of on-the-job training. The student teachers were the first victims of these tensions because, during their course, they faced lessons with different time frames and competing interests. The arrangements put in place did not help them to learn the job. It would seem that the ESPE has still not managed to eliminate this problem.

First, light will be shed on the development of places and roles allocated to training organisations (first IUFMs, then ESPEs), the state employer, *le Ministère de l'Education nationale* (Ministry of National Education) and universities in teacher training. Second, the aim is to illustrate the impact that place and role development in these three institutions has had on training curricula, looking particularly at the favourable or unfavourable factors that have impacted on student teachers' effective use of these new curricula.

THE ROLE AND PLACE OF TRAINING ORGANISATIONS, THE STATE EMPLOYER AND UNIVERSITY IN TRAINING

Developments in relationships between training organisations, the state and universities can be explained using three time periods starting from the 1990s until the present day: the first period begins at the start of the 1990s when the IUFMs were set up and ends in the year 2005 when they had considered incorporating the IUFMs into the university system (MEN 2005). The second period begins in 2005, when a new Master's-level qualification was introduced (MESR – *Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche* [Ministry of Higher Education and Research]) and ended in 2013 at the point when the ESPEs were created; and the third period witnessed

the set-up of the ESPEs and is still ongoing. There is a particular type of relationship between the organisation responsible for training (IUFM, and later ESPE), the university and the state employer in each of these periods.

TRAINING IN THE IUFM PRIOR TO 2005

Pre-1990, secondary-school teachers were trained at university. They had to obtain their degree and then study for a state education recruitment exam at the university. From the date they passed this exam, they would do training for a year in schools and also receive training in a CPR (*Centre pédagogiques régionaux* – regional education centre), for which teaching authorities and the French Ministry of Education local authorities were responsible. Primary teachers, traditionally trained outside the university, were now educated and trained within the new university-based IUFM structure.

Thus, from 1990, once all students intending to become primary- or secondary-school teachers had obtained their university degree, they would attend the IUFM where they studied for one year in order to take the state teaching profession entry exam. If they passed this exam, they would become '*fonctionnaires stagiaires*' ('trainee teachers'). In this context, they worked part-time for six to eight hours each week in a school and at the same time they received training in the IUFM. Hereafter, the university contributed to training all primary- and secondary-school teachers. Therefore, the IUFMs were responsible for giving professional training to these teachers for a period of two years: the first year was dedicated to preparing for the state exam; the second year was dedicated to training the trainees for practical competence and meeting the requirements of the Master's degree. At the end of the second year, the state employer, the Ministry of National Education, decided whether to give tenure to the trainees or not; however, they also took the opinion of the IUFM into account in their decision.

TRAINING IN THE IUFM AFTER THE MASTER'S DEGREE

From 2005 onwards, in line with the Bologna process to standardise higher education structures across Europe, plans were drawn up for teacher education and training to be presented within the 3+2 Master's format. This required three important changes: the revision of the state examination for teacher recruitment, the design of the new Master's-level qualification

(MESR 2009) and the full integration of the IUFMs into local universities (MEN 2005). The first two changes meant that students had to have passed into the second year of the Master's programme prior to sitting the '*concours*' or examination to assess whether they could become teachers. Once they passed through this process, they became '*stagiaires*', working significant periods in school and participating in blocks of education and training within the IUFM. In an important change from previous practice, it was local academic authorities, working within regional structures, rather than the IUFM, that gave them the final licence to become teachers.

The third change concerns the integration of the IUFM into the university system. The responsibility for training the 'trainee teacher' now fell largely to the state employer, the Ministry of National Education, whereas previously it was shared between the state employer and the IUFM. The integration of the IUFMs manifested itself mainly through the fact these IUFMs were henceforth dependent on the decisions made by the University Council of Administration, which they were a part of. This integration meant that the IUFMs no longer enjoyed the same relative autonomy that they'd had previously with their own Council of Administration, presided over by an education officer who was a representative of the Minister of National Education. They became subject to the authority of the chancellor of the university. Therefore, the integration of the IUFM into the university system confirmed the university's responsibility to train future teachers while they were still students so that they could prepare for the exam and the Master's degree. However, at the same time, the 'trainee teachers' would be subject to the state employer's stricter responsibility.

This new training structure became subject to much criticism, particularly the lack of preparation it accorded trainee teachers when they went into the classroom. The academic demands to complete the Master's qualification were perceived to work to the disadvantage of the professional preparation to teach in the classroom.

TRAINING IN ESPES

The ESPEs were created, in part, to respond to the criticisms of the structures and processes of the previous system. But tensions persisted. The controlling councils of the ESPEs included representatives of subject faculties across the university, as well as representatives of local teaching authorities. Staff from the former IUFMs had less voice in the new structures. There was, however,

a political ambition to bring the wider university staff and local teacher-employing authorities closer together and thus foster greater understanding of the needs and challenges for the two main partners involved in teacher preparation.

One of the main measures of this reform was that the state exam was no longer held over the two years of the Master's degree. In the previous set-up, the students took written and oral tests as part of the state exam during the second year of the Master's degree. This meant that, among other things, they had little time to train for their teaching job during the second year, so, in the new structure, they sat all the state tests during the first year. This allowed them to dedicate the second year to gaining their Master's degree and learning about the job. Therefore, in the second year, the trainee teachers had a double status, which was unprecedented in France: they were students and 'trainee teachers' at the same time. In order to graduate at the end of the trainee year, they must have obtained their Master's degree and fulfilled the requirements of the state employer: to be able to master the competences set out in the *Référentiel de compétence* (Skills framework) (MEN 2013).

Such a dual role and status – studying for a Master's degree but also working as a partly salaried teacher in training (*stagiaire*) – should have permitted a more effective alignment of academic and professional preparation. It still remains to be seen, however, whether the professional input provided effectively prepares for carrying out the teaching role.

THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THE REFORMS ON THE TRAINING CONTENT AND ITS ADAPTATION BY TRAINEE TEACHERS

The ESPEs were put in place to mitigate the problems of the Master's degree reform, and also because although the IUFMs had overcome a large number of problems when they were first established (Robert & Terral 2000), they had also received a certain number of criticisms from trainee teachers. Moreover, they were constantly the object of criticism in the press, which was not always justified, according to the CNE (national committee for evaluation of higher education institutions) (2001).[1] Yet the ESPE did not manage to resolve a major problem created by the Master's degree. This reform made changes to certain training content in particular; however, above all else, it disrupted the students' arrangements for organising their study programme and learning the practical skills needed to succeed in the classroom.

TRAINING CONTENT CHANGES

In the period 1990–2009, IUFM first-year students focused solely on preparing for the state examination. In this context, the first year of training was criticised for being fundamentally an academic rather than academic–professional process.

During the second year in the IUFM, teacher training was alternated with some time spent in school and responsibility in the classroom. Students were accompanied in the classroom by a colleague, called a '*tuteur*' (tutor), but also by IUFM instructors. The other part of training time took place in the IUFM so that students could be taught aspects that allowed for the analysis of practices used during the placement, among other things.

From 2009 onwards, significant changes in the organisational structure were implemented. The most immediate consequence was that candidates prepared for the '*concours*' to become a teacher at the same time as they studied for the Master's qualification. However, the *concours* examination took place at the beginning of the second year of the Master's course, whereas the compulsory oral examination was carried out at the end of the Master's course. Given the importance in France of the *concours* examination, the Master's programme had to be designed to give this priority, and so the focus shifted away from professional preparation towards academic examination requirements.

From 2013, and with the ESPE reform now in place, the exam was put at the end of the first year of the Master's degree, with the goal of allowing students to dedicate the second year of the Master's degree essentially to working on improving professionally and working on research skills. However, certain problems disappeared and others appeared.

The first year of the Master's programme was orientated towards the needs of the *concours* examination. Nevertheless, the Master's degree also had to be assessed. Yet the students' priority continued to be the state exam because it was relatively selective. This meant that the students tended to lose interest in the classes that were not strictly and directly beneficial for the exam, even if these classes were considered to be important within a Master's degree that aimed to prepare teachers for the working world. For example, certain areas of Philosophy, History or Sociology of Education, which do not come up in the state exam tests, were often lessons that students neglected. If these lessons were studied, it was simply in order to limit the amount of students who failed the Master's degree tests. However, the students did not consider these lessons to be of any of the real value; nor did they give the study time required to adapt them and make them useful later on in their profession.

For students who passed the state exam and were in the second year of the Master's degree, the fact that they were trainees and students at the same time meant that they had to learn the job and prepare for the Master's diploma. Yet the on-the-job requirements were sometimes out of kilter with the Master's degree classes. For example, the fact that some classes were assessed based on a two-semester calendar, as is the case with all Master's degrees, meant that the teaching units assessed to gain the Master's were not in line with the professional skills that the student-trainees must acquire on their placement during the school year. Writing a professional dissertation that also incorporated appraisals learned from research – deemed an important component in making teachers more professional – was perceived by student-trainees as extra work, because they had to fulfil the professional requirements and the Master's degree assessment while integrating a reflective approach to research that was supposed to help them complete the dissertation. However, the reality was that students wrote the dissertation in a hurry at the end of term. In their view, the demands of the professional work in schools and the academic requirements of the Master's programme left little time to work effectively on the dissertation element.

Other specific problems emerged that had not been anticipated when the reform was thought out and to which ESPE instructors were forced to react in a hurry. They had to design training programmes adapted to new situations caused by the reform using instructions from the state that always arrived at the last minute. The instructors had to, among other things, pay attention to cases where students had passed the first year of the Master's degree and moved into the second year, but had failed the *concours*. These students then had to prepare for the exam again while they were on placement, sit assessments in order to pass the second year of the Master's degree, and complete the professional dissertation. These students came across the same problems as the first-year students. They were absorbed by the priority of preparing for the exam with the addition of passing the second year of the Master's degree on top of that, in which they not only faced assessment based on the lessons, but also had to write and defend a professional dissertation.

Furthermore, the students that would have to pass their second year of the Master's degree, and sit the exam during the second year, needed to be trained on another training programme that had to be implemented by the ESPE in a joint effort with the state employer, but would not constitute a second year of the Master's degree. At the end of the 2015 university year, the instructions from the state that would accompany these exam laureates had not been specified.

Overall, up to 2015, new problems and issues were arising that had to be resolved as the ongoing reform process was put in place. One unsettling factor for the teacher trainers concerned how to motivate students on the Master's programme when, for some, they had no idea if they were to succeed in the *concours*. But the major problem was providing professional preparation and training in the context of the academic requirements of the *concours* and the Master's programme.

TOWARDS A PROFESSIONAL MODEL OF TEACHER PREPARATION

For some years now, it has been evident that the content and structure of teacher preparation is important. But, beyond this, it is the way student teachers interact with and use this content that is crucial. Such conditions for success have been discussed in a range of publications (Lapostolle, Mabilon-Bonfils & Genelot 2009).

However, the Master's degree reforms, and those accompanying the creation of the ESPE, created a disjunction between the new academic requirements and the professional content associated with teacher preparation. For example, the grade-based assessment system of the Master's worked against the more formative approaches of professional preparation.

To a certain extent, this assessment gave back some legitimacy to the content that students did not find interesting within the framework of the previous training methods. For example, it was difficult for '*La formation générale et transversale*' ('General and transversal training'),[2] which had be taught to the trainee teachers before they graduated with their Master's degree, to be seen as legitimate in the eyes of students since it was of no use in preparing for the *concours*. Plus, as the trainees hurried to prepare their classes in the second year of training, they were more interested in skills they could put to use immediately (Lapostolle, Mabilon-Bonfils & Genelot 2009). But there were some changes, and the requirements of the programmes did oblige students to recognise the importance of professional activities. However, the importance given to this was essentially utilitarian in meeting course requirements rather than through any intrinsic, professional interest.

More generally, the fact that throughout the two years of the Master's degree all training content was graded – from more theoretical content to the most practical (such as placements) – created a paradox. While becoming a professional is envisaged as a '*processus de déscolarisation*' (developing beyond- or post-school learning attitudes and approaches) (Abraham 2007), the

assessments proposed within the framework of the Master's degree tended to strengthen the '*forme scolaire*' ('school-like format') of training content. Simply put, students taking on the professional teacher role need to develop attributes that go beyond the school-based fixation on academic grades. Yet the Master's degree encourages students to get good grades first and then master the job. Saussez and Allal (2007) state that these assessment methods encourage students to '*se faire paon*' (spread their feathers like a peacock),[3] meaning they show their instructor their best side, or to be a '*caméléon*' (chameleon) by fulfilling their expectations. These assessments bolster an attitude among students that could be qualified as school-like, especially as preparation for the exam exists alongside this new '*diplômante*' (qualification-led) interest.

In short, over the course of the two-year programme, the competitive and grade-related structure of the national *concours* and the Master's degree essentially deprofessionalised teacher preparation. It is only when the students (in the first year of the Master's degree) and then the trainee-students (in the second year of the Master's degree) are free from the requirements imposed by these 'school frameworks' that the job itself will be become their main concern and that they will be able to really devote themselves to the process of learning to do the job.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has explained how successive reforms to teacher training, including realignments between the IUFM, ESPE, National Ministry of Education and universities have not led to the outcomes hoped for. The different institutional structures put in place have not been able to meet the challenges that each was meant to address.

These successive reforms have been widely criticised. The causes of the problems, however, go beyond the structure of the Master's degree or an overemphasis on theoretical content, as has been suggested in many scholarly studies. The problem seems more to stem from an inability to take account of the student teachers' situation in the training context. The most recent reforms, when the ESPE was created for example, were pushed through despite unresolved competing interests and incompatible time frames. During a two-year Bologna-style Master's programme, student teachers had to prepare for the competitive *concours* examination to enter the profession, fulfil the Master's degree requirements, complete research-based dissertations and

acquire the professional skills and knowledge to become teachers. The learning processes involved were highly constrained by these competing interests.It seems important for the future that the development of the necessary professional skills and knowledge for those entering teaching must not be constrained by arbitrary administrative structures and requirements within institutional structures that do not have teacher preparation as a primary purpose.

References

Abraham, Y.-M. (2007). 'Du souci scolaire au sérieux managérial, ou comment devenir un "HEC"' ('From School Concerns to Serious Managerial Concerns or How to Become a Grande École for Management and Business Studies'. *Revue française de sociologie*, XXXXVIII:1. CNE (*Conseil national d'*évaluation – National Evaluation Council) (2001). *Les IUFM au tournant de leur première décennie. Panorama et perspectives* (*The IUFM around the Turn of the First Decade. Panorama and Perspectives*). Report found online at: education.gouv.fr.

Lapostolle, G., Mabilon-Bonfils, B. & Genelot, S. (2009). 'Transversal Training within Secondary Teachers' Training in the Face of Current Reforms in France'. *Journal of Education for Teaching, International Research and Pedagogy*, 35:3.

Lapostolle, G. & Genelot, S. (2012). 'Du bon usage des sciences humaines et sociales dans la formation des enseignants' ('Good Use of Human and Social Sciences in Teacher Training'). *Tracés. Revue de Sciences humaines*, 12, 69–81. Lapostolle, G., Solomon, R. & Grisoni, P. (2013). 'Le pilotage par l'Etat de la formation des enseignants du début des années 1990 à nos jours et ses incidences sur le métier de formateur' ('The State's Control over Teacher Training at the Beginning of the 1990s until the Present Day and the Repercussions on the Job of the Instructor'). *Phronesis*, 2:24.

MEN (2005) 'Loi d'orientation et de programme pour l'avenir de l'école' ('Framework Legislation for the Future of the School'). *Journal officiel de la République française*, 2005-380 (April).

MEN (2013) 'Loi d'orientation et de programmation pour la refondation de l'école de la République' ('Framework Legislation on Rebuilding Schools in France'). *Journal officiel de la République française***. 2013-595 (July)**.

MEN (2013) 'Arrêté du 1er juillet 2013 relatif au référentiel des compétences des métiers du professorat et de l'éducation' ('Decree of 1 July 2013 Relating to the Relevant Competences of the Jobs of Teachers and Education'). *Journal officiel de la République française*.

MESR (2009) 'Circulaire relative à la mise en place des diplômes nationaux des masters ouverts aux étudiants se destinant aux métiers de l'enseignement' ('Circular Relating to Implementing National Master's Diplomas Open to Students Intending Go into Teaching Jobs'). *Journal officiel de la République française*, 2009-1037 (December).

Robert A.D. & Terral, H. (2000). *Les IUFM et la formation des enseignants aujourd'hui* (*IUFMS and Teacher Training Today*). Paris: PUF.

Saussez, F. & Allal, L. (2007). 'Réfléchir sur sa pratique, le rôle de l'autoévaluation' ('Reflecting on the Practice and Role of Self-Evaluation, Measuring and Evaluating Education'). *Mesure et Évaluation en Éducation*, 30:1.

6 Universities and the preparation of teachers in the Mediterranean: Cautionary tales from the global South

Ronald G. Sultana

PREAMBLE: LONG LIVE THE UNIVERSITY?

The 'answer' to the question as to whether universities have a role to play in the education and training of teachers seems, at least at face value, deceptively simple. The global narrative about education is that, despite the continued importance of social background in explaining student success, the availability of adequately trained teachers, among other factors, also plays a highly significant role in enhancing achievement (Barber & Mourshed 2007; Hattie 2011). Part of that global narrative is also that learning is a complex activity requiring those who facilitate it to have a multifaceted set of knowledges, competences and dispositions (Bransford, Brown & Cocking 2000; OECD 2011).

Strong arguments can be made to show that, with all their faults, universities are – or at least can be – good places to nurture advanced forms of knowing, acting and being, though increasingly there is also recognition of the fact that such formative processes are best achieved in partnership with schools, and with trained mentors in schools (Bines & Welton 1995; Furlong & Maynard 1995; Darling-Hammond 2005; Mattsson et al. 2011). This acknowledgement that different aspects and goals of the teacher education enterprise are best achieved in a collaborative effort between different contexts is at least partly the result of a more sophisticated understanding of the link between theory and practice. The work of Shulman (2004), among others, has taken us away from crass notions that would represent the former as the domain of academics and the university, and the latter that of teachers and schools. Rather, 'theory, understood as generalisation from the critical scrutiny of practice, is an activity in which good schools regularly engage', while

'the contribution of higher education is to add a wider frame of reference and a particular commitment to independent inquiry' (Edwards 1995, 162), providing opportunities to critically peruse evidence, to unpack hidden assumptions, and to seriously take into account ends as well as means (Furlong 2013).

The claim that universities have an important role to play in the preparation of teachers is neither new nor exceptional. Rather, it would merely be echoing traditions in older professions, including medicine (Owen & Shohet 2012) and law (Shrag & Meltsner 1998), where some of the most successful courses adopt 'clinical' models that acknowledge the distinctive contribution to powerful learning that the different contexts of universities and work places can make. Darling-Hammond (2005, 2006), among others, has gone to great lengths to identify characteristics of outstanding teacher education programmes, and have made a major contribution in putting paid to the idea that teaching can be reduced to a set of prescribed actions, as set out, for instance, in 'teacher-proof' textbooks (Apple 1986). Such technocratic and deskilling views of teachers' work stand in stark contrast to notions of the 'reflective practitioner' (Schön 1987) who, to again quote Edwards (1995, 163), 'decides on appropriate action or chooses between alternatives by exercising professional judgement informed both by familiarity with those particular circumstances and by conscious reference to more general knowledge and understanding of how children learn'. Edwards concludes that 'any approach to professional competence that breaks it down mechanistically into discrete skills ignores teachers' endlessly creative responses to new situations and tasks'.

I am convinced that such arguments are sound, and that those who contest them and who would reduce teacher education to apprenticeship-type programmes that are exclusively school-based have faulty notions of the way teachers develop their skills and professional judgement. I nevertheless would like to adopt a cautionary stance in this chapter, suggesting an ambivalence that is probably impossible to wholly resolve. That caution and that ambivalence can be traced back to two sources, each of which is explored in turn in this chapter.

The first source of caution relates to my experience as dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Malta, where I was also responsible for chairing two Initial Teacher Education (ITE) reforms (1996–99; 2014–15). The key point that I will make in this section – in the form of four critical observations – is that there is a number of what could be termed 'structural' issues that make the university less of a hospitable institutional host to teacher education than one would assume. By 'structural' I mean institutional processes

that reflect deeply embedded value systems that go beyond the contingent idiosyncrasies of personalities that happen to be influential at a particular point in time. Thus, while using Malta as a case study, the claim is that many university-based ITE programmes internationally share similar dilemmas, *irrespective of context*.

The second source of my cautionary approach to the question of institutional location of ITE relates to my broader experience in teacher training and comparative education research in the Mediterranean region. In this chapter, I will focus in particular on the Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) countries and territories, where I have been involved in several education initiatives across the region, and most recently in a Tempus project on reform of Faculties of Education in Egypt, Lebanon and Palestine (2012–15). In contrast to the argument made with reference to the Malta case, the key point that I will propose in this section – through another set of four critical observations – is that, despite the fact that universities internationally share similar dilemmas, the relationship between ITE and universities is highly context dependent (Judge et al. 1994). *Specificity of context* therefore needs to be carefully considered in a volume purporting to provide 'an international analysis of policy and practice'.

THE SUITABILITY OF THE UNIVERSITY AS A CONTEXT FOR THE EFFECTIVE FORMATION OF TEACHERS: FOUR OBSERVATIONS FROM THE MALTA CASE

Let me start first with what I consider to be 'structural' issues that tend to make the university less of a hospitable institutional host to teacher education than one would hope. A number of observations 'from the field', as it were, can contribute to reflection on the questions asked in this volume. In what follows, therefore, I will be speaking directly to the University of Malta context, but will also broaden the purview of the points made by suggesting that there are important resonances between the local and the global, with the specificity of the Malta 'case' exemplifying dilemmas that are experienced by other teacher education programmes in universities the world over. Leading handbooks on teacher education (inter alia, Anderson 1995; Brock 1996; Cochran-Smith et al. 2008; Cochran-Smith & Zeichner 2005 Stuart, Akyeampong & Croft 2009), as well as systematic literature reviews (inter alia, Wideen et al. 1998; Moon et al. 2003; Menter et al. 2010; Musset 2010; Cochran-Smith et al. 2012), suggest that the observations outlined below represent enduring questions for the teacher education enterprise.

First, some background about the context – here kept very brief since the point is to make a series of (what I claim to be) generalisable observations. Malta, an island micro-state in the Mediterranean, an ex-British colony (1800–1964) and, since 2004, a member of the European Union, like many other countries first provided teacher training in 'colleges', universitising its courses in 1978 (Camilleri 1994). Influenced mostly by English models of teacher training, the Faculty of Education has offered a concurrent four-year BEd (Hons) course (primary- and secondary-school tracks) and a consecutive one-year PGCE programme (secondary-school track only), both of which entitle successful candidates to entry into the teaching profession, where they formally enjoy equal status. This model was the subject of two reforms: the first, in 1998, led to the adoption of a 'stepped' approach that reorganised the undergraduate curriculum mainly around content during the initial two years of the BEd (Hons) course, with the last two years focusing more on pedagogy (Sultana 1995, 1999). The second (ongoing) reform is an extension and deepening of the logic underpinning the first reform, and sees the phasing-out of both the BEd (Hons) and PGCE programmes, and the introduction of a two-year Master's in Teaching and Learning offered to primary- and secondary-school track candidates with a first degree behind them. This therefore follows what some see as an international trend in the 'masterisation' of teacher education (Jolion 2011), with exemplars being Australia, Finland, France, Iceland, Portugal and Scotland, among several others.

FACULTIES OF EDUCATION AND OTHER ACADEMIC TRIBES

As is the case with several other universities, Malta's education faculty 'enjoys' lower standing in the status hierarchy among the 'academic tribes' (Becher & Trowler 2001) at university. Such positionality has been accounted for in different ways by different authors (inter alia, Judge et al. 1994; Labaree 2004), who refer to the relatively recent introduction of education studies in academia, the perceived 'vocational' and applied orientation of teacher training, the (perceived) weak claim of education studies to theoretical 'purity' and sophistication, the widespread disdain of pedagogy among (traditional) academics, who consider that good students are those who grasp concepts through intellectual flair and hard work rather than thanks to the performative 'edutainment' styles of their lecturers, and the tendency for education to attract the less-achieving students. It should be said that, in Malta, this

lower status can also be attributed to a period when under a socialist government, as part of a set of social and education reforms aimed at dismantling the influence of economic and cultural elites on the island, the Arts and Science faculties were, in 1978, subsumed under the newly formed Faculty of Education (Mayo 2013). While this reform barely lasted a decade, memories of what academics consider a major affront still rankle and influence relations negatively, especially when it comes to the bargaining table where, not infrequently, raw power rather than the strength of the better argument carries the day.

Positionality, however, is more than 'just' unequal access to symbolic capital (Gamson 1997); it also has severe repercussions on the extent to which education faculty can implement what they consider to be good practice in the preparation of tomorrow's teachers. In the area of curriculum, for instance, 'substantive' and 'syntactic' structures of particular knowledge domains are often determined by servicing faculties (Humanities and Sciences in the main), failing to take into account the specific knowledge requirements of curricular areas in schools. Serious contestations can arise not just about what to include or leave out, but also around very different conceptualisations of a discipline such as 'science' (Zahra 2015). This can lead to situations where teacher educators lose a degree of control over their own programme.

This issue plays itself out in similar though distinct ways in relation to teacher education courses that are delivered through a 'consecutive' or 'concurrent' modality. In some cases, staff find themselves unable to organise the content and sequence of their students' learning experiences at university and in schools in the manner they consider optimal, and in line with their declared goals and the underlying philosophy of the course. It has often been the case that important curricular and policy directions have been jeopardised given the specific interests of other faculties who have traditionally enjoyed stronger clout in the governance structures of the university.

'ACADEMICISATION' OF TEACHER EDUCATION AT THE COST OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITIES FIT FOR TEACHING

However, even where education staff do have control over their curriculum, there is some evidence that they have proved less than successful in creating opportunities for prospective teachers to develop the personality structure that makes them fit for teaching. In the Malta case, but also elsewhere, the academicisation of teacher education, encouraged by the university's

institutional valuing of intellectual work and research, has contributed a number of strengths to the teaching profession, when compared to the 'seminaristic tradition' that prevailed in the colleges. Teachers are better informed about current theories and practices of learning, are less likely to be dogmatic about their views and more prone to be reflexive, aligning themselves with the spirit of critical inquiry that is the hallmark of the graduate (Furlong 2013).

The downside to this is that, in Malta, as in many other universities that moved from college- to university-based ITE, an essential feature of the formation of teachers got lost in translation. Universities, particularly those that either do not have a 'pastoral' tradition aligned to notions of education as '*bildung*', as in the Humboldtian model, or that have to cater for large numbers of students in contexts of low lecturer-to-learner ratios, are not particularly apposite institutions where personal qualities can be systematically and strategically developed to render them more fit for purpose (Neururer 1995; Lunenberg et al. 2014). Such higher education contexts, further hampered by the delivery of content in fragmented rather than in coherent, connected and strongly linked ways, tend to provide fewer opportunities for prospective teachers to develop skills in such areas as leadership, communication, interpersonal relations, emotional intelligence, multicultural competence and empathy, for instance. These are central to the task of teaching, and yet they rarely feature in the formal or even informal curriculum of teacher education courses (LeBlanc & Gallavan 2009). In many cases, this is the outcome of the university's institutional culture that overtly or covertly values cognitive/intellectual development above everything else, including social and emotional learning.

EDUCATION FACULTY STAFF AS MODELS FOR FUTURE TEACHERS

The valuing of intellectual prowess over and above other qualities that, one could argue, are equally important in the teacher education enterprise also has an impact on the type of faculty that are recruited. Staff with strong scholarly credentials and with a commitment to research are understandably given preference in a faculty that is keen to become an esteemed member of the academic confraternity. This, however, can lead to situations where staff are in a less strong position when it comes to modelling the kinds of dispositions and behaviours that one would want future teachers to enact in schools (Zeichner 2005; Loughran & Berry 2005). In this and in relation to

other aspects of university life and institutional culture – such as the prizing of competitiveness and individualism over and above solidarity and cooperation – there can be a lack of alignment, from the perspective of student teachers, between the formal and the enacted curriculum. In some cases, this also has an impact on the kinds of pedagogies that education faculty use, which should, at least to some extent, serve to inspire prospective teachers, serving as a model of what they are expected to implement in schools (Loughran 2006; Struyven et al. 2010). Indeed, a criticism that student teachers have consistently made of their experience on our teacher education courses is that we often 'fail to practise what we preach' (Mallia 1998).

Such deficits can also be traced back to the fact that many members of the Faculty of Education have not been trained to be teacher educators, but have rather studied and researched specific aspects that can contribute to the preparation of teachers –including context knowledge (psychology, philosophy, sociology, history of education) and pedagogic content knowledge of curricular areas – but without being exposed to the vast literature that focuses specifically on the challenges of forming teachers (Ducharme 1995; Izadinia 2014; Lunenberg et al. 2014). Many are also expected to be mentors and evaluators of prospective teacher efforts in schools without receiving formal training for this complex task, and in some cases without even having gone through the crucible of classroom experience themselves.

CONTRASTING AND COMPETING VALUE SYSTEMS

At the heart of the observations made thus far lies the claim that there is a serious clash of values between the university and the teacher formation enterprise – what Elstad (2015) refers to as a 'field of tensions'. Such a clash becomes more or less evident depending on one's notion of the 'ideal' teacher, which in turn influences the choice that is made from the extant teacher education models, which, according to Liston and Zeichner's typology (1991), are inspired by 'academic', 'social efficiency', 'developmentalist' and/or 'social reconstructionist' traditions. Perhaps nowhere is the clash between teacher education and the university value systems more in evidence than when it comes to considering the criteria for career progression. Such criteria represent the operationalisation of the institution's ideals, and a way of telling its employees and the public what it values most.

As with most universities internationally, the University of Malta tends to mainly reward publications when it comes to bids for tenure and promotion.

Community involvement also contributes to such advancement prospects, but overall there is a marked tendency to ignore what Faculty of Education staff (should) consider central to their calling, namely working intensively with prospective teachers, through mentoring and supervision in different learning sites, so that teaching skills and dispositions can be developed. Equally ignored are the time and energy invested in the emotional labour that goes with the job of preparing teachers, including 'relationship maintenance' work (Ellis et al. 2014). In many cases, the pressure to trade pedagogy for status and institutional recognition is overwhelming, negatively affecting the very *raison d'*être of the faculty. Indeed, most recently, other community-oriented faculties at the University of Malta, such as those involved in the so-called 'helping professions' (including social work, youth work and counselling), have joined forces with staff from the Faculty of Education to protest against the university's lack of meaningful acknowledgement of the time, energy, and intellectual and emotional labour invested in community-based projects that do not always result in traditional academic outputs, such as publications in peer-reviewed journals, but which nevertheless are valuable in their own right, and advance the frontiers of knowledge in other ways.

In cases such as these, it becomes very clear that the value system of the institution is at odds with that of the education faculty and that of other similar faculties as well, resulting in pressures on staff to become more office- than school/community-based, thus increasingly distancing themselves from sites of practice. This is detrimental both to their effectiveness as teacher educators, and to their credibility and legitimacy with student teachers, with teachers in schools, and with policy-makers.

THE SUITABILITY OF THE UNIVERSITY AS A CONTEXT FOR THE EFFECTIVE FORMATION OF TEACHERS: FOUR OBSERVATIONS FROM THE WIDER MENA REGION

Broadening our perspective beyond Malta towards the MENA region, other notes of caution regarding the suitability of the 'university' as a context for effective teacher education and training suggest themselves. As with the previous section, I will here mostly rely on my own experience, which, in this case, includes involvement as adviser or project partner with teacher education faculties in several countries/territories in the region, but especially so in Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine and Tunisia. In some cases, these projects have led to publications, including an edited volume on trends and challenges in ITE across the Mediterranean (Sultana 2002), as well as other

studies that focus on educational innovation in the region, most of which reflect on the state of initial and continued training of teachers (Sultana 2001a, 2005, 2009), and on education in the Arab 'world' more generally (Mazawi & Sultana 2010). While, wherever possible, I will refer to the relevant literature, it has to be said that this is somewhat limited, and confidence in and credibility of claims and arguments made also rest on familiarity with institutions and networks with academics gained over more than two decades of work in the region, including as founding editor of the *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*. What I present in this section is a portrait painted with broad brushstrokes, articulating issues in general terms that, while grounded, would need to be balanced by a more nuanced acknowledgement of the complexities and tensions in situated accounts in the region, such as in the excellent study penned by Clarke (2010), for instance.

While in the previous section I have highlighted concerns that are likely to ring a bell with teacher educators in a range of different contexts worldwide, in this section the focus will be taken up by the sorts of issues that are specific to a particular region, though these are bound to resonate with other contexts in the global South. In other words, this section sets out to show that a focus on specific contexts gives rise to another set of concerns that problematise decontextualised claims regarding the value of the university as an esteemed and privileged partner in the preparation of teachers. The next set of 'cautionary observations' are therefore also grounded in the field, suggesting that it might be somewhat difficult to grapple with the question asked in this volume in deterritorialised terms.

A broad general introduction to the situation of teacher education is necessary before moving on to more specific observations. Zaalouk (2012) helpfully synthesises the key landmarks in the contours of the ITE field in the Arab states by drawing on a range of studies carried out in partnership between the League of Arab States, the Arab League Education Culture and Science Organization (ALECSO), the Arab Bureau for Education in the Gulf States, and the regional offices for UNESCO and UNICEF. The studies led to what can only be termed damning conclusions, noting that:

the curriculum and pedagogy in faculties of education left very much to be desired. There was no integrated or holistic vision that was standard based or relevant to the needs of schools and the learning of children. The graduates were not prepared in a way that made them relevant to schools for professional development possibilities, leadership improvement or educational policy-making. Moreover the studies also pointed to the very limited and poor practical training students were receiving. The years in the Faculty of

Education did not allow for any organized or extended exposure to school life in any systematic way. Finally the studies also pointed to a third gap, namely the quasi absence of institutional educational research and particularly of action research that would support the various aspects and stages of school-based reform and improvement. (Zaalouk 2012, 1)Reasons for these concerns, in as much as they can be traced back to the university contexts in which Initial Teacher Education is provided, are considered below.

UNIVERSITIES AS CONTEXTS FOR INTELLECTUAL WORK IN THE MENA REGION

Many of the observations I will be making have to do with what we are in fact referring to when we speak of a 'university', and their setting as a context for intellectual work. In the global North, despite significant differences within and between countries and regions, the 'university' as an institution generally speaking stands for a commitment to the reproduction and production of high-level knowledge across a range of disciplines, which are drawn upon and developed in a critically reflexive and autonomous manner, and valued for their own sake as well as for the contribution they can make to the development of society. This, at least in theory, is the preferred master narrative that academics and citizens generally favour, though there is a strong counter-narrative that suggests that, in many cases, 'hire' education has sold its soul to corporate interests and has departed in significant ways from its historic 'vocation' as this evolved through the years from the twelfth century onwards (Readings 1997; Hayes & Wynyard 2002; Lesnik-Oberstein et al. 2015).

Be that as it may, and as several contributors to an edited volume on higher education in the region note (Guri-Rosenblit & Sultana 1999), universities in this part of the global South can be very different 'creatures' from what many are familiar with in the global North. Often serving as a banner of national identity in the wake of independence, and despite the increasing presence of private tertiary-level institutions, many universities in the region are funded and controlled by the state, in a context where pervasive and deep democratic deficits hamper academics from exercising their intellectual freedoms. Focusing specifically on the Arab states, Sabour (1996, 79) notes that in state-financed universities, faculty members are employed as civil servants, so that 'the hierarchy of organisation, the process of decision-making and academic policy-making is under the strict centralised control and supervision of the state'. Thus, the Arab academic 'is still in many respects dependent on this

bureaucratic power which functions as a gate-keeper of the state market, which constitutes the main space where he [*sic*] can invest his knowledge and capital' (Sabour 1991, 226). Indeed, Sabour comments wryly, expecting academics to be public intellectuals in such contexts is akin to asking a matador to enter the bullring without a muleta.

State control of universities can have other insidious consequences that make these institutions less likely to provide appropriate environments for teacher formation and development, especially when teaching is considered from the perspective of the 'reflective practitioner' paradigm. In several cases, appointment and promotion of academics is based on a system not of academic meritocracy but of patronage – or '*wasta*' as it is known across the Middle East – with leading families and clans allocated their domain in the state apparatus 'so that it is not unknown for the University to be a personal fief of a notable' (Shaw 1997, 214). Intellectuals end up controlled and managed by power holders, and 'in many respects incorporated into government and bought off by government employment' (Shaw 1997, 211). The only alternative to such a predicament is either retaliation by the influential families, groups and rulers, silence, cunning or exile (Keddie 1972, 56).

Other cultural and social dynamics come into play in the region, shaping its universities in significantly different ways. Besides state power, and often in collusion with it, religious groups have developed strategies to influence the form and direction of education at all levels, higher education included. Such an influence has increased in highly significant ways over the past decades, given the increasing influence of 'aggressive conservatism' in the three Abrahamic faiths in the region. In relation to contexts where Islam is the majority faith, we note the difficulty faced by scholars to prise a free space between religious and state authority, which has historically led to the withering of the idea of the university as a separate body of masters or fellows, ringing the death knell of Muslim academic leadership at a time when most of Europe was in the dark ages. As Clark (1987, 264) notes, institutions of higher learning in Islamic countries 'concentrated exclusively on legal and religious studies, becoming in effect colleges of religious law. They did not themselves develop corporate legal personalities, even though often endowed, but remained closely bounded by larger religious structures and tenets […] The individual teacher or student remained closely constrained, and the college as a whole was restrained from moving into new areas of inquiry and professional practice.'

In Europe, the organisational culture that was developed in universities led guild-like units to work relatively autonomously, and particularly after

the Renaissance, the stress on rational inquiry rather than tradition enabled a dynamic interaction that not only altered old forms of knowledge, but developed new ones as well. While both the Islamic 'madrasa' and the Christian university were threatened by the same sclerosis of thought and ossification into orthodoxy, Europe managed to emerge thanks to three movements that were absent from Islam. These have been identified as a critical spirit in theology that was made possible thanks to the rivalry between Pope and Emperor, and which led to the Reformation; humanism, that is an individualism that also opposed itself to the Pope's authority; and printing, which Islam refused till the eighteenth century (Le Than Khôi 1998, 33).

The point that is being made here is that while we may be using the same term, the semantic field for the word 'university' in the Mediterranean – and indeed in other peripheral and semi-peripheral regions – can hardly be expected to overlap with what it signifies in the global North. While we are here running the risk of adopting deficit notions of 'southern' universities, the key argument to be made here is that dominant conceptions of what goes into the making of a 'good teacher' cannot be considered in the abstract, but rather need to be grounded in institutional and cultural realities. The prevailing paradigm of the 'reflective practitioner' has other satellite notions and practices orbiting around it, constituting a 'discursive ecology' that includes such terms as 'action research', 'teacher-as-researcher', and 'communities of practice', to mention just three. These can hardly be expected to flourish in contexts where state and religious control contradicts and seriously constrains the spirit of open quest that is of the essence of universities – a quest that permits doubt, multiplicity, irony and scepticism. Indeed, such approaches to initial and continued professional development of teachers have been adopted and promoted by universities and faculties more aligned with 'western-type' models, such as the American Universities of Beirut and of Cairo, and the Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth, which have promoted such projects as TAMAM (*Al Tatweer Al-Mustanid ila Al-Madrassa*, i.e. 'School-Based Reform') and ARAS, or 'Action Research on Accredited Schools' (BouJaoude 2008; Jurdak & BouJaoude 2011; Akkary & Rizk 2012; Sultana 2015).

THE IMPACT OF CULTURE ON TEACHER EDUCATION IN UNIVERSITIES IN THE MENA REGION

Over, above and beyond an appropriate intellectual environment that permits or hinders the flourishing of independent and critical thought, other cultural factors come into play in shaping universities in the MENA region and rendering them more or less suitable as contexts for the formation of teachers. Chief among these is the combined effect of the massification of higher education and the hierarchy of esteem enjoyed by different disciplines.

Massification of the higher education sector, which, in Europe and the United States had already commenced by the mid-twentieth century, took off in earnest in the MENA region from the 1970s onwards. Indeed, it is estimated that more than half of the universities in Arab countries were established after 1970 (Shaw 1997), with the student enrolment figures increasing tenfold in almost all the countries of the Southern Mediterranean (Institut Català de la Mediterrània 1996, 162) by the end of the twentieth century, and even more in Algeria (increased by 13 times), Morocco (by 16 times) and Jordan (by 20 times).

Such massification has had extensive repercussions on the rise of private higher education institutions of all sorts, and on the quality of education offered within universities, particularly in an environment where engineering, medicine and science are considered to be the 'royal roads' to status and financial security (Sultana & Watts 2008; Ausman et al. 2013; Sultana 2014). This has led to a situation where further selection strategies are employed to ensure that only the very best enter the esteemed courses, with the vast majority ending up in the humanities, even if this was not their preferred choice. Such courses end up over-subscribed, with very large student-to-teacher ratios, leaving little possibility for quality training and serious intellectual engagement.

While, given the increasing worldwide commitment to STEM subjects in the search for global competitive advantage, similar processes can be observed internationally, what is happening in the MENA region is taking place on a different scale, and with quite different consequences. For one thing, key education leadership roles in the state apparatus are often entrusted to individuals with an engineering or science background – when, that is, they are not awarded to retired military generals, a not uncommon occurrence in Egypt, for instance. The status (and therefore strength of patronage ties) of education specialists is often too weak to lead to decision-making positions, including leadership of faculties of education.

At another level, and more generally, many who follow the humanities track (including education) end up unemployed or underemployed. In such a situation, as Sabour (1991, 1996) notes, religious extremism has become increasingly attractive among university students, who, having jumped through all kinds of hoops and hurdles, end up frustrated and unable to reap any material rewards on their investment. Religious ideologies, including fundamentalist lifestyles, signal disenchantment with the secular, western dream of credentialling and progress. Socialism and left-wing radicalism, which in many cases had driven and inspired nationalistic pro-independence movements, were found to be wanting, leading to their displacement by other all-embracing ideologies such as that provided by religion. This has had an impact on faculties of education, on teacher education and on teachers as a professional corps, where the secular enterprise is challenged in an effort to develop, in this case, an Islamic perspective on 'wholeness and holiness in education' (Al Zeera 2000).

MATERIAL CONTEXTS IN MENA UNIVERSITIES

While, as with most countries in the global South, material resources are, almost by definition, scarce and hard to come by – a situation made worse due to the massification of tertiary education referred to earlier – other aspects specific to context come into play in affecting the likelihood that universities serve as ideal places in which to train future teachers. I will here focus on the motivation, preparation and commitment of teacher educators themselves, an area that has received some attention in the global North (inter alia, Ducharme1995; Izadinia 2014), but which has a degree of specificity in the context of the MENA region.

We have already noted how the field of education, with the rest of the humanities, tends to be on the lower end of the status hierarchy in universities in the South, a positionality that has implications for access to already limited resources. Over and above that, however, are the often low salaries that teacher educators can command, particularly keeping in mind that many tend to have what can be considered to be, by 'western' standards, rather large families where it not uncommon at all to have only one of the partners – usually the male – working for a wage.

This leads to situations where faculty staff resort to additional employment outside the university, using up spare capacities not to further research agendas or to prepare publications, but to generate extra income that can make

a significant difference to the lifestyles that their family members can enjoy. While staff from engineering, medical and science faculties readily find part-time income-generating activities within their own profession, educators tend to have more limited opportunities to supplement income in their own field. Many give private lessons (Farag 2006; Bray, Mazawi & Sultana 2013). Others work as consultants with international development and aid agencies. Most, however, engage in non-education related work, including investing in retail, real estate and other business enterprises.

The implications of one's understanding of one's job as a teacher educator, compounded as these are by other issues – including lack of opportunities for further development, limited access to academic journals, and modest research funding – raise serious questions as to the extent to which universities can offer an appropriate environment for the preparation and formation of tomorrow's teachers.

INSTITUTIONAL REPOSITORIES OF CUTTING-EDGE KNOWLEDGE ON TEACHING AND LEARNING

One of the assumptions that is made is the global North is that, given their 'vocation' and privileged position within the international production and circulation of knowledge, universities enjoy unparalleled access to the 'best' and most robust knowledge base and skills set in the range of fields and disciplines they teach and research. That is indeed one of the main arguments made in support of the universitisation of teacher education.

For many reasons – some of which have been rehearsed above – universities and faculties of education in the global South, including in the MENA region, can hardly claim to be institutional repositories of cutting-edge knowledge, despite the fact that here too teacher education has, in many cases, migrated from college-type institutions to universities. While not much has been written on this subject, my personal experience in the region leads me to claim that even if, needless to say, there are a number of faculties of education that stand out when it comes to the preparation of teachers, most of the best practices in the region can be observed elsewhere – often in NGOs and private and international institutions and schools.

Here of course there is a danger of equating 'best' with 'west', with NGOs and private and international schools more readily reproducing 'western' approaches to teaching and learning, and therefore tautologically being considered as 'better' models of 'good' practice. The fact is, however, that it is

rare indeed that one comes across any approach to teacher education in the MENA region that one could term 'home-grown'. Rather, what we generally see is an effort to 'catch up' and adopt or, at best, adapt approaches that have been developed in the global North (Zaalouk 2013). Whether it is competence-based teacher training inspired by Belgian approaches in Tunisia (Sultana 2005), learner-centred democratic pedagogical relations in Syria (Sultana 2001b), action research, mentoring and reflective practitioner models in some parts of Egypt and Lebanon (Sultana 2015), or wholesale reform (attempts) of ITE models in Egypt (Ginsburg & Megahed 2011), the lead ideas tend to come from more 'central' countries, with those from the 'periphery' or 'semi-periphery' adopting/adapting thanks to a number of push-and-pull factors. Indeed, if anything, the universitisation of teacher education has reinforced the tendency for copying the 'west' rather than for coming up with more ecologically appropriate, context-sensitive approaches.

In contrast to universities, NGOs, aid agencies and private schools are often better placed to offer more meaningful and effective contexts for teacher learning and training than faculties of education. In many cases, such NGOs and private schools are not only inspired by 'western' approaches to education, but also benefit from external funding and from the support of experienced international consultants who help locals build up the required skills. A case in point would be the training offered through such programmes as the Step-by-Step and Save the Children foundations, or by the Community Schools project (Zaalouk 2004) and Girls' Education Initiative (Sultana 2008) in Egypt, or by the German aid agency GIZ, which has led several TVET teacher-training projects in the region. In a number of countries, QuANGOs are being set up to take on responsibilities for teacher learning previously entrusted to universities, with the Queen Rania Teacher Academy in Jordan (twinned with Columbia Teachers College), and the Professional Academy for Teachers in Egypt (modelled on the Ontario College of Teachers, and working in collaboration with Cambridge University) being two cases in point (Zaalouk 2013). Tunisia has reportedly opted for creating professional institutions to replace faculties (Zaalouk 2012, 1).

Private and international schools, often run by Christian religious orders (as is the case in Beirut, for instance, or in Cairo and Alexandria), or by secular endowed foundations, generally adopt European or American approaches to education, with strong professional development programmes for teachers who are inducted into pedagogical practices that are well ahead of what staff in the Faculty of Education can offer. Indeed, some faculties readily admit to this, and try very hard to place their students in such

schools in the hope that they are mentored into practices that, in theory, they wish to promote, but which in reality they find they are quite unable to implement (El-Kerdany 2012). Another related issue concerns the fact that state schools are often far from being the most appropriate environments for student teachers to practise in, with faculty staff enjoining students out on their practicum to observe established teachers in order to criticise rather than to emulate what they see. While ethnographic data about teacher behaviour in schools and classrooms in the MENA region is hard to come by, we are starting to have some important insights provided by Herrera and her colleagues for Egypt (Herrera & Torres 2006), and Adley for Jordan (2010) that help us better understand the complex challenges that faculties of education have to face when they try to adopt more school-based training programmes in contexts where classroom practices contradict targeted pedagogical and relational paradigms.

CONCLUSION

The eight observations made in this chapter, four related to the Malta context, and four to the broader MENA region, have hopefully served to make two key points in response to the question as to the extent to which the university can serve as a hospitable environment for the education, training and formation of tomorrow's teachers. First, and specifically in relation to – and on the basis of – my experience as a member of the Faculty of Education at the University of Malta, I have highlighted what I have referred to as 'structural' issues that are likely to militate against the implementation of practices that strengthen ITE programmes. Foremost among these is the clash between deeply embedded institutional values that lead to hierarchies of status, power, epistemologies and ontologies that tend to undermine the teacher education enterprise. While the Malta case has its own specificity, my argument has been that the processes, issues and challenges described can be found and felt in a range of contexts internationally, as they emanate from the very character of universities as this has evolved over the years, rather than from the personal idiosyncrasies of individuals who happen to be on the stage at a given moment in time. In other words, sociological analyses of the situation are more likely to be productive than psychological ones. The enduring, recurrent and widespread nature of the issues highlighted suggests that while there is much to be gained by associating ITE with universities, there are also important downsides that have proved remarkably difficult to

overcome, and that there might be other, more satisfying and effective institutional forms and relationships that could be envisaged.

A second point arose from an analysis of ITE in the Arab states, where it was argued that context matters greatly when considering the role of the university in teacher education in 'universal' terms. A rather dark picture of the effectiveness of universities in the region was presented, hardly conducive to confidence that they can train the kind of teachers that ministries can pin their hopes on to implement wholesale educational reform. Instead, it was suggested that other sites are proving to be far more appropriate in providing the required training, and serving as alternative institutional repositories of cutting-edge knowledge on teaching and learning.

There is therefore no blanket answer to the question posed in this volume, with issues and challenges arising both from the very nature of the university, and from the way this institution, with its roots in a medieval past, takes shape in specific national and regional contexts. It is within these real contexts that contestations take place in order to assert agendas and implement practices, and where tough decisions have to be made as to whether one should try to reform institutions, or imagine others that are more fit for purpose.

References

Adley, F. (2010). 'Performing Patriotism: Rituals and Moral Authority in a Jordanian High School'. In A.E. Mazawi & R.G. Sultana, eds. *Education in the Arab World: Political Projects, Struggles, and Geometries of Power*. New York: Routledge.

Akkary, R.K. & Rizk, N. (2012). 'The TAMAM Project: Shifting the Paradigm of Educational Reform in the Arab World'. *Journal of International Education and Leadership*, 2:3, 1–29.

Al Zeera, Z. (2000). *Wholeness and Holiness in Education*: *An Islamic Perspective*. Herndon: The International Institute of Islamic Thought.

Anderson, L.W., ed. (1995). *International Encyclopedia of Teaching and Teacher Education*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Pergamon.Apple, M.W. (1986). *Teachers and Texts*. New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ausman, J., Jayed, A., Ahmed, S., Samad, M.A., Pour, A.S., Mathew, E., Shaikh, R.B., Al-Sharbatti, S. and Sreedharan, J. (2013). 'Social Factors Influencing Career Choice in a Medical School in the United Arab Emirates'. *Education in Medicine Journal*, 5:1, 14–20.

Barber, M. & Mourshed, M. (2007). 'How the World's Best-Performing School Systems Come Out on Top'. McKinsey Report. Available online at:
http://mckinseyonsociety.com/downloads/reports/Education/Worlds_School_Systems_Final.pdf.

Becher, T. & Trowler, P.R. (2001). *Academic Tribes and Territories*. 2nd edition. Buckingham: Open University Press. Bines, H. & Welton, J.M., eds (1995). *Managing Partnership in Teacher Training and Development*. London: Routledge.

BouJaoude, S. (2008). 'Project on School-Based Reform in Arab Countries (TAMAM Project)'. Paper presented at the fifth Arab Education Forum, Sukhirat, Morocco, 2–4 April.

Bransford, J.D., Brown, A.L. & Cocking, R.R., eds (2000). *How People Learn: Brain, Mind, Experience, and School*. Expanded edition. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.Bray, M., Mazawi, A.E. & Sultana, R.G., eds (2013). *Private Tutoring across the Mediterranean Region: Power Dynamics and Implications for Learning and Equity*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Brock, C., ed. (1996). *Global Perspectives on Teacher Education*. Oxford: Triangle Books.

Camilleri, R. (1994). *Teacher Training and Teacher Education in Malta: An Historical Perspective*. Unpublished MEd thesis, Faculty of Education, University of Malta.

Clark, B.R. (1987). 'Conclusions'. In B.R. Clark, ed. *Perspectives on Higher Education: Eight Disciplinary and Comparative Views*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Clarke, M. (2010). 'Doing "Identity Work" in Teacher Education: The Case of a UAE Teacher'. In A.E. Mazawi & R.G. Sultana, eds. *Education in the Arab World: Political Projects, Struggles, and Geometries of Power*. New York: Routledge.

Cochran-Smith, M. & Zeichner, K.M., eds (2005). *Studying Teacher Education: The Report of the AERA Panel on Research and Teacher Education*. London: Routledge.

Cochran-Smith, M., Feiman-Nemser, S., McIntyre, D.J. & Demers, K.E., eds (2008). *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education: Enduring Questions in Changing Contexts*. New York: Routledge and the Association of Teacher Educators.

Cochran-Smith, M., Cannady, M., McEachern, K.P., Mitchell, K., Piazza, P. & Ryan, A. (2012). 'Teachers' Education and Outcomes: Mapping the Research Terrain'. *Teachers College Record*, 114:10, 1–49.

Darling-Hammond, L., ed. (2005). *Professional Development Schools: Schools for Developing a Profession*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2006). *Powerful Teacher Education: Lessons from Exemplary Programs*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Darling-Hammond, L. & Bransford, J., eds (2005). *Preparing Teachers for a Changing World*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Ducharme, E.R. (1995). 'Characteristics of Teacher Educators'. In L.W. Anderson, ed. *International Encyclopedia of Teaching and Teacher Education*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Pergamon.Edwards, T. (1995). 'The Politics of Partnership'. In H. Bines & J.M. Welton, eds. *Managing Partnership in Teacher Training and Development*. London: Routledge.

El-Kerdany, L.A. (2012). *The Practicum Experience in Faculties of Education in Egypt: A Study on Students' Perceptions of Strengths and Weaknesses in Two Faculties of Education*. Unpublished MA Comparative and International Education thesis, American University in Cairo.

Ellis, V., McNicholl, J., Blake, A. & McNally, J. (2014). 'Academic Work and Proletarianisation: A Study of Higher Education-Based Teacher Educators'. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 40, 33–43.

Elstad, E. (2015). 'University-Based Teacher Education in the Field of Tension Between the Academic World and Practical Experience in School: A Norwegian Case'. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 33:4, 361–74.

Farag, I. (2006). 'A Great Vocation, A Modest Profession: Teachers' Paths and Practices'. In L. Herrera & C.A. Torres, eds. *Cultures of Arab Schooling: Critical Ethnographies from Egypt*. New York: SUNY Press.

Furlong, J. (2013). *Education – An Anatomy of the Discipline: Rescuing the University Project?* London: Routledge.

Furlong, J. & Maynard, T. (1995). *Mentoring Student Teachers: The Growth of Professional Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

Gamson, Z.F. (1997). 'The Stratification of the Academy'. *Social Text*, 51, 67–73

Ginsburg, M. & Megahed, N. (2011). 'Globalization and the Reform of Faculties of Education in Egypt: The Roles of Individual and Organizational, National and International Actors'. *Education Policy Analysis*, 19:15, 1–29.

Guri-Rosenblit, S. & Sultana, R.G., eds (1999). *Higher Education in the Mediterranean*. Special issue of the *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*, 4:2.

Hattie, J. (2011). *Visible Learning for Teachers: Maximizing Impact on Learning*. London: Routledge.

Hayes, D. & Wynyard, R., eds (2002). *The McDonaldization of Higher Education*. Westport, CT and London: Bergin and Garvey.

Herrera, L. & Torres, C.A., eds (2006). *Cultures of Arab Schooling: Critical Ethnographies from Egypt*. New York: SUNY Press.

Institut Català de la Mediterrània (1996). *Towards a New Scenario of Partnership in the Euro-Mediterranean Area*. Fòrum Civil Euro-Med. ICM: Barcelona.

Izadinia, M. (2014). 'Teacher educators' identity: a review of literature'. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 37:4, 426–41.

Jolion, J.-M. (2011). 'Masterisation de la Formation Initiale des Enseignants: Enjeux et Bilan'. Université de Lyon. Available online at www.education.gouv.fr/archives/2012/refondons-lecole/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/rapport_jolion_la_masterisation_enjeux_et_bilan_octobre_2011.pdf.

Judge, H., Lemosse, M., Paine, L. & Sedlak, M. (1994). *The University and the Teachers: France, the United States, England*. Special thematic issue of the *Oxford Studies in Comparative Education*, 4:1/2.

Jurdak, M. & BouJaoude, S. (2011). 'The Impact of Collaborative Action Research on Habits of Minds, Inquiry Skills, and Collaboration in School Teams: The case of a School-Based Project in the Arab Countries'. Available online at:
http://tamamproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/TAMAM-Technical-Report-1.pdf.

Keddie, R.N. (1972). 'Intellectuals in the Modern Middle East: A Brief Historical Consideration'. *Daedalus*, 101:3, 39–57.

Labaree, D. (2004). *The Trouble with Ed Schools*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Leblanc, P.R. & Gallavan, N.P., eds (2009). *Affective Teacher Education: Exploring Connections Among Knowledge, Skills and Dispositions*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Education.

Le Than Khôi (1998). 'L'Europe et le Monde'. In A.M. Kazamias & M.G. Spillane, eds. *Education and the Structuring of the European Space*. Athens: Serios Editions.

Lesnik-Oberstein, K. et al. (2015). 'Let UK Universities Do What they Can do Best: Teaching and Research' *The Guardian*, 6 July.
www.theguardian.com/education/2015/jul/06/let-uk-universities-do-what-they-do-best-teaching-and-research.

Liston, D. & Zeichner, K.M. (1991). *Teacher Education and the Social Conditions of Schooling*. New York: Routledge.

Loughran, J. (2006). *Developing a Pedagogy of Teacher Education*. New York: Routledge.

Loughran, J. & Berry, A. (2005). 'Modelling by Teacher Educators'. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 21, 193–203.

Lunenberg, M., Dengerink, J. & Korthagen, F. (2014). *The Professional Teacher Educator: Roles, Behaviour, and Professional Development of Teacher Educators*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Mallia, M.J. (1998). *Training for the Other Side of the Bench: The Experience of B.Ed.(Hons) Undergraduates in Malta*. Unpublished MEd dissertation, Faculty of Education, University of Malta.

Mattsson, M., Vidar Eilertsen, T. & Rorrison, D., eds (2011). *A Practicum Turn in Teacher Education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Mayo, P. (2013). 'Higher Education, Socialism and Industrialism: Dom Mintoff and the Worker-Student Scheme'. *International Journal of Sociology of Education*, 2:1, 1–25.

Mazawi, A.E. & Sultana, R.G., eds (2010). *Education in the Arab World: Political Projects, Struggles, and Geometries of Power*. New York: Routledge.

Menter, I., Hulme, M., Elliot, D. & Lewin, J. (2010). *Literature Review on Teacher Education in the 21st Century*. Edinburgh: Scottish Government Social Research.

Moon, B., Vlasceanu, L. & Barrows, L.C., eds (2003). *Institutional Approaches to Teacher Education within Higher Education in Europe: Current Models and New Developments*. Bucharest: UNESCO/CEPES.

Musset, P. (2010). 'Initial Teacher Education and Continuing Training Policies in a Comparative Perspective: Current Practices in OECD Countries and a Literature Review on Potential Effects'. *OECD Education Working Papers*, No. 48. Paris: OECD Publishing.

Neururer, J. (1995). 'Characteristics of Prospective Teachers'. In L.W. Anderson, ed. *International Encyclopedia of Teaching and Teacher Education*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Pergamon. OECD (2011). *Building a High-Quality Teaching Profession: Lessons from Around the World*. Paris: OECD.

Owen, D. & Shohet, R., eds (2012). *Clinical Supervision in the Medical Profession: Structured Reflective Practice*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Readings, B. (1997). *The University in Ruins*. Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sabour, M. (1991). 'The Status and Ontology of the Arab Intellectual'. *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology*, 28:3–4, 221–32.

Sabour, M. (1996). 'Moroccan Academic Women: Respectability and Power'. *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*, 1:1, 75–92.

Schön, D. (1987). *Educating the Reflective Practitioner: Toward a New Design for Teaching and Learning in the Professions*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Shrag, P.G. & Meltsner, M. (1998). *Reflections on Clinical Legal Education*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Shaw, K.E. (1997). 'Reforms in Higher Education: Culture and Control in the Middle East'. In K. Watson, C. Modgil & S. Modgil, eds. *Educational Dilemmas: Debate and Diversity. Volume 2: Reforms in Higher Education*. London: Cassell.

Shulman, L.S. (2004). *The Wisdom of Practice: Essays on Teaching, Learning, and Learning to Teach*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Struyven, K., Dochy, F. & Janssens, S. (2010). '"Teach as You Preach": The Effects of Student-Centred Versus Lecture-Based Teaching on Student Teachers' Approaches to Teaching'. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 33:1, 43–64.

Stuart, J., Akyeampong, K. & Croft, A. (2009). *Key Issues in Teacher Education – A Sourcebook for Teacher Educators*. Oxford: Macmillan Education.

Sultana, R.G. (1995). 'Developing a Vision for Teacher Education Programmes: A Values-Based Approach'. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 18:2/3, 215–29.

Sultana, R.G. (1999). 'The Process of Teacher Education Reform: A Case-Study in the Management of Change'. In K.R. Byrne & M. Garofalo, eds. *Teacher Education in the 21st Century*. Limerick: ATEE.

Sultana, R.G., ed. (2001a). *Challenge and Change in the Euro-Mediterranean Region: Case Studies in Educational Innovation*. New York: Peter Lang.

Sultana, R.G. (2001b) 'Syria's Global Education Initiative'. In R.G. Sultana, ed. *Challenge and Change in the Euro-Mediterranean Region: Case Studies in Educational Innovation*. New York: New York.

Sultana, R.G., ed. (2002). *Teacher Education in the Euro-Mediterranean Region*. New York: Peter Lang.

Sultana, R.G. (2005). 'The Competency Approach and Tunisia's Quest for Educational Quality'. *World Studies in Education*, 6:1, 45–72.

Sultana, R.G. (2008). *The Girls' Education Initiative in Egypt*. Amman: UNICEF.

Sultana, R.G. (2009). *Jordan's Early Childhood Development Initiative: Making Jordan Fit for Children*. Amman: UNICEF.

Sultana, R.G. (2014). 'Livelihood Planning and Career Guidance in Palestine and the Broader MENA Region'. *International Review of Education*, 60:2, 177–97.

Sultana, R.G. (2015) 'The Practicum and Action Research in Teacher Learning in Lebanon'. CDFE Tempus Project Case Studies (mimeo).

Sultana, R.G. & Watts, A.G. (2008). 'Career Guidance in the Middle East and North Africa'. *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance*, 8:1, 19–34.

Wideen, M., Mayer-Smith, J. & Moon, B. (1998). 'A Critical Analysis of the Research on Learning to Teach: Making the Case for an Ecological Perspective on Inquiry'. *Review of Educational Research*, 68:2, 130–78.

Zaalouk, M. (2004). *The Pedagogy of Empowerment: Community Schools as a Social Movement in Egypt*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Zaalouk, M. (2012). 'Project Rationale'. Tempus Project: *Capacity Development of Faculties of Education in International Approaches to Teacher Education*. Project Number: 530614-TEMPUS-1-2012-EG-TEMPUS-JPHES.

Zaalouk, M. (2013). 'Globalization and Educational Reform: What Choices for Teachers?' In T. Seddon & J.S. Levin, eds. *Educators, Professionalism and Politics. Global Transitions, National Spaces, and Professional Projects*. World Yearbook of Education. London: Routledge.

Zahra, G.J. (2015). *Views of Science Education in Malta: A Constructed Discourse between Academics of Science and Science Education*. Unpublished MA Comparative Education dissertation, EMCER, University of Malta.

Zeichner, K. (2005). 'Becoming a Teacher Educator: A Personal Perspective'. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 21:2, 117–24.

7 The changing role of universities in US teacher education

Ken Zeichner

AN OVERVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHER EDUCATION IN THE US

Formal teacher education programmes began in the US in the early part of the nineteenth century. During this time, and for much of the history of teacher education in the US, a variety of options have been available to individuals seeking to become elementary or secondary teachers. These include teacher education courses and programmes offered by high schools, seminaries, academies, normal schools and teacher institutes in the nineteenth century, and, later, by teachers colleges, community colleges, colleges[4] and eventually universities in the twentieth century (Fraser 2007; Lucas 1999). Many teachers entered teaching during the early period without any significant preparation, and, in many parts of the country, the passing of a local exam (often based solely on mastery of the subjects to be taught) qualified individuals to teach in public schools. From the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a growth in certifying teachers based on the completion of a teacher education programme, rather than examinations, and the licensing of teachers became centralised at the state level (Sedlak 2008).

Universities began to become involved in preparing teachers in the later part of the nineteenth century, and by about 1960, almost all teachers entered teaching after completing a college or university programme. The University of Iowa is credited by many as having established the first chair of Education in a major research university in 1873, and it followed in 1878 by establishing what is now the College of Education. Soon after this, the University of Michigan established its first professorial position in Education and followed in 1879 by forming the Department of the Science of Teaching (Clifford & Guthrie 1988). Despite the entry of universities into teacher preparation and

the growing number of universities that became involved, for the first three decades of the twentieth century, university programmes prepared only a minority of teachers (Fraser 2007).

As the completion of a secondary (high school) education began to become more common in the early part of the twentieth century, and former normal schools (now teacher colleges) began to transform themselves into comprehensive regional universities, states began to require more and more education to qualify as a teacher. It wasn't until around 1960 that all states required the completion of a four-year college or university degree for teaching. Even as late as 1952, though, half of the nation's 600 000 teachers did not hold college or university degrees (Lucas 1999).

According to Fraser (2007), for much of the history of teacher education, most teachers entered teaching through what now might be called 'alternative routes', including a substantial number of teachers who were prepared in school district-based programmes. He noted that, by 1914, virtually every city in the US with a population of 300 000 or more, and 80% of those over 10 000, maintained their own teacher education programme as a part of its public schools system.

It was only for a relatively brief period of time (1960–90) that colleges[5] and universities held a virtual monopoly on preparing teachers in the US. Since the 1990s, there has been a tremendous increase in non-college and university sponsored teacher education programmes, including new for-profit programmes. More and more individuals are entering teaching through completion of non-university sponsored programmes, sometimes with very little preparation before assuming full responsibility for a classroom of students.[6] A growing number of these programmes have recently been developed by privately run charter school networks to provide teachers for their schools (Stitzlein & West 2014). These new non-university programmes, which have been heavily funded by venture capitalists and by the US Department of Education (Zeichner & Peña-Sandoval 2015), have been referred to as 2.0 teacher education programmes in an effort to declare them as more innovative than university programmes (Gastic 2014).

Despite the growth in these alternative programmes, most teachers in the US, even today, still enter teaching through four-year, five-year or fifth-year college and university programmes (National Research Council 2010). In some parts of the country, though, nearly as many teachers enter the field through alternative programmes, including non-university programmes (Feistritzer & Harr 2008). For example, in the state of Texas, since 2007, two for-profit non-university online programmes, iTeach Texas and A+ Texas

Teachers, have prepared more teachers than any other teacher education programme in the state (Smith & Pandolfo 2011).

Beginning in the early 1980s, with New Jersey and California, states began to authorise alternative pathways into teaching, including some non-university programmes (Stoddart & Floden 1995), and more and more teachers each year have entered teaching through these pathways. Some of the major factors that propelled the growth of alternative programmes were the need to fill teaching shortages in certain subject areas and in certain communities, the desire to recruit more teachers of colour and males into the teaching force, and the desire to improve the quality of teacher preparation for schools serving students living in poverty (Zeichner & Hutchinson 2008).

THE TROUBLED HISTORY OF TEACHER EDUCATION IN US UNIVERSITIES

Struggles within the university

From the very beginning of the involvement of universities in preparing US teachers, there has been severe criticism of university teacher education, and teacher education faculty have struggled with gaining legitimacy both within the university environment and with public school educators (Clifford & Guthrie 1988). Prior to the existence of formal programmes of teacher education in the US, a classical liberal education was viewed as equivalent to being prepared to teach (Borrowman 1956). During the twentieth century, as teacher education programmes became established in colleges and universities, and despite a federal effort to focus universities on the practical arts of agriculture, engineering and teacher training to serve the needs of the society when it established land-grant universities (Palmer 1985), the point of view persisted that a sound liberal arts education, complemented by an apprenticeship in a school, is the most sensible way to prepare teachers for their work. Since about 1930 and continuing today, it has been argued based on this assumption that Education departments and schools in colleges and universities provide an intellectually inferior and unnecessary education.

One of the earliest critics of university teacher education was Abraham Flexner, who was also noted for his role in critiquing medical education in the US. In his widely cited study of US and European universities in 1930, Flexner lodged a number of criticisms of university teacher education that have been raised repeatedly over the years by critics. These included assertions that the mastery of subject matter is the most important thing in the

education of a teacher and that university education courses interfere with this goal. Flexner, like many who were to follow him, criticised education courses for their intellectual superficiality, education students and their professors for their meagre educational resources, and education scholarship for its insignificance. Accepting the value of a few legitimate areas of study for teachers in education such as educational philosophy and comparative education, Flexner argued that all of the rest of what teachers need to learn beyond a sound liberal education could be gained through an apprenticeship experience in a school.

> Why should not an educated person, broadly and deeply vested in educational philosophy and experience, help himself from that point on? Why should his attention be diverted during these pregnant years to the trivialities and applications with which common sense can deal adequately when the time comes? (Flexner 1930, 99–100)

Since Flexner's critique of university teacher education, a number of highly visible and controversial analyses have articulated the same themes. Among these are: Lynd's (1953) *Quackery in the Public Schools*, Bestor's (1953) *Education Wastelands*, Koerner's (1963) *The Miseducation of American Teachers*, Mitchell's (1981) *Graves of Academe*, Kramer's (1991) *Ed School Follies* and Chubb's (2012) *The Best Teachers in the World: Why We Don't Have Them and How We Could*.

Several different strategies were pursued over the years to address these alleged weaknesses. These included the investment by foundations in providing a greater role for university Arts and Sciences faculty in preparing teachers by funding postgraduate programmes such as the Master's of Arts in Teaching programmes that were started at many research universities following the initiation of the model at Harvard (Coley and Thorpe 1986). Beyond the implementation of new programmes, there has been advocacy and financial support for what has been referred to as the 'all university approach to teacher education' where Arts and Science faculty from throughout the university have a role in programme governance (Stiles 1958). Finally, another strategy used to undermine control of university Education departments, schools and colleges over teacher preparation has been to place a statutory limit on the number of Education credits that can be included in a teacher education programme. In 1987, Texas was one of the first states to pursue this strategy by limiting Education credits in a teacher education programme to 18 semester credit hours, including 6 credits of student teaching (Simms & Miller 1988).

Another response from education schools themselves was the emergence of an effort to push for greater autonomy for education schools within universities, where they, like law schools and medical schools, would have more control over their activities, budgets and systems for rewarding and promoting faculty. B.O. Smith's *A Design for a School of Pedagogy* (Smith 1980) and the National Network for Educational Renewal's support for establishing 'Centers of Pedagogy' (Patterson, Michelli & Pacheco 1999) are examples of this attempt to create spaces within universities where teacher preparation was the priority.

Criticism from the schools

In 2004, Tom Payzant, then superintendent for the Boston schools, one of the major urban school districts in the US, gave an invited keynote address at the annual meeting of the major national association of Education schools, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. In this lecture, titled 'Should Teacher Preparation Take Place at Colleges and Universities?', Payzant criticised existing teacher education programmes in the Boston area and nationally for not supplying urban districts with teachers who are successful and stay in their jobs over time. He warned his audience of university teacher educators that unless they engaged in serious reforms soon, he and other urban superintendents would look elsewhere for their teachers. It later became known that Payzant had already begun efforts in 2003 to develop a teacher residency programme with several local partners that would prepare teachers specifically for Boston public schools.

The Boston Teacher Residency programme (BTR) is currently one of dozens of clinically oriented residency programmes nationally that prepare teachers for specific school districts and in which districts partner with a variety of university and community partners in the preparation process. The Urban Teacher Residency model is a favoured approach of the Obama administration, which has invested several hundred million dollars in spreading the model.

In 2010, the major national accreditation body for teacher education programmes in the US, the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education, issued a report that called for major changes in teacher education that would make practice the centre of preparation programmes (NCATE 2010). Since 2010, there has been a lot of activity both within and outside of the university teacher education community to shift teacher education more into schools and to focus more on what are seen as 'practical teaching skills'

instead of on what is described as 'educational theory'. Although there are several extreme cases, such as the RELAY Graduate School of Education and TNTP (both independent non-university teacher education programmes that have multiple sites nationally), where faculty and administrators have touted their elimination of theory from their programmes (e.g. Schorr 2012; TNTP 2015) and have uncritically glorified practice (see Zeichner 2014a), most university teacher education programmes that have made clinical experience more central to teacher preparation have done so without this kind of anti-theory rhetoric. 'Clinically-rich' or 'Clinically-oriented' teacher preparation has become the new slogan in US teacher education, and publications are now emerging touting the benefits of these new more school-based programmes (e.g. Urban Teacher Residency United 2015), often without the research evidence that would justify such claims and without necessarily addressing the enduring tensions of learning to teach in and from practice (Zeichner 2014b; Zeichner & Bier 2015).

The dual criticisms of university teacher education from within universities by Arts and Sciences faculty as being academically weak, and from outside universities by the schools as being too theoretical and not sufficiently concerned with the realities of practice, portray the dilemma that university teacher education has faced since its beginning in the late nineteenth century (Clifford & Guthrie 1988). Also, as mentioned above, there has been a history of criticism of teacher education from within Ed Schools themselves (e.g. Goodlad 1990; Holmes Partnership 2007) that stimulated large-scale national efforts to transform university programmes.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE NATURE AND QUALITY OF UNIVERSITY TEACHER EDUCATION IN THE US

There are a number of factors that have been discussed in the literature as connected to the historic low status of teacher education in universities in the US, a condition that Goodlad (1990) has referred to as 'chronic prestige deprivation'. Among these are the feminisation of the teaching profession (Clifford & Guthrie 1988), the social class background of Education faculty in universities compared to that of other faculty (Lanier & Little 1986), and the disdain for matters of practice in the culture and reward systems of the research universities (Cuban 1999).

Labaree (2004) discusses another factor that, he argues, has been a major influence on the course of university teacher education in the US – marketplace

pressures. He argues that market pressures have influenced the character and quality of university teacher education in three ways. First, he notes that as the size of the teaching profession in the US continued to grow at a rapid pace (there are currently about 3.6 million teachers in US schools), pressure was exerted on the then normal-school programmes by school districts to supply the increasing numbers of teachers needed to fill classrooms. With regard to this issue, these programmes were faced with lowering their standards to prepare more teachers or maintaining a position of selectivity.

In short, normal school leaders faced a choice between selectivity and monopoly. They could remain an elite institution providing an idealized form of preparation for a small number of aspiring teachers – 'teachers who would understand, and do their business,' in Pierce's words – and allow other routes into teaching to remain dominant. Or they could expand the system to meet the demand for teachers, establishing an eventual monopoly over access to the profession while risking the dilution of the normal school ideal in the process. (22–3)The normal schools, which evolved into teacher colleges and then into multipurpose state universities, chose the path of monopoly and increased their production of teachers to attempt to meet the demand for them in schools.

The second way in which market pressures affected university teacher education, according to Labaree, was the initial pressure on normal schools documented by Herbst (1989) to provide access to a broad education and access to fields other than teaching. This pressure to transform the single-purpose normal schools into 'people's colleges' that offered a liberal arts education and courses preparing individuals for non-teaching roles eventually led to teacher education's location in multipurpose colleges and universities where teacher education was one of a number of missions rather than the central purpose.

The third way in which market pressures influenced university teacher education was related to this second factor of meeting the desire for social mobility by education consumers. As normal schools diluted their focus on teacher preparation to serve other needs that the public wanted them to address, and evolved to teacher colleges and eventually multipurpose universities, teacher education eventually found itself situated within universities in a low-status position. The low status of teacher education in these comprehensive state universities meant that there was a lot of pressure put on programmes by university administrators to prepare as many teachers as possible at low cost. Teachers in these comprehensive and regional universities began to be seen as 'cash cows' that generated funds from student

tuition that were then funnelled to support other more prestigious programmes in the universities.

The major research universities such as Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin and Teachers College Columbia that had assumed some responsibility for preparing secondary teachers, and at a later point began to prepare elementary teachers as well, emphasised the preparation of educational leaders and researchers rather than teachers, and, for the most part, maintained very small teacher education enrolments in relation to programmes in the comprehensive universities. The end result was that university teacher education prepared a lot of teachers in the comprehensive universities, where standards were lowered, in many cases, to help meet the demand for teachers. The research universities contributed very little to meet the market demand.

In both cases, universities failed to prepare enough good teachers for schools serving students living in poverty who chose to teach in these schools, were successful in doing so, and who stayed there over time. One of the main rationales for the return of alternative certification in the 1980s was to provide better preparation for teachers in these schools in high poverty urban and rural communities than was provided to the 'emergency' hired teachers who filled many of these spots with little or no preparation.

Another set of pressures in broader society that have shaped university teacher education has been the growing inequality in income in the US (Sommeiller & Price 2015) and the continuing gaps in opportunities to learn and achieve in public schools for students from different social class backgrounds. These gaps include inequalities in achievement as measured by standardised tests (Rothstein & Wilder 2005); in secondary-school graduation rates (Hall 2007); in increased segregation of students according to ethnicity and social class background (Orfield & Lee 2005); in inequitable public funding of schools in different areas between and within school districts (Carey 2004); in unequal access to advanced courses that provide access to universities (National Center for Education Statistics 2000); in unequal access to a broad and rich curriculum that educates students to think critically (Kozol 2005); and in unequal access to fully prepared, qualified and experienced teachers (Peske & Haycock 2006).

A recent study of federal data by the Southern Education Foundation[7] has reported that the majority (51%) of students in US public schools qualify for free and reduced-price lunches (up from 38% in 2000), and that a majority of these children live in poverty in 21 states. A recent report by UNESCO indicated that the US has the highest poverty rate for children among industrialised counties except for Romania.[8]

These gaps in opportunities to learn and in learning outcomes, together with the growing poverty in the country among the majority of the population, have provided opportunities for advocates of the deregulation and privatisation of teacher education to gain traction in their efforts to win public and policy support for their programmes and their efforts to deregulate and develop a market economy in teacher education. The genuine gaps in opportunities to learn and in learning in the public schools together with the growing inequality in wealth that supports educational inequity have led to the kind of crisis that Klein (2007) discusses, whereby there have been reductions in public services and increases in privatisation of these services in a number of counties in advanced capitalist states.

CURRENT EFFORTS TO 'DISRUPT' UNIVERSITY TEACHER EDUCATION

Historically, federal teacher education policy and the philanthropic community invested in strengthening the quality of university teacher education programmes. The National Teacher Corps programme, which existed from 1965 until 1981 – a huge federal investment to improve the quality of teaching in high poverty rural and urban communities (Sykes & Dibner 2009) – is a prime example of the federal commitment to improving university teacher education.

Similarly, the philanthropic community (e.g. the Carnegie Corporation and Ford Foundation) historically promoted and supported innovation in university teacher preparation. The 100 million dollar-plus 'Teachers for a New Era' Project (2001–09), funded by a consortium of foundations led by Carnegie, is one of the most recent examples of foundations' efforts to improve university teacher preparation.

Recently, however, it has become clear that the philanthropic community has turned away from building capacity in the current college and university system of teacher education and toward funding alternative teacher education providers and programmes. Major conferences and the national media have been flooded with speeches, papers and opinion pieces that question the very idea of a college and university system of teacher education (e.g. Hartocollis 2005; Keller 2013; Payzant 2004; Vedder 2011). Levine (2010) has claimed, 'There is a growing sense among the critics that it would be more fruitful to replace university-based teacher education than to attempt to reform it' (21–2). A recent analysis of the positions of contemporary foundations that have funded teacher education concluded:

> Frustrated by the apparent resistance of these institutions to change, many funders have turned their attention to alternative pathways to certification. These include support for new organizations focused on recruiting and training teacher candidates and for teacher residency programs. (Suggs & deMarrais 2011, 14).

Similarly, the federal government in the last 15 years or so has implemented policies that have encouraged states to deregulate teacher education and to open investment opportunities for non-university providers. One example of this is the controversial 'Race to the Top' programme of the Obama administration that provided unprecedented large amounts of money to individual states to support education reform and stipulated several conditions that needed to be met in order to compete for the money. One of these conditions in an early round of this funding competition was that states needed to allow non-university teacher education programmes to operate within their borders. A number of states, like my own state of Washington, had not permitted non-university programmes to operate, but changed their regulations to allow this so that they could compete for funding. Overall, a majority of states changed their regulations to support greater market competition in schooling and teacher education, although a very small number of them were actually funded (Crowe 2011).

For over two decades, there has been a steady call from policy-makers, philanthropists and venture capitalists, and the media for deregulating US teacher education, closing down allegedly poor-quality college and university programmes, and creating greater market competition (Chubb 2012; Finn & Kanstoroom 1999; Hess 2009). In response to this call to disrupt the dominance of colleges and universities in teacher education, non-university providers of teacher education such as the RELAY Graduate School of Education, the Sposato Graduate School of Education, and the American Museum of Natural History have been empowered by their states to offer Master's degrees along with full teacher certification. Additionally, a number of for-profit universities such as the University of Phoenix, Grand Canyon University and Kaplan University have emerged and have become very active in preparing teachers.

WHAT DOES RESEARCH SAY ABOUT THE QUALITY OF TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMMES?

Since the return of alterative pathways to teaching in the US in the 1980s, there have been many claims about what research has shown about the

consequences of being prepared to teach in different kinds of programmes. Part of this debate has been concerned with whether teacher certification matters in terms of teaching effectiveness. While scholars such as Darling-Hammond (1999) have strongly asserted, on the basis of research, the case for both university teacher preparation and certification, others such as Chubb (2012) have argued, also by citing research, that teacher certification is not necessary and that schools should be permitted to hire whomever they want, given certain baseline conditions such as the completion of a Bachelor's degree and demonstrated mastery of the content knowledge to be taught. Others, such as Hess (2009) of the American Enterprise Institute, and Walsh (2001), now of the National Council on Teacher Quality, have taken a less extreme position than Chubb and have called for greatly reducing but not eliminating the role of universities in teacher education.

In the current climate of heavy criticism of the value of universities in teacher education, it has been confidently declared in the national media that university-dominated teacher education is an 'industry of mediocrity' (Keller 2013) that needs to be 'disrupted' (Liu 2013) and replaced by the allegedly innovative and successful ones that philanthropists have invested in (Gastic 2014; Schorr 2012).

One part of the construction of a narrative of failure about university teacher education and a narrative of success about entrepreneurial non-university programmes is the claims about what research says about the efficacy of different programmes. The following comment about the quality of graduates of the 'Teach for America' programme is typical of how research on pathways into teaching is discussed in the national media.

> The body of research leads one to expect students in the classrooms of corps members-recruited, trained, and supported by Teach for America to learn as much or more than they would if assigned a more experienced teacher in the same school. (Teach for America 2014)

Although these confident statements about the superior teachers allegedly produced by alternative programmes are often picked up in an uncritical way by the national media (see Zeichner & Conklin 2017), and even in testimony in the US Congress,[9] there is another reality that becomes apparent when one examines the rigorously vetted syntheses of research on alternative pathways into teaching that have been sponsored by major national research organisations in the US. Specifically, the major vetted analyses of this research that have been sponsored by the US Department of Education (Wilson, Floden & Ferrini-Mundy 2001), the American Educational Research Association

(Cochran-Smith & Villegas in press; Zeichner & Conklin 2005) and the National Research Council (NRC 2010) have concluded that the findings of the research are inconclusive. For example, the most recent assessment of this body of research concludes:

> Not surprisingly, studies in this line of research, which compared the impact on students' achievement of teachers with alternative certification and/or from 'alternative' pathways or compared the impact of teachers from a particular 'alternative' program with those from other sources of new teachers, are inconsistent and ultimately inconclusive at a broad level in terms of what they tell us about the effects of particular programs […] Some studies found small or no differences in the achievement of students taught by teachers from different pathways, some found university-recommended teachers were more effective in some areas and some levels, and some found that teachers from alternative routes or from a particular alternative pathway, such as TFA or the Boston Teacher Residency program, were more or less effective in some areas and at some levels than non-alternative pathway teachers. (Cochran-Smith & Villegas in press, 33)

Similarly, the most recent National Research Council study of teacher education (National Research Council 2010) concluded:

Though there is ample room for debate on how much and what kind of education is best for preparing effective teachers, inferring that one type of preparation does or does not yield better outcomes for students is not warranted by the evidence.

(41–2)The National Research Council report (2010) further adds that this conclusion about the lack of clear findings 'does not mean that the characteristics of pathways do not matter. Rather it suggests research on the sources of variation in preparation such as selectivity, timing, and specific components and characteristics is needed' (2).

Despite this ambiguity in the findings of research attempting to assess the consequences of entering teaching through different pathways – ambiguity that has been found in every major vetted analysis of this research – proponents of deregulation and a reduced role for universities in teacher preparation have successfully employed several strategies to convince policy-makers and the public that new non-university entrants into the field are desirable and that university teacher education has failed. Zeichner and Conklin (2017) and Zeichner and Peña-Sandoval (2015) have documented how the strategies of selectively citing research to support a particular point of view (knowledge ventriloquism), and the repetition of claims based on non-existent or unvetted research, or repeated citation of a small or unrepresentative

sample of research (echo chambers) have been used to construct a narrative of failure about university teacher education programmes and a narrative of success about the programmes that are emerging to replace them. They also discuss the role of philanthropy, the US Education Department and the media in uncritically reproducing these narratives, and the ways in which the narratives have shaped teacher education policy and practice. They argue that the news media has given disproportionate attention to the allegedly innovative non-college and university programmes developed by educational entrepreneurs and to organisations such as the National Council on Teacher Quality, the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, and the American Enterprise Institute that are part of a network of think tanks and advocacy groups that actively support the deregulation agenda. This attention has served to inflate the public perception of these organisations and programmes beyond what is warranted by the available evidence. The news media has also reproduced, in an uncritical way, some of the claims about the poor quality of college and university teacher preparation and about the research on alternative pathways into teaching – claims that have been made based on blatant misrepresentations of research (Zeichner & Conklin 2017).

THE FUTURE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN US TEACHER EDUCATION

Teacher education in the US is at a critical crossroads. Although universities still prepare about two-thirds of the teachers in the nation, non-university programmes continue to expand as foundations, venture capitalists and the US Department of Education continue to pour money into their development. For example, RELAY Graduate School of Education, an independent teacher preparation institution that began in 2007 in New York City to prepare teachers for three charter school networks, now also has teacher preparation programmes in Newark, Chicago, Houston, Memphis, Philadelphia and Camden. It was proclaimed in a recent report by the College Board (Caperton & Whitmire 2012) that 'the vision is to keep expanding so that in a decade from now, 10,000 teachers in cities around the country are enrolled in an umbrella of Relays' (80).

At the same time that resources continue to be poured into the development of new non-university programmes, and they are proclaimed as innovative and successful by think tanks, foundations and the media, most states have drastically cut funding from the public universities that continue to prepare most US teachers (Lyall & Sell 2006), and new punitive accountability

systems are being designed and implemented by the federal government and states, based in part on evaluating teacher education programmes according to the standardised test scores of the pupils of graduates from different programmes (Duncan 2011). The lack of state funding in these public universities has made it difficult even to operate teacher education programmes let alone infuse innovation into them.

One dangerous aspect of the current situation is that there is a lack of genuine discussion and debate about different policy options and the dominance of a policy-making process with regard to teacher education that is driven by a predetermined market-oriented agenda. The US is in the process of destroying the public university system of teacher education that has been the major source of teacher preparation since the 1960s in favour of market competition. No other industrialised nation in the world that has a high-performing system, as measured in international comparisons, has relied primarily on market competition in preparing its teachers (Darling-Hammond & Lieberman 2012).

TWO POSSIBLE FUTURES

There are two possible futures for the role of universities in the preparation of teachers in the US. One strong possibility is that universities will resist genuine efforts to become more connected to schools and local communities and to prepare teachers who can be successful and stay over time in urban and rural schools most impacted by poverty. Defending the current university-dominated system of teacher education without significant changes in the ways in which universities interact with schools and local communities (e.g. see Zeichner, Payne & Brayko 2015) will surely lead to further marginalisation of universities in teacher education and to the continual and substantial growth in non-university programmes that prepare teachers largely on the job while they are fully responsible for classrooms of pupils who live in poverty.

One example of current reforms in teacher education that, in some cases, have represented a genuine sharing of responsibility for preparing teachers among universities, schools and local communities, and where the preparation is contextualised in relation to particular communities, is the Urban Teacher Residency model mentioned earlier, where teachers are prepared to teach in particular school districts in programmes that are jointly run by the districts and other partners (Berry et al. 2008). Some of these programmes

include universities in significant ways while others do not. In the Seattle Teacher Residency[10] for example, the University of Washington School of Education partners with the Seattle Public Schools, the local teachers' union, and a non-profit (The Alliance for Education) that raises money to support the Seattle Public Schools. The programme is jointly owned and run by these partners and is housed outside of the university and school district bureaucracies in the non-profit. The specific nature and quality of these residency partnerships varies greatly however, and, in some cases, the university and the local community are not genuine partners that participate in key decision making (Zeichner 2014b).

Another example of the ways in which university teacher education is attempting to become more situated and relevant to schools is by becoming more school-based and practice-based. As mentioned earlier, there is a general movement in university programmes toward a more school-based and less university-centric form of university teacher education. Here, teacher candidates spend more time in their programmes in clinical placements in schools, and sometimes communities, and, in some cases, university foundations or methods courses are moved to schools and sometimes involve co-teaching by professors and teachers (Zeichner, Payne & Brayko 2015). There is also in some of these cases more emphasis than in the past on helping candidates learn how to enact specific 'high leverage' teaching practices in the kinds of classrooms for which they are being prepared (Grossman 2011). These efforts to make teacher preparation more contextualised and focused on preparing teachers to be able to successfully enact teaching practices that are believed to promote high-quality student learning should be applauded, but becoming more school- and practice-based, in and of itself, will not necessarily save university teacher education or make it better. The nature and quality of what goes on in these clinical settings and the preparation that surrounds it will make all the difference in the impact of 'clinically-oriented' programmes (Hollins 2015).

We have seen efforts to foster substantive transformations such as these throughout the history of US teacher education, but as Sykes (1984) pointed out, despite the hype and publicity surrounding these reforms, they have not resulted in much substantive and significant transformation. What we have seen with regard to these bursts of reform energy (e.g. on reflection, multiculturalism, practice, technology, partnerships) has been largely the maintenance of the underlying culture, reasoning, power and knowledge relationships, and practices that have been responsible for the problems of universities in teacher education.

As Goodlad (1970) correctly pointed out over 40 years ago, we cannot improve university teacher education by focusing only on universities. He and his colleagues in the National Network for Educational Renewal began to focus on the simultaneous renewal of schools and universities and for developing shared responsibility for both initial and continuing teacher education and strengthening universities and schools as institutions. Others such as Murrell (2001) have pointed out the importance of also engaging local communities in this shared ownership and of linking school, university and community transformation together.

If university teacher education in the US continues with its tradition of 'change but no change' in claiming to transform its programmes to make them better, many of these programmes will disappear over the next decade and will be replaced by new non-university programmes that will lead to further deprofessionalisation of the work of teaching and to a widening of inequities in schooling that currently exist (Zeichner 2014a).

There are several reasons why further marginalisation of the role of universities in preparing US teachers would be a bad idea. For example, given the size of the US teaching force of over 3.6 million, it is doubtful that an alternative system can be developed that would not include significant involvement of universities. Second, there are serious questions to be raised about the capacity of resource-strapped school districts in the US to handle the responsibilities of a more school-based system of teacher education without the injection of substantial new resources into schools (Sykes, Bird & Kennedy 2010). Merely shifting teacher educating programmes more to schools without providing the kind of theoretical and political grounding that teachers need, and building the capacity in schools to support teacher learning as Ellis (2010) has pointed out, leads to a reproduction of current problems.

> Experience in schools simply becomes an opportunity to receive or become acculturated to the existing practices of the setting with an emphasis on the reproduction of routinized behaviours and the development of bureaucratic virtues such as compliance. (Ellis 2010, 106)

We are at a critical time for teacher education in the US, where the willingness of universities to genuinely share responsibility in preparing teachers with schools and local communities, and the willingness of the federal and state governments to invest in these new forms of teacher education will play a large role in determining what forms of teacher education will exist in the US a decade from now. Ultimately, though, we need to recognise that inequities in education cannot be eliminated by interventions in schools and universities

alone, no matter how many resources are put into them. Even with the emergence of new forms of hybrid teacher education, if the country does not address the growing inequality in income, poverty and the lack of the social preconditions for schooling, not much will be accomplished (Noguera 2011).

References

Bestor, A. (1953). *Educational Wastelands*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Berry, B., Montgomery, D., Curtis, R., Hernandez, M., Wurtzel, J., & Snyder, J. (2008, August). *Creating and Sustaining Urban Teacher Residencies: A New Way To Recruit, Prepare And Retain Effective Teachers in High Needs Districts*. Washington, DC: Center for Teacher Quality. The Aspen Institute.

Borrowman, M. (1956). *The Liberal and Technical in Teacher Education*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Caperton, G., & Whitmire, R. (2012). *The Achievable Dream*. New York, NY: The College Board.

Carey, K. (2004). *The Funding Gap: Many States Shortchange Low Income and Minority Students*. Washington, DC: Education Trust.

Chubb, J.E. (2012). *The Best Teachers in the World: Why We Don't Have Them and How We Could*. New York: Hoover.

Clifford, G.J. & Guthrie, J.W. (1988). *Ed School: A Brief for Professional*

Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cochran-Smith, M. & Villegas, A.M. (forthcoming). 'Research on Teacher Preparation: Charting the Landscape of a Sprawling Field'. In D. Gitomer & C. Bell (eds), *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (5th edition). Washington, D.C: American Educational Research Association.

Coley, R. & Thorpe, R. (1986). *The M.A.T. Model of Teacher Education and its Graduates: Lessons for Today*. Princeton, N.J: Educational Testing Service.

Crowe, E. (2011). *Race to the Top and Teacher Preparation: Analyzing State Strategies for Ensuring Real Accountability and Fostering Program Innovation*. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress.

Cuban, L. (1999). *How Scholars Trumped Teachers: Constancy and Change in University Curriculum, Teaching, and Research, 1890–1990*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Darling-Hammond, L. (1999). 'The Case for University-Based Teacher Education'. In R. Roth, ed. *The Role of the University in the Preparation of Teachers*. New York: Routledge.

Darling-Hammond, L. & Lieberman, A., eds (2012). *Teacher Education around the World: Changing Policies and Practices*. London: Routledge.

Duncan, A. (2011). *Our Future, Our Teachers: The Obama Administration's Plan for Teacher Education Reform and Improvement*. Washington, DC: US Department of Education.

Ellis, V. (2010). 'Impoverishing Experience: The Problem of Teacher Education in England'. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 36:1, 105–20.

Fanjul, G. (2014). *Children of the Recession: The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Child Well-Being in Rich Countries*. Florence: UNESCO Office of Research.

Feistritzer, E. & Harr, C.K. (2008). *Alternative Routes to Teaching*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.

Finn, C. & Kanstoroom, M. (1999). *Better Teachers, Better Schools*. Washington, DC: Thomas B. Fordham Foundation.
Flexner, A. (1930). *Universities: American, English, and German*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Fraser, J. (2007). *Preparing America's Teachers: A History*. New York: Teachers College Press.
Gastic, B. (2014). 'Closing the Opportunity Gap: Preparing the Next Generation of Effective Teachers'. In R. Hess & M. McShane, eds. *Teacher Quality 2.0*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
Goodlad, J. (1970). 'The Reconstruction of Teacher Education'. *Teachers College Record*, 72:1, 61–72.
Goodlad, J. (1990). *Teachers for Our Nation's Schools*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Grossman, P. (2011). *Framework for Teaching Practice: A Brief History of an Idea*. Teachers College Record 113: 12, 2011, 283-84.
Hall, D. (2007). *Graduation Matters: Increasing Accountability for High School Graduation*. Washington, DC: Education Trust.
Hartocollis, A. (2005). 'Who Needs Education Schools?' *The New York Times*, 24–8.
Herbst, J. (1989). *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Hess, F. (2009). 'Revitalizing Teacher Education by Revisiting Our Assumptions about Teaching'. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 60:5, 450–57.
Hollins, E., ed. (2015). *Re-thinking Field Experiences in Pre-Service Teacher Education*. New York: Routledge.
Holmes Partnership (2007). *The Holmes Partnership Trilogy*. New York: Peter Lang.
Keller, B. (2013). 'An Industry of Mediocrity'. *New York Times*. www.nytimes.com/2013/10/21/opinion/keller-an-industry-of-mediocrity.html?_r=0 (retrieved 20 October 2013).
Klein, N. (2007). *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. New York: Picador Books.
Koerner, J. (1963). *The Miseducation of American Teachers*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
Kozol, J. (2005). *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America*. New York: Crown.
Kramer, R. (1991). *Ed School Follies*. New York: Free Press.
Labaree, D. (2004). *The Trouble with Ed Schools*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Lanier, J. & Little, J.W. (1986). *Research on Teacher Education*. In M. Wittrock (ed). Handbook of research on teaching. (3rd ed., pp. 527–69). Washington, D.C: American Educational Research Association.
Levine, A. (2010). 'Teacher Education Must Respond to Change in America'. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 92:2, 19–24.
Liston, D. & Zeichner, K. (1991). *Teacher Education and the Social Conditions of Schooling*. New York: Routledge.
Liu, M. (2013). 'Disrupting Teacher Education'. *Education Next*, 13:3. educationnext.org/disrupting-teacher-education/ (retrieved 11 April 2013).
Lucas, C. (1999). *Teacher Education in America: Reform Agendas for the Twenty-First Century*. New York: St Martin's Press.
Lyall, K. & Sell, K. (2006). *The True Genius of America at Risk: Are We Losing Our Public Universities to De Facto Privatization?* Westport, CT: Prager.
Lynd, A. (1953). *Quackery in the Public Schools*. Boston: Little Brown.
Mitchell, R. (1981). *The Graves of Academe*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co.
Murrell, P.C. Jr (2001). *The Community Teacher: A New Framework for Effective Urban Teaching*. New York: Teachers College Press.

National Center for Education Statistics (2000). *Mapping the Road to College: First-Generation Students Math Track, Planning Strategies and Context of Support*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.

National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (2010). *Transforming Teacher Education through Clinical Practice: a National Strategy to Prepare Effective Teachers*. Washington, D.C: Author.

National Research Council (2010). Preparing Teachers: Building Evidence for Sound Policy. www.nap.edu/catalog/12882/preparing-teachers-building-evidence-for-sound-policy.

Noguera, P. (2011). 'A Broader, Bolder Approach Uses Education to Break the Cycle of Poverty'. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 8–14.

Orfield, G. & Lee, C. (2005). *Why Segregation Matters: Poverty and Education Inequality*. Los Angeles: The Civil Rights Project. www.civilrightsproject.ucla.org (retrieved 20 June 2015).

Palmer, J. (1985). 'Teacher Education: Perspective from a Public University'. In C. Case & W.A. Matthes, eds. *Colleges of Education: Perspectives on Their Future*. (51–70). San Francisco: McCutchan.

Patterson, R.S., Michelli, N.M. & Pacheco, A. (1999). *Centers of Pedagogy: New Structures for Educational Renewal*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Payzant, T. (2004). *Should Teacher Education Take Place at Colleges and Universities?* Invited address presented at the annual meeting of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, Chicago.

Peske, H. & Haycock, K. (2006). *Teaching Inequality: How Poor Minority Students are Shortchanged on Teacher Quality*. Washington, DC: Education Trust.

Rothstein, R. & Wilder, T. (2005). *The Many Dimensions of Educational Inequality Across Races*. Symposium on the Social Costs of Inadequate Education. New York City: Teachers College Columbia University. www.tcequity.org (retrieved 14 July 2006).

Sarason, S. (1972). *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Schorr, J. (2012). 'A Revolution Begins in Teacher Prep'. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, 11:1. www.ssireview.org/ (retrieved 12 December 2012).

Sedlak, M. (2008). 'Competing Visions of Purpose, Practice, and Policy'. In M. Cochran-Smith, S., Feiman-Nemser & J. McIntyre, eds. *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education*. 3rd edition. New York: Routledge.

Simms, R. & Miller, J. (1988). 'Assault on Teacher Education in Texas'. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 39:6, 17–20.

Smith, B.O. (1980). *A Design for a School of Pedagogy*. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

Smith, M. & Pandolfo, N. (2011). 'For-Profit Certification for Teachers is Booming'. *New York Times*, 27 November (National Edition). PA33A.

Sommeiller, E. & Price, J. (2015). *The Increasingly Unequal States of America: Income Inequality by State 1917–2012*. Washington, DC: Washington, DC: Economic Analysis and Research Network. http://s3.epi.org/files/2014/IncreasinglyUnequalStatesofAmerica1917to2012.pdf (retrieved 10 May 2015).

Stiles, L. (1958). 'The All-Institution Approach to Teacher Education'. *Phi Delta Kappan* 40:3, 121–4.

Stitzlein, S.M. & West, C.K. (2014). 'New Forms of Teacher Education: Connections to Charter Schools and their Approaches'. *Democracy and Education*, 22:2. democracyeducationjournal.org/home (retrieved 1 December 2014).

Stoddart, T. & Floden, R. (1996). 'Traditional and Alternative Routes to Teacher Certification: Issues, Assumptions and Misconceptions'. In K. Zeichner, S. Melnick & M.L. Gomez, eds. *Currents of Reform in Preservice Teacher Education*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Suggs, C. & deMarrais, K. (2011). *Critical Contributions: Philanthropic Investment in Teachers and Teaching*. Atlanta: Kronley & Associates. www.kronley.com/news/UGA.php (retrieved 1 July 2012).

Sykes, G. (1984). 'Teacher Education and the Predicaments of Reform'. In C. Finn, D. Ravitch & R. Fancher, eds. *Against Mediocrity: The Humanities in America's High Schools*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 172–93.Sykes, G., Bird, T. & Kennedy, M. (2010). 'Teacher Education: Its Problems and Some Prospects'. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 61:5, 464–76.

Sykes, G. & Dibner, K. (2009). *Fifty years of Federal Teacher Policy: An Appraisal*. Washington, DC: Center for Education Policy. http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED505035 (retrieved 19 March 2010).

The New Teachers Project (TNTP) (2015). *The Mirage: Confronting the Hard Truth about our Quest for Teacher Development*. Washington, D.C: Author.

Urban Teacher Residency United (2015). *Clinically-Oriented Teacher Preparation*. Chicago: Author. www.utrunited.org/research-reports/entry/clinically-oriented-teacher-preparation/ (retrieved 30 July 2015).

Vedder, R. (2011). 'Who Should Educate the Educators?' *Chronicle of Higher Education* (retrieved from http://chronicle.com/blogs/innovations).

Walsh, K. (2001). *Teacher Certification Reconsidered: Stumbling for Quality*. Baltimore, MD: The Abell Foundation.

Wilson, S., Floden, R. & Ferrini-Mundy, J. (2001). *Teacher Preparation Research: Current Knowledge, Gaps, and Recommendations*. Center for the Study of Teaching and Policy, University of Washington. http://depts.washington.edu/ctpmail/PDFs/TeacherPrep-WFFM-02-2001.pdf (retrieved 6 August 2008).

Zeichner, K. (2014a). 'The Struggle for the Soul of Teaching and Teacher Education'. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 40:5, 551–68.

Zeichner, K. (2014b). 'Political Dimensions of Learning to Teach from Experience'. In V. Ellis & J. Orchard, eds. *Learning to Teach from Experience: Multiple Perspectives*. London: Bloomsbury, 257–68.

Zeichner, K. & Bier, M. (2015). 'The Turn Toward Practice and Clinical Experiences in US Teacher Education'. In E. Hollins, ed. *Rethinking Field Experiences in Pre-Service Teacher Education: Meeting New Challenges for Accountability*. New York: Routledge, 20–46

Zeichner, K. & Conklin, H. (2005). 'Teacher Education Programs'. In M. Cochran-Smith & K. Zeichner, eds. *Studying Teacher Education*. New York: Routledge, 645–735.Zeichner, K. & Conklin, H. (2017). 'Beyond Knowledge Ventriloquism and Echo Chambers: Raising the Quality of the Debate on Teacher Education'. *Teachers College Record*, 119:4.

Zeichner, K. & Hutchinson, E. (2008). 'The Development of Alternative Certification Policies and Programs in the United States'. In P. Grossman & S. Loeb, eds. *Alternative Routes to Teaching: Mapping the New Landscape of Teacher Education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press, 15–29.Zeichner, K. & Peña-Sandoval, C. (2015). 'Venture Philanthropy and Teacher Education Policy in the U.S.: The Role of the New Schools Venture Fund'. *Teachers College Record*, 117:5, 1–44.

Zeichner, K., Payne, K., & Brayko, K. (2015). *Democratizing Teacher Education*. Journal of Teacher Education, 66(2), 122–35.

8 Cinderella faculties: The changing and unchanging nature of teacher education in Australian universities

Tony Taylor[11]

Other academics did not always take the study of Education seriously

Simon Marginson[12]
(Monash University Faculty of Education, 1998–2006)

INTRODUCTION

In February 2014, education faculties across Australia faced the latest of many inquiries into their role and their capabilities as the nation's allegedly incompetent providers of primary- and secondary-school teachers. Among those lined up to have their uncomplimentary say about these faculties was an unlikely alliance that comprised the conservative coalition government's education minister Christopher Pyne, unaligned educational commentators such as Dean Ashenden, the left-wing Australian Education Union, the apolitical primary and secondary schools' principals' associations and the Murdoch broadsheet culture warrior *The Australian*. There was unanimous agreement among them that the teacher education system had been broken for some time, probably since the 1980s 'Dawkins Revolution' in higher education, and it badly needed fixing. Characteristically, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) stayed silent on this particular controversy. Its preferred battleground remains state school funding.

THE DAWKINS REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION FACULTIES

In 1987–8, John Dawkins, education minister in Prime Minister Bob Hawke's reformist ALP government, set up a series of reforms that radically transformed both the shape and the substance of Australian higher education. Among other changes, undergraduate and postgraduate (but not research) students were now expected to contribute to their own (formerly free) education through the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS, currently the Higher Education Loan Program or HELP). Universities themselves were expected to be more accountable, and take on a combined corporate/entrepreneurial role, and a competitive national regime for research funding was established.

Significantly, for what was then known as teacher training, the pre-Dawkins two-tier higher education system of 19 universities and 46 colleges/institutes of advanced education/teacher-training colleges was encouraged to merge into a 'unified national system'. This 'Dawkins Revolution', as it became known, altered the face of Australian higher education within half a decade, a transition best described and analysed in an edited collection of essays, *The Dawkins Revolution: 25 Years On* (Croucher et al. 2013).

Higher education institutions sought each other out, even scrambling in some cases, for compatible and mutually advantageous partnerships. One consequence of the Dawkins changes was that an almost century-old and clearly marked division between non-university teacher training (mainly primary) and university teacher training (mainly secondary) was to be abolished. Teacher training was now entirely a university matter.

Within universities, however, education faculties retained their connection to a mass (rather than small elite) profession, their reputation for low-level academic entry requirements as well as their reputation for teaching low-level skills-based activities and modest research track records. Teacher training was, and still is, regarded as the work of Cinderella-style education faculties in a university system that, as a rule, privileges exclusiveness, high entry standards, abstract thought and a strong emphasis on research, albeit with a newly acquired nod to social inclusiveness. Currently (2015) there are 37 public universities in Australia of which 36 have faculties, schools or departments of education offering over 450 pre-service courses. In addition, four non-university providers offer accredited programmes (three religious, one physical education) in pre-service teacher education, and there are other smaller providers.

Not everybody was happy with the Dawkins policy. Senior academic staff members in the older, conservative and elitist 'sandstone' universities were aghast at the changes (Taylor et al. 1998). Not only that but academic staff in the former teaching colleges, where classroom expertise and practical knowledge had been at a premium and where external research funding had been virtually unknown, were also aghast. They had suddenly found themselves in a culturally challenging academic environment where publications and an externally funded research track record were now all important for career success.

Monash University Faculty of Education science educator (and later dean) Dick White later commented on this cultural problem as it applied to his university's main campus at Clayton, 'Some people who held senior [college] positions […] lacked the academic qualifications that were expected for promotion or even appointment in a university. All of these matters had to be handled sensitively' (cit. Gregory 2014, 208).

One of the less sensitive ways of handling the issue was to rename the central Clayton campus's section the 'School of Graduate Studies'. The branch office sections at Peninsula (Frankston) and later at Gippsland became 'Schools of Education'. That way Clayton retained ownership of high-status (and low-lecturing activity) postgraduate and higher degree research programmes. As faculty chronicler Alan Gregory puts it, 'There was a certain arrogance by some at Clayton' (Gregory 2014, 204). This branch office arrangement remained in place until the early 2000s, long after the three schools had been merged into a single faculty. Such educational apartheid was not uncommon in the larger education faculties, as a former academic from the University of Sydney points out:

> Old barriers and cohorts retained. Despite a new premises going up to house members of the 'new Faculty' the division between college and the former faculty members persisted for years – certainly was still there when I left [2011]. Even those working in the same discipline failed to breach the barriers. The philosophers were the worst. Underpinning this was a sense of entitlement and intellectual snobbery on the part of faculty members and an acute loss of power by college people. (Former University of Sydney academic 2015)

Sydney later increased the number of mid-career 'full professors' (through promotions/hiring) in order to increase research output, enhance the faculty's prestige nationally and internationally and attract large grants. This reduced staff intake at the 'lower end' of the scale worked against employment of individuals with school-based experience, and increased class sizes.

The faculty's staff profile had changed considerably by 2000. Management structure became very centralised. Monash followed suit.

Over time and across the nation, the two cultures merged successfully in faculties with less patronising environments, partly because late career college lectures phased themselves out through retirement, partly because early and mid-career college educators enrolled in higher degrees and began accumulating publishing track records, and partly because, from the early 2000s onwards, education faculties were under pressure from university management to forego their previous recruitment policy of hiring experienced mid-career teachers without doctorates.

As for entrepreneurial thrust, Australian universities gradually took on a more commercial approach to their work, with some even adopting colourful marketing slogans such as the University of Melbourne's visionary 'Dream Large', Deakin University's cryptic 'Worldly', Monash University's possibly Star Trek-inspired 'Go Boldly' and Central Queensland University's existential injunction 'Be What You Want to Be'. The Australian Catholic University (ACU) went for the spiritual 'Truth in Love'.

In this new climate of selling wares and being accountable, university management increasingly intervened into what at Monash was called 'faculty-land'. From the early 1990s onwards, the pressure was also on for education staff to add 'development' and 'engagement' to their already overloaded portfolios of research, teaching and administration. In newly introduced performance management schemes, universities also adopted varying staff loading formulae that included external activities as an essential element. Not only that but faculties of education began to move more firmly towards teaching-only appointments and the casualisation of pre-service lecturing.

Caught between senior management pressure and rising staff animosity, middle management could be a testing experience for even the most ambitious academic, as Monash's acting dean Fazal Rizvi found out, describing his seven-month tenure in late 1998 as a 'year [*sic*] from Hell' (Gregory 2014, 240). Rizvi found a position at another university before the year ended.

In 2003, the potential for yet more managerial pressure increased as the Shanghai universities ranking system was launched, followed in 2004 by the *Times Higher Education/QS* (Quacquarelli Symonds) rankings, precursors to a growing number of variations of the fashion for international listings. Some university faculties chose to capitalise on this development by selecting particular rankings to boost their own image, especially in the Asian market. For example, an interesting cameo played out in 2014 when the Monash Faculty of Education splashed its QS ranking as 'sixth in the world'

across its website. This announcement was accompanied by a delighted comment from dean John Loughran: 'to be in the company of leading institutions such as Stanford, Cambridge and Harvard is gratifying'. Considering that Monash University overall was at that time 83rd in the world (using the much more reliable THE rankings) and Monash's three showcase faculties of arts, medicine and engineering were 44th, 46th and 48th respectively (THE), this idiosyncratic ranking had to be approached with caution since the QS rankings are generally regarded as dubious (see, for example, Blanchflower 2011; Reddin 2013). Nevertheless, the claim was still there in 2015.

This QS placing began to drive pre-service curriculum design in the Monash faculty when its honours programme, which had been languishing for more than 20 years, was suddenly given a makeover. A former senior academic explains:

> I think getting their 6th in the world position helped them decide they were going to push the 'honours level' – so that their offerings are very high level and only for the most able. There has been a massive (2014–15) reshaping of subjects with everything at an honours level.

During that first decade of the new century, and in that context, Monash Education staff responded to obligatory university staff satisfaction surveys by highlighting staff morale as an issue (very low) and expressing their concerns about the faculty's track record in making academic appointments (poor). Both issues were quickly passed over by the faculty leadership, who, as middle managers, seemed more interested in dealing with the new reality.

Most education faculties were ill-equipped to deal with the new reality, geared as they were to serving a regulated domestic teaching structure that was solely intended to educate Australian school students aged 5–17. This meant that these faculties had little room for innovation, none for flexibility and not much opportunity for selling their skills outside fairly conservative Australian education systems; and, anyway, such outside contract work gained no research kudos. This left education faculties caught between competing goals of constantly revising and resourcing pre-service programmes, supplementing faculty income, initiating educationally valuable professional development programmes and meeting a university-wide insistence on gaining external research funding, meeting publications quotas and attracting PhD students.

Nevertheless, those education faculties that could, began to diversify into income-providing areas that had previously been discounted at university level. At Monash, such late 1990s diversifications included stress management

programmes, massage training, police studies (Gregory 2014) and even re-educating drunk drivers. The bread and butter work of most education faculties, however, remained pre-service teacher education with postgraduate programmes, research supervision and research projects as the next most important sources of income. For example, the 2002 budget figures at Monash show that, of a A$12.3 million annual income, the Commonwealth government provided the faculty with A$11 million to cover pre-service, postgraduate and higher degree teaching costs. External user-pays projects and consultancy arrangements were largely regarded as useful ancillary activities from which a faculty would take a cut, with the Monash Education's Faculty Development Office contributing A$270 000 to the faculty's 2002 income.

A much more lucrative pursuit from the early 2000s onwards was the recruitment of foreign postgraduate students, mainly from Asia. These recruits paid full fees in a deregulated market, did not need expensive school-experience supervision and could easily be accommodated within the existing curriculum, thus avoiding the money-in, money-out problems associated with outside project work. By 2014, the Monash Education faculty was drawing A$15 million per annum in fees from low-maintenance overseas students, its part of a A$60 billion nationwide business, some aspects of which drew accusations of student plagiarism and grade manipulation. Education faculties were, however, largely exempt from these allegations.

THE CHANGING NATURE OF PRE-SERVICE EDUCATION

In an effort to standardise entry-level status for beginning teachers, during the 1990s the various state and territory accreditation authorities worked towards common goals. These included compulsory minimum four years of higher education for all pre-service programmes (pass BEd, double degree, e.g. BA/BEd, or degree plus graduate diploma), external regulation for all programmes as well as mandatory (local) professional standards. In the late 1990s, the accreditation authorities began to turn towards policy-borrowing from overseas education systems, especially when it came to developing more interventionist accountability procedures. When it came to registration and accreditation, the Ontario College of Teachers provided the preferred model for the new Victoria Institute of Teaching (and accreditation) in 2001 and later in New South Wales (2004) and the Queensland (2006). The other states and territories followed suit but on a smaller scale.

In 2009, work then began under the auspices of the Commonwealth on the development of national professional standards for teachers, a task taken over in 2010 by the federally funded Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL, pronounced 'Ate-sel'). In 2011, AITSL published the standards now regarded as the national template for pre-service education by all education faculties with AITSL as the overseer, in conjunction with existing jurisdictional agencies, of accreditation of pre-service education programmes in Australia (AITSL 2011).

As part of this upgrading process, two-year Master of Teaching programmes in primary and secondary education, a kind of upgraded version of the graduate diploma, became increasingly the norm. By 2015, 33 faculties were offering variations of Master of Teaching programmes.

On the face of it, this movement towards national standardisation of pre-service provision and accreditation would seem to have been a smooth progression. However, this was not the case. We know that because between 1975 and 2014 there had been 40 federal inquiries into teacher education, with 41 similar inquiries at the state/territory level. This continuing perception that teacher education was failing to meet the Australian education community's needs formed the basis of most previous and current debates about the work and status of education faculties.

The most important topics under discussion in these political, public and professional debates about the performance of Australian education faculties were, and are, first, the entry standards of students taking undergraduate education degrees, second, the worth of professional learning gained by pre-service students who are about to become beginning teachers, and third the post-1980s split that is alleged to have occurred between theory and practice in education faculties. These issues have been the subject of political criticism from conservative politicians, professional criticism from principals and the teacher unions, as well as matters of public criticism in the mass media.

ENTRY STANDARDS AND THE AUSTRALIAN TERTIARY ADMISSION RANK (ATAR)

The key issue when it comes to entry standards is the ATAR (Australian Tertiary Admission Rank). The ATAR is a Year-12 percentile score for domestic undergraduate entrants where final-year students are ranked against each other. Each state-based ATAR, based on successful completion of Year-12 studies, is a numerical score that provides each student in seven (out of eight) jurisdictions with an adjusted summary assessment of achievement in

course work and examinations. The exception is Queensland, which uses a slightly different system known as Overall Positions.

Not all entrants to university are assessed by their ATAR. Approximately 50% of admissions to education faculties are through non-ATAR appraisals. These include graduate entrants and applicants who enter through informal entry processes. There are also bridging programmes for students with low ATARs, for mature entrants or for students who never completed Year 12. Nevertheless, it is the ATAR system that most members of the public associate with university entrance, it is the ATAR that plays a part in determining internal university status and it is the ATAR system that gets the newspaper headlines. Incidentally, only in Victoria are ATAR cut-offs compulsorily made public during the enrolment period, although there are plans to widen that requirement to other jurisdictions.

At the beginning of the calendar year (the university year starts in March), all universities accept the ATAR as a threshold requirement for most undergraduate applicants and each applicant will have nominated a list of course preferences. Computers then work their way down the lists of applicants until a faculty fills its quota at a cut-off point or runs out of applicants. Applicants who do not meet the cut-off for their first choice are moved down to second choice and so on until they either do gain a place, or do not. The whole ATAR system is computer-generated (no interviews nor application letters) with several rounds of offers and it is widely respected. This is not an opinion universally held, however. To disguise reputational problems associated with low ATARs, some universities allegedly disguise their (after-the-event) published ATARs by offering off-the-books bonuses and using administrative sleight of hand (Cervini 2015; Hare & Loussikian 2014).

Nevertheless, an ATAR score of 80-plus is regarded as very good to excellent. Scores in the 70-plus range are good and 70 is usually regarded as the benchmark score for university entry. Anything below 60 suggests that a student has had issues completing their Year-12 studies successfully. Scores in the 30–40 range mean that a student just about scraped through his or her final year of schooling.

Most faculties have published ATAR cut-offs in the mid-80s to high 90s but some can struggle. Indeed, Monash has laboured to meet this kind of target, with its 2015 education students reaching an aggregated cut-off across its three campuses in the high 70s. At the opposite end of the rankings, at least one education faculty, keen to fill up quotas and retain federal per-capita funding, was enrolling students with ATARs as low as 40. ACU meanwhile was enrolling students in education with a nominal cut-off set at 60. As

it happens, ACU has a very large cohort of education students (mainly pre-service), 35% of all enrolments compared with, say, Monash Education's 10% of total enrolments that are more evenly split between pre-service and post-graduate (2013 figures). If a mandatory ATAR cut-off of 70 was introduced for pre-service entry, as was first suggested in late 2012 by the New South Wales education minister Andrew Piccoli, ACU's overall student numbers would plunge off a cliff. Monash's would remain unaffected.

When queried about his university's 2015 ATAR scores, ACU vice chancellor Greg Craven, a conservatively inclined constitutional lawyer, responded, 'If the question is will a person with an ATAR of 50 likely be an outstanding candidate for teaching, the answer is no. If the question is could nobody with an ATAR of 50 ever be a good teacher, you can't say that' (cit. *The Australian* May 2014). Commonwealth education department statistics for all students tell a slightly different story if we look at completion rates for all faculties.

ATARS	30–40	50–59	60–69	70–79	80–89	90–94	91–99.5
Degree completion rates in percentages	50.7	55.1	63.7	71.9	81	88.6	93.8

(Hare 2015)

This low-ATAR phenomenon, as it applies to teacher education, provokes an annual media brouhaha, instigated by back-to-basics traditionalists led by *The Australian*, which sees low ATAR scores for intending teachers as yet another a sign of an overall decline in educational standards. The traditionalists also lament what they see as falling professional expectations in education. Even neutral commentators see the recruitment policies of low-status universities as problematic and possibly exploitative, with faculties allegedly 'churning' (taking excessive first-year education numbers to gain up-front faculty income), knowing that even though 50% of their new students will never complete their programmes, a faculty will have made short-term funding gains.

The low-ATAR argument, as outlined in part by Greg Craven, is that traditionalist critics are elitists and, if they are managed carefully through their programmes, education students with low ATARs can indeed become productive teachers. Observing this debate are those who are not naturally sympathetic to the traditionalist point of view but who, at a time when teacher quality has become a key policy issue, are concerned about the idea of recruiting large numbers of teachers from ranks of students who themselves

may have struggled at school. Whatever the case, education faculties in low-ranking universities are caught in a bind. To remain viable, to keep their numbers up, they need to keep their entry scores down. In doing so they have to differentiate their pedagogical culture from that of the more sought-after universities by offering individual mentoring programmes.

EDUCATION FACULTIES, COURSE QUALITY AND PROFESSIONAL LEARNING

Progressive and traditionalist sides of educational politics in Australia both agree that teacher quality is the vital element in improving learning. When it comes to how education faculties provide quality teachers, there are two points of view. First, there is the official line taken by the education faculties, by their low-profile lobby group the Australian Council of Deans of Education (ACDE) and by AITSL, which is that education faculty graduates are generally satisfied with the quality of their programmes. The opposing point of view is that, when it comes to pre-service preparation, too many education faculties are mediocre purveyors of irrelevant, outdated and inappropriate ideas and practices.

The complacent position of supporters of the status quo has to be seen in context. It is always going to be unlikely that, unless coerced, any given faculty, its national lobby group or its accrediting authority will publicly declare that pre-service programmes for which they are responsible are not fit for purpose. It is also improbable that AITSL would refuse accreditation for course or a whole faculty on the grounds of failure to meet standards, thus disrupting student progress and harming a university's professional reputation. As it happens, since post-Dawkins accreditation began in the 1980s, no teacher education course has ever been refused official approval. The contrary position is that professional surveys have consistently shown that there is a high level of dissatisfaction among beginning teachers and their school principals about the quality of teachers' professional preparation.

This apparent contradiction can quickly be reconciled if we examine how these contradictory views come about. In the first instance, university student satisfaction surveys and course experience questionnaires are generally tailored to ascertain a student's opinion about whether or not individual units or programmes have met their objectives before they enter teaching. Surveys of beginning teachers and principals on the other hand refer to the professional effectiveness (or not) of programmes when graduates have been in schools for up to five years. That is why the two approaches have

led to completely different outcomes. In themselves, for example, a faculty's units may be fine but the programme may be poorly designed and/or badly resourced. Notwithstanding school experience gained within the course, a student may not realise that until he or she is working in a school, full time and under great pressure.

Here is a former academic staff member's inside view of what was happening with pre-service programmes at Monash during the 2000–14 period:

> […] there were too many units/programs and many of them were haphazard and unconnected – restructures were continuously conducted but most of them were reactive and the real issues were not fully dealt with. The Faculty was always looking for an underpinning philosophy to act as a driver for course development but it never really eventuated. (Former Monash academic 2015)

Based on the author's 2003 federally funded work tour of all Australian universities, these remarks could have come from any one of many education faculties during that period.

Indeed, if we take a look at a Victorian survey of principals carried out by the Australian Education Union (AEU 2014) and take just two question categories, 70% of primary-school principals did not agree that their beginning teachers were well or very well prepared for implementing effective teaching and learning. When it came to creating and maintaining a supportive and safe learning environment (mainly classroom management), almost 80% of primary-school principals did not agree that their beginning teachers were well or very well prepared. As for secondary principals' views about their beginning teachers being well or very well prepared for implementing effective teaching and learning, the figures are slightly more positive, with 55% of principals disagreeing. When it came to creating and maintaining a supportive and safe learning environment, the figures are almost the same as the primary numbers, with 78% of secondary-school principals not agreeing that their beginning teachers were well or very well prepared.

Beginning primary and secondary teachers' own views of their preparation as outlined in a major federal government survey, *Staff in Australia's Schools* (Australian Council for Educational Research 2013), show similar results. Of all students surveyed, 53% thought that their preparation had been helpful or very helpful whereas 30% thought that their pre-service course had not been helpful. When the survey asked about preparation for creating and maintaining supportive and safe learning environments, just over 42% thought that their preparation had been helpful or very helpful whereas 37% thought that their pre-service course had not been helpful.

Taking the AEU figures and the government's SIAS statistics together, these are terrible numbers for education faculties and they explain why respected education commentator and founding editor of the Australian version of the *Good Universities Guide* Dean Ashenden summarised the situation in an exasperated fashion when he publicly commented that teacher education was famously ineffectual (Ashenden 2013a). Not content with that broadside, Ashenden published a 4000-word online essay 'Evolutionary tinkering in revolutionary times' (Ashenden 2013b) in which he lambasted education faculties for their inability to do their job properly, for the financial wastefulness aspect of the current under-performing system, for the anticipated increase in financial wastefulness of moving into more-of-the-same Master of Teaching programmes, for their continuing inability to act on radical, game-changing advice from disinterested outsiders, for their lack of connection with schools, for their status-conscious emphasis on graduate studies and for their involvement in a potential conflict of interest in researching their own work environment. This is quite a litany of apparent failure.

THEORY, PRACTICE AND LOSING TOUCH

As we have seen, in a post-Dawkins effort to keep up with the other more established faculties, education staff were pressed to conduct research and to publish findings. This gave them less time, and a reduced incentive, to keep up their professional contact with schools. At the same time, status-conscious education faculties began to withdraw from close contact with schools, regarding school-experience supervision as a low-level, time-intensive and expense-heavy activity that reduced teaching and research outcomes. Not only that, but many already over-worked school teachers struggling with school-level accountability culture found less and less time to supervise pre-service students especially when a university's financial allowance for doing so began to resemble a pittance. This added to education faculties' woes in that it became increasingly difficult to find placements in schools now staffed by reluctant teachers who felt alienated by their poor financial reward for supervision and by lack of personal connection with education faculties. By the late 1990s, education faculties were finding it more and more difficult to place students in schools. Even when students were successfully placed, a hands-off approach, where faculty-school liaison was by phone or email, now became the dominant mode in many larger education faculties, allowing for that small number of faculties that still maintained partnership

relations with schools. The move to internship models for both MTeach and BEd placed enormous pressure on school placements, and mentoring teachers received little if any payment for eight weeks of supervision. The situation was exacerbated by increased numbers of students in teacher education programmes and competition between institutions for placements. Schools were overwhelmed – and still are. One of the reasons that school partnerships broke down – they felt exploited.

This was Monash's experience as related by a former academic:

> School visits were phased out over a period of time from the late 1990s. Frankston and Clayton used to employ hourly-paid sessionals to do most visits whereas at Gippsland [campus] we did them ourselves and we hung on until last year [2014] when we finally had so few staff we couldn't do any visits, except for at risk students. Once Clayton began taking over our off-campus students they started putting forward the argument that it was inequitable for only the on-campus students to be visited so therefore the whole practice of formalised 'visiting' needed to be rethought – now I think they just have liaison lecturers who meet up with students or at least email them when they are on placement to discuss issues. Frankston had also stopped using sessionals because of cost, and so only students at risk tend to get visited. (Former Monash academic 2015)

At the same time, the growth in influence of a more conceptual approach to pedagogy, based on a neo-Marxist and/or cultural theory perspective, altered the emphasis within some education faculties away from practical pre-service preparation towards a more socially critical model. At its most vocal and egregious, this analytical mind-set regarded psychology as deterministic, viewed classroom management as coercive and saw conventional curriculum design as part of an education system where assessment of school student progress was merely an element in an economically functionalist neo-liberal agenda. In summary, curriculum, schools and teachers were part of the education problem, not the solution. In this kind of environment, classes in developmental psychology, practical classroom management and in forms of assessment were no longer considered necessary.

The consequence was that, during the 1990s, some of the larger faculties were increasingly turning away from a tradition of maintaining sustained direct contact with schools in favour of a combining a sub-contracting/crisis management mode for school supervision and introducing socially critical subjects at the expense of more hands-on practical preparation. These attitudinal changes added to long-standing school-level perceptions that education faculties were increasingly out of touch with students' professional needs.

Such a change of direction had been designed to provide more valuable time for writing up journal articles and research proposals. As for research proposals, the gold standard of research activity in Australia is an Australian Research Council Discovery grant.

CINDERELLA RESEARCH FACULTIES

University research activity, a main driver in establishing the pecking order in Australian higher education, has produced another list, the Research Quality Framework (2007), subsequently (2010) the Excellence in Research for Australia or ERA rankings (Australian Research Council 2015a) where, for example, G08 member Monash University gained a composite score in 2012 of 68% for research excellence (Melbourne University, its cross-town rival scored 85.45%). At the other end, seven small teaching-intensive universities, including the Australian Catholic University, were assessed at zero per cent each for research excellence. These figures demonstrate how Australian universities are currently ranked. The established research-intensive institutions are in the top eight, aspirational research/teaching universities take up the middle zone and seven teaching-intensive universities lie at the bottom.

In this milieu, the Australian Research Council (ARC) is the most important non-medical research funding agency in Australia. The ARC supports various competitive research projects and fellowships on an annual basis across all the major research areas, including teacher education. Discovery awards, involving new knowledge research projects, are normally in the A$200 000–A$350 000 range and are usually carried out over three years or more.

During the 2000–10 period, the annual success rate in all education fields for Discoveries was normally in the mid-teens (plus or minus) out of 3500–4000 (plus or minus) annual awards. This is a modest success rate for education considering the level of pressure to apply within education faculties and bearing in mind the number of faculties involved. Indeed, if we take the history/archaeology field of research as a point of comparison, historians and archaeologists fare much better than do their education counterparts.

There are 22 history departments, schools and academic units (no faculties) in Australian universities. In the main, they are small in size when compared with education faculties. For example, the Monash's school of historical studies has 30 staff compared with Monash's 177 research active education staff (2014 figures). Notwithstanding this disparity, in a five-year

period 2010–14, historical/archaeological success in Discoveries in all universities outscored education projects by 161 to 77.

Commencing Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Education	19	19	12	15	12
History/ Archaeology	39	39	35	26	22

(ARC 2015b)

As an example of just how difficult it is to get an ARC Discovery, Monash Education faculty's track record for Discoveries during 2010–14 shows involvement in 41 primary applications. This is where Monash University is the administering organisation and the university's faculty usually gets all or the lion's share of the money). Only seven of these applications were successful (Department of Education 2015). That is a 17% success rate over that five-year period, about the standard for all education faculties but significantly below the 24% average overall success rate for all Monash ARC Discoveries 2010–14. It is true that there were a few Monash Education successes in other ARC grant schemes during 2010–14 but it is sustained achievement in gaining the prestigious Discoveries that is a strong indicator of research excellence.

As it happens, one Monash-associated education application set out to examine how education faculties did or did not meet their pre-service obligations. This was a 2010 multi-institutional ARC Linkage (with industry partners) application on pre-service effectiveness. Unfortunately, it was rejected.

RESEARCHING PRE-SERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION

When it comes to researching pre-service education, there are several key entities that conduct and/or publish research into higher education generally, including the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER), the Higher Education Research and Development Association of Australia (HERDSA), the Grattan Institute (a centrist think tank) and the Australian Association for Research in Education (AARE). Of these, the ACER is arguably the most active in the field and it has a journal. However, ACER tends to focus on education in general. HERDSA acts as a scholarly society that promotes research into all aspects of higher education but it very rarely touches on teacher education. The Grattan Institute is a highly regarded think tank that publishes reports on public policy, including education, mainly at school level. The AARE is a professional society that focuses on general research

in education and its annual conference is the Australian equivalent of the high-profile American Educational Research Association (AERA) meetings. Unlike the AERA meeting, with its estimated 70% rejection rate of submitted papers, the AARE conference seems to be much more inclusive, with a very high acceptance rate for refereed submissions.

If we take the AARE annual conference as a good starting point for an assessment of how teacher education is researched, encouragingly, there is an AARE pre-service/ higher education Special Interest Group (SIG), one of 26 AARE SIGs in total. Even more encouragingly, in the five-year period 2010–14 there were approximately 360 refereed papers or refereed abstracts (for brief presentations) on pre-service education themes, of which 184 dealt directly with topics that were relevant to the preparation of teachers. Almost all of these latter contributions were seemingly valuable micro-studies in reflective practice based on authorial experiences. However, of the papers presented over that five-year period, only one excellent presentation could be said to have been a review of how teacher education sees itself. In this case, the paper was a 2014 refereed abstract, 'The construction of "teacher educator" in interviews with heads and deans of education in Australia' (Tuinamuana et al. 2014).

The only other organisation that has a sustained interest in researching teacher education is the much smaller Australian Teacher Education Association (ATEA), which has an annual conference and a journal, the *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*. Looking at the ATEA conferences and the journal 2010–14, the makeup of the presentations and the papers is very similar to those of the AARE journal, that is a wide range of interesting and lively reflective practice presentations but little substantive work on researching how education faculties do (or do not) meet their pre-service obligations. An individualistic approach prevails creating a varied mosaic of miscellaneous, small-scale activities that may be valuable in themselves but appear to be lose impact because of the noise and clutter of all the other presentations. In summary, organisational self-examination does not appear to be a prominent element in education faculty research in Australia.

REVIEWING TEACHER EDUCATION (AGAIN)

Most of Ashenden's points (perhaps not the last) are backed up by evidence and are recognisable to insiders and to outside observers as valid assertions. This is partly why the newly elected conservative federal government felt

justified in commissioning on 12 February 2014 yet another review of teacher education by a Teacher Education Ministerial Education Group (TEMAG) chaired by Greg Craven. This Pyne review was set up purportedly because of education faculties' low standards, their faddishness and their ideological slant and partly because the federal government was in the process of re-shaping education in its own image while it was suffused with post-electoral hubris. Coincidentally (or not) in the week following Craven's TEMAG appointment, Pyne, himself a product of the Catholic private school system, changed his stance on ATARs. From 2012 onward, he had been highly critical of low ATARs. On 19 February he suddenly declared that ATARs were 'not always a measure of the aptitude of the individual' (*The Australian* 2014).

The TEMAG announcement came at a time when Prime Minister Tony Abbott's government was still in a buoyant, can-do mood, a sentiment that was soon to be shattered after the immediate and long-term fallout from a calamitous May 2014 budget. Additionally, education minister Christopher Pyne turned out to be disastrously partisan appointee. His first schools initiative in late 2013 had led to an embarrassing setback over school funding (he wanted to cut needs-based spending to state schools). In early 2014, he had announced an ideologically inspired review of the Australian national curriculum (Pyne alleged that it was too leftist) that quickly turned into low farce. In 2014–15, there came the humiliating failure of his politicised university deregulation policy, another farce. The TEMAG review therefore proved to be the least of his worries.

A battered, bruised but unsinkable Pyne launched the TEMAG report in December 2014. In an uncontroversial 105-page document that was framed as a stern injunction, *Action Now: Classroom Ready Teachers* found as follows. First, the national professional standards and AITSL's accreditation standards were ineffective and operated within protracted timelines. Second, there was a public lack of confidence in pre-service entry standards. Third, some (unspecified) programmes were poor and failed to equip students with content knowledge (a criticism of lack of discipline content in an integrated curriculum approach), evidence-based teaching strategies (a dig at the whole language approach to literacy) and techniques for dealing with individual differences in the classroom (vital in a mainstreamed education system). Fourth, education faculties, education systems and schools were not effectively working together. Fifth, education faculties were not assessing their students against the national professional standards. Sixth, not all beginning teachers were adequately supported in schools. Seventh, there was a lack of research data about the effectiveness of pre-service teacher education.

TEMAG's proposals, sensibly limited to five in number and based on 38 detailed recommendations, were as follows. First, revamp and tighten up the failing faculty accreditation processes, which should be measured against the national standards and administered by a regulator (criticisms of AITSL and of the more complacent deans of education). Second, publish all the processes by which pre-service students are selected, which include academic skills and 'personal attributes' (it's not just about ATARs). Third, education faculties, education systems and schools should work closely together in structured (as opposed to scattered and ad hoc) partnerships to improve students' grasp of content and how theory relates to practice. Fourth, pre-service teachers should show evidence that they are developing professional capability by building professional experience portfolios (already in place in many faculties) and beginning teachers should add to their portfolios to gain full registration. Fifth, more research into the effectiveness and character of teacher education was needed to inform programme design; and to facilitate data gathering, there should be a national registration system. One missing proposal was a mandatory ATAR cut-off figure for entry into pre-service programmes. Greg Craven and TEMAG refused to go there. Also missing was any suggestion that a UK model of school-based teacher education be adopted.

Responses were predictable. Critics of the existing system were disappointed (see, for example, Ashenden 2015; AEU 2015). Few, apart from Pyne and Craven, were pleased. Defender of the existing state of affairs, the ACDE was not thrilled but tried to hide its feelings by issuing an anodyne statement more or less pointing out that these kinds of proposed reforms were happening anyway. In a blithe comment that was lacking in self-awareness, the ACDE (which had already submitted to TEMAG an unrealistically ambitious bid for management and control of all teacher education) was also puzzled that any new research initiative had not been handed over to the ACDE, which was 'well-positioned to lead the educational research and practice that will underpin the Report's recommendations' (ACDE 2015. AITSL's response, ignoring the reproaches implicit in TEMAG's findings, was delighted with its new role as accreditation enforcer (AITSL 2015) as announced in the government's response.

In essence, the government's response to TEMAG's five recommendations was to ignore the education deans and to plan a 2015–17 programme to revise and strengthen the role of AITSL. First, the government accepted that accreditation needed tightening up but decided that the best way to do this was to add to AITSL's brief a pre-service development and improvement

remit to make sure it toughened up its accreditation requirements and oblige it to work with the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA), the newly reconfigured national regulatory authority. Second, instead of introducing mandatory minimum ATAR cut-offs, AITSL would work with the faculties to develop clear entry criteria that would be comprehensive, relate to academic achievement and personal capabilities and be published by the faculties. Intending teachers would also have to pass mandatory literacy and numeracy tests. Third, as for professional experience, AITSL's brief was extended, now having to determine school-experience requirements, identify best practice and partnership models that successfully balanced theory and practice and monitor school-experience supervision to ensure that the process was 'rigorous, continuous and consistent'. Fourth, AITSL was also directed to make sure that pre-service courses adhered to the graduate-level expectations of the national professional standards of teachers and was also briefed to liaise with schools systems about teacher induction. Further, primary teachers were to specialise in at least one subject area and early-years teachers were to develop literacy using a phonics approach. Fifth, AITSL, under the direction of TEMAG reviewer John Hattie (University of Melbourne and AITSL chair), would establish a national research capability focusing on teacher education that would feed back into AITSL's other tasks. AITSL would also conduct a review of the national professional standards to make sure that they meet the needs of beginning teachers (Department of Education and Training 2015). In May 2015, Pyne allocated A$17m to AITSL to carry out this work, a seemingly generous figure that has, however, to be measured against his A$15m cut to AITSL's budget in 2014.

THE FUTURE OF PRE-SERVICE EDUCATION?

The conservative and often complacent culture of university pre-service preparation providers will continue to act as a barrier to serious change unless increased monitoring and regulation by AITSL of under-performing education faculties and a more realistic interpretation by education faculties of their role and station within the higher education system turn things around. Such a new approach must include a willing adoption of the TEMAG recommendations and a return to prioritising the development of a sustained, systemic, effective and two-way relationship with Australia's various school systems, which are, after all, the main employers of graduating students. Another priority has to be a much stronger focus on professional development

at postgraduate level instead of maintaining the current postgraduate and research free-for-all with its repetitious exploration of already well-travelled highways and byways of educational activity and its inept aping of the research activities of other faculties.

It could, however, take at least a decade to alter entrenched attitudes, as the following vignette suggests. That failed Linkage grant mentioned above was commendably turned into a self-funded national project surveying 2200 beginning teachers and their principals. This multi-university project's findings, submitted in summary form to TEMAG, were that graduate respondents felt that they were under-prepared in classroom management, in curriculum development, in assessment of student progress and in dealing with cultural and socio-linguistic differences, but they felt better prepared in ethics and pedagogy (principals disagreed on the latter point). The project's overall conclusion, incompatible as it was with its findings, was that, 'overall, graduate teachers feel prepared and feel effective but feel more effective than prepared' (Mayer 2015).

References

Ashenden, D. (2013a). 'Teacher Education: Another Flop in an Age-Old Failure'. *Crikey.com*. 15 February.
www.crikey.com.au/2013/02/15/teacher-education-another-flop-in-an-age-old-failure/.
Ashenden, D. (2013b). 'Evolutionary Tinkering in Revolutionary Times'. *Inside Story*. 15 February.
http://insidestory.org.au/evolutionary-tinkering-in-revolutionary-times.
Ashenden, D. (2015). 'The Empire Strikes Back'. *Inside Story*. 22 February.
http://insidestory.org.au/the-empire-strikes-back.
Australian Catholic University (2013). *Annual Report 2013*.
www.acu.edu.au/about_acu/our_university/publications/annual_reports/annual_report_2013.
Australian Council for Educational Research (2013). *Staff in Australia's Schools 2013: Main report on the survey*.http://research.acer.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1021&context=tll_misc
Australian Council of Deans of Education (ACDE) (2014. 'Deans of Education Applaud National Consistency in Teaching Standards and Accreditation'. 13 February.
www.acde.edu.au/media/
Australian Education Union (AEU) (2014), *State of Our Schools Survey*. Abbotsford, Victoria.
Australian Education Union (AEU) (2015). 'Pyne's Teacher Training Review Ignores Own Research'. 20 February.
www.aeusa.asn.au/190966_190966_14.html.
Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL) (2011). National Professional Standards for Teachers.
www.atra.edu.au/Docs/AITSL_National_Professional_Standards_for_Teachers.pdf.

Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL) (2015). 'AITSL Welcomes Release of TEMAG Report'. 13 February.
www.aitsl.edu.au/docs/default-source/media-news-room-resources/aitsl-temag-media-release.pdf.
Australian Research Council (ARC) (2015b). *Australian Research Council Outcomes*.
www.arc.gov.au/ncgp/dp/dp_outcomes.htm.
Australian Research Council (ARC) (2015a). Excellence in Research for Australia (ERA). www.arc.gov.au/era/.
Blanchflower, D. (2011). 'The QS World University Rankings Are a Load of Old Baloney'. *New Statesman*. 5 September.
www.newstatesman.com/blogs/david-blanchflower/2011/09/world-university-faculty.
Cervini, E. (2015). 'Clearly-in ATAR Need Not Deter Applicants – Bonuses Speak Loudly with Scores'. *The Age*. 15 February.
www.theage.com.au/national/education/clearlyin-atar-need-not-deter-applicants--bonuses-speak-loudly-with-scores-20150201-130wa8.html.
Croucher, G., Marginson, S., Norton, A. & Wells, J., eds (2013). *The Dawkins Revolution: 25 Years On*. Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing.
Davison, G. & Murphy, K. (2012). *University Unlimited: The Monash Story*. Melbourne: Allen & Unwin.
Department of Education (2015). *Australian Competitive Grants Register*, Canberra.
https://education.gov.au/australian-competitive-grants-register).
Department of Education (2014). Undergraduate Applications Offers and Acceptances 2014 Report. https://education.gov.au/undergraduate-applications-offers-and-acceptances-publications.
Department of Education and Training (2015). *Action Now, Classroom Ready Teachers Report*, Canberra.
https://docs.education.gov.au/documents/action-now-classroom-ready-teachers-report.
Department of Education and Training (2015). *Australian Government Response to the Teacher Education Ministerial Advisory Group (TEMAG) Report, Canberra*. 13 February.
http://docs.education.gov.au/node/36789.
Former New South Wales academic (2015) in correspondence with author, 29 March.
Former Monash University academic (2015) in correspondence with author, 9 April.
Gregory, A. (2014). *The Surprise Rival: A History of the Education Faculty, Monash University 1964–2014*. Clayton: Monash Publishing.
Hare, J. & Loussikian, K. (2014). 'University Admissions Racket Thrives on Deceptive ATAR Cut-off Scores'. *The Australian*. 13 September.
www.theaustralian.com.au/higher-education/university-admissions-racket-thrives-on-deceptive-atar-cutoff-scores/story-e6frgcjx-1227057060049.
Hare, J. (2015). 'Unis Ramp Up Offers to Lowest Tier'. *The Australian*. 19 January.
www.theaustralian.com.au/higher-education/universities-ramp-up-offers-to-lowest-tier/story-e6frgcjx-1227188986104.
Mayer, D. (2015). 'Studying the Effectiveness of Teacher Education'. Presentation to Victorian Institute of Teaching. 12 February.
www.setearc.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/SETE-presentation_AEG-VIT_Feb20151.pptx-Read-Only.pdf.

McKenzie, P., Weldon, P., Rowley, G., Murphy, M. & McMillan, J. (2013). Staff in Australian Schools 2013: Report on the Survey, by the Australian Council for Educational Research for the Department of Education: Canberra.

Monash University Faculty of Education (2104). 'Monash – 6th in the World for Education', no date. http://monash.edu/education/news/6th/.

Monash University Faculty of Education (2002). *Finance Report*. December.

Pyne, C. (2014). 'A Quality Education Begins with the Best Teachers, Says Christopher Pyne'. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. 18 February.

www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-opinion/a-quality-education-begins-with-the-best-teachers-says-christopher-pyne-20140218-32z61.html.

Reddin, E. (2013). 'Scrutiny of QS Rankings'. *Inside Higher Ed*, 29 May.

www.insidehighered.com/news/2013/05/29/methodology-qs-rankings-comes-under-scrutiny.

Taylor, T., Winter, R., Gough, J. & Bundrock, V. (1998). 'A Bleak Outlook: Academic Staff Perceptions of Changes in Core Activities in Australian Higher Education'. *Studies in Higher Education*, 23:3, 255–68.

The Australian (2015). 'Pyne's About-Face on ATAR vs Quality', 21 February.

www.theaustralian.com.au/higher-education/christopher-pynes-aboutface-on-atar-vs-quality/story-e6frgcjx-1226833017898.

The Australian (2014). 'Alarm Bell Tolls: Teaching Courses a Class Below'. May 21.

www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/education/alarm-bell-tolls-teaching-courses-a-class-below/story-fn59nlz9-1226924667826.

Tuinamuana, K., Cameron, C., Nutall, J., Brennan, M. & Zipin, L. (2014).

'The Construction of "Teacher Educator" in Interviews with Heads and Deans of Education in Australia'. AARE Conference Proceedings.

www.aare.edu.au/publications-database.php/9677/the-construction-of-teacher-educator-in-interviews-with-heads-and-deans-of-education-in-australia.

9 Teacher education in universities: A case from India[13]

Rama Mathew and Shyam B. Menon

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will briefly trace the history of teacher education (TE) in India, and will provide an overview of the systems and institutions as they have evolved. The chapter will situate this whole trajectory within the regulatory mechanisms related to TE and will attempt to address the issues, challenges and possibilities that surround it.

In the first section on history we draw on policy documents related to TE. We will also try to capture glimpses of some of the documented debates. The two institutional cases that we present are based on informal interactions and discussions with present and former members of faculty and alumni, some of whom have been major actors in the shaping of these institutions and the TE scene in India. Very little process documentation happens in India. Therefore, a good deal of the institutional histories (just as in most other academic institutions in India) is part of the 'great Indian oral tradition'!

We attempt in the second section to problematise the context through a critical analysis of the activities and the corresponding roles of different players involved. We concede here that this analysis is a subjective and a reflective account of our lived experiences and is by no means comprehensive or consensual. We conclude the chapter with our thoughts on what future directions lie before us and how we might act out our parts.

TEACHER EDUCATION IN INDIA: AN OVERVIEW

Teacher education institutions (TEIs) in India are essentially of two types. The first type is located outside of universities and offers two-year diploma programmes (known as DEd, DElEd, ETE and so on, in different states) after 12 years of schooling. TEIs of the second type are within the domain of universities. They are again fall into two categories. The first sub-category is that of colleges affiliated to universities and the second is that of departments or faculties of education located as constituents within the university structure. TEIs that are affiliated colleges ordinarily offer the second Bachelor's degree in education (BEd); a select subset of affiliated colleges also offer the two-year MEd programme. Most departments offer the MEd programme alongside research degree programmes. A few departments of education also offer the BEd programme alongside MEds, MPhils and PhDs; the two institutions we focus on in this chapter belong to this category. In this chapter, we refer to such institutions as TEI-DOE.

TE is intricately linked with school education; the overwhelming expansion in school education in India since independence has induced a proportional expansion in TE as well. Most of the early TEIs were either established and run by the government, or established by private entities and supported by grant-in-aid from the government. However, since the 1980s, there has been a mushrooming of private schools and a corresponding proliferation of TEIs that receive no grant-in-aid from governments. A large subset of these private TEIs offer BEds and are affiliated to universities; the remaining are those offering diploma programmes and are affiliated to the state directorates of education or equivalent. Since the 1990s, several states have legislated over the establishment of private universities, some of which have departments or faculties of education offering BEds and/or MEds. During the past three decades, private entities have come to dominate the TE scene in India. As of today, TE is predominantly in the private sector, accounting for about 92% each of TEIs and student intake. About 88% of TEIs offering diploma programmes and about 96% of those offering BEds are in the private sector.[14]At present, there are around 16 500 TEIs in India, out of which around 7900 are institutions outside of universities that grant a two-year undergraduate diploma in education (DElEd) or the equivalent of the initial professional preparation of teachers for teaching classes from 1 to 8 (elementary): the enrolment for the diploma each year is around 416 000. There are about 8600 university-level institutions including affiliated colleges and university departments, either private or public, that offer a second Bachelor's

degree, i.e. BEd for initial professional preparation of teachers who teach classes 9 to 10 (secondary), classes 11 to 12 (senior secondary) and also 6 to 8 (upper primary); the enrolment each year for BEds is around 900 000. It should be noted that there is an overlap with regard to upper primary classes and that the government system by and large employs teachers with an undergraduate diploma, whereas private schools by and large employ teachers with a BEd degree. From the figures given above, TE appears to be an inverted pyramid in that the number of elementary teachers it prepares is less than half the number of teachers it prepares for secondary (and upper primary) classes.

Let us look briefly at the preparedness of TE in supporting the requirements for Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE) in which the focus is on the primary and upper primary classes. There were as many as 197 million children in these classes in 2014–15 as opposed to 187 million in 2009–10.[15] The number of teachers for these classes was around 8 million as of 2014–15. As of now, 27.1% schools at the primary level have a pupil–teacher ratio (PTR) >30 and 14.1% schools at the upper primary level have PTR>35. When more access structures are created in the next few years in compliance with the Right to Education Act (Government of India 2010), which is a Fundamental Right, it is only likely that the rate of growth in enrolment will increase, and if TE does not expand proportionately, the number of schools that do not comply with the stipulated PTR is likely to go up. Given the language variations and the unevenness in the development of school systems across the states, and given the enormous urban–rural divide, it is not possible to estimate the demand for teachers from aggregate figures. However, it is safe to presume that TE will need drastic expansion with quality assurance, particularly in states that are educationally less developed, if achieving UEE goals has to be supported effectively. As it stands now, universities play only a marginal role in preparing teachers (only for upper primary classes) towards UEE. A few universities (confined to a limited number of TEIs) offer four-year integrated teacher education programmes for elementary schools, which we will discuss later. Where universities could play a significant role in UEE is in the preparation of quality teacher educators through the MEd programmes with specialisation in elementary education.

The National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE) is the statutory body for regulating all TEIs and programmes. NCTE, from time to time, comes out with norms and guidelines for both curricular framework and institutional structure, including essential qualifications for faculty positions and for admission to various programmes. The state governments through their

directorates of education, or one of the resource institutions working directly under them, develop curricula and stipulate entry qualifications for the undergraduate diploma programme as per the NCTE guidelines and conduct examinations. As for degree programmes, the universities concerned decide on and develop curricula and entry qualifications and conduct faculty recruitments in keeping with the stipulations of NCTE within the regulatory framework of the University Grants Commission (UGC). They also conduct examinations for these programmes. The graduates of these diploma or degree programmes need to pass a teacher eligibility test conducted by the Central Board of Secondary Education if they aspire to be considered for teaching positions within the government system (see http://ctet.nic.in/CMS/Public/Home.aspx for details).

The programmes mentioned above more or less define the default template as regards TE. However, there are some other special programmes: The Regional Institutes of Education governed by National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) and a few new universities offer four-year integrated programmes (BAEd/BScEd/BABEd/BScBEd) in secondary TE. Delhi University (DU), through its undergraduate liberal education colleges, offers a four-year integrated programme for elementary-school teachers (BElEd). All these programmes are also regulated by NCTE. TE for pre-school teachers is done either at the Home Science faculties or colleges in various universities. There are also private Montessori-type institutions, not regulated by NCTE, offering certificates and diplomas in pre-school TE. Further, there are TEIs for English Language Teaching, again not regulated by NCTE although possibilities for bringing them within the ambit are under discussion. Teachers of children with special needs receive their initial professional preparation degree of BEd (Special Education) from colleges or university departments offering such programmes as per the regulations of the Rehabilitation Council of India.

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

TE as we understand it today has its origins in India in the early decades of the nineteenth century along with the colonial school system. They were essentially private initiatives in TE (which later came to be supported partially by the British East India Company) of working teachers located in the three presidency towns. The Calcutta School Society formed in 1819, and the Native Education Society of Bombay and the Madras School Society, both of

which may have been active around the same time, were the earliest documented efforts in TE in India. However, it was not until the political changes of the 1850s, leading to the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1858, that the colonial government started to play a key role in TE by establishing normal schools in each presidency for training primary-school teachers (NCTE 1998, 4–8).

Following the Indian Education Commission in 1882, a few normal schools were upgraded as secondary teacher-training colleges and a few more new colleges were established offering separate programmes, 'distinctly higher in level, form and method', preparing those who were already graduates for a Licentiate in Teaching equivalent to a degree (NCTE 1998, 9–10). This enabled consolidation of a differentiated system of TE, different both in terms of entry-level qualifications and location, and duration of training, for preparing teachers for the various levels of schooling.

By 1943, such a differentiation had been established when the Central Advisory Board of Education adopted the duration and the entry-level qualifications for different TE programmes (NCTE 1998, 14). Matriculates with two or three years of training were qualified to teach up to middle school, whereas those who had tertiary qualifications other than graduation could teach in high school with two years of training, and university graduates could do the same going through a one-year degree-level training programme. Underlying this differential system was a tacit assumption that those who were already university graduates were equipped to teach high-school students with a much shorter training programme than those who were undergraduates or even lower.

While this was the normative structure of TE that the newly independent India inherited from the colonial era, there was much variation in the manner in which such programmes were designed and conducted across states (provinces), since the newly drafted constitution envisaged India as a union of states and school education as a state subject. These variations were largely in terms of the entry qualifications and duration of TE programmes for primary and upper primary schools. However, the essential distinction created during the colonial times between the entry regulations and duration of TE catering to secondary schools and to other stages of schooling was maintained across the country. This distinction was in due course perceived as anomalous and unfair; we will discuss this issue later. But first let us take stock of how the interface of university and TE evolved in the post-independence era. We will do this by taking up briefly the cases of two relatively 'influential' TEI-DOEs in India.

THE TWO TEI-DOES AND OTHER INITIATIVES

FEP-CASE, Baroda

By the time of independence, several secondary teacher colleges affiliated to various universities had been established in a number of urban centres within the colonial provinces as well as in the princely states. Some of them metamorphosed into TEI-DOEs. One such institution was the Secondary Teachers' College of Baroda that was established in 1935 and affiliated to the University of Bombay. When the institutions of higher education within the erstwhile princely state of Baroda were consolidated in 1949 into a new university (the MS University of Baroda), the Secondary Teachers' College was transformed into the Faculty of Education and Psychology (FEP) of the new university. The faculty had three departments: education, psychology and educational administration. FEP offered a BEd programme for preparing secondary-school teachers. In addition, they offered an MEd, an MA (Psychology) and a Diploma in Educational Administration. They also offered PhD programmes in the three areas of specialisation. The DOE of FEP was upgraded in 1963 to the Centre of Advanced Study in Education (CASE) under a special scheme for supporting excellence in research by the UGC. CASE flourished through the 1970s as a leading centre for research and training of researchers from all over India in 'studies for education' (as opposed to 'studies of education') through its emphasis on 'educational research' over 'education research' (see Whitty 2006, 172–3). Research at CASE by and large focused on making sense of the internal dynamics of school education and attempted to address problems related to curriculum, pedagogy, teacher training and school organisation and administration. During the peak of its career in the 1970s and the early 1980s, CASE had established itself within the MS University of Baroda as an important centre of research. In recognition of its stature, the university at one point even entrusted CASE with the responsibility of offering a short programme in professional development for all new teachers at the university. It must be mentioned that FEP-CASE in the early 1950s played a leading role in the founding of the Indian Association of Teacher Educators, the only professional body of teacher educators in India that has from time to time taken up policy advocacy tasks of some significance.

FEP-CASE is not typical of DOEs in Indian universities. However, two aspects of their structure and programmes more or less characterise many DOEs. One is the tacit assumption of an organic epistemic proximity

between education and psychology underlying the TE curricula. Psychology, particularly the positivist-behavioural variety, has been a major influence on TE. There is, however, some evidence of the beginning of a reverse swing in programmes of TE since the 1990s, at least in a few TEIs, where perspectives emerging from the growing body of literature from the English-speaking west, particularly in critical sociology and political economy of schooling, have begun to make their presence felt in TE curricula.

The second aspect, which is in some sense linked to the first, is that research in the DOEs has largely been on various aspects of secondary education influenced predominantly by psychometric traditions. It is also to be noted that DOEs in most Indian universities (with a few exceptions) have remained essentially secondary TEIs, albeit assigned with the additional task of training teacher educators through MEd and PhD programmes. They have been somewhat indifferent to other levels of education, be it early childhood education, elementary education or higher education. Even the MEd programme, although intended to be an initial professional preparation programme for teacher educators for all levels of schooling, has so far been skewed with its focus on secondary education. More recently, however, the new two-year MEd curriculum framework prescribed by NCTE from the current academic year includes specialisation at two levels, i.e. elementary or secondary and senior secondary. In contrast to the TEI-DOEs and the DOEs that offer MEd programmes, there have been different initiatives in education in a few universities. We will also touch upon this briefly.

CIE, Delhi

The second case is that of the Central Institute of Education (CIE), which houses the TEI-DOE of DU. CIE was one of the first institutions of education to be established in independent India. Although its original mission was to cater to the TE needs of the union territories (centrally administered provinces), as per the recommendations of the Sargent Commission (a committee constituted in 1944 by the colonial government on post-war education development in India), the mandate given by the new independent government of India to CIE, when it was inaugurated just three months after India attained independence, was for the institution to emerge as a premier research institution in education. CIE was established and supported by the union government and recognised as an institution of higher learning and research by DU. During the first phase of its life (1947 to 1960), CIE established itself as a reputed and well-respected institution of secondary TE. The period 1960–74 saw CIE as a constituent of NCERT, in which capacity CIE was part of (or

at least a physical location for) India's new curriculum and textbook development enterprise of the post-Sputnik era. CIE's strength, i.e. its TE programme, was only of marginal significance in NCERT's scheme of things. While it was considered by many that CIE would stand to gain being part of this large institutional system in education, a majority of CIE faculty aspired to be an integral part of DU. A prolonged state of unsettledness and much lobbying that lasted for more than a decade led to the severance of CIE from NCERT in 1974 and eventually in 1979 to its being incorporated as a full-fledged DOE of DU. In contrast to CASE's stature within the MS University of Baroda, CIE perhaps continued to be in the periphery of DU. It was known more as a good TEI than a centre for research that several departments in DU prided themselves on. CIE was not even very active at that time in policy advocacy and innovation of new ideas of school practice. In fact, in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, while CIE was essentially engaged with its primary task of secondary TE, some teachers of the Faculty of Science at DU were active in supporting some interesting field experiments in curriculum and pedagogy in rural primary schools, such as the Hoshangabad Science Teaching Programme (HSTP) and *Eklavya* that emerged from it (see Chanana 2004 for some detail).

The National Policy of Education of 1986 (Government of India 1986) and the debates around it that sought to give a greater policy fillip and financial support to primary education, the emergence of non-government organisations involved in advocacy and field interventions, and the new governmental initiatives in the early 1990s for reforms in primary education prepared the ground for a transformation in CIE. From the early 1990s onwards, CIE began to take a more active interest in other sectors and levels of education, with the establishment of a constituent unit called the Maulana Azad Centre for Elementary and Social Education (MACESE) modifying a government scheme for encouraging TEI-DOEs to engage in continuing professional development of secondary-school teachers. MACESE pioneered a four-year integrated TE programme for elementary schools. This was located in a few undergraduate colleges affiliated to DU (see Bachelor of Elementary Education: Programme of Study 2001). The policy advocacy for elevation of the status of elementary-school teachers that accompanied this initiative was quite unprecedented for a university department. ***Other initiatives***

TEI-DOEs were not the only centres for research and higher learning in education in the university ecosystem. Following the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission of 1917–19, Calcutta University and a few others had been offering, since the pre-independence decades, MA or

MSc programmes in education as a liberal academic discipline (NCTE 1998). This tradition continues in some universities that have been offering BAs as well as MAs in education. Thus a distinction was made between TE as an area of professional practice and education as a discipline (Furlong 2013, 6–7). To add another dimension to this, in the 1960s, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences started a research unit in Sociology of Education, with an objective of studying education as a phenomenon through the prism of social theories. In keeping with this trend, in the 1970s, the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, established the Zakir Hussain Centre for Educational Studies (ZHCES) that instituted MPhil and PhD programmes in the areas of sociology of education, psychology of education, history of education and economics of education. In contrast to education being seen as an area of professional practice or an academic discipline, the ZHCES approach was (and continues to be) to define it more as a phenomenon or an aspect of socio-historical reality to be studied using theoretical perspectives and methodological traditions associated with core social science disciplines. ZHCES's mission was to explore the 'disciplines of education' (Furlong & Lawn 2011) and to prepare a new breed of scholars in 'studies of education' and practitioners of 'education research' (Whitty 2006). Some recently established universities, for example Azim Premji University and Ambedkar University Delhi, have started offering programmes in education studies (MAs and PhDs) along these lines.

PROBLEMATISING DOE'S SPACE IN THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

We will look in this section at the role of TEI-DOEs in relation to the different players and at different levels and attempt an analysis of where we are and where we may need to go.

NCTE, UGC and TEI-DOE

Ever since NCTE became established in 1993 through an act of parliament, its regulations have governed the structure, qualifications, course curricula, eligibility conditions for admissions, and such other aspects of all TEIs, including TEI-DOEs. In addition, secondary level TEIs, i.e. affiliated BEd colleges or TEI-DOEs, are also governed by UGC regulations, the two often conflicting with each other in their stipulations. However, no mechanism or structure exists in the university that tries to bridge the gap between the UGC requirements and NCTE mandates: for example, the UGC stipulates, apart

from other conditions, a Master's degree as the minimum eligibility criterion for staff recruitment, whereas the NCTE norms require two Master's degrees, one in a parent discipline and the other in Education. This is true of admission procedures as well. This situation is incomprehensible to university administration and they find themselves unable to engage with these issues let alone resolve them. DOE is often seen as an entity that is different from other 'normal' departments. There is, thus, a sense of alienation that has resulted in a sort of identity crisis. The constant struggle to 'serve two masters' – literally and metaphorically – has resulted in an existentialist dilemma, and a feeling that we are not heard.

TEI-DOE and the university

Education is a department like others – the Sciences, Law, Mathematics and so forth – in its structure. TEI-DOEs are also among the larger social science departments in a university. Mills et al.'s (2006, 44) observation about the UK's demography is true even in India:

> Education is the largest discipline under consideration and perhaps one of the most complex. Structural, historical and institutional factors affect all disciplines in different ways, but in Education their impact has been quite profound.

However, for colleagues from other departments, TEI-DOE is a mystery: 'What is it that you actually do in your department?' and 'Why is your discipline so peculiar and complicated?' are questions that are shot at an Education colleague on the university corridors out of exasperation. The enigma associated with TE may be because of the very nature of the area of knowledge. That it is a second-order discipline, which is essentially about making sense of other disciplines and facilitating their teaching-learning, makes it appear as though it lacks theoretical depth, rigour and 'solidity'. Further, in India, university campuses are largely about graduate studies; affiliated colleges offer undergraduate programmes. However, TEI-DOEs are among the few who offer a second Bachelor's degree (BEd) on the campus. Although the BEd is also a graduate programme, it is often looked down upon as an undergraduate programme because of it being a Bachelor's degree. This affects even the creation of facilities and support in terms of development grants extended to TEI-DOEs.

For most in the larger university community, TEI-DOE is just a teacher-training college, the nomenclature used until some years ago. TEI-DOE carries out two main tasks: it prepares future teachers as well as teacher educators for TEIs, by offering MEd and other research programmes, i.e. MPhils and

PhDs. This is a challenging task. TE, a praxis enterprise, involves working very closely with schools and requires teacher educators to spend long periods in school 'supervising' their student teachers, since the notion of school-teachers supporting them as mentors is not commonplace in India. The other is to teach Master's-level courses, carry out research both at individual and institutional levels and supervise research at MPhil and PhD levels. While teacher educators in a TEI-DOE find it quite difficult to devote 'quality time' to either of the tasks, the issue of whether and how these two tasks could be shared among the members of staff or how research could feed into TE reforms has not been addressed; the newer DOEs seem to have resolved this issue by focusing only on 'higher'-level programmes and not on TE. It is apparent, however, that the opportunity, and the accompanying power/prestige, probably outweighs the disadvantages: that prospective teacher educators are more keen on getting a job in a TEI-DOE rather than in an ordinary TEI is just one example.

In summary, then, a TEI-DOE is perceived by the university community as a rare species in the university that is at best very complex and unfathomable, and at worst as a training college that doles out a quick degree for becoming a school teacher, a woman-friendly job that commands respect and provides a foothold for other higher-education degrees.

TEI-DOE and the school

As mentioned above, TEIs prepare teachers *en masse*, the majority of them women, as there is a dire need for teachers in private and government schools. The backlog of untrained teachers is huge and has persisted since independence (see NCTE 1998 for a discussion of this point). In fact, it has increased now, given the enormous need for qualified teachers in the country to achieve UEE goals because of the fact that enrolment in schools has increased to about 95% (Annual Status of Education Report 2014). As a result, TEIs, mostly private institutions, have mushroomed like manufacturing houses all over the country, giving rise to serious concerns about quality in the Indian context. TEIs do not do their 'gate-keeping' functions with any seriousness or finesse (see Mathew 2006 for more details). For example, most student teachers, if not all, manage to get the BEd degree if they have written the final exam. While the relative weight to be assigned to theory and practice is stated clearly (see NCTE Notification 2014), internal assessments of which school internship is a part usually take a lenient approach to awarding scores/grades. Whether and when we should hold a trainee back from becoming a teacher does not seem to be an issue in TE. Further, there is

no system of re-validation/relicensing of teaching qualifications as exists in medicine or accounting. More seriously, there is no reliable or rigorous research evidence about what kinds of teachers produce what kinds of students. In summary, TE is as unstudied today as it was even 40 years ago (see Fullan 1991; Yadav & Lakshmi 2003).

Unlike the debate about who should train teachers – schoolteachers or teacher educators – that swayed England some years ago, it is uncontested in India. TEIs or school boards (which develop curriculum, conduct exams and affiliate schools) have not conceptualised a scheme where teachers mentor beginning teachers. The reason for this is twofold: schools are like factories where workers (teachers) have to produce, in an assembly line, high scores for each student without which the school's survival is in jeopardy. Teachers – with the exception of a few highly motivated volunteers who defy the system – have no time to think, to reflect on their work, or to talk to colleagues about professional matters and improve themselves. This is what Michael Apple describes as intensification of teachers' labour (Apple 1987). The job profile of a teacher typically includes teaching and coordinating some extra-curricular activities, such as debates, drama and inter-school competitions; assessment is to be carried out in teachers' free time, often at home. There is no provision therefore for teachers' CPD (continuing professional development) activities aside from some standardised, short, in-service programmes that the school system or the state department organises centrally, although the importance of CPD has been strongly emphasised by different committees and commissions on school education (see MINDS 2010 for a discussion).

Secondly, awarding scores/grades has essentially been the prerogative of teacher educators; school-based mentors do not have a role in it although in some cases they may assist in practice teaching. Unless there is a robust and collaborative system in place that takes into account inputs from all the participants, i.e. schoolteacher, student teacher and the teacher educator, and a system that visualises and acknowledges teacher growth/development with provision for some incentives, the notion of teachers-as-mentors appears a distant dream.

Schools and TEIs work independently of each other, and any link that happens is by chance and not planned at an institutional level. They occupy separate spaces. The only official link between some of the schools and TEIs is the 'practice teaching'/school internship component where TEIs cannot do without schools' cooperation. Schools at best do 'time-tabling' for trainees to take classes and sometimes fill their vacant positions by requiring trainees to work like full-fledged teachers, where they need to complete the syllabus,

conduct the prescribed assessments, and be accountable to parents. Any training or experimentation that happens as a result of this is at best incidental. Senior teachers working as mentors as part of their CPD, as discussed above, is another unaddressed but crucial issue.

School boards bring about curriculum – content, pedagogy and assessment – reforms from time to time; TEIs are not part of this exercise. Similarly, when NCTE/TEIs bring about changes in the TE curricula, schools are not consulted. Thus, TEIs, schools and NCTE work quite independently.

In-service training, which is also the responsibility of a TEI, is not taken too seriously, as there are other organisations such as the State Council of Educational Research and Training (SCERT) or its equivalent that attend to this ongoing need. Such programmes, which every teacher is expected to attend at least once in five years (see NCTE 1998, 123) are usually short (between three and five days), expert-oriented and not linked to or grounded in teachers' actual classroom practice. Most often, teachers see it as a break from their routine and, since there is no follow-up, resume 'normal' work after the programme. The problem seems to be that policy-making in relation to TE is the responsibility of bodies such as NCTE; it is NCERT that formulates curriculum frameworks and school boards that actually translate these into actual pedagogy and assessment schemes. It is not very common for these agencies to have a meaningful, collaborative and sustained dialogue over these issues.

There is also the issue of acknowledging teacher educators' expertise in pedagogical content knowledge (PCK). When schools need an expert in school subjects such as science, mathematics or history, they often approach those in the respective faculties and not those from TEIs-DOEs who have sufficient PCK and actual experience of how the two interact. This also relates to the way continuing professional development of teachers is perceived more as acquiring up-to-date knowledge of the subject matter rather than subject-related pedagogy, assessment and such other areas.

RESEARCH IN TEI-DOE

A TEI-DOE has the advantage of undertaking research either independently or as part of research degrees, i.e. MPhils and PhDs, which can directly feed into the development of TE programmes. Yet, this is not planned or implemented with any seriousness or reflection; whatever happens is sporadic and not by design. Further, it does not feed into any discussion of TE

programmes or to reconceptualising the structure or substantive content of the TE programmes. Recently, NCTE mandated two years for the initial TE programme: there was no systematic research that informed the decision or the design of the programme. While the one-year (eight/nine-month effectively) programme was considered to be too short, there was no research-based evidence to support the two-year programme or its structure and the curriculum. For example, how long should a student teacher spend in school, during which part of the two years, and what should s/he do during the period are all uninvestigated /unexplored questions. In the context of BElEd, Sarangapani (2004) also argues for the need for universities to play a more creative role in and with the field, i.e. more field-level engagement than theory, and to ensure quality.

According to (Fullan 1991, 289), 'Teacher development and school development must go hand in hand. You cannot have one without the other.' Unless TEI-DOE has a clearly articulated research agenda, and teacher educators and research scholars are active participants in the design and conduct of research that feeds into decision making at the school level vis-à-vis TE programmes, it is difficult to visualise how either can develop. In fact, the notion of teacher-as-researcher will need to be concretised quite seriously both at the school level and teacher educator level. A questioning attitude, an inquiry-based approach to teaching and learning, and a research stance to the profession would have to pervade both TE and school classrooms and work in general (see Stenhouse 1975 and Mathew 2007 among others for a persuasive position on this).

Therefore, while it seems that a TEI-DOE is well placed to carry out and implement research within an R&D framework, there is much that needs to be done. It seems that TE is a poor cousin to high-profile university departments that do only higher-level research. A colleague's comment in one such department captures the class-divide: 'We will only focus on research programmes and research; let others do teacher training (in colleges).'With regard to who qualifies for doing doctoral research in Education, there is often a dilemma. A declared (and broad) interest in education (not the discipline of Education) seems to be sufficient to claim entry into the field. While a Bachelor's and a Master's degree in Education being considered adequate can pose problems, since high scores on these programmes do not necessarily reflect scholarship, entry into the field at the doctoral level with a Master's in psychology, sociology and other allied subjects is equally problematic, especially since basic-level courses in Education are 'skipped'. There is no provision for such students to acquire a rigorous orientation to the field; 'education

for all' thus puts the discipline in jeopardy. The DOE in DU itself has those who have traversed the regular route (BEd and MEd) and others who haven't. The debate about the kind of stakeholders we can allow into DOE often results in taking a broad-based approach to admissions and recruitment; everyone with a declared interest in education seems to stake a claim for Education. Therefore, the notion of Education being an 'importer' discipline (Mills et al. 2006) is more than substantiated in our case too. While Education is an interdisciplinary subject, the issue of what qualifies one to claim expertise in Education remains a contentious issue.

TEI-DOE and policy advocacy

TEI-DOEs in general have been on the periphery of policy-making, except in certain instances historically when at least the two institutions we have focused on in this chapter have played roles of some significance. One such instance has been the policy advocacy for elevation of the status of elementary-school teachers. There is an anomaly that elementary-school teachers (being non-graduates) have been paid less and denied opportunities of becoming administrators, teacher educators and curriculum developers for elementary schools, and ironically such opportunities have traditionally been open to secondary-school teachers (being graduates). The debate on this perceived anomaly and advocacy for the elevation of the status of elementary-school teachers had CIE/MACESE as its epicentre (Chanana 2004). CIE/MACESE, through its innovative 'prototype' four-year integrated BElEd programme, had sought to set the pace of elevating TE for elementary teachers to a university-level programme. Yet, 20 years after its inception, in spite of intense advocacy, the idea has not found favour with other universities in the country. This is probably because: (i) the two-year DElEd programme is more accessible in terms of the duration and costs for the prospective primary teacher, given that they are by and large from a less privileged background, and (ii) one can obtain a BA or BSc with a BEd in four years and become a secondary teacher with a higher salary (Review Report 2013). This also means that the four-year integrated degree has not succeeded in conveying to the stakeholders the 'value addition' of such a programme. Therefore, the potential of professionalising TE at the elementary level and making it an integral part of university education to achieve UEE goals remains a far cry and needs to be seriously addressed (see Review Report 2013 for details).

The policy advocacy that accompanied the BElEd initiative was indeed part of a larger advocacy that involved actors from various institutional

contexts (university, government, NGO) coalescing into an informal but formidable coalition of opinion leaders. This coalition is precisely what Setty (2014, 70) describes as 'working relationships' that government maintains with some academic institutions and NGOs. This coalition of actors worked on several fronts, e.g. for greater status for elementary teachers, policy advocacy leading to the legislation of the Right to Education Act (Government of India 2010) and NCERT's National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2005 that gave primacy to 'social constructivist' and child-centred perspectives on curriculum and pedagogy. There were deliberations on the implications of NCF-2005 on teacher education (Behari & Menon 2009) that eventually led to the National Curriculum Framework for Teacher Education (NCFTE), which was brought out under the aegis of NCTE in 2009. NCFTE, among other things, recommended that TE programmes should be of longer duration, more intense and be gradually upgraded to university-level degree programmes (NCTE 2009). As a consequence of the acceptance by the Supreme Court of the recommendations by a committee that it had appointed, a comprehensive and protracted exercise was undertaken by NCTE, leading to the promulgation of a set of new norms and guidelines pertaining to all TE programmes, which inter alia included prolonging the duration of the one-year BEd and the one-year MEd into two-year programmes, and correspondingly increasing the intensity (both theoretical and practical aspects) and the field engagement elements of the programmes (NCTE Notification 2014). The issue of the elevation of TE for elementary schools to the level of university degree programmes, however, remains unaddressed. Policy-making in TE is a highly contested arena, with many conflicting interest groups (professional collectives of teacher educators, the private sector, NGOs, actors within governments) jostling with each other for more space and a greater voice.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing description and analysis of the role of TEI-DOE in the university space points to certain challenges as well as possibilities for future action. We will briefly summarise them here.

Ordinarily, one must expect research, policy and practice to be interlinked and mutually influential. However, so far as TE in India is concerned, this is not the case. As mentioned earlier, much of the policy reform by way of new norms and guidelines and new curriculum frameworks has very little empirical basis. There is no practice of piloting a new curriculum structure to

test its efficacy. Policy initiatives are often consequences of intense lobbying and advocacy, and are based on belief systems or ideologies. Similarly, research has very little to do with policy or practice. Priorities and thrusts for research follow their own independent trajectories, determined largely by research initiatives by individual scholars and faculty members and the politics underlying research publishing. Policy research needs a larger canvas and constant support by school systems, which cannot happen sporadically. Documenting practice, and subjecting it to analysis and scrutiny, needs to be signalled clearly through a research agenda. Interestingly, policy dictates practice only on the surface. In the bulk of the TEIs, the practice of TE follows a course dictated by expediency and compulsions of commerce. With ineffective regulatory mechanisms, practice is often diluted and distorted, not informed by research or with acceptable fidelity to policy. Any attempt at bringing greater coherence to the field of TE in India must begin with building functional and dynamic linkages between research, policy and practice.

The three types of institution, TEI, TEI-DOE and the new breed of university-based centres of education studies would have to make deliberate efforts to blur their boundaries, and increase porosity and dialoguing to share their perspectives continually. Clearly the perceived hierarchical structures resulting in alienation and privatism would need to be demystified if we are to understand and benefit from each other's work. Also, quality in teaching, assessment and research will have to be the organising principle of our work.

The artificial dichotomy between the discipline(s) of education versus TE needs to be addressed. TE has so far remained a pragmatic enterprise and offers a quick-fix approach to get the much-needed job especially among the marginalised. In this formulation, TE is diluted, devalued and distorted to suit job seekers. Teachers, especially primary-school teachers, are paid low salaries while they have, by tradition the most respectable job in Indian society. It is in this context that those who advocate a four-year integrated programme of TE for elementary-school teachers need to address some urgent issues such as achieving parity in primary- and secondary-school teachers' salaries based on qualifications so as to enable widespread adoption. The discipline(s) of education is a more recent concept, if somewhat elitist and patronising towards its poor cousins. Newer universities do not offer TE programmes, but engage in developing the intellectual/academic part of the discipline – sociology, gender, caste, psychology – ironically claiming that this training is adequate for teaching on TE programmes, but not vice versa. Clearly underlying this whole discourse is the politics of securing jobs in universities. We understand that UEE goals are very important, and must be

met, but does that necessarily mean mediocre TE programmes? How do we reclaim quality? What is the role of universities in this enterprise?

TEI-DOEs will need to reconceptualise their agenda, find a voice and make sure the voice is heard in the university system as a whole. TE has been and will remain politically charged. The reason is simple: the debate about what constitutes educational knowledge, what it is that teachers must know and what they must do with it are all contentious issues. In short, it is a debate about professionalism. In our quest to 'qualify' teachers in large numbers, we seem to have lost out on the significant link between knowledge in TE and the teaching profession as it (should) exist and how (good) research should inform it.

The analysis we have presented above is incomplete, and the subject of analysis, i.e. TE, is in a state of flux. The policy-implementation landscape is evolving even as we write this chapter. The new government after the general election of 2014 has initiated a discussion for the formulation of a new national policy of education as a result of which there might be changes in TE as well. TE in India has still to attain a state of equilibrium. We hope that what we have presented here gives a flavour of this state of emergence, since education, and more importantly TE, is a politically contested territory in India.

References

Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) (2014). Facilitated by Pratham, New Delhi. http://img.asercentre.org/docs/Publications/ASER%20Reports/ASER%202014/National%20PPTs/aser2014indiaenglish.pdf (retrieved June 2015).

Apple, M.W. (1987). *Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education*. New York: Routledge.

Bachelor of Elementary Education: Programme of Study (2001). Delhi: University of Delhi.

Behari, A. & Menon, S.B. (2009). 'National Curriculum Framework 2005: Implications for Teacher Education'. In M.A. Siddiqui, A.K. Sharma & G.L. Arora, eds. *Teacher Education: Reflections towards Policy Formulation*. New Delhi: NCTE, 79–103.

Chanana, K., ed. (2004). *Transformative Links between Higher and Basic Education: Mapping the Field*. New Delhi: Sage.

Fullan, M.G. (1991). *The New Meaning of Educational Change*. 2nd edition. London: Cassell.

Furlong, J. (2013). *Education: The Anatomy of the Discipline: Rescuing the University Project?* London: Routledge.

Furlong, J. & Lawn, M. (2011). 'Disciplines of Education and their Role in the Future of Educational Research: Concluding Reflections'. In J. Furlong & M. Lawn, eds. *Disciplines of Education: Their Role in the Future of Education Research*. London: Routledge.

Government of India (1986). National Policy on Education 1986, Department of Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development, New Delhi http://mhrd.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/document-reports/NPE86-mod92.pdf (retrieved July 2015).

Government of India (2010). The Right to Education Act 2009, Department of School Education and Literacy, Ministry of Human Resource Development, New Delhi http://mhrd.gov.in/rte (retrieved July 2015).

Mathew, R. (2006). 'Quality in Teacher Education: Implementing Policy'. *MERI Journal of Education*, 1:1, 1–11.

Mathew, R. (2007). 'Action Research for Professional Development: Moving Beyond Comfort Zones'. In R. Mathew & K. Smith, eds. *Exploring Alternatives in Assessment: Teachers' Accounts of Action Research in India*. Delhi: Department of Education, 5–17.

Mills, D., Jepson, A., Coxon, T., Easterby-Smith, M., Hawkins, P. & Spencer, J. (2006). *Demographic Review of the Social Sciences*. Commissioned by the Economic and Social Research Council, Swindon: ESRC. www.esrc.ac.uk/my-esrc/grants/RES-331-25-0018/outputs/read/e0dbfe89-c2b4-49ef-8fec-3dcc4707fd8a (retrieved August 2015).

Mentoring in Delhi Schools (MINDS) (2010). *A UKIERI In-Service Project, Report of the Pilot Phase*. Delhi: Department of Education, University of Delhi.

NCTE Notification (2014). *Norms and Standards for Bachelor of Education Programme Leading to the Bachelor of Education (BEd) Degree*. www.ncte-india.org/regulation2014/english/appendix4.pdf (retrieved September 2015).

NCTE (1998). *Policy Perspectives in Teacher Education: Critique and Documentation*. New Delhi: NCTE.

NCTE (2009). *National Curriculum Framework for Teacher Education: Towards Preparing Professional and Humane Teacher*. New Delhi: NCTE.

Review Report (2013). The Bachelor of Elementary Education Programme. Delhi: Faculty of Education, University of Delhi.

Sarangapani, P. (2004). 'Universities: The Invisible Dimension of Elementary Education'. In K. Chanana, ed. *Transformative Links between Higher and Basic Education: Mapping the field*. New Delhi: Sage, 95–107.

Setty, R. (2014). 'Dialogism in India's New National Curriculum Framework for Teacher Education'. *Contemporary Education Dialogue*, 11:1, 67–94.

Stenhouse, L. (1975). *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development*. London: Heinemann Educational.

Yadav, M.S. & Lakshmi, T.K.S. (2003). *Conceptual Inputs for Secondary Teacher Education: The Instructional Role*. New Delhi: National Council of Teacher Education.

Whitty, G. (2006). 'Education(al) Research and Education Policy Making: Is Conflict Inevitable?' *British Educational Research Journal*, 32:2, 159–76.

10 The development of key normal universities in China: Challenges and transformations

Yan Hanbing, Li Xiaoying and Xiao Yumin

INTRODUCTION

China is experiencing a significant re-evaluation of the traditional systems and structures of teacher education and training. A number of forces are at work. Rapid economic change has increasingly put pressure on the reach and achievements of the education system, as a more knowledge-based economy requires a more educated workforce. The Chinese imperative to improve education outcomes relates both to quantity and quality; the increasing focus on the latter has put the spotlight on teachers and the effectiveness of their preparation and training. In recent years there has been significant political and policy concern about the monopoly situation of the established teacher education providers.

In this chapter we will explore how China has chosen to diversify the routes or tracks into teaching, creating pressure on the traditional providers to adapt and change. We will also describe how a private, commercial component of provision has been growing to meet the expanding need and to further deepen the diversification process. An important aspect of this diversification process has been the expansion of open and distance learning to become a major part of the national teacher education and training system. China is unique in terms of its size and regional diversity, yet the pressures on teacher education appear, in part, similar to those experienced in other parts of the world. Developing an understanding of this interplay of forces will, we hope, make a contribution to the ongoing analytical awareness of change and reform in this important area of public policy.

In China, normal universities and colleges were traditionally the main institutions for training primary and secondary teachers. According to the

latest statistics, China has 218 normal universities and colleges at present, 151 normal universities offering undergraduate teacher education and 67 teachers' colleges offering junior college teacher education (China Statistical Yearbook 2015).

Some terms mentioned here may be unique to China. In order to facilitate a better understanding, the most important are:

- **normal universities/teachers colleges** – universities and colleges with the main purpose of developing K-12 teachers;
- **non-normal universities/non-normal colleges** – universities and colleges excluding normal universities and teachers' colleges;
- **key normal universities** – normal universities, strongly supported by the Ministry of Education in China;
- **non-key normal universities** – normal universities and colleges mainly supported by local government.

China's teacher education has two main systems: pre-service teacher education and in-service teacher training. Programmes for pre-service and in-service teachers are principally undertaken at normal universities.

To fully present the current situation, including the issues and challenges for teacher education, we reviewed relevant documents publicised by the Ministry of Education over the last decade. We also interviewed a dozen experts from eight key normal universities in China, such as the Director of Academic Affairs, Assistant Principal, Dean of Teacher Education College, and Dean of Teacher Training College and so on. These experts, who directed the formulation of teacher education policies and innovation measures at their own universities, are the witnesses and executors of the national policies of teacher education in China. Those interviewed were located across the vast Chinese landmass and are the pioneers in China's teacher education reform and in leading positions in China's teacher education. The problems they have encountered are typical, and the initiatives they have adopted reflect the guiding values for China's teacher education.

It should be noted that the challenges and initiatives discussed in this chapter are applicable mainly for the key normal universities and that there may be slightly different contextual factors in the other institutions that have taken on teacher education and training responsibilities.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF TEACHER EDUCATION IN CHINA

China's teacher education system to some extent follows the model of the former Soviet Union, which emphasised 'professional development', giving prominence to 'teacher preparation' (Lu 2013, 77–83). Under this guiding philosophy, independent normal universities were set up across the whole country from the 1950s and have undertaken the task of teacher preparation for K-12.

As we will show, after years of development, China has gradually formed two sometimes competing systems of pre-service teacher education and in-service teacher training. A more competitive environment for teacher education has evolved as political and social concerns about teacher quality have come to the fore.

Pre-service teacher education system

The pre-service teacher education system in China has traditionally been provided by normal universities with the co-participation of non-normal universities.

With the development of the Chinese economy and society, teachers are required to have higher educational graduation certificates and qualifications. The application requirements of teacher certification released in 2015 explicitly request that kindergarten teachers must graduate from Kindergarten Teachers Education Schools or must have successfully completed secondary education; teachers in high schools must at least have a Bachelor degree.

Table 1: Enrolment statistics on students of higher teacher education in China (2005–14)

Year	New student enrolment (Total)			New student enrolment (Teacher education)		
	Undergraduate education	College education	Sum	Undergraduate education	College education	Sum
2013	3814.3	3184.0	6998.3	351.1	151.3	502.4
2012	3740.6	3147.8	6888.4	367.4	150.6	518.0
2011	3566.4	3248.6	6815.0	347.2	179.6	526.8
2010	3512.6	3105.0	6617.6	358.8	158.6	517.4
2009	3261.1	3133.9	6395.0	335.9	163.8	499.7

Continued from previous page

2008	2970.6	3106.0	6076.6	294.2	168.8	463.0
2007	2821.0	2838.2	5659.2	295.2	163.8	459.0
2006	2530.9	2929.7	5460.6	292.1	232.3	524.4
2005	2363.6	2680.9	5044.5	258.0	236.9	494.9
2004	2099.2	2374.2	4473.4	254.1	252.7	506.8
Average	**3068.0**	**2974.8**	**6042.8**	**315.4**	**185.9**	**501.3**

(Number of people/1000 persons)

Table 1 above shows the new student enrolment of Higher Teacher Education in China from 2004 to 2013 (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2015). According to the data, the current enrolment of students in Higher Teacher Education has remained at around 500 000, with university-based training expanding and college courses declining.

The in-service teacher training system

China's very large population, of around 1.4 billion, requires a significant number of teachers. In 2013, the total number of teachers – from pre-school education through to high-school education – was about 13.2 million (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2015). Teacher preparation is considered to be the key element for raising the overall quality of China's education. Inspired by lifelong education, in-service teacher training has gained increasing attention and has become an important part of teacher education that will run through teachers' entire career.

> China's in-service teacher training, directed by the Ministry of Education of China, is planned by the provincial and municipal education administrative departments in accordance with the local situation. Provincial and municipal education colleges, teacher training schools and other research institutions are responsible for organizing the teacher training. (Liu et al. 2014, 111–16)

Pre-service teacher education: challenges and solutions

Challenges

The rapid economic development of China and consequent social change has raised the importance and significance of education. Teacher education in China is currently in a transition period. The traditional system of normal education has gradually died out, but the new system has not yet been finally established. In this transformation period, China's key normal universities are facing unprecedented challenges.

First, the opening of the system of teacher education has brought the pressure of competition to the normal universities. Teacher education in China was once entirely undertaken by the key normal universities. They had no pressure of competition from non-normal universities. However, there have been increasing public and political concerns about the quality of university-led teacher training, and this persists today. As a result, the monopoly position of key normal universities has been completely broken.

In 2001, the establishment of a wider system of teacher education was first proposed in the State Council on Basic Education Reform and Development. It proposed widening the system of teacher education by keeping the existing key normal universities as the main body, but having other universities participating. It also proposed stronger links between pre-service and in-service training (State Council of the People's Republic of China 2001). In addition to strengthening the academic discipline structure of key normal universities, non-normal universities were encouraged to set up education departments and teacher education courses. Statistics now show that about 40% of undergraduate teacher-training students are prepared by non-normal universities (Zhong 2010, 5–12).

A reform of the Teacher Qualification and Examination System for K-12 teachers began in 2011 with pilot studies in Zhejiang and Hubei province. By the end of 2015, this extended to the country as a whole. The reform has brought about four main changes:

- Teacher Qualification Examinations became a national examination.
- The evaluation of teaching skills has been strengthened.
- Students from normal universities and non-normal universities are not treated differently. Anyone who meets the requirement can participate in the exam and who passes the exam can apply for the Teacher Qualification Certificate.

- The Teaching Qualification is no longer a lifelong award. Teachers need to be evaluated and to complete their re-registration every five years (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China 2013).

In the past, graduates from normal universities did not have to take the Teacher Qualification Examination, but now they do, together with the non-normal university students. This check on the autonomy of the previous monopoly system of teacher education has been a strong feature of the reforms. Since the widening of the system of teacher education means more competitive pressures, many people have shown their concerns about the future of institutions, the normal universities, which are solely dedicated to teacher education.

> If there are not any differences between normal university students and non-normal university students, why [do] we need normal universities? (a Netease user 2014)

Wan Mingxia, the former Deputy Director of Academic Affairs of East China Normal University suggested that the reformation of the Teacher Qualification Examination has been a good thing, and that it means that the state has paid more attention to teacher education. The transformation challenges the importance of normal universities in teacher education. However, normal universities have their own qualities, such as many more mature courses for teacher education that guarantee good practical preparation. The challenges of competition motivate the normal universities to improve.

The Teacher Qualification Examination system sets higher expectations for Chinese K-12 teachers' practical ability. However, the curriculum of teacher education is still being criticised as insufficiently responsive to the new demands and expectations of Chinese schooling today (Mu et al. 2015, 56–9).

Second, the policy of offering free teacher education to some students has created confusion. The uneven economic growth in China has meant that qualified graduate teachers are more likely to flock to the developed wealthier parts of the country. The gap in terms of teacher quality between urban and rural areas is widening. To attract more high-quality students, especially those who come from richer areas, Wen Jiabao, the Former Prime Minister of the State Council, implemented a trial policy in 2007 to offer free teacher-training courses. Six key normal universities directly under the administration of the Ministry of Education (Beijing Normal University, East China Normal University, Northeast Normal University, Central China Normal University, Shanxi Normal University and Southwest University) adopted

the policy of free teacher education. Tuition, accommodation fees and some amount of living expenses of normal university students were supported by the Ministry of Finance. These students signed a contract with their provincial educational administrative departments to promise to serve K-12 education for ten years in their hometown after graduation.

The free teacher education policy has a positive effect on promoting the equity and equality of local education, but it has also caused some problems. For example, to some it seems to be a waste of educational resources since some normal university students are reluctant to teach in their hometown (Gao et al. 2014, 31–5). Many key normal university students are not satisfied with the inflexibility of the approach, and they think 'the policy is too mandatory' (Wang et al. 2014, 65–71, 49).

> Due to the enrolment benefit, students are more likely to be attracted by the profit rather than driven by the teaching profession itself. The free teacher education policy does not select students determined to become teachers. Another factor is that students have lower academic expectation on themselves of the type of community they expect to teach in. (Chen Li, Assistant Principal, Beijing Normal University, 2015)

Third, the comprehensive evaluation of universities has made key normal universities pay less attention to teacher education. Because key normal universities mainly offer teacher education, the disciplines and curriculum systems are relatively monolithic. Thus, many people think that 'the academic level of normal universities is lower than comprehensive universities' (Xin 2005, 183–6).

> In current highly accepted influential university rankings, their evaluation indicators have certain bias, mostly based on the situations of the comprehensive, research-oriented universities, for instance, the indicators of natural science and medical science are more important than other subjects. (GaoFei et al. 2012, 63–6)

This form of ranking has made universities, which focus on 'teacher education', disadvantaged in the national evaluation framework (Center for World-Class Universities, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, 2014).

University rankings have a direct influence on students' choice of institution. In this context, some normal universities have begun to offer courses in more prestigious subjects than teacher education. Beijing Normal University and East China Normal University, the top normal universities in China, offer more non-education than education courses. 'Over 80% of key normal universities add "comprehensive", "comprehensive normal university" when

referring to their education philosophy' (He 2009, 61–5, 69). It is generally accepted that these changes have strengthened the normal universities in terms of overall rankings, but have weakened the position of teacher education.

> Nowadays, departments in some key normal universities are very different from those ten years ago. There are less experts leading on the basic education in these universities than in the old days. Still, when the State pays attention to teacher education, it invests lots of money, and these key normal universities are naturally selected as key undertakers of tasks and projects … (Li Jinyu, School of Teacher Education in Northwest Normal University)

Fourth, the faculty in key normal universities needs improvement urgently to meet the challenges raised by the reform of basic education.

> Is the faculty in normal universities qualified to prepare K1-12 teachers? You know, basic education is now completely different from the past. Teachers in K-12 are more engaged in studying and practicing new teaching and learning models. They are using new technology and teaching methods far more than university teachers. How can a university teacher in this situation guide the teachers in basic education? (Chen Li, Assistant Principal, Beijing Normal University, 2011)

China's professional faculties in key normal universities mainly focus on preparation for teaching an academic-based curriculum (for example, in the Chinese Department, Chinese literary studies), rather than pedagogy-based education. Faculty staff evaluations tend to appropriate status to publications in subject-academic rather than professional journals. The faculty staff who teach pedagogy are not valued, and the outstanding teachers are not attracted to teaching these subjects.

SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS IDENTIFIED

Key normal universities have been working on the adjustment to meet the above-mentioned challenges. They have made efforts to raise the quality of student teachers' preparation. The measures they have adopted include:

- **improving the processes of practical preparation.** To enable students to get in touch with, understand and experience the teaching practice of basic education earlier, and to help them to improve their teaching research capacity, East China Normal University designed a problem-oriented practice

teaching model. Study focuses on understanding and exploring problems in a real teaching environment. In guaranteeing the quality of this approach, the university designed the schedule and tasks rigorously to ensure the students have enough time and experience to improve their teaching practice abilities.

- **taking a variety of measures to ensure practical teaching opportunities.** Since many K-12 schools are unwilling to accept student teachers on internships because they are afraid of disrupting normal teaching, key normal universities have adopted many measures to gain practical teaching opportunities. Northeast Normal University has established the tripartite cooperation of K-12 schools, local government and the key normal university, to set up a shared understanding of practical preparation (Dong et al. 2012, 97–108). Many other key normal universities have taken specific measures, such as building teaching internship programmes and creating cooperative research projects, to form a favourable internship environment.
- **upgrading the existing curriculum.** Many universities are transforming public courses, such as public pedagogy or psychology, to reconstruct original courses away from a focus on the academic discipline towards a more problem-based approach relevant to the teacher's task and role. The content of practical teaching skills has also been supplemented in other teacher education programmes.
- **striving to resolve the issue of balance between teacher education and academic subjects.** In keeping the balance between teacher education and academic subjects, key normal universities have found their own solutions. Beijing Normal University has adopted a 3 + 1 model to prepare student teacher undergraduates. For the first three years, students develop academic subject skills, and in the final year they go to the Faculty of Education to learn professional teaching skills. East China Normal University established China's first modern academy for key normal university students in 2007. The goal of the academy is to prepare outstanding teachers and educators who will 'be suitable for teaching, love teaching, be skillful in teaching' in the future. The academy has been devoted to creating and improving student teachers' preparation mechanisms and systems to enhance the education quality of key normal universities.

IN-SERVICE TEACHER TRAINING: CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

The changes to in-service teacher training in recent years in China

The state has increased the investment in in-service teacher training. In order to improve the overall quality of K-12 schoolteachers, especially in rural areas, the Chinese Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Finance started the 'National Training Program for Primary and Secondary School Teachers' (referred to as 'National Training Program') (Ministry of Education & The Ministry of Finance of the People's Republic of China 2010). These ministries continue to strengthen their efforts on the programme's funds, which have risen from 550 million Yuan in 2010 to 2.15 billion Yuan in 2014, and 2015 maintains the same amount of investment as 2014. The aim is to achieve 'exemplary demonstration, timely help and reform promotion'. The programme mainly trains teachers from the central and western regions, as the economically developed eastern areas (such as Beijing, Shanghai, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Guangdong and other provinces) are self-sufficient in funding. Besides the investment in the programme, provinces and the cities also support the funding for teacher training. Thus, it is estimated that annual funding for education and teacher training will not be less than 4 billion Yuan in 2015.

The State has made clear requirements on teacher training management. The Ministry of Education issued 'Advice about enhancing the training for teachers in primary and secondary schools' on 6 January 2011, which clearly pointed out that 'in-service teacher training is focused on helping teachers to update educational concepts, delve into teaching, learn new knowledge and master new skills to improve their practical teaching ability. A total training time of not less than 360 hours is expected every five years'. And all regions are asked to 'establish a strict credit management system of teacher training' (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China 2011). The training is integrated into teachers' employment and evaluation in many provinces and cities, with the effect that teachers will face the risk of being dismissed if they have not achieved sufficient learning credits.

The State has made higher requirements for teacher training quality. In 2013, the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China issued Guidance on Deepening the Reform of the Teacher Training Model for Primary and Secondary Schools and Enhancing the Quality of Teacher Training, and clearly proposed that strengthening training relevant to on-demand needs, improving the training content to be close to the front-line

teachers' teaching practice and changing the training model to enhance the effectiveness of outcomes were key aspects of provision (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China 2013).

Challenges

Under such circumstances, teacher in-service training demands on key normal universities are considerable.

First, normal universities need to raise the quality of their faculty and the effectiveness of the curriculum. In China, the administrative education departments within an overall plan carry out in-service teacher training. Because key normal universities have advantages in terms of expertise and resources, they are often requested to carry out teacher-training programs, such as high-level training of senior teachers, principals, director generals and so on. For example, in 2014, more than 80% of the centralised training programs in 'National Training Programs' (training institutions need to apply and bid for such programmes) are undertaken by key normal universities. Special sections within the university often take on this in-service role. There are some optimists for the role of key normal universities in in-service training.

> The situation that teacher training conducted by colleges and universities cannot meet the needs of front-line teachers has now changed. In my experience, those colleges and universities which bear on long-term tasks of teacher training are often able to meet teachers' needs. (Wang Hong, executive vice-dean of School of Basic Education Training and Research, South China Normal University, 2015)

There are also more critical analyses. In terms of training teachers, a common key normal university practice is to attract a large number of front-line experienced schoolteachers, such as special-grade senior teachers and special-grade senior principals, to ensure credibility in the eyes of teachers. According to the training programme statistics from the training department of the School of Open Education in ECNU, over 80% of the bulk of the work is done by seconded teachers. Full-time faculty staff tend not to lead in practical training. Academics who research teacher education seldom teach in teacher-training programmes, while those who do the training often lack academic and research expertise as well as experience of leadership in curriculum development.

Second, normal universities are not good at providing distance education for frontline teachers. Distance education is often viewed disparagingly by staff in the more mainstream campus institutions in China (Yan 2011, 49–53). Even so, China has 10 million primary- and secondary-school teachers, and it is widely accepted that distance education in different forms has an important role to play in promoting educational equity and opportunity.

The Midwest Rural Teachers' Distance Training Program, for example, which implemented the National Training Program in 2010 operated at very large scale. The number of teachers participating in distance training programs in 2012 reached 600 000. In 2013, the National Primary and Secondary School Teachers Information Technology Application Capability Project established a five-year project mainly carried out through a combination of 'network training and school-based training'. According to the latest statistics from the Executive Office of the project, the number of primary- and secondary-school teachers who trained on a distance learning programme in this way was more than 1.84 million in 2014.

Although traditional key normal universities may still be seen as the preferred way of preparing teachers, distance education – in a variety of forms – is now an essential part of the Chinese teacher preparation system.

In the implementation of distance training, most of the projects are undertaken by qualified distance-training enterprises, with commercial companies meeting just over 20% of the need.

> In our province, training tasks shared by normal universities is about 30%. They have rigorous training plans and high quality curriculum, but they don't have enough staff to serve the front-line teacher. But companies are ready to provide services at any time. (Xiao Lizhi, Program Officer of 'National Training Program' in Henan Province, 2015)

> In the large-scale training, if the ratio of teacher–student is 1:100, we have to organize and manage teachers with the help of local administrative offices, which requires a lot of communication and more manpower. However, it is impossible to recruit appropriate personnel as desired under the university system. (Li Baomin, Director of the Training Department in School of Open learning and education, East China Normal University, 2015)

Third, key normal universities are expected to lead professionalisation in education, but they cannot always meet the challenge. In 2006, Guan Peijun, the director general of Teacher Education Department of the Ministry of Education, talked about the fundamental concept of 'professional

and lifelong' teacher training at the First Chinese Forum on Teacher Training. Great attention was gradually paid to 'In-Service Teacher Training Professionalization'. After the 'National Training Program' started in 2009, the term is frequently used.

Key normal universities have traditionally taken the lead on issues of teacher development. Experts from these universities have, for example, helped create competency and evaluation frameworks. However, in general, the key normal universities have not had an impact on the quality of in-service training. There is, for example, very limited research on the continuing professional development of teachers. When teacher education research is mentioned, it mostly refers to research on pre-service teacher education.

> Since the key normal universities lack staff who are proficient in research it is difficult for them to guide others to promote professional development. (Wang Hong, executive vice-dean of School of Basic Education Training and Research, South China Normal University 2015)

The academic development environment for training researchers has always been poor. Generally speaking, in key normal universities, in-service training is carried out in special sections such as the 'School of Extended Education', 'School of Network Education' and so on. Staff are not experienced in research and those from other parts of the university who do have research skills are not interested in investigating in-service training.

Solutions

The universities have adopted different initiatives to meet the above-mentioned challenges.

First, strengthening the development of high-quality courses. Considerable attention is being given to the structuring of courses (Yan et al. 2013, 43–51). For example, the School of Open Education in ECNU has invested in self-development of high-quality courses since 2009. High-quality courses have been independently developed through an extended period of course development based on team building and led by mid-career faculty staff. The courses focus on practical, interactive ways of working with teachers. Courses such as the 'Successful Ladder for Primary and Secondary Teaching' and the 'Road of Training Management' have received very good student feedback. And a series of online courses named 'Changing Teaching with Technology', developed since 2014, are the first choice of many training institutions.

Second, strengthening cooperation with local educational institutions or enterprises with clear understanding of the responsibilities shared. To provide better remote training services, most colleges and universities choose to work in strategic cooperation with local educational institutions or enterprises in partnership structures. Some key normal universities mainly offer online courses, remote platforms and the overall design of training programmes, while the local educational institutions and enterprises are responsible for providing local teaching staff and services. Not all key normal universities have seized such opportunities.

Third, constructing research entities to do research on professional training. There are moves on this front**.** The School of Basic Education Training and Research has been established in South China Normal University (the nation's first key normal university entitled to grant Master's degrees). It aims at building a competitive platform for research achievements transformation and cultivation of professionals.

INTEGRATION OF PRE-SERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION AND IN-SERVICE TEACHER TRAINING: DEVELOPMENT AND BREAKTHROUGH

There have been strong pleas that teacher-training universities should undertake continuous education for pre-service teacher and in-service teacher training (Qiu 2014, 81–5). In 2004, The Ministry of Education issued an Action Plan for Invigorating Education from 2003 to 2007 to elaborate a reformed system of teacher education. It stated that a new system would be established in which normal universities and other universities who provide high-quality teacher education would provide guidance. The system would promote teacher education and training at three levels – junior college education, undergraduate education and graduate education – and ensure the intercommunication between pre-service and in-service teacher education. The aim was to set up a Modern Teacher Education System to promote teachers' professional development and lifelong learning (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, 2004).

Measures adopted by universities include:

- **integrating human resources of teacher education.** As already noted, there is a divide between faculty staff working in subject-academic areas and those specialising in pedagogic knowledge and skills. Many universities, such as Northwest Normal University, began to muster the force

of these teachers to work together on Subject-specific Pedagogy and the Science of Education. In 2007, Northwest Normal University established the first Institute to cover many subjects, including Language, Mathematics, English, Integrated Liberal Arts, and Integrated Science. It also created an organised platform for Subject-specific Pedagogy teachers, which had greatly improved the ecological academic development environment for them.

- **establishing a cohesive relationship between pre-service teacher education and in-service teacher training in the preparation mechanism.** To improve the construction of the subject-specific pedagogical curriculum, many normal universities invite outstanding teachers from primary and middle schools to do research and teach in universities, or require Subject-specific Pedagogy teachers in universities to do research in primary and secondary schools to help them be familiar with teaching practice and understand frontline teaching needs.

CONCLUSION

China's teacher education is in a transition period. With the changes in society, teachers are expected to provide a better education, and the teacher education system is encouraged to move from an enclosed environment to a diversified and open one to meet the new needs of teacher preparation. The integration of pre-service teacher education and in-service teacher training is being strongly promoted and this will be a major feature of teacher education and training in China in the coming years.

In this change, the traditional monopoly position of key normal universities has been gradually shaken, and the problems existing in previous training models have got more and more attention. Key normal universities face a big challenge to overcome the existing problems and adapt to change.

At present, the key normal universities can take the long-term accumulated advantages provided by the long experience of teacher education. However, there is also a need to make active adjustments if these traditional institutions are to be responsive to the new demands of rapidly changing expectations around the value and effectiveness of schools and teachers. There are many examples, as this chapter has illustrated, of innovative practices, but these have to translate into systemic change if key normal universities are to maintain a central role in the development of teachers in China.

References

A Netease user. (2014). *Debate on Students from Normal Universities Still have to Take National Teacher Certifacation Examination*. http://hebei.news.163.com/14/0806/16/A2VQA1QE02790AD6_all.html (retrieved 2 July, 2015).

Baidu Encyclopedia. (2015). *Teacher Qualification*. http://baike.baidu.com/view/181842.htm (retrieved 9 July, 2015).

Center for World-Class Universities, Shanghai Jiao Tong University (2014). *Ranking Methodology of Top Universities in Great China 2014*. http://www.shanghairanking.cn/Greater_China_Ranking/Greater-China-Ranking-Methodology-2014.html (retrieved 9 July, 2015).

Dong, Y., Liu, Y., & Gao, H. (2012). University-Government-School Model of Teacher Education: Design and Implementation. *Journal Of Northeast Normal University (Philosophy And Social Science*, 170–75.

Gao, Z., & Chang, B. (2014). Problems and Countermeasures in the Education of Tuition-Free Normal Education. *Journal Of National Academy Of Education Administration*, 31–35.

Gao F., & Wang, Q. (2012). Ranking of Higher Education: Comparison and Trend. Higher Education Exploration, 63–6.

He, Z. (2009). Puzzles and Countermeasures of Teacher Education in the Transi-tion of Local Teachers' Colleges. *Teacher Education Research*, 61–65, 69.

Liu, Y., & Fu, G. (2014). Innovation of Development Mechanism for the Integration of Teacher Education. *Educaiton Research*, 111–16.

Lu, D. (2013). Interpretation of Soviet Pattern of Higher Teacher Education in China. *University Education Science*, 77–83.

Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (2004). *Action Plan for Invigorating Education from 2003 to 2007.* http://www.edu.cn/20040325/3102277.shtml (retrieved 12 July, 2015).

Ministry of Education & The Ministry of Finance of the People's Republic of China (2010). *Notification of implementing 'National Primary and Secondary School Teacher Training Program*. http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s4646/201212/146071.html (retrieved 5 July, 2015).

Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (2011). *Advices about enhancing the training for teachers in primary and secondary schools*. http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s4559/201101/114220.html (retrieved 6 July, 2015).

Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (2013). *Deepening the Reform of Teacher Training Model for Primary and Secondary Schools and Enhancing the Quality of Teacher Trainings*. http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s7034/201305/xxgk_151910.html (retrieved 5 July 2015).

Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (2013b). *Interim Measures of Qualifying examination for Teachers in Primary and Middle Schools.* http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s7151/201309/156643.html (retrieved 5 July, 2015).

Mu, H., & Zhang, F. (2015). Problems and Countermeasures of Teacher Education Development in China. *Journal Of National Academy Of Education Administration*, 56–9.

National Bureau of Statistics of China. (n.d.). *Educa-tion Statistical Yearbook in China in China Statistical Yearbook*. http://tongji.cnki.net/kns55/Navi/HomePage.aspx?id=N2014120083&name=YINFN&floor=1 (retrieved 1 July, 2015).

Qiu, C. (2014). Teacher Education in China: Its Past, Present and Future – Interview to Prof. Gu Mingyuan. *Teacher Education Research*, 81–5.

Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (1993). *Teachers Law of the People's Republic of China*. http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_619/200407/1314.html (retrieved 3 July 2015).

State Council of the People's Republic of China (1999). *CPC Central Committee and State Council Decision on Deepening the Educational Reform and Promoting Quality Education*. http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_177/200407/2478.html

State Council of the People's Republic of China (2001). *State Council on Basic Education Reform and Development*. http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_16/200105/132.html (retrieved 1 July, 2015).

State Education Commission of the People's Republic of China (2013). *Advices on Teacher Education Reform and Development*. http://www.chinalawedu.com/news/1200/22598/22615/22806/2006/3/ma29801816171813600250 40-0.htm

Tan, C., Zhu, X., & Xin , T. (2000). Thoughts on the Reform of the Educational System of Beijing Normal University. *Journal Of Beijing Normal University (Social Science)*, 97–108.

Wang, N., & He, Y. (2014). An Investigation on the Employment Satisfaction of Tuition-free Student Teachers – Taking East China Normal University as a Case. *Teacher Education Research*, 65–71, 49.

Xin, Z. (2005). On the Predicament and Outlet of Normal Universities. *Journal Of Henan Normal University (Philosophy And Social Sciences Edition*, 183–6.

Yan, H. (2011). From 'Making the Learning Really Happen' to 'Making the Learning Reach the Goal' – An Analysis on the Academic Support Mistakes in Distance Education. *Journal Of Distance Education*, 49–53.

Yan, h., Wei, F., & Li, B. (2013). The Situation and Development Road Map of In-service Teacher Training professionalization – talking from the wrong ap-proaches of the National Training Plan practice. *Mordan Distance Education Research*, 43–51.

Yuan, G. (2005). Current Problems Facing the Reformation and Development of Our Country's Normal Institutions. *Journal Of Shaanxi Normal University (Philosophy And Social Sciences Edition)*, 5–9.

Zhong, B. (2010). Reform of Teacher Education in Developing Teacher College: The case of reform explorations in Beijing Normal University. *Journal Of Beijing Normal University (Social Science)*, 5–12.

11 Teacher education in Chile: Trends in social and policy pressures for change and evolution of its organisational and knowledge bases

Cristián Cox

INTRODUCTION

The progression of teacher education in Chile in the last decades is inextricably linked to both recent political history and processes of rapid socio-economic change affecting a radical expansion of higher education. The military regime that crushed the socialist government of President Allende closed in 1974 the normal schools that had prepared teachers for the primary level since 1842, repositioning this type of teacher education in the then eight universities in the country. Under the aegis of the same authoritarian regime, as from the start of the 1980s, a radical pro-market reform of education was implemented, opening higher education to the creation of new institutions and installing market competition mechanisms as the main source for coordination and governance of the system and the institutions. After the recovery of democracy in 1990, and accompanying policies for investment in, and reform of, education, teacher education programmes and enrolment multiplied by several orders of magnitude, hand in hand with dynamics of economic growth and unprecedented processes of upward social mobility, soon meant that seven out of ten higher education students were the first generation in their families to reach that far. By the end of the 2000s, realisation of the need to regulate higher education in general, and teacher education in particular, became politically cross-cutting, and policies that combined pressure and support mechanisms to create reform processes in faculties of education started in earnest.

This chapter will firstly expand on the evoked arch of change affecting Chilean teacher education institutions, focusing on the four decades from

1970 to the present, attempting to identify some key structural features. A second section will deal with the ideas and debates at the basis of policies attempted or implemented from the middle of the 2000s, when the political elite started to prioritise teacher education as a key problem to be solved. In its third section, the chapter will turn to educational research in the country and its contribution to the development of teacher education. Next, changes and trends in the structure and organisation of teacher education institutions will be identified. A closing section will analyse political and public confidence in the university role in teacher education and training.

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY ROLE IN TEACHER EDUCATION

Just over two decades after the end of the war for independence from Spain in the 1840s, republican Chile was able to organise an educational system with primary-, secondary- and tertiary-level institutions. Two key institutions were founded in 1842: Universidad de Chile, with governance and control functions over 'letters and sciences in Chile' (Labarca 1939, 92) and the Escuela Normal de Preceptores (Normal School of Preceptors) for primary teacher training. Both institutions replicated Napoleonic principles and criteria, whereby a centralised state was responsible for the educational improvement of all citizens (Cox 1984).

Since the very beginning, a split pattern – common to many if not most educational systems in the west – was established, with a highly selective secondary education system stemming from the university, which controlled the curriculum and preparation of teachers, and the primary system, which evolved as a separate entity, with curricula and teachers respectively designed and prepared by the state administration.

The preparation of teachers for the country's *liceos* did not start at Universidad de Chile until 1889, when it set up its Instituto Pedagógico, importing teachers from Germany.[16] Until then, teaching in the fewer than 30 male secondary schools in the country had been provided by lawyers, priests, medical doctors, engineers or '*bachilleres*' who had completed their secondary-level education in humanities. Their lack of teaching methods had been singled out as the main factor impeding the progress of this type of education. In the newly formed *Instituto*, seven German teachers delivered all subjects, except Chilean history and Spanish, for the first generations of graduates, bringing with them the pedagogy of J.F. Herbart and strong

beliefs in the power of scientific methods for bringing secondary teaching to new levels of professionalism and pedagogical know-how (Perl 2010).

The next school for preparing secondary education teachers was founded in 1919, at Universidad de Concepción, an institution set up under the leadership of a civil society movement intent on having their own university in the third most important city of the country. The curriculum of the new school had to follow the Universidad de Chile curriculum until the 1950s. Universidad Católica de Chile, founded in 1888, inaugurated its own school of education for preparing secondary teachers only in 1942[17] (Cox & Gysling 1990). Up to 1980, only eight universities (and their provincial branches) provided all secondary teacher training in the country. Some of them began preparing primary teachers in the 1960s.

For nearly 150 years, primary teachers were prepared in normal schools. As mentioned, normal schools were part of the Ministry of Education's administration of the primary-level public schooling system. Since their foundation in the 1840s and up to the 1950s, they recruited the best students of working-class urban or rural origin who completed primary education, and provided them with a comprehensive general education and strong practical preparation in methods for teaching the first grades, under a boarding regime and typically intense disciplinary and identity-formation processes (Cox & Gysling 1990; Nuñez 2010).

By the mid-1950s, pressure from teaching unions against the split nature of teacher training in the country gathered momentum. This was partially answered in 1967 by a reform that ascended normal-school preparation to post-secondary education. At the same time, as mentioned, some universities had already initiated programmes for primary teacher training. The trend toward joining the two circuits and dissolving the institutional and curricular differentiation of teacher preparation culminated abruptly in 1974, in a context of a military dictatorship that had just crushed a socialist revolution: the authoritarian regime closed the 17 public normal schools existing at the time, avowedly answering long-voiced demands in that direction, while at the same time it appraised them as politically suspect. The government decreed primary teachers would be trained at the existing universities; students were transferred to the state university geographically closest to their school, together with some of their teachers (Cox & Gysling 1990).

How did universities receive the new mandate, students and staff? How did the new arrivals adapt to their drastically different institutional context? None of these questions were publicly discussed at the time nor in the decade that followed, as universities were intervened by the armed forces

and purge and control policies were dominant in the sector during the early phase of the dictatorship, producing a 'university under surveillance' (Millas 2012). The power of an external context marked by crisis and exceptionality effectively impeded deliberation and made invisible the deeper features of a major change.

1960S AND 1970S JUNCTURES AND THE PATH THEY ESTABLISHED

The path that was inaugurated in the second half of the 1970s for the university's role in the preparation of primary and secondary teachers results from the combination of exceptional, both endogenous and exogenous, circumstances. The first refers to a comprehensive process of university reform (in the late 1960s and early 1970s), the second to the exceptional political circumstances on account of the breakdown of Chilean democracy and the authoritarian order that ensued. It is a path that led to the severing of teacher education from the very institutions it was meant to serve. It is also a path that led to the fragmentation of the knowledge that was the basis of its formative processes – as no consistent meeting ground was organisationally discovered at universities from the mid-1970s onward for an encounter between the bearers of disciplinary and pedagogical knowledge as required for a coherent preparation of teachers.

Two shaping factors of very distinct origins converged in pushing the new university programmes and departments of education away from schools and their practices as fundamental references for teaching preparation. The first is sociological and organisational in nature and common to many university systems. It relates to the 'newcomer' syndrome of educators from the school system entering the university setting: their *parvenu* interest in being accepted and recognised at the new institution, through no explicit strategy but instead the invisible and practical day-to-day efforts to socially adapt, drove the new educators to mimic the research plus the perceived 'high level' discourse of academia, and this directed them away from their origin in schools and the meanings of semi-professionalism and low-status practice of working with children. What Stanford sociologist of education David Labaree's analysis of the 'trouble with Ed Schools' has shown for the United States' field strongly applies here: a last-come area of knowledge to the faculties of the university, in its status and recognition-seeking efforts, gives its backing to schools and heads for the new home's perceived ethos of theory and research (Labaree 2004).[1]. The second shaping factor is the external

political context and its features of strict state surveillance of universities *and* schools, which made it very difficult for the first to connect to the second throughout the authoritarian regime period (1973–90), but particularly so during the 1970s. A quarter of a century later, after a successful transition to democratic rule and in a context of political and cultural valuing of education, the first state-policy attempt to support the renewal of teacher education diagnosed the systematic absence of coherently supervised clinical practices and the disconnect of teacher education from schools as a key problem to be addressed (Avalos 2002).

But the authoritarian regime affected the university's role in the preparation of teachers, especially primary teachers, in another consequential way. An intervened leadership (with military and navy officers as university rectors), which managed the institutions mainly through 'national security' lenses, was in no position to understand, and even less act upon, teacher preparation programmes with a vision that reached into the nature of the curricula and the relevance of their practices. The school curriculum had been reformed at the end of the 1960s, extending primary education from a cycle of six to eight grades, thus expanding and making more demanding the disciplinary knowledge base on which teachers had to be prepared for being able to responsibly teach up to the new grade and age group. Normal-school-trained teachers, for more than a century, had been prepared to teach the entire curriculum, up to grade four. During the early 1950s, this had been extended to grade six. Now the reformed 'basic education' included two grades of what since the 1840s had been the domain of the highly selective secondary schools, which were served by teachers prepared from the start at university and in just one discipline. No measures were taken at the policy level, or at the institutional level, for responding to the new reality at the time, nor in the next quarter of a century. Indeed, a visible anomaly, such as the presumption that it was reasonable to prepare primary teachers to teach all areas of the national curriculum (language, mathematics, history, social sciences, natural sciences, foreign language, art, manual arts, physical education) up to grade eight became completely naturalised during the 1970s. University faculties of education, as argued, severed from schools and newcomers to an institution controlled by the military, were in no position to raise their voice and attempt an answer. They followed their traditional practices, i.e. those that had prevailed at the normal schools, with their focus on methods more than disciplinary knowledge, which in this case was deemed to have been acquired by the prospective teachers in their secondary schooling years. Further, the country's educational policy-field did not see an issue

in this nor defined it as a problem until the mid-1990s, while in the very long interim the school system reacted in a predictable way: schools serving the elite and middle classes moved secondary-level teachers to teaching in grades seven and eight, while the majority had manifestly under-prepared primary teachers in these grades (Cox 2007a).

There is a third shaping factor of the path taken four decades ago by teacher education in Chile, which is endogenous to universities, and was established as part and parcel of a major reform process, which took place as of the end of the 1960s onward. The 1960s reform of higher education included a vast expansion in coverage by the eight existing universities at the time, which leapt from 5% to 15% of the relevant age group between 1966 and 1973, the democratisation of their governance structure, and an 'explosion of processes of internal horizontal differentiation' (Brunner 2015), in which new courses, programmes, units, departments, institutes and faculties were created, while at the same time new entities multiplied for connecting the university with society. In the strictly academic dimension:

> the new departments, centres and institutes sustain the start of an initial displacement of the centre of gravity (of the institution), from its teaching function, up to that point almost the exclusive concern of universities, towards the research function, activity which shyly starts to be installed in these units giving rise to a modern academic profession based on highly qualified personnel, dedicated to live not only for the university, but of it, and bearer of a new organisational ideology which sustains the supremacy of knowledge production over its mere transmission. (Brunner 2015, 31)

The referred process meant the creation of disciplinary faculties – history, letters, biology, chemistry, physics, mathematics – distinct from the professional schools, for the first time. For faculties or schools of education, which had been preparing secondary teachers in the mentioned disciplines for decades, the general process of growth, internal differentiation and gradual shift towards research by their university, had a paradoxical result: they were significantly weakened as their disciplinary departments, one for each knowledge area of the school curriculum, let their best academics go to work on their institution's very large and long-lasting agenda of starting and then developing new research-oriented disciplinary faculties.[19] In the decades to come, the new disciplinary faculties did not cooperate nor had, on the whole, constructive relationships with their mother-faculty in the preparation of secondary or primary teachers. The common origin in this case complicated more than facilitated cooperation, and established a distinct pattern of

distance or open conflict between the bearers of disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical knowledge in practically every institution.

In sum, complex and both exogenous and endogenous processes of change affecting the universities in the late 1960s and the mid-1970s affected their teacher education functions. The main effects of the processes that were portrayed may be summarised in terms of two paradoxes. The first is that the absorption (and upgrading) of primary teacher education by the universities meant their turning away from schools, because of both internal reasons (adaptation to the new setting) and external factors (authoritarian controls over access to schools). The second paradox is that the modernisation process, which began turning exclusively professions-oriented universities into research-privileging institutions, had an unplanned cost: a substantial weakening of the faculties of education that had traditionally trained secondary-school teachers, as they lost part of their best people in favour of the creation and development of new disciplinary faculties.

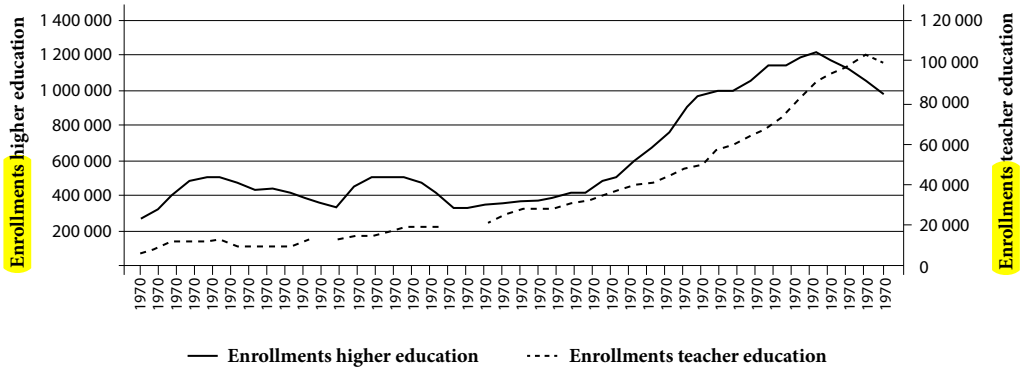
PRO-MARKET REFORM OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND RADICAL EXPANSION OF TEACHER EDUCATION

The next phase in the development of teacher education in Chile is the result of the combination of the drastic liberalisation of higher education governance and coordination mechanisms, installed by the military regime at the start of the 1980s, and unprecedented social mobility dynamics generated by economic growth and democratic development from the 1990s onwards. Participation in higher education goes up from 15% in 1987 to 52% in 2007, and teacher education expands accordingly in terms of the number of institutions, programmes and enrolments (see Figure 1 and Table 1).

In 1980–81, the military government implemented a drastic reform of all higher education, vertically differentiating three types of institutions (universities, professional institutes and technical centres), reorganising the two state universities, and liberalising the creation of institutions and programmes by lowering entry barriers to the provision of higher education and instituting market-driven governance and coordination instruments for the sector (Brunner 2009, 2015; Jongbloed 2003). New universities soon started to emerge, the majority providing education programmes. The new coordination principles of higher education moved decidedly toward the market and competition between institutions for students and reputation. The opening up of higher education to the creation of new institutions and

programmes engendered marked 'academic capitalism' dynamics in private institutions and, after 1990, 'new public management' criteria in public institutions (Brunner 2015, 55). These new drivers of the system met with accelerated educational and socio-economic upward mobility processes during the 1990s and the past decade, as clearly shown by the curve representing the evolution of enrolment in higher education from 1970 to 2015 in Figure 1. The rate of participation in higher education by the relevant age group goes from just above 15% in 1987 to 52% two decades later (Brunner 2015, 39). The curve for enrolment in programmes for teacher education parallels the curve for the whole system from 1988 to 2000, and becomes markedly steeper from 2000 to 2011, subsequently declining.

Figure 1: Evolution of total enrolments in higher education and schools of education 1970–2015



Sources: for higher education (Brunner 2015); for teacher education enrolments (Cox et al. 2015).

The quantitative transformation of the field of teacher education is dramatic. Universities (and professional institutes after 1981) preparing teachers increased from 8 in 1980 to 39 in 2000, and to 70 in 2015; the number of programmes increased from less than 50 in 1980 to 249 in 2000, and then to 860 in 2011, dropping slightly in the following years; enrolments jumped from just over 35 000 students in 2000 to just over 100 000 students in 2011, afterwards dropping consistently.

Table 1 shows three types of institutions offering teacher education programmes: traditional universities, both public and private (the Catholic church subsystem), already existing in 1980 and partly funded by the state; new private universities, created after the reform of 1980–81, without public funding; and professional institutes, also private, post-1980 and with no state support.

Table 1: Trends in teacher education institutions, programmes and enrolment in Chile, 2000–15

	Institutions			Programmes			Enrolment		
	2000	2011	2015	2000	2011	2015	2000	2011	2015
Primary Education (total)	30	52	53	44	200	136	5 872	18 789	10 625
Traditional Universities	14	19	20	19	49	37	3 278	6 566	4 750
New Private Universities	10	27	27	14	128	80	1 259	9 189	4 900
Professional Institutes	6	6	6	11	23	19	1 335	3 034	975
Secondary Education (total)	27	58	56	137	457	397	16 904	59 342	46 772
Traditional Universities	21	22	23	116	166	171	14 083	26 640	23 802
New Private Universities	3	31	29	12	262	211	2 296	31 791	22 507
Professional Institutes	3	5	4	9	29	15	525	911	463
Total	**39 (*)**	**70**	**66**	**181**	**657**	**533**	**22 776**	**78 131**	**57 397**

(*) The total for Institutions does not add up, as many faculties or schools of education offer education teacher programmes for both the primary and secondary levels of schooling.

Source: Cox et al. 2015, Table 3

Table 1 figures focus on primary and secondary teacher education[20] and portray a step-change in the scale of the system, taking place in the last decade and a half, with marked increases in each of the three considered dimensions – institutions, programmes and enrolment – and for each category of institution. The expansive wave covers the whole of 2000–11; after that year, the trend changes as figures begin to decline, linked to policies that are to be commented on later. At the same time, it is clearly visible that the expansion has an institutionally differentiated basis. The new private universities multiply their weight in every dimension by several orders of magnitude: thus, in primary teacher education, the number of programmes increases by a factor of 9, and in secondary teacher education by a factor of 22, while the equivalent enrolment from 2000 to 2011 multiplies by 7 and by 19, respectively. In contrast, traditional universities (both public and private) expanded the number of programmes by 158% (primary teachers) and 43% (secondary teachers) in the same period, while the corresponding enrolment approximately doubled.

The described trends in the institutional field of teacher education by the end of the 1990s and early 2000s began raising serious concerns at traditional universities, and in the policy arena, about who was being selected for teacher education and the nature of the providing institutions and programmes. For the next decade and a half, the politics and policies for education have focused on attempts to address a quality agenda that rests on introducing regulatory and support schemes where for a long period there had been none.

POLITICAL DEBATES, DIAGNOSES AND PROPOSALS

What condition becomes a problem is of the essence in the relationships between politics, expert knowledge and policy-making (Reich 1988; Kingdon 2003). Regarding teacher education, although the government of President Frei Ruiz-Tagle had prioritised a programme to improve faculties of education in 1998 (Avalos 2002), Chilean politics did not see this as a problem until the mid-2000s, when different critical diagnoses about the sector coincided with a secondary-student social movement that changed the agenda in educational politics in the winter of 2006. Indeed, the '*Ping***ü***ino* movement' (Donoso 2010)[21] forced as a major problem into the agenda of a just inaugurated government (of President Michelle Bachelet), the institutional basis of the schooling system, for the first time since the *big-bang* pro-choice and markets reform of the 1980s, leading the government to convene a large Presidential Advisory Commission in 2006 to compile proposals for change, including teacher education. This had been preceded by another national commission on the issue of teacher education in 2005, and was to be followed by yet another government-convened commission in 2010. These instances of public debate and policy proposal shall be briefly referred to, and attempt to identify how these issues evolved and the 'specification of alternatives' (Kingdon 2003) on which policies for teacher education have recently developed.

An identifiable landmark in the process of making the political arena turn to teacher education and identifying it as a strategic factor in education is the 'red light' meaning of a foreign report. In 2004, at the request of the government, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) produced an assessment of the country's educational policies during the 1990s. The report abundantly substantiated a fundamental critique of how Chile was preparing its teachers. The report found systematic weaknesses in disciplinary knowledge among primary teachers, and a consistent disconnect between disciplinary knowledge preparation and pedagogical

knowledge preparation at universities. According to this diagnosis, universities were not preparing new teachers for teaching the reformed curriculum and the country had a major *capacity gap* in the teaching force.

> The weak coupling between reforms and initial teacher education helps create a major 'capacity gap' in the teaching force. This puts most pupils in the country into classrooms with teachers who, through no fault of their own, have been inadequately prepared to teach mathematics, language and other subjects at the standard by the new Chilean curriculum. Large salary increases for teachers in the 1990s have begun to attract much higher achieving high school graduates into education faculties. But the teacher education curriculum in universities does not seem to be keeping pace in providing stronger subject matter preparation or linking pedagogical courses to the new curriculum. (OECD 2004, 267)

The report had an impact on Chile's policy arena, the media and the student movement.[22]

Commission on initial teacher training – 2005

In June 2005, the Ministry of Education convened a commission on initial teacher training to propose the basis for a national policy on the area. In terms of its composition, the commission was consistently 'intra-field', with a predominance of deans and academics from the faculties of traditional state universities. Its diagnosis coincided with the main points of the OECD report about the lack of sufficient disciplinary knowledge in primary teaching preparation, the deficit of linkages between universities and schools, and the absence of state regulations regarding the proliferation of institutions and programmes of questionable quality (Comisión Formación Inicial 2005). The report of the commission proposed (i) that primary teachers should have a disciplinary specialisation, (ii) that universities should strengthen their linkages with schools in order to promote better clinical practices, and (iii) the self-evaluation of institutions, within the general framework of a national and mandatory system of accreditation of the quality of institutions and programmes. Additionally, the final report of the commission recommended the use of standards for the orientation of curricular reforms of the sector. Regarding national examinations or certification by national bodies of prospective teachers, the report was non-committal, arguing the need to: 'open a discussion on the possibility of creating an examination of new teachers, as a requirement for recruitment in the publicly subsidized school system' (Comisión Formación Inicial 2005, 79).

Presidential Advisory Council for Quality Education – 2006

A second instance of public deliberation and proposal on teacher education took place between June and December 2006 under the mentioned Presidential Advisory Council for Quality Education, convened by President Bachelet at the end of the secondary students' protest and as a way of channelling the movement's political demands (Cox 2007b). On teacher education, the Advisory Council[23] proposed three lines of action: a national regulatory body for teacher education, with power to authorise the opening of new careers, to accredit existing careers and to establish the conditions for entry to practise the teaching profession; a system of national examinations to be taken by prospective teachers in their final year at university as a qualifying requisite to practise teaching; and a proposal for the disciplinary specialisation of primary teachers that addressed the still unanswered anomaly (constituted 35 years before) of a framework that prepared and certified teachers for working in all areas of the school curriculum for eight grades (Consejo Asesor Presidencial 2006).

The Council reached agreement on the first and the third of the mentioned proposals. The exams for education school leavers were opposed by deans of education and student leaders, as well as by representatives of the right-wing coalition, on grounds of the universities' freedom to choose their educational projects (Consejo Asesor Presidencial 2006, 201).

Experts Panel – 2010

It took another four years and a different political context for the same ideas to be proposed again to the government, now by an Experts Panel, convened in 2010 by the minister of education of the just-elected government of President Sebastián Piñera, the first right-wing government to be elected in more than 50 years.[24]

In its report, the panel proposed a strong public regulatory framework for teacher education, which starkly contrasted with the precedent decades of radical laissez faire promoted by the Right's coalition. The mainstays of the proposed strong public framework were: in the medium term, teacher education should select its students from the upper third of the university applicants' distribution; programmes that do not comply with strong accreditation criteria should stop receiving state support, and if after two opportunities to improve do not obtain the required level, should stop functioning entirely; mandatory national high-stake qualifying examinations for employment as teachers in the publicly financed schooling system; and

technical and financial state support schemes for accredited faculties of education to renew their academics and curricula and strengthen their linkages with schools, so as to achieve mandatory national standards (on which the examinations should be based).[25]

There is a pattern in how the issues and solutions evolved, as delivered by the different instances of government-convened deliberation processes. Firstly, all three were reacting to the unregulated nature – and, in a way, wild growth – in the field of teacher education, spurred by the 'academic capitalism' that had ruled since the 1980s and that by the mid-2000s all parties concerned assessed as in high need of regulation. Secondly, each of these successive efforts offered clearer specification of alternatives and increasingly stronger recommendations, as the rounds of deliberation accumulated evidence and ideas, and as the different coalitions confronted each other and struggled to reach agreement. In no issue is this process clearer than with regard to the acceptance or not of the idea of having national examinations for university teacher students: the 2005 commission did not go beyond the notion of 'opening the discussion' on the initiative; the 2006 Presidential Council argued the need for, and proposed, although by a majority vote only, that such national certification of newly prepared teachers had to take place; finally, the 2010 Experts Panel, uniting Right and centre-Left policy-makers rather than teacher educators, agreed to a strong and coherent version on the value and need for the assessment of teachers entering the profession. This agreement was based on the Right's conversion to the need for a regulatory framework for the sector.

From 2010 to 2014, four consecutive bills put forward by two different governments[26] aimed at regulating not only the selection and education of teachers but also their employment and career prospects. They aimed to institutionalise different versions of the regulations proposed by the referred politically cross-cutting commissions, but none has so far gained sufficient support in parliament to complete the law-making process, revealing the intractability of the interests at stake and that perhaps there is still some way to go in collective learning about 'both the nature of the problem to be solved and the workability of potential solutions' (Bardach 2006, 350).

Implemented public policy initiatives seeking to affect the quality of teacher education throughout the mid-1990s and to date have been varied and rich. There is no space here to give account of the range of approaches and tools resorted to, and the pattern of their progress and results. The main points will be outlined, in order to make visible the increasing weight as well as the nature of the external pressures exerted on university faculties of education to change.

Since 1998 – when the government launched a programme to support quality-oriented reforms in 17 faculties of education (Avalos 2002) – and until the present amidst prolonged and heated political debate of bills to strongly regulate the sector, there have been four distinguishable streams of implemented policies. Chronologically: first, four consecutive government programmes to support competitively selected faculties of education, which started in 1998 as financially and technically backed 'invitations to change' and evolved to tighter 'performance contracts', positively affecting about a third of the relevant field (Cox et al. 2014; Avalos 2014); second, after three years of parliamentary debate and fierce confrontation between pro-regulation and pro-freedom of institutions positions, a law was passed in 2006 on the accreditation of higher education institutions and programmes. The law is a statutory quality-assurance mechanism applicable to all faculties of education, but lukewarm in nature (a direct result of the quasi draw of forces at the basis of its transactional political origin), as non-accredited institutions did not face high consequences and the criteria and mechanisms for accreditation are weak (Domínguez 2015); third, a robust and effective scheme of scholarships to attract highly qualified university applicants to education careers, put in place in 2010; finally, and most importantly, the drafting of national content standards for teacher education, defining what teachers should know and be able to do, enacted in 2011 as 'orientations', together with the implementation of national voluntary examinations for student teachers in the 2008–12 period.

In this way, policies have sought to change, through government tools of different reach and power, the pressure–support mix proposed by contemporary theories of change in education (Hood & Margetts 2006; Barber & Mourshed 2007; Fullan & Hargreaves 2012), effectively stopping and starting to reverse the expansion of the sector, improving its selectivity and arguably enhancing processes of change in approximately a fifth of teacher education institutions.

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ON TEACHER EDUCATION AND ITS IMPACT

A survey of 1300 publications by the educational research field in Chile from 1995 to 2007 places 'initial and continuous teacher education' as the second most studied topic, at 14% of the total (CIDE & MINEDUC 2007). Analysis of 82 studies of teacher education in the same period by Cisternas discovered that the predominant focus was more on students than on teacher educators,

and that the least-studied dimension was the knowledge communicated during the education and training process (Cisternas 2011). This raises questions about the relevance of this type of research as well as about institutional conditions in faculties of education that do not favour research allowing critical self-examination. To this may be applied Labaree's characterisation of this type of research as 'thoroughly rural and divergent' (Beecher 1989), where 'researchers cannot build towers on the foundations laid by others because these foundations are always being reconstructed' and 'research work is spread thinly over a wide area as individuals and groups continually work at rethinking the most basic issues in the field and as they each pursue their own interpretive approaches' (Labaree 1998, 7).

As of the late 2000s, this situation has arguably started to change, as marked government interest in the sector and the articulation of subsequent national commissions as well as the array of policy initiatives sketched above have attracted interdisciplinary effort into the field. Toward the end of the last decade, the government supported the setting up of interdisciplinary and policy-oriented research centres at the leading universities in the country, some of which gave priority to teacher education in their agendas, and a more convergent output of diagnoses, measurement and interpretations of the institutions, actors, knowledge and practices in teacher education began to accumulate.[27] This research is of the mode-2 type, according to the influential typology of Gibbons, Nowotny and colleagues, meaning an orientation toward applications, systems of work and communications, which are characteristically multi-disciplinary, and responding to problems defined 'outside' the university. This contrasts with the 'within disciplines' and 'university-only' mode-1 type of knowledge production (Gibbons et al. 1994).

What is discernible in terms of research foci and contributions by this fledgling development of an answer by the research field at main universities to a politically defined major national challenge in education? If the papers presented to three consecutive congresses of this field in Chile are reviewed (CIIE 2010, 2012, 2014), together with the post-2010 output of the mentioned publicly funded new research centres, there are arguably relevant streams of knowledge production convergence and accumulation in three domains: on the expansion and stratification of teacher education institutions and programmes and the attempts by public policies to control them; on the social origins and destinations of student teachers, on which research refers both to the educational background of the student body of faculties and schools of education, who in great numbers correspond to first-generation university students, and also on which type of schools they are destined in a socially

highly stratified school system; and a body of research on the quality of the curricula, teaching practices and, more generally, the opportunities to learn offered by the diversity of institutions and programmes.

It is difficult to estimate the extent to which these bodies of knowledge are affecting policy-making and its 'specification of alternatives' in general. Specifically, though, two major policy developments have decisively rested upon capacities of this 'mode-2' research field: the drafting of content standards for teacher education at all levels (from early childhood educators to secondary education teachers), which the government asked two of the alluded-to university research centres to address (in dialogue with the main stakeholders – deans of education at traditional universities), and the construction of a national examination for education schools leavers. The exams, voluntary both for institutions and students, were taken from 2008 to 2012 and were also prepared at a major university. The field-wide results of the INICIA called examinations – both in disciplinary and pedagogical knowledge – were shockingly poor and, when made public (a government decision hotly disputed by the institutions), decisively affected the increase of public and political interest in the sector and its development,[28] as well as the distance and suspicion felt by institutions with regard to the exams, which in part explains the legislation deadlock of the past four years on this key piece of a quality-assurance framework.

If the referent for assessing the contribution by research turns from policies to the institutions attempting to address the pressures for change that surround them from every side, three major publicly funded R&D projects should be mentioned because of their explicit focus on producing relevant new means for assisting change in university teacher education. Each one of them aims to contribute to a new knowledge basis for the preparation of teachers. The first initiative is an online video-clip repository featuring authentic good practices by teachers in mathematics and Spanish-language classes, from the fifth to the eighth grade. The lessons were carefully selected from a total of 1483 examined videos of lessons performed by teachers participating in the teaching assessment and teacher accreditation programmes implemented by the Ministry of Education country-wide, and explained in their features for teacher preparation purposes (Preiss et al. 2014).[2]. The second, led by one of the most recognised groups of mathematicians in the country, produced a set of tools for preparing high-school teachers in mathematics (consisting of 15 books that attempt tackling each mathematical topic of the school curriculum from the viewpoint of the needs of a student teacher), and introduced the case study methodology in the syllabi of a

group of participant faculties of education (Felmer 2005).[30] The third is more system-wide in its purpose, as it designed and successfully implemented – with cooperation by a handful of representative teacher education university faculties – an institution self-applied survey to retrieve evidence on what is actually being offered as 'opportunities to learn' to its students. The 'tool' in this case is an online survey for teacher educators and for teacher candidates in the last year of their course of studies, made freely available to any teacher education institution in the country (Cox et al. 2011). The instrument allows precise identification of the nature and extension of the opportunities to learn provided to teacher candidates, and the assessment of their alignment with the national standards for graduated teachers. The nature of the experiences to learn about subject knowledge, pedagogic content knowledge and knowledge of general pedagogy are retrieved in detail by the survey, and the results allow the distinguishing of whether such experiences have been closer to the *practice* of the subject and its specific pedagogy, or were instead dominated by *theoretical* or *discursive* approaches (lecturing, reading, discussing). During 2014, 27 teacher education schools from northern, central and southern Chile took part in this survey. One year later, they received the reports on the profile of opportunities to learn from their programme, according to the perceptions of their students. The survey was carried out and is managed by two teacher education programmes, one based at Universidad Católica de Chile and the other at Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educación. Each of the 27 programmes has web-facilitated access to its own results, and no comparisons or rankings will be published. The purpose of the study is to provide information for each teacher education programme to use as feedback for the development process they may be involved in. What is promising with regard to this nationwide project is the involvement of teacher educators in its design and application, and that the information produced will not only shed light on teacher preparation in representative institutions, but also has the potential of fostering a stronger knowledge basis of teacher education actors and institutions about their own performance, as they self-monitor the bridging of the gap between their implemented curriculum and the relevant national standards. This in turn has the potential of developing collective professional responsibility as the necessary basis for external accountability (Fullan et al. 2015).

Finally, and connected with the 'opportunities to learn' project, it is important to mention an international comparative research effort, the Coherence and Assignments in Teacher Education (CATE) study, a four-year research endeavour that examines the nature of teacher education

classroom practice in eight programmes across five countries (Chile, Cuba, Finland, Norway and the US) (Hammerness & Klette 2015). The way in which *practice* and its formative value is conceived in this project redefines it profoundly, since the assumption is that the preparation of a new teacher will not emerge just from gluing their observations of schools and their usually abrupt immersion in them with the theoretical studies at the university. According to the project's approach (Grossman et al. 2008), in order to learn to be a teacher, teacher education programmes need to embrace the 'pedagogies of practice' and carefully tailor for their students a path that transits from modelling specific practices for them and coaching them while they rehearse these practices in a safe environment, before they actually are exposed to enacting them in authentic school settings. In this view, this path offers the backbone to connect practice to theory that is relevant to understanding and to supporting said practice. The degree of coherence of the programmes, as perceived by student teachers, the opportunities to enact and rehearse teacher practices offered in the courses at campus, and the type of assignments that are required are some of the matters of study of this project, whose analytical instruments are currently being used in the reform process of the Faculty of Education at the Catholic University of Chile (Meckes 2015).

FEATURES AND TRENDS IN THE STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION OF TEACHER EDUCATION

The existing structure of teacher education in Chile is the result of the path that set its trajectory four decades ago with the decree marking the end of normal schools for preparing primary-level teachers. The education of primary teachers, as it was termed in the initial section, would be on a par with the education of secondary teachers: a university education five-year degree programme (comparable to the majority of professions in the country) in which school leavers followed a course of studies that combined disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical knowledge in different curricular arrangements over ten semesters. The only variation to this structure affected secondary teacher education and began to develop in the mid-1990s, when some leading traditional universities established a consecutive model whereby two or three semesters of pedagogical preparation could only be taken after obtaining a four-year degree in some discipline. In this way, the existing teacher education structure in the country includes two models for preparing the professional basis for secondary education: an 'integrated' model (school

leavers join a five-year degree programme that combines disciplinary and pedagogical knowledge), and the previously mentioned consecutive model.

Two policy-based trends are at present affecting this structure. The first aims to shorten the course of study from five to four years, based on international evidence on predominant practices in higher education in general (the EU Tuning programme, and its definitions, has been an important benchmark for this). Policies in this area intervene only through incentives, since no mandatory norm has been established to regulate the length of the different careers. The second trend is bringing to an end the anomaly mentioned in the historical section of this chapter, namely pretending to prepare teachers well for teaching seven or nine areas of the school curriculum throughout eight grades. This is connected to a major redefinition of the schooling structure in the country, from an eight-year primary education and four-year secondary education to a 6–6 structure,[3], and government publication of national standards that define what a teacher should know and be able to do in the different curriculum areas for each grade according to the new structure of the school sequence (Ministerio de Educación 2011, 2012). Indeed, the standards determine six grades as the reach of a primary generalist teacher. In addition, the standards establish that a generalist teacher should teach four areas: language, mathematics, history and sciences. All other areas of the curriculum are to be taught by area-specialists. But the standards were defined by the government as 'for guidance' and not mandatory, and the political arena has still not reached an agreement – despite four successive bill attempts – with regard to national examinations based on the referred standards for certifying teachers. Thus, the new definitions do not as yet have sufficient normative or practical weight to ensure change, although the overall policy direction is unequivocal.

If from institutions our gaze shifts to the *field* of teacher education institutions, once again, two policy-based events have recently impinged upon the structure: one effectively ending vertical differentiation, and the other potentially reducing horizontal differentiation (or the heterogeneity of university-based programmes).

Regarding the first change, in the 1980–81 structural reform of higher education the government decreed that school teaching did not belong under the newly defined university-level careers (12 of them), but was instead part of the second-tier vertically-differentiated new system, i.e. professional institutes (Brunner 2009). In practice this did not affect existing teacher education university programmes, but paved the way for the creation of programmes at the newly established professional institutes (see Table 1). In 2014, the State

Office of the Comptroller General (*Contraloría General de la República*) decreed that professional institutes could no longer legally provide education courses leading to professional certification of teachers, as these required having first completed a four-year university degree. Enrolments at *Institutos* dropped drastically and immediately (see Table 1, years 2014 and 2015). With regard to horizontal differentiation, it could be argued that quality-assurance mechanisms enacted since the law that in 2006 made accreditation mandatory for teacher education programmes, plus the setting of national standards to guide such programmes, may be acting in the direction of diminishing heterogeneity in the sector as programmes and institutions gradually move toward complying with state-defined norms and orientations, even if the former are not very demanding (as argued above regarding accreditation), and the latter are so far voluntary.

In organisational terms, faculties and schools of education in Chile have been diagnosed as particularly weak: they depend more than faculties in other areas on decisions of the university and its administrative structures, have limited or no control over the curricula for disciplinary courses, and tend to rely on schoolteachers hired on an hourly basis to teach didactic courses and supervise clinical practice (Orellana et al. 2015). This array of organisational traits makes it very difficult to attain the 'coherence-making' attributes of higher-quality teacher education institutions (Darling-Hammond 2006a; Grossman et al. 2008). Bluntly put, two pillars of teacher education and training in Chile tend to be at arms-length of a faculty without as yet a shared vision about the need to establish teacher preparation at organisations capable of the integration of different ambits of knowledge and contexts that characterise the best of them (Darling-Hammond 2006a). Thus, what manifestly predominates is a pattern showing the absence of an organisational basis for producing coherent teacher preparation: the integration of different knowledge bases that characteristically constitute the profession (disciplinary knowledge and pedagogic knowledge in a context of practice [Shulman 1987; Darling-Hammond & Bransford 2005, 2006b; Ball & Forzani 2009]) are, save notable exceptions, left to the student. Seeds of change in this area may be just being sowed, as new efforts by government to include university rectors as their counterparts in the 'performance contracts' mentioned above (in turn, the fourth attempt by policies to reach the 'within' of teacher education) have the potential to substantially amplify and strengthen the organisational basis for its improvement and reform.

POLITICAL AND PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE UNIVERSITY ROLE IN TEACHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING

In a society in which, as mentioned, participation in higher education leapt from 15% to 52% in two decades, public confidence in universities is very high and widely spread. In fact, university education in the Chilean context is seen by practically the entire otherwise deeply stratified socio-economic structure, as the most certain and accessible avenue to upward social mobility and its rewards in terms of employment and social recognition. The secondary student movement of 2006 and the university student movement of 2011, for all their critical stances against the prevailing model of education, were social movements demanding universal public financial support for university education, socially perceived as the royal route to authentic opportunities.

In this context of remarkable socio-educational change, in which seven out of ten university students are the first in their families to reach that far, schools of education have been one of the main entrance gates for those newly arriving from lower-income groups (Mizala et al. 2011). The dramatic expansion of the sector examined above is inseparable from this classic route of social mobility for daughters (nowadays more than sons) of working-class groups accessing the world of the professions through a teaching career (Floud & Scott 1992).

At the same time, the elites' critique of teacher education results, reported both by national and international studies as consistently poor, has been strong and loud, generating the observed crescendo of policy initiatives aiming to solve an issue increasingly perceived as nodal.

In 2009, on the occasion of discussion of a general law on education, a proposal to allow professionals – with any university degree for a course of eight semesters' duration – to teach in secondary education, obtained across-the-board support, thus eloquently revealing the opinion of a cross-section of the political elite about the value of the pedagogic knowledge communicated and developed at schools of education. The work of schools of education was neither attacked nor debunked, but factually judged as unnecessary for a role whose strictly pedagogical features could be acquired in practice.[32] As referred to above, a government-convened expert panel, which included key figures of the opposition, in 2010 defined the sector as strategic and in high need of public support as well as effective controls on the selection of students, the public definition (through national standards) of its content, and also public control over its final examinations and certification processes.

This account reveals the complexity and dynamism of the confidence felt by the political and economic elites in Chile in university preparation of teachers. It is transparently clear that the economic elite holds the view that pedagogical studies are not sufficiently rigorous and demanding nor effective. By contrast, the political elite nowadays overwhelmingly sees faculties of education as a strategic lynchpin for solving in the medium term the 'capacity gap' in the teaching profession diagnosed by the OECD just over a decade ago. Moreover, in the government's last wave of programmes for changing teacher education institutions, 'performance contracts' make each participating university's *rector* (and not the dean or head of the school of education) accountable for the strategy. This portrays the ambivalence of the policy-making arena regarding teacher education at universities. Their teacher education units (faculties or schools of education) are regarded as strategic and in need of special attention (otherwise no strategy for reform of the quality of the schooling system will have a firm basis). At the same time, however, after many attempts by different programmes and policies since the mid-1990s, they are judged as not able to reform or facing too daunting organisational obstacles in doing so. Consequently, confidence by the political sphere has moved up to the university institution as a whole, and its helm in particular, explicitly demanding from the latter a commitment to reform how the university prepares teachers.

In this way, Chile's recent experience in relationships between politics, policies and university preparation of teachers depicts a process of increasing demand by the political elite on universities to address the capacity agenda that defines the present phase of the country's educational development. This demand reflects confidence. At the same time, though, confidence by the political elite in schools of education rising to the challenge, as said, is uncertain. That's why the balance between pressure and support has recently tipped toward pressure; and herein also lies the answer to why this pressure, in some of its manifestations, has changed its referent from the schools of education to the universities that nestle them.

Lee Shulman has argued that there is no way in which a profession can stand its ground and develop in answering to its call in modern society without university-based knowledge and understanding.

> A profession is a practice whose agents claim is rooted in bodies of knowledge that are created, tested, elaborated, refuted, transformed, and reconstituted in colleges, universities, laboratories, and libraries. To call something a profession is to claim that it has a knowledge base in the academy broadly construed. (Shulman 2004, 531)

If anything, present demands on teaching consistently require a stronger and ampler knowledge base in each of the three domains that constitute that base: knowledge of learners and how they learn and develop; conceptions of curriculum content and goals; and understanding of teaching (Darling-Hammond & Bransford 2005, 11). Moreover, these domains need to be integrated in radically more demanding ways, as the linkages between theory and practice in teacher education and training are profoundly redefined (Hammerness & Klette 2015). These knowledge requirements expand and call for a higher-level response from universities, not its attenuation – a notion that is fully echoed by the political and policy fields of Chile. In fact, there is no doubt in any sector of Chilean society, or its politics, that the university is the key institution responsible for providing the professional basis of its school teaching corps. As noted, even for the economic elite, who do not trust schools of education and support alternatives of the *Teach for America* type,[3], teachers must come from a university-based experience with academic, i.e. theoretical, knowledge.

In the epochal conditions of post-modern sociability, culture, and a knowledge-driven and highly competitive global economic order, Chilean society and its political and policy fields nowadays are putting extraordinarily high demands on school education and its professionals to build the moral, intellectual and competency bases required to achieve the much-sought-after goals of economic development, a more integrated society, and a richer and more egalitarian democratic order. At the same time, it is evident that the sociological realities of those who are recruited to become teachers, together with the predominant institutional and curricular characteristics of their opportunities to acquire those competencies, are still marked by a history of 'last of the faculties' in universities and 'last of the professions' in society. In a way, whereas institutions are still in the path and structures of the past, society's expectations and demands, expressed through its politics and policies, define schooling as decisive for the growth and mobility of individuals and society in the new socio-economic context and consequentially conceives of, and values, teaching and its quality as strategic. The tension that this contradiction creates invades every actor and institutional arrangement concerned with teacher education nowadays in Chile, so evidently in the midst of a major transition, which impels it toward a new position, at the centre and not the margin of what society and its politics value.

References

Avalos, B. (2002). *Profesores para Chile. Historia de un Proyecto*. Santiago: Ministerio de Educación.

Avalos, B. (2014). 'La Formación Inicial Docente en Chile: Tensiones entre Políticas de Apoyo y Control'. *Estudios Pedagógicos*, XL:1, 11–28.

Avalos, B. & Matus, C. (2010). 'La Formación Inicial Docente en Chile desde una Óptica Internacional'. *Informe Nacional del Estudio Internacional IEA TEDS-M*. Santiago: Ministerio de Educación.

Ball, D.L. & Forzani, F.M. (2009). 'The Work of Teaching and the Challenge for Teacher Education'. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 60:5, 497–511.

Barber, M. & Mourshed, M. (2007). *How the World's Best Performing School Systems Come Out on Top*. London: McKinsey.

Bardach, E. (2006). 'Policy Dynamics'. In M. Moran, M. Rein & R.E. Goodin, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 336–66.Beecher, T. (1989). *Academies Tribes and Territories. Intellectual Enquiry and the Culture of Disciplines*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Brunner, J.J. (2009). *Educación Superior en Chile: Instituciones, Mercados y Políticas Gubernamentales (1967–2007)*. Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales.

Brunner, J.J. (2015). 'Medio Siglo de Transformaciones de la Educación Superior Chilena: Un Estado del Arte'. In A. Bernasconi, ed. *La Educación Superior de Chile. Transformación, Desarrollo y Crisis*. Santiago: CEPPE, Ediciones Universidad Católica.

CIDE & Mineduc (2007). *Estado del Arte de la Investigación y Desarrollo en Educación en Chile* (Versión Digital). Santiago: Ministerio de Educación.

CIIE (2010, 2012, 2014). Congreso Interdisciplinario de Investigación en Educación. Papers from Third Interdisciplinary Education Research Conference. www.ciie2014.cl

Cisternas, T. (2011). 'La Investigación sobre Formación Docente en Chile. Territorios Explorados e Inexplorados'. *Calidad en Educación*, 35: Diciembre, 131–64.

Comisión Formación Inicial (2005). *Informe Comisión sobre Formación Inicial Docente*. Santiago: Ministerio de Educación.

Consejo Asesor Presidencial (2006). *Consejo Asesor Presidencial para la Calidad de la Educación*. Informe Final Santiago: Ministerio de Educación.

Cox, C. (1984). 'Continuity, Conflict and Change in State Education in Chile: A Study of the Pedagogic Projects of the Christian Democrat and the Popular Unity Governments'. PhD thesis, Institute of Education, University of London. In *Collected Original Resources in Education (CORE)*, 10:2.

Cox, C. (2007a). 'Niveles del Sistema Escolar y Formación de Profesores: Fallas Estructurales e Implicancias de la Inacción'. In J.J. Brunner & C. Peña, eds. *La Reforma del Sistema Escolar: Aportes para el Debate*. Santiago: Universidad Adolfo Ibañez, Universidad Diego Portales.

Cox, C. (2007b). 'Educación en el Bicentenario: Dos Agendas y la Calidad de la Política'. *Pensamiento Educativo*, 40:1.

Cox, C. & Gysling, J. (1990). *La Formación del Profesorado en Chile 1842–1987*. Santiago: CIDE.

Cox, C., Meckes, L., Aylwin, P., Orellana, R. & Bascopé, M. (2011). *FONDEF Project D11I1109, Elaboración, Validación y Aplicación de Instrumentos de Diagnóstico de Oportunidades de*

Aprendizaje para el Logro de los Estándares Nacionales en la Formación de Profesores de Educación Básica. Santiago de Chile: CONICYT–FONDEF.

Cox, C., Meckes, L. & Bascopé, M. (2014). 'Teacher Education Policies in Chile: From Invitation to Prescription'. In R. Bruno-Jofré & J. Scott-Johnston, eds. *Teacher Education in a Transnational World*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Cox, C., Meckes, L., Bascopé, M. & Hurtado, C. (2015). 'Formación de Profesores: Evolución de las Instituciones, los Problemas y las Políticas'. In C. Cox & L. Meckes, eds. *Formación de Profesores en Chile: Nudos y Oportunidades para su Transformación*. Santiago: CEPPE, Ediciones Universidad Católica.

Darling-Hammond, L. & Bransford, J., eds (2005). *Preparing Teachers for a Changing World*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2006a). *Powerful Teacher Education. Lessons from Exemplary Programmes*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2006b). 'Constructing 21st Century Teacher Education'. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 57:3, 315–25.

Domínguez, M. (2015). 'Acreditación de las Carreras de Pedagogía: Debilidades del Sistema de Aseguramiento de la Calidad'. In C. Cox & L. Meckes, eds. *Formación de Profesores en Chile: Nudos y Oportunidades para su Transformación*. Santiago: CEPPE, Ediciones Universidad Católica.

Donoso, S. (2010). *Dynamics of Change: The Chilean Pingüino Movement and its Impact on the Education Agenda*. MPhil thesis. Oxford: Oxford University.

Felmer, P. (2005). *FONDEF Project N° D05I10211, Herramientas para la Formación de Profesores en Matemáticas*. Santiago: CONICYT–FONDEF.

Floud, J. & Scott, W. (1992). 'Recruitment to Teaching in England and Wales'. In A.H. Halsey, J. Floud & C.A. Anderson, eds. *Education, Economy and Society*. Glencoe: The Free Press.

Fullan, M. & Hargreaves, A. (2012). *Professional Capital. Transforming Teaching in Every School*. New York and Toronto: Teachers College Press & Ontario Principals' Council.

Fullan, M., Rincon-Gallardo, S. & Hargreaves, A. (2015). 'Professional Capital as Accountability'. Education Policy Analysis Archives, 23:15. http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v23.1998

Gibbons, M., Nowotny, H., Limoges, C., Trow, M., Schwartzman, S. & Scott, P. (1994). *The New Production of Knowledge: The Dynamics of Science and Research in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage Publications.

Grossman, P., Hammerness, K., McDonald, M. & Ronfeldt, M. (2008). 'Constructing Coherence. Structural Predictors of Perceptions of Coherence in NYC Teacher Education Programmes'. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 59:4.

Hammerness, K. & Klette, K. (2015). 'Indicators of Quality in Teacher Education: Looking at Features of Teacher Education from an International Perspective'. In G. LeTendre and A. Wiseman, eds. *Promoting and Sustaining a Quality Teaching Workforce*. Bingley: Emerald Press.

Hood, C. & Margetts H.Z. (2006). *The Tools of Government in the Digital Age*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kingdon, J. (2003). *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. 2nd edition. New York: Longman.

Jongbloed, B. (2003). 'Marketisation in Higher Education. Clark's Triangle and the Essential Ingredients of Markets'. *Higher Education Quarterly*, 57:2, 110–35.

Labarca, A. (1939). *Historia de la Enseñanza en Chile*. Santiago: Editorial Universitaria.
Labaree, D.F. (1998). 'Educational Researchers: Living with a Lesser Form of Knowledge'. *Educational Researcher*, 27:8, 4–12.
Labaree, D.F. (2004). *The Trouble with Ed Schools*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Meckes, L., ed. (2015). *Oportunidades de Aprendizaje en la Formación de Profesores*. Santiago: CEPPE, Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile.
Millas, J. (2012). *Idea y Defensa de la Universidad*. Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales.
Mizala, A., Hernández, T. & Makovec, M. (2011). *Determinantes de la Elección y Deserción en la Carrera de Pedagogía. FONIDE Project N° F511059*. Santiago de Chile: Ministerio de Educación–Programa FONIDE.
Ministerio de Educación (2011). *Estándares Orientadores para Egresados de Carreras de Pedagogía en Educación Básica*. Santiago: Ministerio de Educación.
Ministerio de Educación (2012). *Estándares Orientadores para Carreras de Pedagogía en Educación Media*. Santiago: Ministerio de Educación.
Montecinos, C. (2014). 'Análisis Crítico de las Medidas de Presión Propuestas para Mejorar la Formación Inicial de Docentes en Chile por el Panel de Expertos para una Educación de Calidad'. *Estudios Pedagógicos*, XL:1, 285–301.
Nuñez, I. (2010). 'Escuelas Normales: Una Historia Larga y Sorprendente. Chile (1842–1973)'. *Revista Pensamiento Educativo*, 46–7. Santiago: Facultad de Educación, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.
OECD (2004). *Reviews of National Policies for Education: Chile*. Paris: OECD.
OECD (2005). *Teachers Matter: Attracting, Developing and Retaining Effective Teachers*. Paris: OECD.
Orellana, R., Bascopé, M. & Cox, C. (2015). 'Capacidades Organisacionales para el Cambio en Carreras Formadoras de Profesores'. In C. Cox & L. Meckes, eds. *Formación de Profesores en Chile: Nudos y Oportunidades para su Transformación*. Santiago de Chile: CEPPE, Ediciones Universidad Católica.
Panel Experto (2010). *Informe Panel de Expertos para una Educación de Calidad*. Santiago: Ministerio de Educación.
Perl, M. (2010). 'Uniformidad, Centralismo y Calidad: el Instituto Pedagógico y las Provincias'. *Revista Pensamiento Educativo*, 46–7. Santiago: Facultad de Educación, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.
Preiss, D., Calcagni, E., Espinoza A.Ma., Gómez, D., Grau, V., Guzmán, V., Müller, M., Ramírez, F. & Volante, P. (2014). 'Good Pedagogical Practices Observed in Middle-School Level Lessons in Chile'. *PSYKHE*, 23:2, 1–12.
Reich, R., ed. (1988). *The Power of Public Ideas*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Shulman, L.S. (1987). 'Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform'. *Harvard Educational Review*, 57:1, 1–23.
Shulman, L. (2004). 'Theory, Practice and the Education of Professionals'. *The Wisdom of Practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

12 The missions and meanders of teacher education in South Africa

Irma Eloff

HISTORY OF TEACHER EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The provenance of teacher education in South Africa can be traced back to 1737 when the Moravian Missionary Society established a mission station at Baviaanskloof. The staff of this mission worked among the Khoikhoi and provided religious education, some agricultural training, and instruction in written and spoken Dutch (Kallaway 1984; Katzenellenbogen 1988; Behr & Macmillan 1971). Early missionary activity in South Africa was exclusively Protestant, and Dutch was the common language of communication and instruction in missions (Katzenellenbogen 1988). During the Dutch era in the Cape (1652–1806), the concerns of the church and educational activities were closely related. It was only the School Ordnance of J.A. de Mist in 1806 that separated the operation of the Cape's public schools from the interests of the church (De Villiers 2012).

In 1806 the name of the mission station at Baviaanskloof was changed to Genadendal, which means the 'valley of grace' (Soudien & Menon 2010). In March 1808 the government commissioned the Moravians to build another mission station on the farm De Kleine Post, also known as Groenekloof, and on its adjacent properties of Cruijwagenskraal and Louwskloof. This new mission station attracted many Khoikhoi from the surrounding farms while, after 1839, an influx of newly liberated slaves arrived at Groenekloof. All of these people became active in the life and the work of the mission (Katzenellenbogen 1988).

In 1833 a school had been started in Groenekloof and local candidates with suitable aptitudes were trained as teachers (Katzenellenbogen 1988). In

1854 Groenekloof was renamed Mamre, and it still stands today as a national monument in the Western Cape.

A Department of Education was established in the Cape in 1839 under the control of an official designated as the Superintendent-General of Public Education (Soudien & Menon 2010). Shortly after this, in 1842, a system of 'pupil teachers' was introduced into the system. In terms of this system, children who performed well in reading, writing and arithmetic received additional tuition in the afternoons in English, Dutch, reading, writing, arithmetic and school management so that they would eventually be able to assist established teachers in the infant classrooms (Soudien & Menon 2010).

In 1841 the Glasgow Missionary Society also started to train teachers and evangelists at Lovedale in the Eastern Cape province. Strongly influenced by contemporary Protestant ideals in the United Kingdom, the missionary staff of Lovedale inculcated habits of hard work, obedience, duty and discipline into their students. A small number of especially promising African students from Lovedale were also given the opportunity at various times to complete university degrees in Glasgow (University of Glasgow's International Story Blog 2012; Hartshorne 1992).

Similar institutions were set up in various parts of the Cape province in subsequent years. At Healdtown, for example, the staff of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society modelled their teacher training on that of the traditional école normale in France and Switzerland. These combined influences from the United Kingdom, Switzerland and France placed a strong emphasis on training both children and teachers to occupy 'proper' places in society in terms of the contemporary European educational models that the missionaries had adopted. Needless to say, Western influences became predominant in all these missions (Lewis & Steyn 2003; Hartshorne 1992).

In the more northern parts of the country beyond the Cape, denominational influences were more diverse. Such influences included those exercised in the Swiss Mission, the Berlin Lutheran Mission, and Methodist and Anglican missions (Lewis & Steyn 2003; Hartshorne 1992; The Archival Platform 2013). These northern missions championed the use of mother-tongue instruction and also encouraged students to maintain strong ties to their indigenous communities. In the Orange Free State Republic, there were three teacher-training institutions and in Natal there were four. When the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek (the South African Republic) was established in August 1881, the vice-president of the republic, Paul Kruger, moved his residence to Pretoria so that he could more easily promote education and take part in local republican politics (Grobler 2012). When he was elected

president of the republic in May 1883, he pursued a policy of stimulating the republic's economy by investing in education, industry and infrastructure.

Teacher education in South Africa in the nineteenth century resulted in a very limited collaboration between educational institutions with regard to curricula, assessment practices and required qualifications (Van der Walt 1992; Hartshorne 1992). This was not so much a matter of policy as an inevitable result of the limitations of nineteenth-century communications and modes of operation. It was customary among colonial educators at the time to establish small widely separated, mostly rural missions that were charged with the prosecution of teacher education. While the work of missions in the nineteenth century in South Africa remains a contested field in academic discussions (Van der Walt 1992), their impact on teacher education was nevertheless significant.

When South Africa became a Union in 1910, the South Africa Act of 1909 (South Africa 1910) divided education into (1) higher education, which would be under control of the central government, and (2) education, which was the responsibility of each of the four provinces (Soudien & Menon 2010). Teacher education emphasised the importance of instruction and the roles that teachers needed to play in literacy and numeracy in elementary schools. The pastoral (religious) role of teachers was also regarded as an essential aspect of teacher training and responsibility.

Unfortunately, however, the terms of the Act did not define 'higher education' adequately (Soudien & Menon 2010, 7). Because of this, the minister of education at the time convened a conference to elucidate and interpret the term 'higher education'. The result of this was a recommendation that teacher-training colleges should remain under the control of provincial education departments while still remaining a part of higher education (Rose & Tunmer 1975). In many ways, this debate about who possesses legitimate jurisdiction over teacher education continues to this day.

In the years between 1910 and 1948, from the beginning of the Union to the accession and establishment of the National Party as the governing party, an American influence on teacher education in South Africa became predominant. When Dr C.T. Loram returned from the Teachers College at Columbia University in New York in 1917, he brought with him a number of distinctively American influences such as the concept of 'education for life', periods of supervised teaching practice, and in-service teacher education, which he introduced into Natal, where he worked. But most importantly, Loram advocated drastic improvements in standards of English teaching, arguing that impaired English-language proficiency meant that much of the instruction

received by students was lost in South African classrooms because of difficulties in comprehension (Lewis & Steyn 2003; Hartshorne 1992).

In the years before the Second World War, teacher education in South Africa consisted of two basic two-year qualifications: the post standard 6 Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate (LPTC), and the post standard 8 Higher Primary Teachers' Certificate (HPTC). While most practising teachers at the time had graduated with the LPTC, both these programmes later became the foundations for teacher education programmes in the 1960s and 1970s. Each of them offered courses in Theory of Education, Educational Psychology, General Method, Practice Teaching, Mother Tongue Language Studies (in either English or Afrikaans) and Arithmetic. They also included courses in Health Education, General Science, Social Studies, Religious Instruction, Physical Education, Music, Arts and Crafts, Gardening and Needlework (Hartshorne 1992).

The period between 1935 and 1948 saw the establishment of teacher-training colleges in all four of the South African provinces. Student enrolment in these colleges was fairly high, and all of the colleges practised an intentional emancipation from former missionary modes of teacher education (Lewis & Steyn 2003; Hartshorne 1992). In subsequent years, the National Party government instituted separate educational systems for different races. The Education Act of 1953 gave the government absolute power over all schools in South Africa, including missionary schools. This racially segregated education system resulted in an immediate reduction in the number of black teachers enrolling for teacher training. Between 1954 and 1961 the total number of education students dropped from 8817 to 5908, and the student–teacher ratio in black schools increased from 40:1 in 1953 to 50:1 in 1960 (Scher 2012).

Segregation in schools was paralleled by segregation in teacher-training colleges (Soudien & Menon 2010). Significant differences were permitted between teacher-training colleges in terms of entrance requirements, the quality of curricula, the quality of facilities and the exit levels for various qualifications. As a result of these differences, the qualifications of teachers in black and coloured schools were often much poorer in general than those of white teachers (Soudien & Menon 2010). The baneful residual effects of these discrepancies, which were allowed to develop and become entrenched between the 1950s and the 1990s in South African education, are still evident today.

THE NATIONAL CONTEXT

The current theory and practice of teacher education in South Africa has been strongly influenced by South Africa's emerging democracy since 1994. This period of more than two decades of democracy has witnessed enormous social transformation in all sectors of South African society. The education sector has been particularly strongly transformed by these political changes. School curricula have been radically transformed, and this has necessitated substantial changes in the way that teachers need to be educated. On the tertiary level, institutions have been merged, incorporated and restructured across the country.

CLOSURE OF TEACHER-TRAINING COLLEGES

One of the most significant changes in teacher education has been the closure of teacher-training colleges and the incorporation of some teacher-training colleges into faculties and schools of education at universities. During the late 1990s and early 2000s, 102 public teacher-training colleges, 20 universities and 15 technikons were combined in various ways, with the result that only 23 tertiary institutions remain. In real terms, this meant that the capacity of the tertiary sector to educate teachers has been significantly reduced. Many teacher-training colleges were closed and others were incorporated into faculties and schools of education in universities. This has radically affected teacher education in South Africa.

While the closure of teacher-training colleges was designed to address problems of inefficiency and high costs, such closures inadvertently created a new set of challenges and obstacles for teacher education in South Africa. Its main impact was that it made teaching as a profession much more unattractive in the perceptions of possible entrants to the profession and in the eyes of the public as a whole. By diminishing the status of the profession in this way, such mergers and closures resulted in a significant decline in the number of enrolments in teacher education programmes (Soudien & Menon 2010). Although a number of concerted efforts have been made since the mid-2000s to redress the problems of supply and demand in the profession, there was still a shortfall in the supply of properly qualified teachers in 2005 (DoE 2005).

The historical and practical differences between teacher education at universities and in colleges of education are still evident in most teacher

education programmes today. At universities, for example, teacher education tends to be more theoretical, with an emphasis on content knowledge and theoretical mastery. In colleges of education, by contrast, a much stronger emphasis was placed on the practical and technical skills required by practising teachers, and the preparation of teachers in colleges by means of sustained practical experience in actual teaching situations remained central to the whole enterprise (Soudien & Menon 2010). This unnecessary dichotomy, which had its roots in the history of teacher education in South Africa, was compounded by the fact that all faculties and schools of education were relocated to sites of teacher-training colleges during the processes of merging and incorporation. The subsequent geographic distances of faculties of education from their universities created a number of pragmatic challenges. In some instances, these faculties of education are now situated just across the road from their former buildings, while at others there are considerable distances between campuses. In addition to this, the content-versus-technical-knowledge debate has meant that education staff must in many instances teach subjects. In instances where faculties of education have attempted to retain subject expertise in 'mother disciplines' from partner faculties such as natural sciences, humanities, economics and business sciences, there have been resource implications on both sides.

Quality teaching, though, depends both on (1) how knowledgeable a teacher is about his or her subject, and (2) how skilled the teacher is in the methodology of teaching a subject effectively by using sound didactic methods, frequent assessment, and the creation and implementation of supportive learning environments. Instead of frequent engagement in the either/or debate, those who teach education programmes and their students would be much better served if both subject expertise and methodological expertise were regarded as equally important. While a skilled subject expert may be unable to facilitate the praxis of learning in children, a teacher with limited subject expertise may be equally detrimental to children's learning no matter how expert they might be in the implementation of practical teaching methods.

In addition to fuelling the content-versus-technical-knowledge debate, the incorporation of teacher-training colleges has also affected staff and morale in faculties and schools of education. While most academic staff members from faculties of education have retained their positions during incorporation, academics from teacher-training colleges witnessed the retrenchments of many of their friends and long-time colleagues. The opprobrium caused by these traumatic professional experiences still lingers today within the

hallways of faculties and schools of education (Becker et al. 2004). But its effects in some cases have also been positive because they have demonstrated how resilient academics from former teacher colleges can be: some have risen to the challenges of research demands at universities and have continued to be champions for excellence in teaching and learning. Academics from universities on the other hand have often been appointed as postgraduate supervisors for colleagues from former teacher colleges, which has done much to bridge divides and create goodwill. This situation may, however, have perpetuated power imbalances in collegial relationships within faculties of education. Academics from universities have also, to some extent, resisted high teaching loads so that they might have time to engage in research activities and postgraduate supervision. All these factors have perpetuated historical 'differences' and potential points of friction within faculties of education.

MULTI-LINGUISM

Other factors in South Africa that have influenced teacher education are the policies that education authorities have adopted with regard to mother-tongue education or *multi-linguism*. After 1994, and with the adoption of a new constitution in 1996, parliament authorised 11 official languages with equal rights and status – a reflection of the 'rainbow nation' concept that was prevalent at the time. Although this inclusive approach to languages has been applauded by many, the practical implementation of language policies has left many people feeling deeply unhappy because languages are deeply embedded in the existing cultural, social, historical and political matrixes of population groups. Languages exist with long and complex histories that affect every aspect of human life.

In 1997 the former Department of Education adopted the Language in Education Policy. This policy was refined in 2002 with the promulgation of the Revised National Curriculum Statement. The core principle of this statement was the intention to maintain the use of each student's home language as the language of instruction while also providing access to additional languages. Although the use of the home language as the medium of instruction was especially emphasised in the early years (DoE 2006), in subsequent years the way in which the relevant policies have been put into practice has caused great unhappiness.

In teacher education, the lack of clarity and momentum in matters of mother-tongue education has had dire effects as indigenous African

languages have all but disappeared from many teacher education programmes. Collaboration between faculties of education and departments of African languages have furthermore slowly disappeared, and even Afrikaans (formerly one of the dominant languages within teacher education) has been sidelined in some faculties of education.

The effects of these inadequate and divisive measures on the education system have been twofold:

First, they have actually *reduced* opportunities for mother-tongue instruction for vast numbers of South African children in a period when many children gained access to quality education for the first time. Training institutions were, in addition, simply not producing teachers who could teach in their own indigenous language(s). The argument adduced at this time was that investment in mother-tongue instruction would simply be too expensive in the long run, even as empirical evidence provided evidence to the contrary (Heugh 1994, 1997, 2002). It was also maintained at the time (a popular perception even now) that education in English would automatically result in economic empowerment for students in later life. This anecdotal argument was used as a rationale for favouring English as a dominant medium of instruction. And since many parents were placing their children in schools where English was the language of instruction, this often meant that teachers were teaching in a language that was their own second or third or even fourth language – to children who had very little English-speaking ability. This challenge was particularly acute at the primary-school level. Training institutions in the meantime continued to produce shrinking numbers of teachers who could cope with this need.

Second, the neglect of indigenous languages in the education sector meant that indigenous languages did not develop adequately as academic subjects in themselves. Fewer and fewer students enrolled in departments of African languages, academic research in these areas diminished, and the use of indigenous languages in poetry, the arts and scientific study tended to be ever more neglected.

This neglect of indigenous languages has manifested in all levels of the education system – from early childhood and foundation-phase programmes all the way through to tertiary environments. While adequate policies had been put in place by 2006 (DoE 2006), very little effective implementation has taken place because of the lack of political will and the resources necessary for fully developing linguistic access to education for all South Africans.

RESEARCH DEMANDS

Apart from the closure of teacher-training colleges and the neglect of multilinguism, the fact that all professional training of teachers takes place at universities has been influenced by the implications of *research activities at universities* since the status and rankings of universities are primarily measured in terms of their standing in the research community. While many institutions have been successful in merging their research and professional training activities, many have also struggled to bring the two together in a way that satisfies all concerned. It is, for example, undeniable that academics at faculties and schools of education are promoted mostly on the basis of their research productivity rather than on the basis of the quality of the graduate teachers they produce. Although some academics take great pride in the fact that they focus on quality teacher education at the cost of their personal promotion, many academics find it difficult to balance their obligation to produce good teachers and to remain active in research at the same time.

EDUCATION POLICIES AND THE CHANGING REQUIREMENTS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION IN AN EMERGING DEMOCRACY

In the years since the advent of universal South African democracy in 1994, the role and purpose of schools – and therefore teachers – have been changing. The South African Schools Act of 1996, which provides a framework for the organisation, governance and the funding of South African schools, makes schooling compulsory for all children from the year in which they turn 7 until the year in which they turn 15 – which is usually by grade 9. The Act ensures the right of access to a quality education, which is free from discrimination, for all children (OECD 2008).

The *Norms and Standards for Educators* (Government Gazette 2000) that were promulgated in February 2000 describe the many competencies and skills that are required by teachers. These skills and qualifications are both theoretical and practical. The Norms and Standards for Educators also detailed the 'seven roles' of teachers under the following titles: 'Learning Mediator', 'Leader, Administrator and Manager', 'Interpreter and Designer of Learning Programmed [*sic*] and Materials', 'Scholar, Researcher and Lifelong Learner', 'Community, Citizenship and Pastoral Role', 'Assessor', 'Learning Area/Subject/Discipline/Phase Expert' (Government Gazette 2000, 13–14). While it seemed laudable at the time to describe the various 'roles' required

by teachers within an emerging democracy, in many ways these formal definitions failed to emphasise what is, after all, the primary role of any teacher, namely the ability to facilitate successful learning in children. During this period after 1994, schools were often used as nodes of care and support to address many important social and political problems such as HIV/AIDS, poverty, maternal health, and fostering peace in communities and among people. Whether this was indeed the best way to promote optimal teaching and learning environments remain a contested topic.

While schools are indeed profoundly affected by social and community problems, they become a competitive space in which teaching and learning have to contend for priority with other social priorities if they are made the focus for social and political action and initiatives. What in fact happened was that teachers who entered the profession since 1994 were expected to fulfil all these social roles and needs simultaneously, and the Norms and Standards directives compelled training institutions to prepare teachers for all these unprecedented roles. This state of affairs was at the time unquestioningly accepted by most of those concerned. This acquiescence may have been inspired by the uncertainties and turbulence of the transition period and the many new demands being made of teachers and trainers alike. But, with hindsight, the Norms and Standards should have been more critically interrogated in terms of the roles of teachers.

Since 2000, the Norms and Standards for Educators has been replaced by the *Minimum Requirements for Teacher Education Qualifications* (MRTEQ 2011). While the MRTEQ document provided for a more flexible framework for teacher education qualifications and was regarded by many as suitably responsive to the contextual challenges of the teaching profession in South Africa, it also became the cause of yet another major disruption in faculties of education. While many faculties were still struggling to cope with the problems and disruptions caused by the teacher college incorporations in the early 2000s and the disruptive effects of trying to accommodate the requirements of the Norms and Standards, the Department of Education was divided in 2009 into two departments of education – the Department of Basic Education and the Department of Higher Education and Training. While this division of the DoE went a long way to resolving existing strains in the structure of the education system, it also created a period of turbulence and uncertainty as the two new departments defined their new identities and found their feet in the education arena.

Chisholm's (2009, 4) study draws attention to the 'disproportionate focus by analysts on developmental policies rather than on the internal functioning

of the state' during this period. In some ways, these constantly changing policies started to exacerbate the very challenges and difficulties they were designed to address.

TEACHER SUPPLY AND DEMAND

During the 2000s there were therefore several main issues of national concern in teacher education. Among these many concerns was the steadily declining number of entrants to education degree programmes, the status of African languages in education, the diminishing number of student teachers specialising in Mathematics education, and the pressing need for high-quality foundation-phase programmes.

These concerns were met by instituting a national bursary scheme that supported students during all the four years of BEd programmes, as well as bursaries for students enrolled for the PGCE programme after the first degree was instituted. The Funza Lushaka bursary scheme identified the priority areas of Mathematics education, Natural Sciences, Technology, and Early Childhood education through the medium of African languages, and it was granted on condition that the candidate agreed to teach in a rural community in South Africa for a specified period of time after final graduation. The list of priority areas targeted by the bursary scheme was later expanded to include the FET phase of Accounting, Agricultural Sciences, Agricultural Technology, Civil Technology, Computer Applications Technology, Economics, Electrical Technology, Engineering Graphics and Design, Geography, Information Technology, Mechanical Technology, Physical Sciences and Life Sciences.

The Funza Lushaka bursary scheme was successful in that it attracted many students back to the teaching profession, and this had the effect of increasing the number of undergraduate students enrolling in faculties and schools of education. While the requirement to teach in a rural area after graduation was a deterrent to some prospective students, the idea had a positive appeal for many others who were more idealistic.

The education sector in South Africa, specifically as it relates to teacher education, is currently at a point where there is an emerging discourse on the *quality* in teaching and teacher education.

> After 1994, it would have been possible to engage in a major process of education and re-education of teachers. Yet this did not happen. Instead, processes linked to redistributional understandings of how to address the legacy of teacher shortages and quality bequeathed by apartheid prevailed. (Chisholm 2009, 9)

While the previous two decades had been dominated by discourses and strategies for improving *access* to education in order to compensate for the tremendous inequities of the past, the system as a whole needs to ensure that the access now gained will be characterised by measureable improvements in the quality of teaching students so that the injustices of the past will finally be eradicated.

THE FUTURE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES

Active collaboration among institutions responsible for teacher education, both departments of education and schools of education, has increased in South Africa since 1994. In spite of this, the need to expand and refine these collaborative partnerships to an even higher level of sophistication and complexity remains an essential need as the landscape of teacher education changes over the years. Since the understanding of what collaboration entails will doubtless change in various ways as new challenges and perceptions emerge, it will be helpful to clarify roles in this field for all stakeholders.

What follows below are some points to ponder on the future role of universities in teacher education in South Africa.

IMPROVING INFORMATION SYSTEMS

There is an ongoing debate among stakeholders about what constitutes a 'fully qualified' teacher. Many faculties and faculties of education subscribe to the view that graduates are 'teachers-in-the-making' who will continue to refine their knowledge and skills so long as they remain active in the profession, and that it is therefore impossible to prepare pre-service teachers fully and completely for their future engagement with the profession. Since schools as sites of employment, by contrast, frequently wish to appoint graduates who are already capable of dealing competently and effectively with the full range of demands and problems that confront all teachers, it becomes evident that what is needed is some form of mentorship and improved induction programmes for new teachers. While this need is patently obvious to all who work in teacher education, the locus of responsibility for such mentorship is still a contested topic.

As teachers develop and are mentored into their profession, there is a clear need for them to be supported by good information systems in the various

fields in which they work. Data on teacher supply and demand are often collected on an ad hoc basis and are frequently in need of updates. What is needed are reliable, trustworthy databases that contain accurate and up-to-date information about the number of graduates, the number of retirees, attrition rates, and priority subject expertise areas over time. While universities and faculties of education can provide data on current and past students, their fields of study and the levels at which they graduate, it is much more difficult to obtain national data on subject expertise and the number of years before retirement of teachers who are already in the system. If a more reliable national database can be established, faculties and schools of education will be able to plan more effectively on how to organise admissions and accommodate the registration of new students.

INVESTING IN LANGUAGE DIVERSITY

In the future, those concerned need to invest far more heavily in the development of indigenous languages of South Africa. Many of the current challenges in the South African education system can be traced back to a long history of local and national deficiencies and neglect in language policy and development in education. This can only be remedied by a much heavier investment in African languages at both school and tertiary levels in the future. An increased awareness and appreciation of the mass of empirical evidence that supports investment in mother-tongue instruction around the globe should become the basis of these policies. While South Africa is rich in language diversity, we have yet to see these resources become part of our national life and culture for all races at all levels. At the moment, language diversity is predominantly viewed as a problem and even as an obstacle rather than as a universal asset area that has the potential to impact positively on a variety of other educational challenges such as illiteracy, poor performance in mathematics, and overall academic performance. There is ample empirical research that shows that mother-tongue instruction can exert many positive effects. Just two of these effects are that girls remain longer in school and repeat grades less often (Hovens 2002; UNESCO Bangkok 2005), and that children who have received instruction in their mother tongue are more likely to succeed in school (Kosonen 2005). In South Africa, these proven benefits are not widely known or appreciated. The popular perception in the population at large is that having English as a language of instruction, even in the lower grades, results in optimal learning and various benefits later in life.

THE QUESTIONS WE ASK AND THE ANSWERS WE GET

The last decade has been dominated by size-and-shape discussions within teacher education. Who should be educating teachers? How many teacher education institutions should there be? How many teachers should we be educating? How many teachers are delivered per institution? Which fields are most important in teacher education? How many credits should be allowed for teaching methodology, as opposed to subject expertise? What should be covered in which year of the BEd programme?

The discussion above concluded that it is time for the debate to shift more deliberately from size and shape, to substance and quality. What are we doing in our classrooms and lecture halls? What is the quality of the curriculum? What do our teachers really know? How do they teach in the classroom when they are not being assessed? What are the learning outcomes for our children? How do we ensure accountability at all levels of the education system? How do we improve efficiency in schools, provincial education departments and at district levels? What is the quality of our matriculants? What is the quality of our education graduates?

In addition to shifting the focus to quality in teacher education, it is also imperative that the centrality of the role of the teacher be reaffirmed. Social issues in South Africa are still of the greatest importance because we still have some of the highest levels of poverty, illiteracy, crime, violence, corruption and disease frequencies in the world. Yet, while schools as sites of remedial social programmes are important, it should not be the primary task of schools to provide redress for social ills and abuses. Although it is necessary to support intersectoral collaboration and partnerships that tackle social ills, the primary task of all schools, and the teacher graduates who work in them, should be to focus primarily on teaching and learning. If these roles are neglected, the repercussions may adversely affect future generations of school children and give rise to even more serious social and political ills than those that remedial programmes were designed to counteract.

The same principle applies to teacher education in universities as well. It is the primary responsibility of aspirant teachers and teacher graduates to develop their ability to promote effective and successful teaching and learning. Their secondary responsibility is to develop the additional roles that they will need as teachers. While these additional roles and responsibilities are of critical importance and should not be neglected, teaching and learning should be prioritised.

By shifting the debates in teacher education from size and shape to quality and substance, we will ultimately best serve the children we teach. A more important secondary effect of this shift will most likely be an enhancement of the status of the teaching profession. The most important way for us to reclaim and enhance the status of the teaching profession is by relentlessly pursuing all means to improve the quality of teaching and learning.

Since increasing numbers of students are enrolling for teacher education programmes at universities across South Africa, there is huge potential to change perceptions about teaching as a profession in a positive way. The profession can, for example, be valorised by leveraging youth's inclination to make a decisive contribution to the community and to the world in general. Much has been written about the characteristics of Generation Z (or iGeneration, Post-Millennials or Gen Wii) that distinguishes the current generation of youth from previous generations. While empirical studies in this domain are sparse and many of the conclusions are anecdotal, there does seem to be a *zeitgeist* among today's youth that indicates that they are well-informed and comparatively mature, and that they want to change the world that they have inherited. They often put a higher priority on education that did previous generations, and they are idealistic and keen to volunteer for good causes. Their problem solving is often intuitive and non-linear, and they are often surprisingly adept in the use of digital technologies. Such inclinations and tendencies can be utilised to create new ways of inspiring future generations of teachers. They can also be utilised to optimise the classroom environments and schools of the future.

PROACTIVITY, RATHER THAN REMEDIATION

In order to gain the best possible results in the future, we need to be proactive and imaginative in determining the priorities that we set in teacher education. Until now, problem solving and the setting of goals have tended to be reactive when it comes to education. When problems are so severe that they can no longer be ignored, we hasten to design remediation strategies to address challenges and crises. Such remediation strategies may include anything from literacy interventions when literacy in school-age children has been determined to be radically deficient by international standards (Department of Basic Education 2011), or large-scale upgrading programmes to improve the qualifications of our teacher cohorts. Among such reactive projects we encounter the Delivery Agreement with the Presidency, the Action Plan to 2014,

The Workbook Project, and the Review of the Curriculum after widespread criticism of Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) could no longer be ignored. While these remediation strategies were indeed important, and some may have been effective in alleviating the crisis they were designed to ameliorate, such reactive interventions should never be our preferred method of dealing with urgent needs and crises in teaching and teacher education.

There is also a general tendency to examine the past and then to gather as much data as we can from it as the basis for the decisions we make to rectify past mistakes and inequities. A more fruitful alternative would be to define and conceptualise the educational futures we want and then to plan accordingly. What kind of teacher education programmes would we like to see in 10 or 20 years hence? What kind of teachers do we wish to see in future? What would be the most effective configuration of any future education sector? Once we know what we want in the future, we can rationally plan the measures we need to implement to get us there.

BUILDING ON STRENGTH AND CAPACITY

There is also understandably a strong tendency for educationists to focus mainly on *deficiencies* of the education sector. We thus habitually identify faults and defects in teacher education faculties and schools of education in the broad education sector. It is no wonder, therefore, that these fault lines and inefficiencies are often what dominate our discussions and discourses about education.

An alternative method, which would inject more optimism and positivity into education discourse, would be to give much more prominence to the capacities and strengths that already exist in the system. Despite huge challenges, some faculties and schools of education in South Africa have managed to navigate the stormy seas of comprehensive social transformation quite effectively. They have also managed to adjust to constantly changing curricular requirements for teacher education qualifications and have in addition established and introduced research agendas into real-time working environments that previously focused solely on teaching and learning. They have also become much more inclusive in their approach to students and they have embraced diversity as an educational opportunity and advantage rather than as a challenge that needs to be overcome. Faculties and schools of education have also totally relinquished antiquated and discredited theories about learning, teaching styles and intelligence, and they have demonstrated

an eagerness to embrace new methodologies and technologies into their lectures and practicals. All such improvements and advances can be used to reverse the tide of deficit-dominated discourses that have been so prevalent in education discourse in the past.

Is there room for improvement? Yes, there is, and there always will be. And, of course, the fact that we need to place greater emphasis on strength and capacity does *not* mean that deficits and challenges should be denied. Instead, it means that there are alternative ways of addressing challenges by building on existing capacities that will yield better results in the long term.

MEANDERING MISSIONS

Teacher education in South Africa has been a contested space since its early inceptions in the Cape centuries ago. While teacher education remains a national priority in modern South Africa, many also regard it as a useful vehicle for ameliorating and solving broader societal challenges. Because of this, 'teacher education' has proved itself to be resilient and highly adaptable as a sector that serves the needs and aspirations of a young, emerging democracy.

References

Becker, L.R., Beukes, L.D., Botha, A., Botha, A.C., Botha, J.J., Botha, M., Cloete, DJ., Cloete, J.L., Coetzee, C., De Beer, L.J., De Bruin, D.J., De Jager, L., De Villiers, J.J.R., Du Toit, C.M., Engelbrecht, A., Evans, R., Haupt, M.M.C., Heyns, D., Howatt, L.M., Joubert, A.P., Niemann, A.C., Phatudi, N.C., Randall, E., Rauscher, W.J., Rautenbach, W.C., Scholtz, S., Schultz, J.C., Swart, R., Van Aswegen, H.J., Van Heerden, J.C., Van Vollenhoven, W.J., Van Wyk, E.M., Van Wyk, J.G.U., Van der Walt, C.A., Van der Westhuizen, C.N., Vermeulen, D., Vorster, A. & De Villiers, R. (2004). 'The Impact of University Incorporation on College Lecturers'. *Higher Education*, 48, 153–72.

Behr, A.L. & Macmillan, R.G. (1971). *Education in South Africa*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Chisholm, L. (2009). *Teacher Education in South Africa: An Overview of Teacher Supply and Demand, 1994–2008*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Department of Education (DoE) (2005). *Teachers for the Future: Meeting Teacher Shortages to Achieve Education For All*. South Africa: Department of Education.

Department of Education (DoE) (2006). *The National Policy Framework for Teacher Education and Development in South Africa*. South Africa: Department of Education.

Department of Basic Education (DBE) (2011). *South African Country Report: Progress on the Implementation of the Regional Education and Training Plan*. South Africa: Department of Basic Education.

De Villiers, J. (2012). Die Nederlandse era aan die Kaap, 1652–806. In F. Pretorius, ed. *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Government Gazette (2000). *Norms and Standards for Educators in South Africa*. National Education Policy Act, 27/1996. Republic of South Africa.

Grobler, J. (2012). Staatsvorming en Stryd, 1850–1900. In F. Pretorius, ed. *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Hartshorne, K. (1992). *Crisis and Challenge*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Heugh, K. (1994). *Language as a Functional Resource*. Southern African Review of Books, 13.

Heugh, K. (1997). 'Disabling and Enabling: Implications of Language Policy in Africa'. In J. Watts & J. Jerzy, eds. *Cultural Democracy and Ethnic Pluralism: Multicultural and Multilingual Policies in Education*. Cross Cultural Communication Series, Vol. 5, 243–70.

Heugh, K. (2002). 'The Case Against Bilingual and Multilingual Education in South Africa: Laying Bare the Myths'. *Perspectives in Education*, 20:1, 171–96.

Hovens, M. (2002). 'Bilingual Education in West Africa: Does It Work?' *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 5:5*, 249–66.

Kallaway, P. (1984). *Apartheid and Education*. Johannesburg: Ravan.

Katzenellenbogen, J.M. (1988). 'Mamre: History and Development'. *Suid-Afrikaanse Mediese Tydskrif, 73*, 364–7.

Kosonen, K. (2005). 'Education in Local Languages: Policy and Practice in Southeast Asia'. In *First Languages First: Community-Based Literacy Programmes for Minority Language Contexts in Asia*. Bangkok: UNESCO Bangkok.

Lewis, A. & Steyn, J.C. (2003). 'A Critique of Mission Education in South Africa According to Bosch's Mission Paradigm Theory'. *South African Journal of Education*, 23:2, 101–6.

MRTEQ (2011). National Qualifications Framework Act (67/2008): *Policy on the Minimum Requirements for Teacher Education Qualifications (MRTEQ, 2011)*, Vol. 553, no. 34467.

Pretorius, F. ed. (2012). *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2008). *Reviews of National Policies for Education – South Africa*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

Rose, B. & Tunmer, R. (1975). *Documents in South African Education*. Johannesburg: Ad Donker.

Scher, D.M. (2012). 'Die Vestiging van die Apartheidstaat, 1948–1966'. In F. Pretorius, ed. *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Soudien, C. & Menon, K. (2010). *Report on the National Review of Academic and Professional Programmes in Education*. Pretoria: Council on Higher Education.

South Africa (1910). *South Africa Act 1909*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

The Archival Platform (2013). *The History of South African Mission Stations*. www.archivalplatform.org/registry/entry/the_history_of_south_african_mission_stations_museums_and_archives/ (retrieved May 2015).

The Moravian Mission and the Moravian Church in Southern Africa (no date). www.safrika.org/morav_en.html (retrieved November 2014).

The University of Glasgow's International Story Blog (2012). 'Earliest African Student'. https://uoginternationalstory.wordpress.com/tag/glasgow-missionary-society/ (retrieved May 2015).

UNESCO Bangkok (2005). *Advocacy Brief on Mother Tongue-Based Teaching and Education for Girls*. Bangkok: UNESCO.

Van der Walt, J.L. (1992). 'The Culturo-Historical and Personal Circumstances of Some 19th Century Missionary Teaching in South Africa'. *Koers*, 57:1, 75–85.

13 Teacher education in Uganda: Policy and practice

Jessica Norah Aguti

INTRODUCTION

Teacher education is concerned with helping teachers acquire the attitudes, knowledge and skills they need to carry out their duties and responsibilities as teachers; and this is vital since teachers are central in the school system. Perraton et al. (2002, 7) argue that 'teachers are vital. Unless we can get more teachers, and better teachers, we will not reach the target of making quality education available to all by 2015.' Quality education is certainly impossible to achieve without teachers. So as more and more children join schools, more teachers will be needed. The number of children needing education will continue to grow because the world population is continuing to grow.

Table 1 gives the population of people aged 5–14 in the different countries of East Africa.

Table 1: East Africa population between 5 and 14 years

Country	Male	Female	Total	Percentage of total population
Burundi	1 228 000	1 279 705	2 507 705	26.7
Tanzania	6 226 418	6 225 206	12 451 624	27.0
Uganda	5 277 200	5 290 600	10 567 800	29.9
Kenya	5 397 582	5 234 589	10 632 171	25.4
Rwanda	1 408 731	1 432 420	2 841 151	26.6
	19 537 931	**19 462 520**	**39 000 451**	**27.14**

One of the reasons for the high percentage of young people is the high growth rate of the population in the region. For example, the population growth rate of Kenya is 2.11%, Tanzania 2.8% and Uganda 3.24%, while fertility rates are

3.54, 4.95 and 5.97 respectively (all 2014 estimates) (Index Mundi 2014). The demand for higher education has also continued to grow. For example, Table 2 gives the number of students sitting Alevel examinations, the number eligible for admission into university and the number admitted by Makerere University for the years 2004/05–2013/14. This shows that the number of candidates presenting themselves for Alevel examinations has been growing each year and yet the number of places has not expanded enough and so more and more young people are being left out. Makerere University, the largest in the country, has continued to admit nearly the same percentage of those qualifying each year.

Table 2: Eligible Alevel students vs admission 2004/05–2013/14

Admission year	Sitting year	No. of A-level candidates	Eligible Alevel leavers	% eligible	Admission figures			% eligible vs admitted
					Govt	Private	Total	
2004/2005	2003	55 253	32 613	59%	2 268	12 938	15 206	47%
2005/2006	2004	59 288	35 196	59%	2 212	13 731	15 943	45%
2006/2007	2005	72 083	45 558	63%	2 162	11 828	13 990	31%
2007/2008	2006	84 947	54 044	64%	2 071	10 175	12 246	23%
2008/2009	2007	88 383	57 485	65%	2 030	12 385	14 415	25%
2009/2010	2008	96 638	60 634	63%	1 979	13 342	15 321	25%
2010/2011	2009	99 802	60 370	60%	2 015	13 974	15 989	26%
2011/2012	2010	101 495	61 820	61%	2 090	15 655	17 790	29%
2012/2013	2011	102 296	64 417	63%	1 973	15 494	17 467	27%
2013/2014	2012	109 974	76 157	69%	2 026	15 249	17 275	23%

Source: Academic Registrar's Department as at January 2014
(Planning & Development Department, Makerere University 2014)

Uganda's national plan (Republic of Uganda 2009) raises a number of concerns with the country's education system, some of which are to do with the quality of education provided and the failure to ensure access to all.

Ugandan children are not learning basic literacy, numeracy and life skills, and secondary schools are not equipping the youth with the requisite knowledge and skills for the market place and for tertiary education. There are fears that the growth in the number of children enrolling for Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Universal Secondary Education (USE) has been at the expense of quality.

Also, whereas UPE and USE have ensured access for all children in the rural and urban areas regardless of their backgrounds, tertiary education including universities is not easily accessible to students from disadvantaged

backgrounds and is not meeting the growing demand for education. However, because the quality of education in the rural areas at both UPE and USE levels remains poor, it could also be argued that children from disadvantaged backgrounds are not accessing quality education and that UPE and USE are reinforcing the divide between rich and poor.

The other emerging concern is the small number of children enrolling for science and mathematics. Whereas Uganda has, as one of the strategies for increasing the quantity and improving quality of human resource, 'affirmative action to promote science subjects in order to improve the ratio of science to art from 1:5 to at least 2:5' (Republic of Uganda 2009), as shown in Table 3, in the 2014 Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education (UACE) examinations, the largest number of candidates was in the arts such as geography, economics and history, while smallest number of candidates was in the sciences such as chemistry, biology and physics. This implies that although the country desires to promote science and technology, the crop of students from school taking the sciences is not adequate, particularly since not all who enrol pass the national examination.

Table 3: Overall subject performance: UACE 2014

Subject	No. of candidates	Percentage A%	Percentage A–E%	Percentage A–O%
Subsidiary ICT	69 431	4	48	81
Geography	56 505	2	48	92
Economics	43 171	4	55	80
History	42 835	13	81	96
Mathematics (subsidiary)	37 138	4	38	68
Mathematics	26 800	9	54	79
Entrepreneurship education	26 014	1	45	90
Christian religious education	22 869	3	69	96
Art	22 430	1	61	98
Physics	15 413	4	56	91
Agriculture	14 773	1	39	75
Biology	13 214	4	49	88
Chemistry	12 340	8	61	95
Lit. in English	6 869	6	71	96
Islamic religious education	3 705	4	68	96

The small number of candidates taking the science subjects is reflected in the low numbers that are admitted into Makerere University for the BSc Education. Table 4 gives the admission figures for the 2014/15 academic year. Out of the total 1282 students admitted on government and private sponsorship schemes, 416 (32.5%) were admitted to train as science teachers. It is worth noting that the bulk of those sponsored by government were admitted for sciences; a total of 166 (88.8%) admitted out of the 187 sponsored. This is in fulfilment of government policy of affirmative action for sciences. One other thing that this data reveals is that there are more women being enrolled in the BA Education; out of a total of 618 women admitted for education in 2014/15, 527 (85.2%) of them enrolled for BA Education while only 91 (14.8%) were enrolled for BSc Education. This presents other challenges, because the low admission of women into this programme leads to a small number of female role models in schools. This is something that would perhaps need to be addressed if more girls are to be encouraged to take up science subjects.

Table 4: Makerere University admission figures 2014/15

Programme	Male	%	Female	%	Total
BA Educ. (day) private	203	43.5	325	56.5	528
BA Educ. (evening) private	132	41.6	185	58.4	317
BA Educ. govt	04	19	17	81	21
Subtotal	**339**	**39.1**	**527**	**60.9**	**866 (67.5%)**
BSc Educ. (economics) private	51	63	30	37	81
BSc Educ. (biological) private	54	78.3	15	21.7	69
BSc Educ. (physical) private	76	76	24	24	100
BSc Educ. (economics) govt	23	74.1	08	25.9	31
BSc Educ. (biological) govt	56	83.5	11	16.5	67
BSc Educ. (physical) govt	65	95.6	03	4.4	68
Subtotal	**325**	**78.1**	**91**	**21.9**	**416 (32.5%)**
Total	**1328**	**51.8**	**1236**	**48.2**	**832**

Source: Makerere University, Academic Registrar's Records

Another of the strategies in the Uganda national plan is to 'make teaching in the classroom more effective through accelerated recruitment of more qualified teachers, enhanced free service and in-service training of

teachers focusing on training the untrained and licenced teachers' (Republic of Uganda 2009, 221). The Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) has picked this up and the mission for the Department of Teacher and Instructor Education and Training is 'to provide support, guide, coordinate, regulate and promote quality teacher, tutor and instructor education for production of adequate, competent and ethical teachers, tutors and instructors'. Table 5 gives the policy commitments of the Teacher Education Department. To achieve this, teacher education is being carried out through pre-service and in-service programmes at certificate, diploma, graduate and postgraduate levels in Uganda. In addition, the MoES has assigned Kyambogo University with the task of overseeing the training of teachers at the Primary Teachers' Colleges (PTCs) and at the National Teachers' Colleges (NTCs).

Table 5: Teacher education sub-sectoral policy thrusts and interventions in Uganda 2013

Sub-sector	Policy thrusts	Key initiatives
Teacher and Instructor Education and Training (TIET)	Enhance pre-service and in-service training of teachers Training of quality teachers and instructors Continuous professional development for teachers and instructors Enhanced efficiency and effectiveness in teacher training and development Teacher motivation Institutional development	Review of the Teaching Service Regulations (1994) and Teachers' Code of Conduct (1996) Implementation of the teacher probation curriculum for newly qualified teachers to hasten the process of confirmation in the education service Implementation of the Scheme of Service for teachers Implementation of TDMS programme for pre-service, in-service and continuous development of teachers Piloting of the Primary Teacher Education Curriculum

Source: Education Planning and Policy Analysis Department, MoES (2013, 40)

Kenya also has similar aspirations. One of its strategies is to modernise teacher education and one of the flagship projects in the 2030 vision is to 'establish a teachers' recruitment programme to employ 28,000 more teachers to improve the quality of education and to ensure that all schools have adequate teachers' (Government of Kenya 2007, 16).

Training of teachers in East Africa follows different patterns depending on the school system of each country and depending on the history of the nation. According to Otunga et al. (2011) (quoted in Namunga & Otunga 2012), there are four levels of teacher education in Kenya: early childhood development teacher education; primary teacher education; diploma teacher

education; and undergraduate teacher education. Uganda also has four levels of teacher education: early childhood; certificate in primary teacher education; diploma in education; and undergraduate teacher education. Figure 1 gives the structure of the school and teacher education systems in Uganda. The two countries however have different school systems, with Kenya operating an 8–4–4 structure and Uganda a 7–6–3 structure. To have transformation in the school systems across these levels requires transformation of teacher education at all the teacher education levels as well.

However, despite all the good intentions to ensure that teacher education is modernised and made more effective, teacher education in Uganda – like in a number of other developing countries – is still being accused of being ineffective. So, what Korthagen et al. (2001, xi) for instance say – 'many research studies demonstrate the failure of teacher education to fundamentally influence teachers and improve education' – applies to Uganda as well. According to the national plan, students, teachers, parents, politicians and teacher educators themselves are unhappy with teacher education. There are a number of reasons that have been advanced for this poor quality including poor entry requirements, the inadequate continuing professional development (CPD), poor teacher education and poor working conditions.

The result of all this is inadequacies in the education systems. For example, according to Uwezo East Africa (2014):

- 'Less than one third of pupils enrolled in standard 3 in East Africa possess basic literacy and numeracy skills.'
- 'Among pupils enrolled in standard 7, one in five do not have standard 2 level literacy and numeracy competencies.'
- 'On any given school day one teacher is absent from a public primary school in Kenya and Uganda and two teachers absent in Tanzania.'

Clearly, the quality of basic education in East Africa leaves a lot to be desired. With this quality of basic education, it will be difficult for education in the region to be a true engineer of transformation of the economies and society. As one of the solutions to this, Uwezo says, 'we need to figure out what it will take to get teachers to come to school every day and teach well, so that we do not waste children's time and dash their aspirations'.

MISSION AND OBJECTIVES OF TEACHER EDUCATION IN UGANDA

Mission of teacher education

The Ministry of Education and Sports Executive Summary (Ministry of Education and Sports [s.a.], 66) outlines the mission of teacher education in Uganda as 'to provide for, support, guide, coordinate, regulate and promote quality Teacher Education for the production of competent and ethical teachers'.

Objectives of teacher education

According to the government White Paper on Education (Republic of Uganda 1992, 137–8), the following should be the objectives of teacher education in the country:

1 to broaden the student teacher's own academic knowledge and to deepen his/her knowledge of the teaching subjects as well as his/her understanding of the developmental stages and needs of the child

2 to produce competent, reliable, honest and responsible teachers

3 to produce highly motivated, conscientious and efficient teachers

4 to develop and deepen attitudes conducive to development, respect for work, loyalty, self-reliance and to cultivate the desire for lifelong education

5 to instil professional ethics and develop an inquiring mind for innovative education

6 to cultivate a sense of national consciousness, patriotism and allegiance to the professional code of conduct

7 to prepare teachers for co-curricular activities as well as for guidance and counselling as part of their duties

8 to prepare teachers adequately for efficiency in educational administration, management, evaluation and measurement.

A close look at the teacher education objectives reveals that teacher education in Uganda is expected to train teachers with the needs of the child at the centre of all its activities. It also indicates interest in the training of an 'all-round teacher' through the covering of a whole cross-section of issues including:

- teachers' knowledge of the teaching subject
- initiative and creativity among the teachers
- the teacher's character
- the teacher's administrative and management roles
- patriotism in teachers.

Objectives of secondary teacher education

The same government White Paper on Education (Republic of Uganda 1992, 146–7) also states the objectives of secondary teacher education in the country:

1 to produce new teachers for teaching in the proposed two types of secondary schools (comprehensive and vocational)

2 to equip teachers with knowledge and methods that enable them to counsel students and guide them for future education and for employment within the world of work

3 to produce qualified and specialised teachers for language, practical and vocational subjects

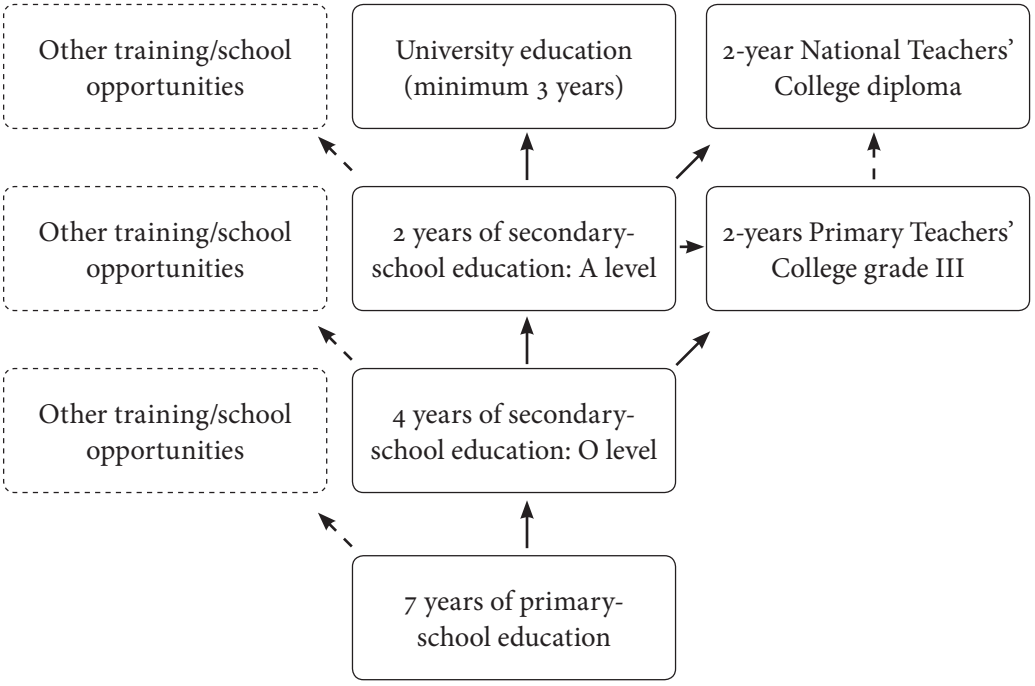
4 to produce teachers who have mastery of their teaching subjects

5 to retrain, through in-service and distance education, the current stock of teachers to cope with the new curricula in secondary schools.

However, due to lack of evaluative studies of teacher education programmes in the country, it is not clear how far each of these objectives is being deliberately attended to in the various teacher education programmes, and it is also not certain, if this is so, how far they are being achieved. Universities can play a bigger role in addressing this challenge through research and tracer studies. In this way, policy decisions and training programmes would be designed based on empirical data.

Also, as mentioned earlier, the national framework guiding education including teacher education is the government White Paper 1992, which is old and perhaps requires review, although the objectives may still be largely relevant.

Figure 1: Structure of the education system showing teacher-training routes



Source: Aguti 2004

QUALITY OF TEACHER TRAINEES

The traditional role of the teacher has been that of relaying knowledge and information and of communicating to learners (Coetzer 2001, 75–6; Dreyer 1994, 72; Mcloughlin & Oliver 1999, 33). In the traditional classroom, the teacher did 'all the thinking, planning, evaluating and problem solving […] everything the learners must do is mapped out for them; everything is under the teacher's control'. On the other hand, the students in such classrooms were expected to have 'passive roles and undertake activities that are pre-planned, organised and controlled by teachers' (Mcloughlin & Oliver 1999, 33).

However, the teacher's role is today seen as one of nurturing children and of promoting critical thinking (Fraser & Lombard 2002, 92). This therefore goes beyond relaying information or 'pumping knowledge into empty brains'. It involves caring, facilitating and supporting the children in their learning. The teacher in this relationship cannot be seen as the expert or 'sage on stage'

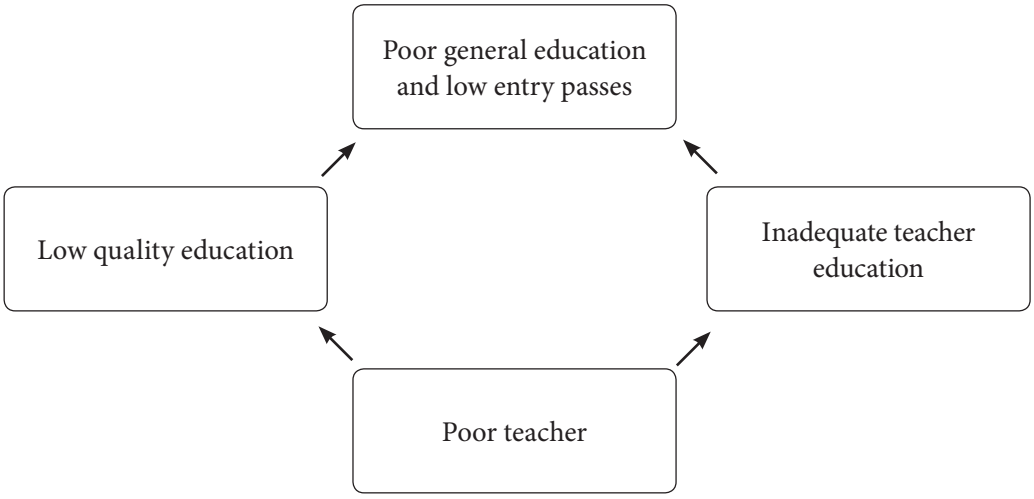
but rather as a 'guide on the side'. The teacher should therefore not view himself/herself as the know-it-all. Instead, teaching and learning are viewed as reciprocal activities (Coetzer 2001, 75–6; Fraser & Lombard 2002, 92).

This paradigm shift in teaching and learning requires change in teaching methods and therefore in teacher education. Teacher education cannot continue to propound methods that are teacher-centred and expect teachers to go out into schools and carry out collaborative activities that give learners independence and opportunity to act as responsible learners. There have to be changes in teacher education as well because, ultimately, a teacher's view of his/her role will determine how teaching and learning are carried out.

One of the challenges with achieving this new role of the teacher is that many of the teacher-training colleges and faculties in East Africa are still training today as they did two decades ago. The curricula have hardly changed and neither have the training methods being used. However, the national plans of Kenya and Uganda indicate there is need for change in the way teachers are trained and in the skills emphasised in schools. Teacher education needs to cope with the challenges presented by the massive increase in enrolments in UPE and USE, prepare teachers to help learners learn how to learn while at the same time ensuring an education relevant to the volatile marketplace demands. To do this, teacher education programmes ought to be more dynamic, give teachers adequate subject matter for them to cover school curricula, while using teaching/learning methodologies that promote learners' participation and independence.

In Uganda, in the science subjects, the best candidates are often admitted for medicine, engineering and other science professional programmes; the rest of the candidates are then admitted for education. In the humanities, the best-performing candidates are admitted for law, social work and business courses and the balance admitted for education. In a study carried out by Kagoda and Itaaga (2013, 47) on students that join Makerere University to study education, the 'majority of the teacher trainees (43%) had education as their third or fourth choice; while only 4% of the respondents chose education as their first choice'. Altogether, education is not attracting and ultimately not admitting the best students; and, if they are given inadequate teacher training, we then unleash poorly prepared teachers into the schools system, thus sustaining the cycle of poor-quality education, as shown in Figure 2.

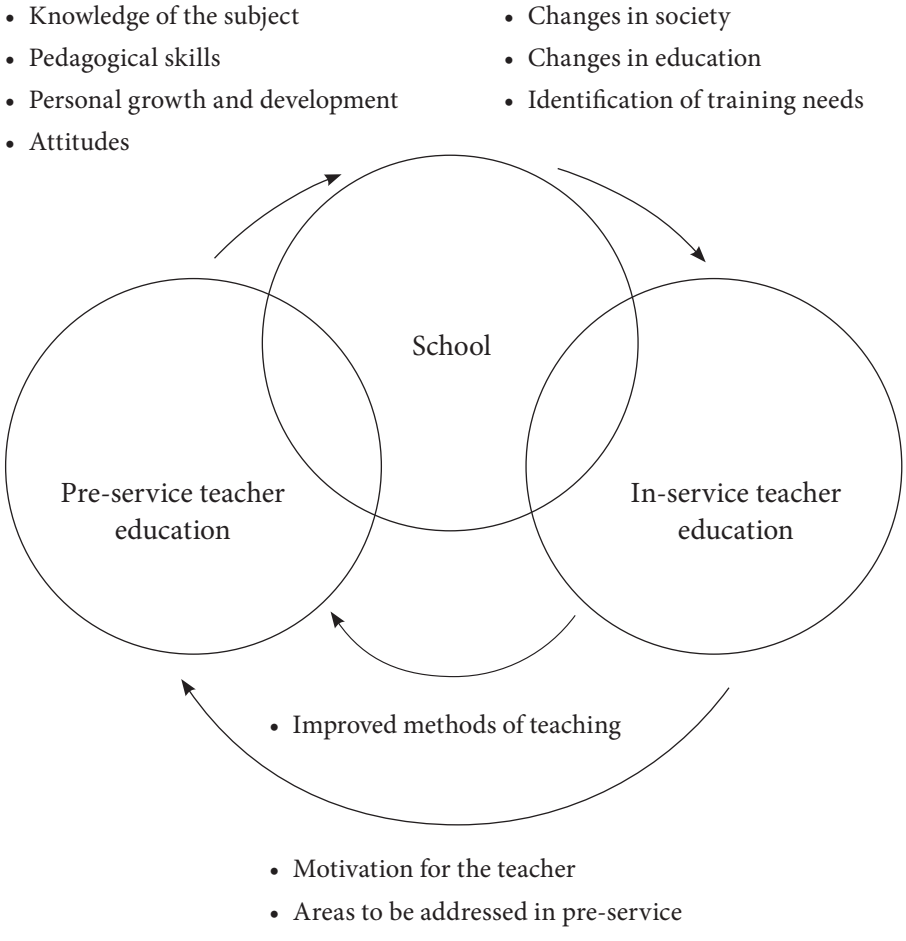
Figure 2: Vicious cycle of poor-quality education



Source: Aguti 2004

This is NOT to say that all teachers trained in Uganda are poor. There are many excellent teachers, but there are also those who have been disadvantaged by both the poor school and poor teacher education systems. Addressing this issue demands reforms in teacher education and continuing professional development (CPD) that is well conceived, managed and delivered, because pre-service and in-service should be treated as part of a continuum that consists of initial training → induction and finally → in-service or continuous professional development. Each phase has an important role to play in teacher preparation and development, and a system that ignores one or the other is likely to lead to deficiencies. These should all therefore be carefully planned for and their interrelatedness borne in mind. Figure 3 represents this relationship.

Figure 3: Relationship between pre-service teacher education, the school and in-service teacher education



Source: Aguti 2004

WORKING CONDITIONS

According to an Education for All (EFA) Monitoring Report, one of the factors contributing to poor-quality education and to the disparity of quality of education between rural and urban schools is poor working conditions: low basic pay, poor housing, poor classroom environment and low morale. As a result of these, teachers in Kenya and Uganda have had strikes nearly every year for the past three years (2013, 2014 and 2015). In Uganda, a primary-school

teacher with 11 years of schooling and 2 years of training earns a total of about 260 000 Ugandan shillings (approximately US$100); while a secondary-school teacher with 13 years of schooling and 2 years of training earns about 400 000 Ugandan shillings only (approximately US$150). In addition to low pay, many teachers live in poor housing and are under-resourced. The sum total of all these is low motivation and poor service delivery. This is one of the reasons for the failure to attract the best students. For example, according to Kagoda and Itaaga, (2013, 47) students are reluctant to have education as their first choice of study because of 'the teachers' low public image, poor housing, and the meagre salaries, which render teachers unable to meet their essential needs'.This challenge is partly responsible for the high teacher absenteeism and attrition, and unrest over salary and general working conditions continues to disrupt schooling. Taking into account the government's inability to meet all the teachers' demands, strikes are likely to continue to reoccur. According to Uwezo East Africa (2014), 'on any given school day one teacher is absent from a public primary school in Kenya and Uganda and two teachers absent in Tanzania' and, for them, this is one of the reasons why the children are not learning. Attracting and retaining teachers will therefore demand that the working conditions of teachers are addressed and support supervision strengthened.

POLICIES AND CURRICULAR REFORMS

The framework providing guidance on education in Uganda is the government White Paper on Education for National Development 1992. Whereas the objectives of teacher education espoused in this policy are still relevant to the country, this policy is now obsolete and needs to be revised. There have been a number of contextual changes and other policies that have come into play, such as the UPE, USE, decentralisation of governance of education and the liberalisation of education, all of which were proposed in the White Paper but require a revised national framework to ensure policy and contextual fit into the current environment.

The government of Uganda is concerned about quality education and the quality of learning taking place. One of the strategies adopted to achieve this is change in the school curricula. This has included adoption of the thematic approach for primary schools and revision of the secondary-school curriculum. However, whereas these efforts are very commendable, there is little evidence to show that teachers are well prepared for the implementation of

these curricular changes. There have been too many reforms creating confusion, and, as the Ministry of Education and Sports itself says, one of the challenges in the ministry is a 'plethora of reforms which are creating policy overlaps' (MoES 2013, 46). For example, Uganda adopted the thematic curriculum, which was meant to help ensure:

- 'Rapid development of literacy, numeracy and life skills at lower primary;
- The treatment of concepts holistically, under themes of immediate meaning and relevance to the learner; and,
- The presentation of learning experiences in languages in which the learners are already proficient.'

These brought in a number of challenges since, hitherto, the primary-school curriculum was arranged around subjects and not competences, recommended textbooks were written in English, the methods of teaching were largely teacher-centred and in the majority of schools, in both rural and urban areas, teachers had been using English language or a mixture of languages to teach. The Ministry of Education adopted the cascade model to provide orientation and training of teachers in preparation for the implementation of this curriculum; however, in a study carried out by Altinyelken (2010), 'the majority of the teachers who took part in this study believed that the training was severely inadequate' and that 'the trainers themselves were not knowledgeable enough about the new curriculum'. Ultimately, it would seem that this change in curriculum was rushed and not enough lead time was provided for the orientation and training of teachers, headteachers and inspectors, or for the preparation of the parents to provide support to the teachers. This is an example of a well-intentioned curriculum, the implementation of which is impeded by failure to prepare, motivate and support teachers adequately for its implementation. Altinyelken's (2010, 160) conclusion captures this very well:

> The thematic curriculum incorporates many good ideas; it is well-designed and well-intentioned according to many education stakeholders in Uganda. However, systemic problems within the Ugandan education system, such as overcrowded classrooms, lack of teaching and learning aids, inadequate number of textbooks, and low teacher motivation, suggest that some of the expectations are unrealistic and indeed very difficult to realise in classrooms. (Altinyelken 2010, 160)

So, apart from the challenge of addressing orientation and training of the teachers in service, there have also been challenges with making the relevant

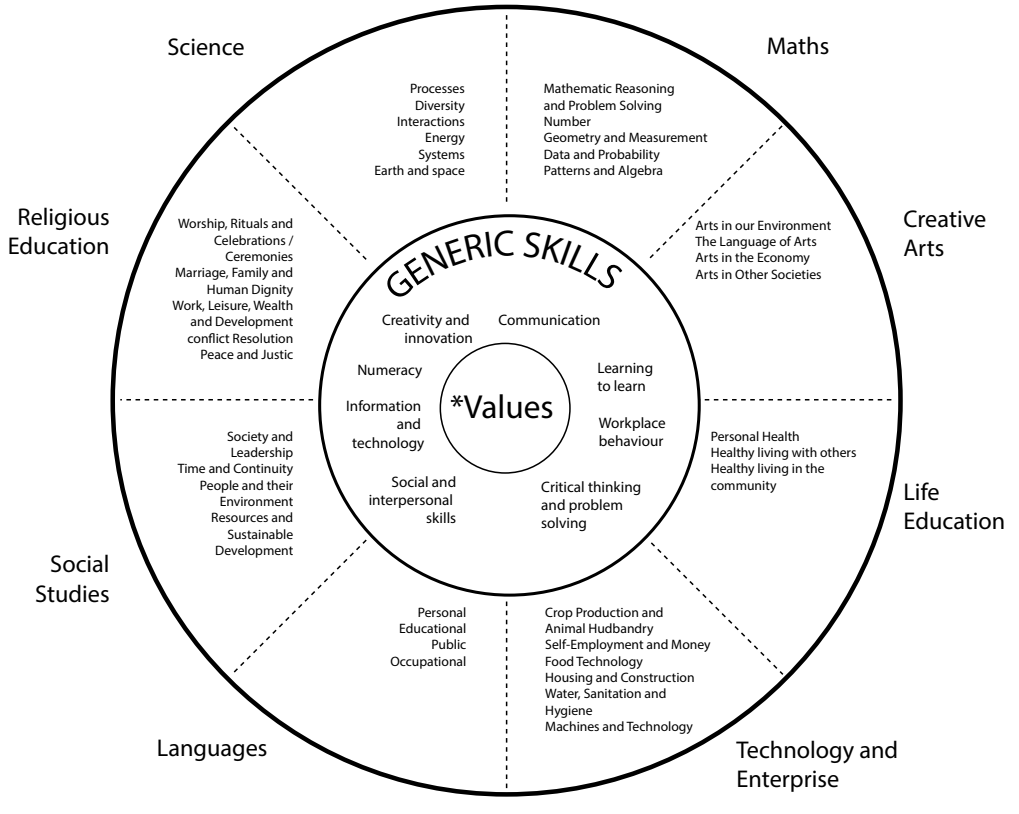
changes in the teacher-training curriculum at the PTC. The new curriculum in the PTCs was first implemented in 2013 and, since training at this level takes two years, the first candidates came out in 2015 – nearly eight years after the introduction of the thematic curriculum in schools! The pace of reform of the teacher-training curriculum is not in tandem with the changes in the school curriculum.

At secondary-school level, the government has also made a decision to change the school curriculum and focus on 'holistic education for personal and national development' by shifting from an old curriculum that is outdated, with its strong emphasis on subject content, to one that emphasises skills and competencies. The objectives of this reform according to the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) (2015) are:

- to promote effective learning and acquisition of skills
- to address the needs of all students and lay the foundation for improved pedagogy and assessment procedures that allow learners to more effectively realise their full potential and demonstrate their achievements
- to address the social and economic needs of the country by meeting the educational needs of learners who will take jobs in the world of work, become self-employed people or pursue academic studies beyond senior four
- to allow flexibility to absorb emerging fields of knowledge in a rapidly changing world
- to reduce content overload by specifying a realistic set of expected learning outcomes with a range of essential generic skills at the heart of the curriculum.

To achieve this, the number of subjects being offered at lower secondary O level has decreased from 43 subjects to only 7 learning areas: Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, Languages, Technology, Life education and Creative Arts. The reforms also include changes in the manner of assessment. The Curriculum Wheel, showing the eight learning areas, their respective strands and the shared generic skills, is illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Curriculum wheel showing the eight learning areas, their respective strands and the shared generic skills



Source: NCDC (2015)

Uganda has for years relied heavily on examinations, and teaching became highly examination-oriented with more and more focus on grades and not necessarily learning. Under the new curriculum, this examination system will be done away with and replaced by continuous assessment, evaluation of practical projects and observation.

Whereas the spirit of the change in the curriculum is very commendable, not enough is being done to prepare schools and teachers for the implementation of this new curriculum. Also, there does not seem to have been enough sensitisation and preparation of the National Teachers' Colleges and the universities – the two institution types training secondary-school teachers – to have them change their curricula. The hope is that after the struggles with the implementation of the thematic curriculum at the primary-school level,

there will be a higher level of consultation and partnership in implementing the new secondary-school curriculum.

In addition, the efforts at retraining the practising teachers are inadequate for the large numbers of teachers in schools. Teacher education institutions need to step up with creative and innovative approaches for quick, large-scale and effective curricular reviews and CPD. Partnership with all the key stakeholders – the different arms of the Ministry of Education and Sports, teacher education institutions, and the MoES agencies such as the NCDC, Education Standards Agency (ESA), National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) and Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB) – is required.

CONCLUSION

Uganda believes in education as the engine of transformation and, to achieve this, is committed to ensuring quality teachers. There have been efforts at articulating great and insightful aspirations for quality teacher education and, ultimately, teachers, recruitment of more teachers, provision of textbooks and construction of schools, but a lot more remains to be done. There is still some mismatch between national aspirations, policies put in place and the implementation of those policies. Universities and all other TEIs have played a key role in training teachers and to low-level provision of CPD. These institutions need to do more and need to be more creative and innovative in their approaches to teacher education.

To deal with all the criticisms levied and weaknesses identified, thereby making teacher education more effective, there is need for the following:

- More deliberate effort must be made to integrate theory and practice. The knowledge and skills teachers acquire during the training should promote more reflection, relating what is learned in college/university to classroom work. This can be achieved through the methodology of training but it also requires that the TEIs maintain a close link and collaborate with the schools. It is in the schools where the 'nitty gritty' of teaching is daily experienced and this should be fed into the training process.
- Teacher education curricula should be balanced and relevant to school curricula, and provide teachers with adequate academic subject content and pedagogy that will enable them to facilitate learning effectively. Disjointed or unbalanced courses, however well intentioned, are likely to confuse rather than equip the teacher.

- Where school curricula are changed, practising teachers need to be well prepared for the changes through effective orientation and retraining; cascade models without commensurate support are likely to be counterproductive. In addition, teacher-training institutions at all levels need to keep up with changes in the school curricula and review their own training programmes to accommodate these changes.
- The teacher education given should relate to the roles that the teachers will be expected to carry out on completion of their training. In this way, the entire teaching/learning process will be counted as relevant.

References

Aguti, J.N. (2004). 'A Study of In-Service Distance Education for Secondary School Teachers in Uganda: Developing a Framework for Quality Teacher Education Programmes'. PhD thesis, University of Pretoria.

Altinyelken, H.K. (2010). 'Curriculum Change in Uganda: Teacher Perspectives on the New Thematic Curriculum'. *International Journal of Education Development*, 30:2, 151–61. Coetzer, I.A. (2001). 'A Survey and Appraisal of Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) in South Africa with Reference to Progressive Education in America'. *Educare*, 30:1–2, 73–93.

Dove, L.A. (1986). *Teachers and Teacher Education in Developing Countries*. London: Croom Helm.

Dreyer, J.M. (1994). 'Promoting the Potential of Children: The Teachers' Role'. *Educare*, 23:1, 69–74.

Education Planning and Policy Analysis Department, MoES (2013). *The Education and Sports Sector Annual Performance Report FY 2012/13*. Kampala: MoES. http://bit.ly/1HhF9z9 (retrieved 20 May 2015).

Fraser, B. & Lombard, E. (2002). 'Prominent Paradigms of Performance and the Dilemma of Distance Education to Deliver'. *Perspectives in Education*, 23:3, 85–102.

Government of the Republic of Kenya (2007). *Kenya Vision 2030 The Popular Version*. http://bit.ly/1KqwVmW (retrieved 27 May 2015).

Index Mundi (2014). *Country Facts: Africa*. www.indexmundi.com/africa.html (retrieved 31 May 2015).Kagoda, A.M. & Itaaga, N. (2013). 'A Survey of Teacher Trainees' Expectations, Experiences and Assessment in Uganda'. *Journal of Educational and Social Research*, 3:5, 43–52. www.mcser.org/journal/index.php/jesr/article/view/638/660 (retrieved 31 May 2015).

Korthagen F.A.J. in cooperation with Kessels, J., Koster, B., Lagerwerf, B. & Wubbels, T. (2001). *Linking Practice and Theory: The Pedagogy of Realistic Teacher Education*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Makerere University, Academic Registrar (2014). *Private Sponsorship Admission Lists for Academic Year 2014/2015*. http://news.mak.ac.ug/2014/08/private-sponsorship-admission-lists-academic-year-20142015 (retrieved 1 June 2015).

Mcloughlin, C. & Oliver, R. (1999). 'Pedagogic Roles and Dynamics in Telematics Environments'. In M. Selinger & J. Pearson, eds. *Telematics in Education: Trends and Issues*. Amsterdam: Pergamon.

Ministry of Education and Sports, *Teacher Education*. www.education.go.ug/data/smenu/14/Teacher%20Education.html (retrieved 30 May 2015).

Namunga N.W. and Otunga N.R. 'Teacher Education as a Driver for Sustainable Development in Kenya'. In *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 2:5, March 2012.

National Curriculum Development Centre (2006). *The National Primary School Curriculum for Uganda, Primary 1*. Kampala: National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC).

National Curriculum Development Centre (2015). *Lower Secondary Curriculum Reform*. Kampala: National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC). www.ncdc.go.ug/ (retrieved 30 May 2015).

Otunga, N. R., Odeo, I. I. and Barasa, L. P., eds (2011). *A Handbook for curriculum and Instruction*. Eldoret: Moi University Press.

Perraton, H., Creed, C. & Robinson, B. (2002). *Teacher Education Guidelines: Using Open and Distance Learning Technology – Curriculum – Cost – Evaluation*. Paris: UNESCO.

Planning & Development Department, Makerere University (2014). *Makerere University Fact Book 2013/2014*. Kampala: Makerere University. http://bit.ly/1HL2gOh (retrieved 30 May 2015).

Republic of Uganda (2009). *National Development Plan 2010/11–2014/15*. Kampala: National Planning Authority. http://bit.ly/1SDmYbs (retrieved 27 May 2015).

Republic of Uganda (1992). *Government White Paper on the Education Policy Review Commission Report on Education for National Integration and Development*. Kampala: Republic of Uganda.

Uganda National Examinations Board (2015). *Performance Overview*. www.uneb.ac.ug/index.php?link=Performance&&Key=UACE&&Code=A (retrieved 30 May 2015).

Uwezo East Africa (2014). *Are Our Children Learning? Literacy and Numeracy Across East Africa 2013*. www.uwezo.net/publications/reports/ (retrieved 27 May 2015).

14 New directions for the reform of university-based teacher education

Bob Moon

COMPETING NARRATIVES AROUND TEACHER EDUCATION

Historians often talk about the competing narratives that frame political and social development. These are the ideas and stories that people come to believe about the past and the future. They may not always be fully supported by the facts, but the power of belief can often take precedence over the logic of evidence. In this final chapter I want to identify the contemporary narratives around teacher education. I will draw on some of the case studies in this book to illustrate the analysis. I will use this as a basis for suggesting ways in which the identity of teacher education within the university could be reformed, strengthened and, to use a term from one of the chapters, reimagined.

One narrative line that we can identify draws on the idealism that was associated with bringing the education of teachers into the university. As I showed in Chapter 1, and as the case studies illustrate, this took place at different times in different countries from the first part of the last century through to the present time. The move reflected the changing, more egalitarian, ideas that began to inform education reform across the globe. When great swathes of the population went to schools in order to progress to mostly unskilled manual occupations, the education required of teachers hardly merited a university education. This was to change as secondary education systems for all became established and as 'professional' ideas around the role of the teacher began to take root. In many senses, this idealism narrative was driven from the universities. The influence of Dewey's ideas in the USA or Maria Montessori in Europe was often promulgated through a university-led advocacy. The ambition to create large-scale, well-educated

teaching forces was legitimised through a range of historical thinkers and ideas. Confucius, Erasmus, Frobel, Steiner and others became part of the student teacher curriculum. Piaget and Freire had an important place in teacher education programmes of the 1960s and 1970s. This narrative fused political and professional development. Education was about creating a better and more equitable society and teachers needed the professional skills to help in this process.

I think this narrative still exists but it has been pressed hard by changing social and political conditions. The more libertarian ideas espoused by Reagan in the US, Thatcher in the UK and, a little later, Howard in Australia and Sarkozy in France both drove and reflected different ideas about educational opportunity. The post-1989 political changes in the former USSR and Europe strengthened this direction of travel, and a new narrative began to develop around teachers and, by association, teacher education. In this narrative, teachers were not doing enough for the individuals they taught. Poor teachers were denying the opportunities for individuals to advance. This was a narrative picked up across the political spectrum. Bill Clinton as governor of Arkansas and Tony Blair in his first period as UK prime minister developed strongly critical polemics around teachers and, by association, teacher educators. In the present century, international assessment data have provided the evidence for a number of governments to challenge the quality of teacher preparation. Only in high-achieving Finland has it been possible to reinforce the role of the university in educating teachers.

The chapters in this book report and analyse teacher education from all parts of the world. The policy context of teacher education is remarkably consistent.

Teachers need to improve; teacher education needs to be more practically focused on the classroom, teacher educators need to make their work more relevant and more effective.

This is a message that resonates through the national and international policy communities. Many teachers, especially school principals, share this view. In a recent survey in Australia, 70% of school leaders expressed dissatisfaction with the quality and standards of pre-service education and training.

Politicians have appropriated this narrative, sometimes – as in England – pursuing almost a vendetta against the universities. Policy development today has a global rather than national audience; the criticisms of teacher education have been strong in all parts of the world. Tony Taylor tells us that in Australia between 1975 and 2014 there have been 40 federal and 41 state enquiries into teacher education. Yan Hanbing and her colleagues show how

the opening-up of a more competitive model of teacher education in China grew from dissatisfaction with the curriculum and methods of the formerly monopolistic 'key normal' universities. In my own research on government intervention in teacher education in European countries, the vast majority (Finland was an exception) had legislated or regulated the structure and curriculum of teacher education (Moon 2003) and most of these interventions impinged on the work of universities. This is still the situation today. The evidence from the 12 case studies presented here is that governments and other local or regional authorities intervene persistently in the way universities organise teacher education. Ideas about academic freedom and university autonomy seem to stop at the door of the education faculty.

It is important to remember, however, that such narratives need sustenance from the wider community. The politicisation of teachers and teacher education arose from, and fed into, wider disquiet about school standards. I have suggested that the very success of education systems in many parts of the world (measured not just by international tests or the growing percentage of the population qualifying for higher education, but also other indicators – book-reading habits, museum and gallery attendance, for example) has stimulated a less deferential, more demanding, parent population. Such parents, whether explicitly or implicitly, are aware of the significance of education in contemporary knowledge-based occupational structures. I do not think these pressures, or the politicians who tap into them, will change. If anything, I think public expectations about the quality of schools and teachers, as Jessica Aguti in her chapter on East Africa demonstrates, will continue to grow.

The challenges to the teacher education community have, as many of the case studies suggest, been particularly strong. Ken Zeichner quotes Goodlad, who talked about the 'chronic prestige deprivation' of schools and faculties of education. He himself uses the phrase 'narratives of failure' around teacher education. Ronald Sultana, looking across the Mediterranean world, quotes Elstead's assertion that university-based teacher education is a 'field of tensions'. All the chapters express the fragile, even febrile, position of teacher education within the university. It is difficult to think of any other academic or professional part of the university that has similar, critical, external pressures.

The response by teacher educators has varied. There have been those who just question the validity of the critiques. See, for example, Diane Ravitch's polemic against the policies of American Secretary for Education, Arne Duncan (Ravitch 2015). Others have tried to present a reasoned analysis of

the way in which the attack on teacher education is just one manifestation of the neo-liberal ideology that opposes all non-competitive, ant-market monopolistic structures (Furlong 2013). Opposition to the critics has created a narrative around which many in the teacher education community can group. All of the contributors to this book had to grapple with this issue. All equally acknowledged that there are complex – sometimes oppositional – narratives at play, and that these have to be understood in planning the future role of the university in teacher education. I will return to this issue at the conclusion of the chapter. First, I think it is important to look at the emerging ideas and themes that the case studies identify. These provide an important foundation for speculating about future scenarios.

THE ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL WORLD OF TEACHER EDUCATION

I do not underestimate the significance or the strength of the political and policy-based criticisms of teacher education. However, the case studies in this book reveal a rich array of experience and ideas that operate behind or beyond the narratives. These provide inspiration, I believe, for rethinking the structures of teacher education within the university. I have identified five themes that seem of particular importance.

1. Orientation towards the practical

The first theme is the orientation of the curriculum towards the practical. Vivienne Baumfield's analysis of the UK context quotes the late Donald McIntyre's assertion that the centre of gravity of teacher education should move towards the schools. Ken Zeichner describes the way in which practice-focused 'clinically-rich' teacher preparation has become the new slogan in US teacher education. Tony Taylor describes how, in the Australian context, the most recent of the many reviews of teacher education strongly argues that education faculties and schools should work closely together to bridge the theory–practice divide. These are the contexts where criticism of teacher education has been most pronounced. All the case studies suggest, mostly quite strongly, that the universities need to give greater prominence and status to the practice of teaching. And this means rethinking the modes of partnership that can be built between universities and schools.

We have little evidence to support decisions about the balance between school-based and university-based activity in programme design. In the

country where there appears to be the highest level of satisfaction with teacher education – Finland – just 20% of course time is given to school practice. In the UK – where political dissatisfaction is high – the figure has been regulated at nearly two-thirds since the early 1990s. I suspect it is the quality of the practical experience and the way it is integrated into overall course content and structures that is crucial (see Evans 2013). In the case studies there are a number of different examples of the move towards the practical. Quite how this is achieved will depend on local and national conditions. The change will, however, involve changing conditions of work for teacher educators.

More than one case study here reports the way in which some universities have bought in temporary staff in order that tenured teacher educators need not visit schools. This seems quite extraordinary (imagine the same scenario in professions such as medicine or law). Irma Eloff in South Africa describes how this perspective has influenced policy pronouncements about the work of teacher educators with practice relegated to a subsidiary rather than principal role. The case studies, however, point to the way in which some teacher educators believed that giving time to the practical reduced rather than enhanced academic status. This has clearly not worked. The status of education faculties is questioned in many parts of the world. The message from the analyses here is that embracing the practical more rigorously will not diminish but rather raise the status of education within the university. Jessica Aguti says that too many education faculties are working in the way they did 20 years ago. She detects a conservatism that is leading to a neglect of the changing social, economic and educational circumstances in which teachers now have to work.

2. Research-focused pre-service training

The second theme I want to identify is the increasing interest in research-focused pre-service training. I think that this interest, if linked to a stronger focus on practice, could provide an important dimension to rethinking the approach to university-led teacher education.

In Finland, pre-service teacher education aims to make research and evidence a central tenet of course design. Let me quote Hannele Niemi:

> Teachers need a profound knowledge of the most recent advances of research in the subjects that they teach. In addition, they need to be familiar with the latest research on how something can be taught and learned. Interdisciplinary research on subject content knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge provides the

> foundation for developing teaching methods that can be adapted to suit different learners […] The aim is that teachers should internalise a research-orientated attitude towards their work. This means that teachers learn to take an analytical and open-minded approach to their work, that they draw conclusions based on their observations and experiences, and that they develop their teaching and learning environments in a systematic way.

This perspective is interesting for a number of reasons. The focus is on using research to become increasingly more effective in the classroom. There is a curriculum for research. It is directed towards, and integrated into, the practical components of the course. It takes as a starting point what the teacher has to teach, whatever the grade, and it embraces subject-based enquiry. I have noticed a reluctance of some teacher educators to give importance to 'subjects' despite the influential work of Lee Shulman, Howard Gardener and in his latter days Paolo Freire (Leach & Moon 1999) but it is difficult to conceive of practice-focused research without this orientation. In other professions, research (and the applications of research) has greater prominence. There would be concern if medical education did not take account of the latest research findings. That this is less true of education raises issues about the nature and relevance of university-led research in education.

Making research more central to a practically focused curriculum would also impact on the personal research agendas of teacher educators. Rama Mathew and Shyam Menon describe how the research agenda in Indian universities is driven too strongly by individual interests. They see teacher education faculties as on the periphery of policy. Ronald Sultana suggests that education faculties need to be the repositories of cutting-edge knowledge. They are often not. Irma Eloff, for example, describes the missed opportunities for research and practice in relation to the urgent issues around multilingual education.

3. Responsibilities around disadvantage in schools

A third theme relates to the responsibilities that teacher educators have for preparing teachers who can understand and combat disadvantage in schools and classrooms. In the Boston area of the USA, the superintendent of schools, Tom Payzant, from 2003 onwards argued for teacher preparation that specifically addressed the challenges of working in urban areas. The Boston Teacher Residency programme, as the USA case study describes, is one of a dozen clinically oriented residency courses that prepare teachers for specific school districts.

As I read about this work, I reflected on the importance of student teachers acquiring the technical skills and conceptual understandings of dealing with disadvantage. In a book titled *The Power of Pedagogy*, I attempted, with my colleague Jenny Leach, to suggest that the underpinning values of the teacher role required a more proactive form of pedagogy where inequalities of educational opportunity exist (Leach & Moon 2008). The case studies in this book reinforce the importance of this approach and yet the curriculum of many teacher education programmes gives this scant attention. There is a strong argument for suggesting that such an orientation, if integrated with a practice-focused research agenda, would give greater credibility to education faculties and the teacher preparation process generally.

4. Active involvement in professional development

My fourth theme is the need for university departments of education to become more active and involved in the induction and ongoing professional development of teachers. For many decades there have been repeated criticisms about the form and quality of professional training support given to teachers across their careers. These critiques have not been addressed to universities directly, but rather to the systems of professional support as a whole. Successive reports and syntheses of research have pointed to the incoherence and inadequacy of provision both in high-income countries (Ingersoll 2004; McCormick 2010) and in developing countries (Pryor et al. 2012). In Finland, Hannele Niemi suggests that universities could play a much stronger role in professional development.

The focus of all the case studies is pre-service provision, despite the invitation to include discussion of professional development where university-led provision existed. The work of universities remains resolutely focused on initial teacher preparation. It is difficult to find any examples of faculties of education keeping in contact with teachers who graduate from pre-service courses, even those teachers who continue to be based locally. There are few examples of universities playing a part in system-wide approaches to professional development. The ongoing education of teachers has logistical and financial implications that go well beyond university responsibilities. However, new modes of partnerships and the exploitation of digital network supports offer new possibilities. I will return to these in the next part of this chapter.

5. Alternative routes into teaching

The fifth theme addresses the issue of alternative routes into teaching. In the USA and UK, diversifying forms of teacher preparation has been a governmental policy for a number of years. These policies have been promulgated and sustained despite changes in political control. The strategy in England has been to move the centre of control to the schools rather than the universities. In the USA, non-public sources of funding, such as major philanthropic foundations, have become the funders of non-university pathways into teaching. In both countries, as in Australia, fast-track routes for well-qualified graduates have become a feature of teacher supply. Teach for America and Teach First in England have been running for a number of years and – despite criticism from teacher educators – appear to have achieved some measure of success in recruiting and retaining teachers (Hill 2012).

Diversification in other countries has taken different forms. In China, the provision of pre-service and in-service training has been opened up to the wider university sector. The monopoly of the 'key normal universities' has been broken. In India, the private university sector is increasingly playing a role in teacher preparation. The move towards alternative routes has been motivated by impatience with the established modes of preparation in universities and also by the sheer scale of teacher supply requirements. The number of extra teachers required in parts of Asia and sub-Saharan Africa significantly outstrips the campus-based provision that currently exists. Thus, in the UK, an open and distance learning programme provided by The Open University trained tens of thousands of teachers between 1994 and 2016 (Leach & Moon 2000). Yan Hanbing and colleagues describe programmes of distance education with teacher numbers reaching 600,000 a year.

The motivation for diversification varies from one context to another. In part, there has been a reaction against courses that are perceived as overly theoretical. More important, however, has been the need to encourage new types of entrants into teaching who are willing to work in demanding socio-economic districts or localities. In the developing world, the demand for teachers is growing inexorably. Teacher shortages, however – particularly in some subject areas – exist everywhere. It seems inevitable that alternative ways into teaching will have to be increasingly developed. Universities could play an important facilitative – rather than oppositional – role in this area.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY

Cristián Cox's description of the tensions associated with teacher education in the universities of Chile typifies the global difficulties for teacher educators. He points to a number of factors that have contributed to contemporary difficulties:

> The first is sociological and organisational in nature and common to many university systems. It relates to the 'newcomer' syndrome of educators from the school system entering the university setting: their *parvenu* interest in being accepted and recognised at the new institution […] drove the new educators to mimic the research plus the perceived 'high level' discourse of academia, and this directed them away from their origin in schools […]

This is a recurrent theme across the case studies. Cristián Cox goes on to link this with some of the particular problems in Chile that were associated with the military regime from 1973 to 1990. The general point, however, does appear to be central to the university role in teacher education.

I think it is difficult for teacher educators to ignore the widespread criticism of teacher education and training, and particularly the approach to practice. It is true that some of this has been politically motivated. The perception of some right-of-centre politicians and commentators that left-wing university departments of education have been pedalling partial and biased theories about education has been around for some time. This is particularly true of the USA and the UK, where the political and ideological divide about teacher education has been most acute. However, the majority of the case studies here report disquiet about teacher education, but in terms that focus on quality and effectiveness rather than ideology. Even in those countries where ideological concerns have been strong, this has been presented in a rhetoric about quality and relevance.

Teacher educators in universities have not always been astute about building alliances that could underpin their role. Teachers, and teacher organisations, for example, have not been in the forefront defending the university role in teacher preparation. School principals have been given little voice in the education and training of the staff they will be recruiting. Universities have not seen the building of strong stakeholder communities and frameworks as an important task. In looking to the future, this would seem to me to be an important priority.

There is evidence about how this might be done within the case studies. The University of Oxford in England has been a pioneer of school-based

teacher preparation and has established a strong locally based community of support around the approach. School principals, teachers and local authority officers all have a role to play. Elaine Munthe and Magne Rogne discuss how, in Norway, a much more research- and practice-based approach is emerging from a highly politically fraught process.

There is a potentially strong community of practice around teacher education and this needs identifying and giving, as Vivienne Baumfield suggests, new space in the teacher education process. I think, however, that the university has the potential – some might argue responsibility – to go beyond this.

There is a strong argument to be made for universities playing a role that goes beyond pre-service training and contributes significantly to career-long professional development. In some countries, the beginnings of this can be observed. The growth of Master's programmes, including the adoption of the 3+2 Bologna model in Europe, provides a foundation upon which universities can build.

Through the case studies, it has been possible to identify a number of themes that could feature in a more extended partnership between schools and universities. The centrality of practice and research could be at the core of such an endeavour. We now have the technologies to allow any teacher to keep in contact with the institution in which they were first educated and trained. If this experience were successful, then there would be a strong motivation for teachers to stay connected. Schools and district education authorities or (as will be the case in some countries) private organisations could build such involvement into their teacher education programmes. Examples of this already exist. Café pédagogique in France (cafepedagogique.net) and Harvard's WIDE World (online-learning.harvard.edu) are two examples.

I have argued before (Moon 2013) that universities could provide the hub around which networks of professional development could be built. With my colleague Jae-Eun Joo, I have pointed to the role that emergent technologies could play in a teacher education process that went beyond pre-service training (Joo & Moon 2016). If such networks could be established, it would be possible to support diversified routes into teaching. There is evidence from the case studies that teacher educators will need to move away from a 'one size fits all' approach to structures. In some countries, there will be many teachers who have been unable to enrol for the full span of campus training. In most countries, young graduates – particularly in shortage subjects – might be making direct entry into a teaching job. It would be possible to conceive of a university network that provided support across a range of needs. But such networks could go beyond necessities. Why cannot the

teacher of young children be kept in touch with ongoing research about early childhood development? How can the university keep teachers in touch with research around school curriculum subjects? Why not create a network dialogue between universities and teachers about our new understandings of the learning process?

There are, of course, cultural and logistical problems. Ken Zeichner has pointed out how recently the conventional model of teacher education was introduced. Cristián Cox has explained how strong a cultural hold it has on teacher educators. There are examples in this book of ambitious innovatory ideas that challenge the rather conservative world of teacher education. Such innovations nearly always require a change and an adaptation in the work and role of teacher educators.

The evidence of this book suggests that it is the teacher education community that should be leading the re-imagining of teacher education processes and structures. Where this has not happened, other stakeholders (governments, business) are stepping in, sometimes 'shoving out' the university. I think this is unfortunate. Teaching is an intellectual and professional task, and deep connection with the university ought to be at its core.

The responsibility for this work rests with the universities. Deans of Education or their equivalent have a leadership task that goes beyond the administrative to address the question posed in the title of this book. Let me suggest in conclusion just seven questions they might consider:

1 How central is practice to the culture of the faculty and the curriculum of teacher preparation?

2 How are practice and research linked in the work of the faculty?

3 How strong are the linkages between the faculty and key stakeholders in the teacher education process?

4 To what extent is the faculty responding to the critical discourse around teacher education?

5 Is the university 'owning' part of the dialogue around teacher supply, retention and quality? Could the university embrace a diversification of pathways into teaching?

6 In what ways could the university contribute to a widening of the university role towards a more systemic development, at scale, of teacher development?

7 In what ways does the faculty envisage making use of the affordances of new and emerging digital learning opportunities in rethinking the role of the university in teacher education?

The case studies provide a basis for considering these and a range of other questions. The value of teacher education to teachers and schools and the standing of teacher educators within the academic world depend on developing some original and creative responses. And time presses.

References

Furlong, J. (2013). 'Globalisation, Neoliberalism and the Reform of Teacher Education in England'. *The Educational Forum*, 77:1, 28–50.

Hill, R. (2012). 'Teach First. Ten Years of Impact'. teachfirst.org.uk.

Ingersoll, R.M. (2004). 'Four Myths about America's Teacher Quality Problem'. In M. Smylie & D. Miretsky *Developing the Teacher Workforce*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Joo, J. & Moon, B. (2016). 'Teacher Education and Digital Learning; Reconstructing a Role for the University'. In M. Ben-Peretz, ed. *Teachers and Teacher Education*. London: Routledge.

Leach, J. & Moon, B. (1999). *Learners and Pedagogy*. London: Paul Chapman.

Leach J. & Moon B. (2000). 'Changing Paradigms in Teacher Education: A Case Study of Innovation and Change'. In A. Scott & J. Fremman-Moir. *Tomorrow's Teachers: International and Critical Perspectives on Teacher Education*. Canterbury: Canterbury University Press.

Leach, J. & Moon, B. (2008). *The Power of Pedagogy*. London: Sage.

McCormick, R. (2010). 'The State of the Nation in CPD'. *The Curriculum Journal*, 21:4, 395–412.

Moon, B., Vlasceanu, L. & Barrows, L.C., eds (2003). *Institutional Approaches to Teacher Education within Higher Education in Europe. Current Models and New Developments*. Bucharest: UNESCO/CEPES.

Moon, B. (2013). *Teacher Education and the Challenge of Development: A Global Analysis*. London: Routledge.

Pryor, J., Akyeampong, K., Westbrook, J. & Lussier, K. (2012). 'Rethinking Teacher Preparation and Professional Development in Africa: An Analysis of the Curriculum of Teacher Education in the Teaching of Early Reading and Mathematics'. *The Curriculum Journal*, 23:4, 409–502.

Ravitch, D. (2015). 'The Education Secretary earned his F'. Salon.com, 9 July.

NOTES

1 The CNE (*Conseil national d'*évaluation – National Evaluation Council) ceased to exist in 2006. It was an organisation made up of independent universities in charge of evaluating higher education. Its evaluation role now falls to the AERES (*Agence d'*évaluation de la recherche et de l'*enseignement supérieur* – Research and higher education evaluation agency). In a report published in 2001, the following was mentioned: '*Le CNE ne peut donc pas valider le bien-fondé d'un certain nombre de procès faits aux IUFM – "pensée pédagogique unique"; "emprise des sciences de l'*éducation*"; "mépris pour les savoirs disciplinaires" – ou de certaines généralisations hâtives à partir de tel ou tel incident, de tel ou tel témoignage, de telle ou telle statistique ou de tel ou tel article de presse.*' ('*The CNE cannot, thus, validate the legitimacy of a certain number of accusations made about the IUFM – "unique educational thought"; "educational science grip"; "contempt for subject specific knowledge" – or hasty generalisations from such an incident, such a testimony, such a statistic or such a press article.*')

2 The circular (MEN 1991a) mentioned that training must be based upon three pillars: '*les stages en établissements scolaires*' (placements in schools), '*la formation disciplinaire*' (disciplinary training) and '*la formation générale et transversale*' (general and transversal training). The last pillar undoubtedly invited a logical appeal to human and social science. '*Connaissance du système éducatif, des publics scolaires* […]' ('Knowledge of the educational system in public schools […]').

3 In the French language, the peacock is considered to be an animal who likes to show off its beautiful feathers in order to seduce.

4 In the US, colleges are mostly private post-secondary institutions offering Bachelor's and sometimes Master's degrees.

5 In the US context, colleges refer to post-secondary institutions (mostly private) that offer Bachelor's and sometimes also Master's degrees.

6 These 'early entry' teachers almost always teach children of colour in communities highly impacted by poverty (Peske & Haycock, 2006).

7 www.southerneducation.org/Our-Strategies/Research-and-Publications/New-Majority-Diverse-Majority-Report-Series/A-New-Majority-2015-Update-Low-Income-Students-Now.
8 www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/rc10_eng.pdf.
9 www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-112hhrg75109/pdf/CHRG-112hhrg75109.pdf.
10 www.seattleteacherresidency.org/.
11 Author's note: using in part the author's inside knowledge of Monash University's education faculty appears from time to time in this chapter as an illustrative example of how one large and apparently successful faculty dealt with the ups and downs of the post-Dawkins period. It is important to point out that the author spent 24 productive and enjoyable years working with many exceptional educators at Monash Education (1990–2013). It is also important to point out that Monash Education had an outstanding reputation in history of education in the 1980s, science education in the 1990s and mathematics/history of education (2000–10).
12 Cit. Gregory 2014, 234. Marginson is currently at the Institute of Education, University College London.
13 The authors are thankful to Gunjan Sharma and Manoj Chahil for help with accessing a few important references and to Ajay Kumar Singh for identifying sources of some data.
14 The figures about TE in this section are as per the list of institutions recognised by NCTE as on 31 May 2015 and the number of students enrolled in them. These data have been accessed by the authors from unpublished NCTE records. The authors are thankful to Professor Santosh Panda, Chairperson, NCTE for help in accessing these.
15 Elementary Education in India: Trends 2005–06 to 2013–14, National University of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi. http://dise.in/Downloads/Trends-ElementaryEducation-2014-15/AllIndia.pdf.
16 'The Sedan defeat (of the French against the Prussian army in 1871) reverberates in a strange form in this country which is going through a period in which prosperity stimulates the wish for a rapid cultural growth. The army and public education turn to Germany' (Labarca 1939, 181).
17 Up until then, the teaching bodies of Catholic elite secondary schools were to a significant extent provided by the religious orders running the schools.
18 '… a major part of our status problem comes from particular historical contingencies (bad luck) and sociological associations (bad company). Historically, teacher education had the bad luck to arrive in higher education after all the top positions were already taken' (Labaree 2004, 187).
19 There are no written records on this process that we know of. However, a testimony by former dean Erika Himmel, of the Universidad Católica de Chile Faculty of Education, is unequivocal. In a video filmed on occasion of the 70th anniversary of her faculty, she refers to the reform process of the 1960s and the depletion of education departments in favour of the creation of new faculties, as 'the most dangerous moment'.
20 This means leaving aside early childhood education and special education, which in terms of 2015 enrolment represents 25% of the total (Cox et al. 2015, Table 1).
21 'Penguins': colloquial Chilean for school secondary-level students.
22 The report was critical of past decade policies. 'Chilean education is influenced by an ideology that gives undue weight to market mechanisms to improve teaching and learning' (OECD 2004, 266).

23 An 82-member body that convened weekly between June and early December 2006, the Consejo Asesor Presidencial para la Calidad de la Educación, was without precedent in its plurality: it included university rectors and student leaders, former government ministers and representatives of indigenous groups, Catholic as well as Protestant church representatives, teacher union leaders, academics, and representatives of NGOs and parent associations.

24 The Experts Panel (12 persons) was convened by the first minister of education of President Piñera, Joaquín Lavín, in May 2010. It was politically plural, and included four former ministers of the Centre-Left coalition that governed Chile through four governments from 1990 to 2010. The main international references of the final report were: OECD (2005). *Teachers Matter: Attracting, Developing and Retaining Effective Teachers*. Paris: OECD; and Barber & Mourshed (2007). *How the World's Best Performing School Systems Come Out on Top*. London: McKinsey (Ministerio de Educación 2010).

25 For a detailed and critical analysis of the different measures proposed by the panel, see Montecinos (2014). The author criticises the panel for emphasising pressure instead of support mechanisms as priority government tools for improving the sector: 'six recommendations are related to measurement/accountability (pressure) and three proposed resources for improving conditions in education programmes (support) (Montecinos 2014, 286).

26 The first three bills were during the government of President Piñera (2010–14) and the fourth during the government of President Bachelet. The first bill proposed an *Examination of Teacher Excellence* (see Presidency of the Republic to the President of the Senate, No. 370/358, Santiago, 27 October 2010); the second proposed a law establishing a *System for the Promotion and Development of Teachers in Public Education* (see Presidency of the Republic to the Chamber of Deputies, Message No. 456-359, Santiago, 29 February 2012). A third bill put forward by the government of President Piñera was for a 'short law' initiative that attempted once again to address the national examination of new teachers (see Presidency of the Republic to the Chamber of Deputies, Message No. 177-361, 13 August 13 2013). The fourth bill put forward during the government of President Bachelet proposed a *System for Teacher Professional Development* (see Presidency of the Republic to the Chamber of Deputies, Message No. 165-363, 20 April 20 2015).

27 Three centres were set up in so many universities: Centro de Investigación Avanzada en Educación (CIAE) at Universidad de Chile (www.ciae.uchile.cl); Centro de Estudios de Políticas y Prácticas en Educación (CEPPE) at Universidad Católica de Chile (www.ceppe.cl), and Centro de Políticas Comparadas en Educación (CPCE) at Universidad Diego Portales (www.cpce.udp.cl). As of 2010, the centres have cooperated in organising, every other year, an interdisciplinary congress on educational research, which is serving as a coalescing force for development in the field. For the domains covered and papers presented, see: www.ciie2010.cl; www.ciie2012.cl; www.ciie2014.cl.

28 Also contributing to this same effect was Chile's participation in an international study on pedagogical and knowledge preparation in mathematics for primary-level teachers: IEA TEDS-Math Study, whose results revealed fundamental weaknesses of the sector. See Avalos and Matus (2010) for the national report, whose results revealed, once again, fundamental weaknesses of the sector.

29 The R&D project corresponds to FONDEF Project D09I1063, *Generación de una Videoteca de Buenas Practicas Docentes para la Formación Inicial y Continua de Profesores y Profesoras de Chile*. Santiago de Chile: CONICYT–FONDEF.

30 At present, the government is financing diploma courses to primary-school teachers, based on this academic production, explicitly oriented to bridge the gap in disciplinary knowledge in mathematics, revealed in stark terms by Chile's results in the IEA TEDS-Math Study (Avalos & Matus 2010).

31 The change in schooling structure was sanctioned by a General Law of Education passed in 2009, culminating in the process of debate and political drafting of a reform of the institutional basis of the education system triggered by the '*Pingüino*' secondary student protests of 2006.

32 The *Ley General de Educación* was approved by Parliament in October 2009. It allows any professional to teach up to four years in secondary education before receiving a certification of pedagogical studies (Article No. 46, G). Derogation of this article has been a rallying point for the teaching profession since then.

33 This does not differ from what Fullan and Hargreaves say about the 'business-capital view of teaching' in their book *Professional Capital* (Fullan & Hargreaves, 2012).

34 The equivalent of *Teach for America* in Chile is *Enseña Chile*. The programme was founded by a group of Chilean graduate students from US universities. It is funded by business corporations and belongs to the *Teach for All* worldwide network. From 2009 to 2014 it has hired over 300 professionals to work as teachers in 77 schools for a period of two years in disadvantaged areas. See www.ensenachile.cl.

INDEX

ACKNOWEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Colleen McLaughlin for inviting me to contribute to this important series of publications and to the co-editor of the series, Michael Evans who, with Colleen, provided very important commentaries as the book developed. I would also like to thank Paul Sloman at Cambridge University Press for his patient support in seeing this book through to publication. Finally I would like to give particular thanks to Rachel Minay for her help in assembling the manuscript.

Bob Moon, Oxford, 6 March 2016