**Searching High and Searching Low, Searching East and Searching West:
Looking for Trust in Teacher Education.**

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Abstract

This paper considers what has been learned from reviewing the full set of papers in this special issue. It considers some of the major factors that have impacted on education, and subsequently teacher education in recent times, namely rapid technological change and increasing globalisation and movement from one country to others and then focuses on how standards, for schools, for the people in them and for teacher education, have been used to drive improvement in many parts of the world. Key issues that have emerged from this special issue are first, whether or not teaching is a craft or a profession, which has implications on how teacher educators view themselves, as practitioners or researchers. Second, what is notable in a number of countries in this issue is the lack of trust being shown by politicians and communities to both teachers and teacher educators and this concluding paper considers why this is so and how it might be changed.

Keywords: teacher education, craft, profession, practitioner, researcher, standards, trust.

Introduction

This collection of papers, and other reports from many parts of the world, demonstrate that those associated with teacher education, from the policy, research and practice arenas, are currently on a quest, searching for a Holy Grail that provides the balance between having enough teachers, but not too many; and ensures that the teachers that graduate from an increasing array of programmes, provided by both public and private providers, and through formal and less formal means, have the skills, attitudes and dispositions to support high levels of student achievement in schools that are becoming increasingly diverse, and with more and more of them facing challenging circumstances (Chapman and Harris, 2004; Clarke, 2004).

Such a quest would be difficult even under the best of circumstances, but this is a time when governments are seeking to limit the level of funding provided for teacher education activity, whilst increasing the range of expectations required; when think-tanks propose new models for the education of teachers that will impact on the jobs of those previously involved in this process; and when many teacher education staff within universities are being asked to increase their research output to make up for funding challenges brought on by government responses to the Global Financial Crisis. All of this is happening within an environment of increasing accountability and where most teacher education staff members have both higher teaching loads than their counterparts in other faculties, in order to meet the range of both coursework and practical requirements placed on them by those certifying their graduates. It appears the case that, in some countries, there is little trust being shown for the people involved by those who set the rules and perhaps in this regard we may be reaching a point of no return.

This tension might be considered as the difference between the '*sollen*' (duty) and the '*wollen*' (aspiration), terms used by Schley and Schratz (2011, p. 268) to depict the leadership dilemma in Austria where government interventions cause an overload problem "by piling disconnected policies one upon another, leading to a sense of confusion and uncertainty." This is brought about when "close interconnections between education and economic growth are apparent" (Dimmock and Goh, 2011, p. 226). For governments, the identified rationale for change in education (and teacher education) is that there are many students who are currently not performing at a level that will ensure their successful transition into the economic, political and social contexts of a rapidly changing and increasingly globalised society and consequently there is a need to adjust the way in which teachers are educated to improve this situation.

However, the underlying rationale for change seems to stem from a widely held belief that if schools (and teacher education institutions) were more business-like in their approach to education then success must follow. If we had more competition (perhaps from different private agencies) and different pathways, then things would get better. In Townsend (2011a), I repeated a story by Bill Cirone (2011, online), County Superintendent of Schools in Santa Barbara County, which identifies one of the key issues that seems to never get considered at government level. He tells of a local businessman, one that was renowned for his company's successful marketing of blueberry ice cream, who gave a speech to a group of teachers. He told them that:

"...public education needed to change. He felt schools were designed for the Industrial Age and not in tune with modern needs. He also felt, strongly, that educators themselves were a major part of the problem, resisting change, protected by tenure, bureaucratic. He thought if schools looked to a business model, they could improve dramatically: zero defects, total quality management, continuous improvement... when a teacher in the audience raised her hand. She praised his ice cream and asked about the premium ingredients. He responded with pride about all the particulars. She then asked, 'when you

are standing on your receiving dock and you see an inferior shipment of blueberries arrive, what do you do?’

...He replied truthfully that he sends the blueberries back.

The teacher pointed out that teachers can never send back blueberries. ‘We take them big, small, rich, poor, gifted, exceptional, abused, frightened, confident, homeless, rude, and brilliant. We take them with attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, junior rheumatoid arthritis, and English as their second language. We take them all. Every one. And that is why it’s not a business. It’s a school’.” (Cirone, 2011, online)

Cirone is also known for trying to develop strategies to encourage the ‘best and the brightest’ into teaching, to enable teaching to be a profession where the status attributed to it overcomes the deficiency in pay that teachers receive compared to some other high status professions. However, the value systems of many western countries, where personal wealth and power is seen to have a higher status than serving the community, and the acceptance of New Public Management (Moos, 2011) values, conspire against this. In many places the number of high school graduates that choose teaching as their first option is diminishing, in the same way that the number of teachers who see themselves as becoming school leaders is diminishing. The task of teaching, and the task of leading schools, is now becoming too difficult, especially if one wants to balance work and home life. As MacBeath (2011a this issue, p. XX) reports, in the

‘2005 survey by the Trades Union Congress in Britain, which produced a league table of unpaid hours by occupation, teachers topped the pole by a significant margin – over eleven and half hours unpaid per week, two hours more than corporate managers and senior civil servants who jointly took second place.’

For many teacher educators, the workload is similar to that of teachers, and the current focus and direction of the debate on teacher education appears as if we are simply continuing to look for someone to blame if everything is not perfect, when perhaps no single person or group can be responsible for the outcomes being expected. In a recent newspaper article, headed ‘Teachers: Blame only where blame is due’ (Hurst, 2011, online), it was

argued that of the 16 factors that can affect student achievement (see below) referred to in *Parsing the Achievement Gap II* (ETS, 2009), only six are within the control of the teacher.

- Curriculum rigour
- Teacher preparation
- Teacher experience
- Teacher absence and turnover
- Class size
- Availability of instructional technology
- Fear and safety at school
- Parent participation
- Frequent changing of schools
- Low birth weight
- Environmental damage (i.e., lead, mercury)
- Hunger and nutrition
- Talking and reading to babies and young children
- Excessive television watching
- Parent-pupil ratio (# of parents)
- Summer achievement gain/loss

This balance between what teachers can impact on and what they have no control over is succinctly summed up by Imig et al. (this issue p. XXX) who report: ‘Classrooms experienced sharply increased class sizes and reductions in supporting staff and aides. School calendars were shortened and more than a hundred thousand teachers were “pink slipped” or told their contracts would not be renewed for the 2011-12 school year.’ Clearly all of these changes would impact poorly on student learning, but none are in the control of the teacher.

We find that there are national expectations for student achievement, national standards for teachers, and national standards for school leaders in many of the countries that contribute to this special edition. National standards for teacher education also seem to be on the agenda in many places. However, there seems to be no national standards for parents, for communities or for politicians, when it comes to how they contribute to education, yet the list above suggests that these groups also play a considerable role in the eventual outcome of the

educational industry. Under such circumstances a quest for the Holy Grail instead becomes a trial of attrition for those involved.

Global changes and their impact on education

The reasons why teaching and teacher education have become centre stage in many governments' attempts to be successful in the global economy can be traced back to two major types of change that have happened over the past half century. Although each of these changes has different characteristics, they are linked to each other in a way that means progress for each happens in tandem with the other. The changes, in short, are rapid and substantial improvements in technology and communication on the one hand, and an increasing globalisation of markets and mobilisation of people from one country to others, on the other.

Technology

In Townsend (2011b: 121) I suggested that when teachers are asked the question 'What can a 15-year-old do or experience today that you could not do when you were 15?' it usually generates a response about changes in technology, but it is also important to ask teachers to "consider changes in the past 20 years for the environment, employment, relationships, health and wealth, in society, safety, culture, communication, and even the values demonstrated by society's leaders." However, the extent of these changes is intricately connected to our relationship with technology. Nowhere is this more important than in education. Yet we sometimes overestimate the power of the teacher to change things, when a substantial proportion of a student's life is spent outside the school. MacBeath (2011b) reports on a study

by Baroness Greenfield which indicates that each year, for a 10 to 11 year old British student, 900 hours are spent in school, but 1277 hours are spent at home and 1934 hours are spent online in a variety of ways of communicating with others, or materials available. When one considers the level of expectations that are placed on teachers to change or improve student performance, but with no consideration given to the fact that three-quarters of a student's time is spent away from the classroom, one starts to understand the difficult position that teachers are in. But we also start to understand how teacher education programmes might need to adjust to take into account new technologies and how they might be used in education.

Globalisation and International Mobility

Globalisation is a phenomenon that started being discussed in the 1970s and there has been substantial debate about the values and problems associated with having the world as a marketplace. Global Economic Forums attract as many dissidents as they do supporters and there are arguments that there is not a true world economy because most companies that call themselves global are actually multinational corporations that operate from a national base (Hirst and Thompson, 1996).

However, there is now an increased level of trade, although most of this is still within developed countries, and an increasing number of international unions such as the European Union (EU), which is an economic and political union of 27 European countries, and various international trade agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (CMESA), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Free Trade

Area (AFTA), the Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership (TPP) and the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC).

This level of international cooperation has made it easier for people to move from one country to another to work, to the point where foreign-born is now a designated component within any census. The countries represented in this special issue can be considered to have low (Portugal 3%, Scotland 6% and France 8%), medium (UK 11.4%, USA 11.8% and Norway 12.2%) or substantial (New Zealand 19.5%, Canada 24%, Australia 26%) proportions of their populations who are born in other countries or whose parents were born in other countries. But it is not only the size of the foreign born population, but where those people come from, that especially impact on schools. The intake of a large proportion of migrants from one developed country to another does not impact as much on the receiving country as does the intake of a large proportion of people from a range of less developed or even least developed countries. A large and diverse population of migrants creates not only language issues for schools, but also means that schools might have to deal with a range of cultural and national traditions that are not part of the 'way in which things are done around here'. There seems to be substantial evidence of a correlation between diversity and disadvantage on the one hand and student outcomes on the other, but in many cases this does not seem to have been taken into account in many national policy frameworks.

These changes are linked because changes in technology and communication, on the one hand, have supported the ability of companies and organisations to impact at a global level, whereas previously they had only been able to impact locally or nationally, but on the other hand, something such as the Global Financial Crisis, and the terrorist activities of September 11, 2001, both of which started as an incident in the United States, became

something that affected people, either financially, or in terms of the ease of travel, all around the world. Improvements in, and the lessening cost of, travel, together with the development of the global market place, has allowed more people to move from one place to another than ever before as companies open up new markets in various parts of the world.

The changes mentioned above have come in waves as we changed our thinking from local, to national, to international. Drucker (1993: 1, in Townsend, 2011b: 122) argued:

Every few hundred years in western history there occurs a sharp transformation. We cross... a divide. Within a few short decades society rearranges itself, its world view; its basic values; its social and political structure; its arts; its key institutions. Fifty years later, there appears a new world ... we are currently living through such a transformation.

However, there is now less time between one wave and the next, creating what Toffler (1971) called 'Future Shock'. Of course a re-reading of *Future Shock* now would show that change that has happened since he wrote the book has far outweighed what had happened prior to 1971. We have moved from what I called (Townsend, 2009) 'thinking and acting individually' which lasted more than four thousand years, through 'thinking and acting locally', which lasted around a hundred years, to 'thinking nationally and acting locally' and finally 'thinking internationally and acting locally', both of which have come about in just the last two decades.

In Townsend (2011b) I argued that the waves of change that had occurred in the areas mentioned above had impacted on education as well. In recent times, we have used international assessments of student performance, such as TIMSS and PISA to compare our country with others but this then filters down to where individual schools are held accountable if they do not have students who perform at the levels required. Governments

around the world have instituted various standards, of learning, of teaching, of leadership and of teacher education, to address these changes.

Standards-driven reform: A historical perspective

Many countries of the world, and some covered by the current special issue (in particular USA, UK, and Australia) have turned to a standards-driven education system as a means of improving the quality of education provided and to increase student achievements. These might be tracked back to the United Kingdom in 1969 with the publication of five ‘Black papers’, the first two of which, *Fight for Education* (Cox and Dyson, 1969a) and *Crisis in Education* (Cox and Dyson, 1969b), were the most influential. They criticised what was seen as the excesses generated by a progressive education under the then Labour Government and proposed the need for a number of reforms that tightened up what was allowed to happen in schools. One suggestion was a national curriculum, which became a feature of the *Education Reform Act* of 1988 under the Thatcher government, which also saw the introduction of Grant Maintained Schools and Locally Managed Schools.

These quasi-private government schools, together with the introduction of higher levels of parent choice in terms of where parents sent their children, created massive changes in how education was structured and managed. The introduction of City Technical Colleges (CTCs), where financial control was passed from the local authority to the headteacher and board of governors, with the expectation that the school would also access funds from private sources, was the grandparent of the current Academies in England and Wales. The Act was also notable for the introduction of six ‘Key Stages’, linked to the national curriculum by

identifying the expected learning outcomes of students at various age levels from reception until the end of school. This was the first real attempt to create standards of achievement for students in public schools. The Education (Schools) Act of 1992 formalised the standards agenda by creating the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), now the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted), the non-ministerial office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector (HMCI), which inspects and regulates a range of education agencies including schools and teacher training institutions.

Race to the Top, the current federal policy framework for education in the United States, accepted by the Obama administration, has built on *No Child Left Behind* established by President Bush in 2001, which in turn was built on a standards based vision developed by the Clinton Administration in 1994, when the reauthorization of the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* (ESEA) was written to ensure that all states had rigorous standards for all subject areas and grade levels. This, in turn was an adaptation of *Goals 2000*, created by the previous President Bush after a national education summit that was held in 1989. It could be argued that the US standards movement actually started when *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, the 1983 report of Ronald Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education, was published. Here, comments by the lead author, James J. Harvey, such as "the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people" and "If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war", set the tone for reform and the associated environment of blame and punishment that still exists in the United States today. The substantial federal support for the establishment of charter schools by the Bush government shows substantial similarities to the British model. What we

have found since that time is that the standards agenda has been acceptable to governments from both sides of politics.

The late 1980s and early 1990s were a watershed for change that was driven by government rather than by educators themselves in a number of countries represented in this issue. As Bogotch, Townsend and Acker-Hocevar (2010) report:

It is interesting to note that in the 1980s and 1990s, when discussions of the changing nature of leadership were at their height, the most innovative activities that emerged were driven from the top down. During this period the intervention of government into the knowledge and management issues surrounding schools led to perhaps the greatest period of change in school history. Within half a decade the Thatcher Government in England (Local Management of Schools), the Lange government in New Zealand (Tomorrow's Schools) and the Kennett government in Victoria, Australia (Schools of the Future), had all instituted radical forms of self-managing schools (See Caldwell & Spinks, 1988, 1992, 1998), that rapidly became a model for a structural change in education that swept the world, with charter schools in the USA and various levels and forms of decentralization in many countries of the world.

The move towards varied forms of self-managing schools meant that there was an increasing responsibility on school leaders to oversee the development of their schools, which created new issues for how schools were managed and led. This, in turn, increased pressure on teachers as new terms such as distributed leadership (Gronn 2000, 2002, Spillane, Halverson and Diamond 2001, 2004), shared leadership (Lambert, 2002), democratic leadership (Starratt 2001, Møller 2002) and team leadership or teacher leadership (Little 1990, Barth 1999) were used to describe the process whereby leadership within a school is spread from the school leader to others in schools. Such a move created further difficulties for teacher educators who were already stretched to find enough time to cover a range of curriculum and classroom management areas, without having to consider a teacher's role beyond the classroom.

What have we learned from the current set of papers?

The ten papers provide a wonderful opportunity to see how neighbours perform when dealing with the same issues. First, we have three sets of papers and in each set we have countries that are close neighbours, with many close economic, political and social ties. In the first instance we have England and Scotland; in the second, the United States and Canada; and in the third we have Australia and New Zealand. In all three cases, the first country is substantially larger in terms of population than the latter and in each case it appears that the larger country has a more rigid and directive approach to the management of education and is choosing to be more proactive in terms of directing how teacher education might be implemented.

The United States and England seem to be most obsessed with standards, with Australia following close behind. In England, MacBeath (2011a this issue: XXX) quotes Beckett (Hansard, 8 Feb 2011: Column 167) who argues that the goal of educating every child to high levels of achievement was ‘threatened by the over-emphasis in England, over a long period of time, on educational standards coupled with performance, testing, attainment, measurement, and the punitive approaches to school performance.’ Imig et al. (this issue p. XXX), report on the ‘the new Common Core State Standards Initiative that will guide PK-12 schooling’ in the USA and the role that teacher education institutions must play in promoting these. In Australia, the formation of the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) in 2008 where the major outcome ‘over the next two years will be a national curriculum to assist teachers to equip all young Australians to thrive in a competitive and globalised world’ (O’Meara, this issue, p. XXX). In each case the national government is

attempting to standardise what is happening in the states or counties within the country.

National curricula and national testing have either been established or proposed.

A regulatory approach is also being used to drive improvement in the UK. MacBeath (2011a this issue p. XXX) reports that ‘All student teachers must demonstrate that they meet the Secretary of State’s QTS (Qualification for Teaching) standards. These enshrine the basic professional knowledge, skills and understanding teachers are judged to need.’ However, this is just the first step in a long standards based journey as teachers then progress through Core teacher (completed induction), post-threshold teacher (upper pay scale) excellent teacher, and advanced skills teacher. The Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) website reports how teachers might progress from one level to the next:

‘Each set of standards builds on the previous set, so that a teacher being considered for the threshold would need to satisfy the threshold standards (**P**) and meet the core standards (**C**); a teacher aspiring to become an excellent teacher would need to satisfy the standards that are specific to that status (**E**) and meet the preceding standards (**C and P**); and a teacher aspiring to become an AST would need to satisfy the standards that are specific to that status (**A**) as well as meeting the preceding standards (**C, P and E**) – although they can apply for an AST post before going through the threshold.’
(<http://www.tda.gov.uk/teacher/developing-career/professional-standards-guidance.aspx>).

In the US and Australia the borders between the national and state responsibilities for education are being tested. In the USA (Imig et al, this issue, p. XXX) suggest that ‘Accountability expectations were ratcheted-up and [teacher] preparation programs made responsible for the success of their graduates in affecting the learning of their PK-12 students’. In Australia, O’Meara (this issue, p XXX) reports that in February 2011, Australian Ministers of Education introduced ‘seven National Standards [that] identify what is expected of teachers under three domains of teaching e.g. Professional Knowledge, Professional Practice and Professional Engagement.’

However, the comparatively smaller neighbouring countries in this volume seem to honour diversity much more. They still have standards of achievement for students, but these seem much broader than the focus of the larger countries. In Scotland, for instance the major recent curriculum reform (Curriculum for Excellence) has broad based learning outcomes which are based on the ‘four words inscribed on the Mace of the Scottish Parliament: wisdom, justice, compassion and integrity’ (Gillies, 2011, online). Canada has no national system of education and individual provinces are able to use their local knowledge to deal with the elements of diversity that are peculiar to particular parts of the country. Van Nuland (this issue, p. XXX) reports: ‘Viewed as a nation, one notes the significant differences in curriculum, assessment, governance, and accountability policies, among the jurisdictions that express the geography, history, language, culture, and corresponding specialized needs of the populations served.’ In New Zealand, despite ‘Professional development is increasingly focused on reducing the achievement gap... and improving literacy and numeracy outcomes by implementing National Standards’ the obligations made to Maori people ‘under the Treaty of Waitangi are apparent in documentation and policy at all levels of the education system, and it is a key influence on teacher education in New Zealand’ (Ell, this issue, p XXX).

These countries also have standards of professional practice for teachers, but they seem less complicated. Van Nuland (this issue, p. XXX) reports that Canada has ‘certification standards and competencies which are provincially administered.’ New Zealand removed the national Ministry of Education in 1988 and the government now has a direct relationship with individual schools. The substantial Maori and Pacific Island populations warrant a focused consideration on diversity issues at the government level. Ell (this issue, p. XXX) reports ‘The NZTC has a set of standards for graduating teachers (Graduating Teacher Standards) and a set of standards for registered teachers (Registered Teacher Criteria)’, which provides

the framework for what needs to be known upon graduation and then what needs to be known as a practising teacher. Scotland, with its strong local traditions, ‘has functioned more or less independently of the UK government over the three hundred years since the UK was formed’ and has ‘aspects of an ‘embedded’ national culture and tradition’ (Menter and Hulme, this issue, p.XX). In Scotland, the General Teaching Council, the authority responsible for teacher standards, also has various levels of expectation for what should be known at the end of undergraduate teacher education (The Standard for Initial Teacher Education - SITE), for full registration (The Standard for Full Registration - SFR), and for Chartered Teachers (CT) which defines the level of professional accomplishment teachers might seek to achieve. In all three cases, one gets the impression that the decisions made in the smaller countries are gentler, more oriented towards people rather than tasks, and honour teachers and teacher educators as a professional, having a significant impact on future society, rather than simply as a craftsman, that just needs to be told what to do in a minimalist fashion.

In our next set of three papers, from France, Portugal and Norway, the first two consider the complex issues of educating teachers within the frameworks set down by the European Union and the latter is still able to maintain a level of independence from such frameworks. Flores (this issue, p. XX) reports on the impact of the Bologna Process, where the main goal is the ‘harmonisation of higher education systems in order to achieve the European Higher Education Area (EHEA)’. Part of this process has been to work towards a European Qualification Framework and towards a model of teacher education leading to a master’s degree as a means to ‘raise teacher status, improve quality of teaching and foster professional development’ (Flores, this issue, p. XX).

With Portugal facing a teacher oversupply and within the confines of a substantial financial crisis, the government took the opportunity to make the road to becoming a teacher more challenging, with an examination to ‘demonstrate the mastery of knowledge and competencies required to teach in a given area of knowledge’ (article 22nd Decree-Law 15/2007, in Flores, this issue) together with a probationary year of teaching prior to full registration.

In France, recent reforms have seen a new recruitment policy for public sector teachers, whereby teachers ‘are to be recruited after graduating from master’s programmes organised by universities’ (Lapostolle, this issue, p. xxx). In doing so, the connection between recruitment and training, which were previously an integrated process, has been broken. In addition, the *Institut Universitaire de Formation des Maîtres* (IUFM), institutions that were previously distinct from universities, have now been integrated into them. This reform has generated both benefits and challenges, with the main benefit being that students are now much more research oriented as they study for their master’s degree prior to the decision to become a teacher, but this has also brought the major challenge of trying to undertake ‘Research training, professional training and preparation for recruitment competitive examinations’ (Lapostolle, this issue, p. xxx) simultaneously, with the possible outcome that focusing on one might diminish the chance of being successful in the others. These cases have demonstrated how much differentiation can be found in Europe, even within the confines of the Bologna process.

Norway, our other European contributor, has a unique set of circumstances that allows it to be seen as somewhat different from other countries. It has a small population, yet is wealthy (5th on GDP, internationally) and so education provision from primary school until

university is free. Teacher education is regulated nationally and, as with the other countries in this issue, is in the process of change. Perhaps most significant is the expectation that teacher educators must be researchers and research must be part of the student learning as well. Although such a situation might be something expected in most of the countries in this issue, to have it identified specifically in a government White paper (Munthe et al., this issue, p. XXX) is helpful as it means that government, and institutions as well, would need to allocate time and funds for teacher educators to be researchers, something that does not seem to happen in other places, where the emphasis is on the teaching activity rather than research. In this way, Norway perhaps could be considered as most advanced when it comes to identifying teachers and teacher educators as professionals, and needing to undertake tasks based on research, rather than simply practitioners, who should only observe and copy others.

Finally, we have the case of Malawi, a small African nation that is trying to catch up with the rest of the world, despite giving it about a hundred years start. The paper by Chazema and O'Meara (this issue) clearly demonstrates the difficulties faced by developing nations when trying to establish a broad based education system. Here the problem is not so much regulating teachers, but finding them in the first place. The comparatively recent initiative of teacher education (in 1965) and subsequent strategic plans by government have not been able to deliver the hoped for improvements. Increased student enrolments in schools could not be matched by increased numbers of teachers, teacher education institutions had little funding to train their own staff or upgrade their curriculum, and social and cultural issues created difficulties for teacher employment in rural areas, even when there were teachers who might have been available. The Malawi government has made many strategic moves to raise the number and quality of the teaching force, by increasing the number of training institutions, through Open and Distance Learning provisions and seeking to upgrade

the qualifications of the people who worked in teacher education institutions. However, the main issues preventing a large scale improvement at the system level is the number of graduating teachers who left the profession for various social and cultural reasons. ‘Among those who did graduate and were deployed to rural schools less than 10% remained in the position for more than twelve months’ (Chazema and O’Meara, this issue, p XX). Herein lies the difficulty for many developing nations, especially those in sub-Saharan Africa (see Rosling, 2007), where, without international support, they are unable to get to the level of development where they are able to sustain themselves. It is clear that developed countries have a responsibility to support countries such as Malawi on their educational journeys, but as we have seen from our other papers, there appears to be no commonly accepted way of doing this, even in the most developed of countries.

It seems from the papers in this special issue that there is a range of approaches being used in different countries and this is perhaps best summed up by not so much what government reports are saying, but who is on the committee that writes the report. As Ian Menter (2011) has pointed out, one notable difference between the two most recent reports in the United Kingdom, *Teaching Scotland’s Future*, the Donaldson Review of Teacher Education in Scotland (RTES) (Donaldson, 2011) and *The Importance of Teaching*, a recent White Paper in England, (Department for Education, 2010) is that Donaldson was previously in the education system whereas the White Paper was written by a political committee.

There are various issues identified in the articles that need to be addressed, however, I wish to focus on just two: the nature of teaching and the role of the teacher educator.

Is teaching a craft or a profession?

The first question, one that needs to be answered before any other aspect of teacher education can be considered, is whether or not the role of teacher is a profession or a craft. It is clear that there are differing views on this held by governments in different parts of the world and there are certainly differences of opinion between some politicians and teacher educators.

This has led to many different avenues to becoming a teacher. The Florida state government, for instance, has a bewildering array of pathways to receiving 5 year teacher certification, including:

- Initial Degree College Courses in Traditional Teacher Preparation Program
 - After Degree-Full Reciprocity (for out of state)
 - After Degree- District Alternative Certification Competency-based Program
 - After Degree-A valid ABCTE Passport Certificate in the Subject Area
 - After Degree- Professional Preparation College Courses per Rule 6A-4.006
 - Initial and After Degree Approved College Professional Training Option- Content Major & College Education Courses per Rule 6A-4.006
 - After Degree-Educator Preparation Institute Competency-based Program
 - After Degree- Two semesters of successful college full-time teaching experience
 - After Degree- A valid NBPTS Certificate in the Subject Area
- (Source <http://www.fldoe.org/edcert/pdf/Profoptions.pdf>)

So everything from a dedicated degree in teacher education, to demonstrating that you are competent after already being employed is an option. In the latter case:

If you can demonstrate any of the Florida Educator Accomplished Practices when you begin your new career as a teacher, then your individualized training program will focus on the areas of your greatest need. You will be able to complete the program in a shorter period of time.

(Source: <http://www.altcertflorida.org/answerQuestions.htm>)

This suggests that we can improve the overall quality of the teaching workforce by treating teaching as a craft, one that can be learned by watching and following what others do, rather than as a profession, where one needs a theoretical, ethical and practical background to be able to perform the task at the highest level. Such a position seems to have

some credibility in England as well where John MacBeath (2011a this issue) reports on ‘Secretary of State Michael Gove capturing Conservative thinking: “Teaching is a craft best learnt on an apprenticeship basis in schools” (Speech to the National College of School Leadership, June 17th, 2010)’. The coalition government in the United Kingdom seems to be very clear on its views, calling the process of educating teachers “teacher training” and arguing for the removal of universities from the process in favour of having a school-based apprenticeship system of training. It appears from these comments that teaching is something anyone can learn, simply by watching and doing what others do. It is based on the same simplistic idea that has been used as a means of improving schools...If we tell you what to do and tell you how to do it, then everything can get better. This position reflects the sort of leap-of-faith view that if the current practices of already successful schools are recreated for all schools, then all schools will become equally successful. It does not take into account the massive variation of a myriad of factors in the schools themselves.

What is the task of a Teacher Educator?

To a certain extent, the role of a lecturer or professor in teacher education depends on one’s perception of the nature of being a teacher. As we have seen in the course of this special issue, there are various views of what a teacher is (or should be) from ‘Teaching is a craft best learnt on an apprenticeship basis’ to ‘Teachers need to be able to *do*, and education programmes develop skills. But, as mentioned above, there is also an emphasis on teachers needing to *be* and programmes that enable *becoming*’ (Munthe et al., this issue, p XXX). For those who take the first view, teacher education can be delivered in a variety of ways, through ‘on-the-job’ training, by completing a programme of professional development within a

public or private agency, such as a school district or a business, or to go to a dedicated teaching institution. The other half of this viewpoint is that each of these options is equally valid (despite there being no research data that supports this view). The latter viewpoint accepts that teachers need to go beyond simply repeating what others have showed or told them to do and to incorporate the ability to collect a range of data from appropriate sources, to analyse that data appropriately, and to then make decisions about future learning activities based on that analysis, in other words, to adopt the role of a professional and use appropriate information in the same way that a doctor or engineer might do.

Depending on the viewpoint taken, teachers could be trained in places where a set recipe for doing things is simply learned and implemented, or alternatively in places where much larger knowledge sets are required. As MacBeath (2011a this issue, p. XX) argues: ‘What universities can offer are opportunities for student teachers to work in an environment of educational research and enquiry with access to library, ICT support and CPD opportunities up to doctorate level.’ This is not an environment where simply following what others do will work.

As we have seen from our countries in this issue, most of them have now opted for a university based education as being the primary place for the education of teachers. In some of our countries there is a move towards the ‘masterisation’ of the teaching profession. But for this to happen, one role of a teacher educator must surely be to be immersed in a world that balances research and practice. Not only must research inform the practice that is being discussed by teacher educators, it must also be part of the practice of teacher educators. This creates difficulties in the current climate, when governments and ministries are increasing the number of expectations as to what student teachers must know and thus what teacher

educators must deliver, when simultaneously, universities are expecting teacher educators to be just as involved in research as members of other faculties. But we still have some way to go before we can say that teacher educators ARE research driven.

In the USA, the issue might be associated with funding: ‘A downturn in federal grant opportunities and funding availability and a recasting of research priorities and guidelines by federal agencies which made it particularly difficult for faculties in research extensive education schools to acquire grant funding’ (Imig et al., this issue p. XX). In Norway, the problem is more with staff whose lives have been dedicated to practice: ‘Most teacher education departments were busy educating their own faculty as researchers, since a majority only had an MA degree’ (Munthe, et al., this issue p.XXX). In some cases this has left teacher education staff in limbo: ‘Staff members who are expert teachers have been required to also become productive researchers. These imperatives in the University environment have left the teaching profession wondering if teacher education has become less effective and less relevant to today's classrooms.’ (Ell, this issue p. XX).

On the other hand, ‘the space is ripe for research and commentary over the next few years’ (O’Meara, this issue p. XX) as ‘many, many questions remain unanswered or under-researched’ (van Nuland, this issue p. XX) and ‘University requirements for research present teacher educators with an opportunity’ (Ell, this issue p. XX). The real test is whether teacher educators choose these opportunities with both hands and teacher education becomes a research-driven profession. The alternative is to resist these expectations to the point where from one end, political forces, and possibly from the other end, other faculties in universities, prove their case that teacher educators are only interested in practice which may lead to the creation of the ‘craft-oriented’ training models that are currently being proposed.

Searching for trust

We are experiencing a time when teacher education is suffering from a range of attacks from those who have a specific agenda of their own, as reported by Noble-Rogers (2011: 2) below:

Critics of teacher education have sometimes labelled teacher education as being out of touch, unreformed and ineffective. Such attacks are most frequently made from a right-wing populist agenda. For example, Minette Marrin described teacher training as being full of ‘toxic left-wing dogma’ (*Sunday Times*, 10 October 2010).

Such attacks come despite the fact that 2009/2010 HMCI annual report found that:

- 94% of HEI led ITE programmes are good or better;
- 47% are outstanding, compared to just 26% of school-based routes;
- that partnerships that exist between universities and schools are strong; and
- employment based routes that have links with universities provide better training than those which do not

(Noble-Rogers, 2011: 3)

This lack of trust in teachers and teacher educators is echoed in Imig et al. (this issue) who comment on the Fordham Institute’s *Cracks in the Ivory Tower* (Frakas & Duffitt, 2010):

The slim report described education professors “as philosophers and agents of social change” rather than “master craftsmen sharing tradecraft.” It claimed that teacher educators were largely resistant to promising reforms...

In Townsend (2011a), I argued that there were three different factors which created the conditions for learning. The first is how we deliver the material (which might be called ‘pedagogy’) which can be placed on a continuum from asking at one end to telling at the other, the second is the type of knowledge we are trying to deliver (which might be called ‘curriculum’) which can be placed on a continuum from specific facts or tasks at one end to a focus on concept and process development at the other, and the third is the way in which we create the conditions for learning (which might be called ‘environment’) which can be placed

on a continuum from having a supportive relationship with the learner at one end to having an oppositional relationship at the other. I argued that if we are involved in any form of learning, whether it is in the classroom, the school, the university or the society, the way in which we apply these three factors (as teacher, as school leader, or as government) will lead to a certain response (from the student, teacher, school leader, teacher educator, etc). The table below indicates the responses to particular applications of the three different factors, especially if the factors are applied consistently in the same way over time.

Pedagogical approach	Environment	Curriculum focus	Likely response
asking	supportive	concepts/processes	Understanding
asking	supportive	facts/tasks	Knowledge
asking	oppositional	concepts/processes	Self-doubt
asking	oppositional	facts/tasks	Guilt
telling	supportive	concepts/processes	Self-belief
telling	supportive	facts/tasks	Clarity
telling	oppositional	concepts/processes	Unquestioned belief
telling	oppositional	facts/tasks	Memorization

If we look at what is happening in teacher education in some of the reports in this issue, we might suggest that there is a pattern starting to emerge. It seems that increasingly teacher educators are being told what to do, and there are acts being passed in many countries to regulate teacher education. Teacher education institutions are being asked to deliver on an increasingly narrow set of objectives, or standards, with substantial amounts of time having to be spent on delivering that part of the curriculum that is being measured and reported, with proportionately decreasing amounts of time on other areas of human endeavour. Finally, there is an environment in which some politicians, reporters and some members of the community seem to want to find someone to blame. It started in the Thatcher era, with the ‘name and shame’ use of league tables, tables that are still in existence more than 20 years later despite any evidence that they have made any difference. It was then passed on to teachers and school leaders and various standards were created for both groups to try and make sure that

being educated in one school was just the same as being educated in any school (unless of course your parents were able to fund a private education, in which case the same rules were not applied). Perhaps it would be interesting to see, in the countries in this issue, what proportion of politicians, who are making decisions about public education, actually send their children to private education. Now the scrutiny is being passed on to teacher education institutions.

Under these three sets of conditions, from the table above, all teachers (and teacher educators) need to do is memorise what they have to do and implement it in the way in which it has been learned. By passing on this version of the world from teacher educator to teacher, so teachers will then pass it on to students, we prepare people for a world where we let other people make decisions for us and we learn to accept that the world is really like this. It is clear from this scenario that politicians in a number of countries do not trust the people they employ to do the job they employ them to do. They do not trust teacher educators to provide their students with the skills and attitudes required to do the task of teaching which leads to comments such as Minette Marrin's (above). They also do not trust teachers or school leaders either.

So how might we move forward when we have some countries that seem to have such a negative view? For that I wish to return to the blueberry executive in Cirone's story. After his meeting with the teachers and his recognition that not all students have premium backgrounds, he changed his attitude towards schools completely. He recognised the difficult situation that schools, and the people in them, face. Later he wrote:

Schools reflect the attitudes, beliefs, and health of the communities they serve, and therefore, to improve public education means more than changing our schools; it means changing America. (Cirone, 2011, online)

So changing our attitude towards education and teacher education involves a change in our values. Not an easy thing to manage. But there are some examples that might give us hope. Trust does seem to exist in some countries. In Scotland the government commissioned an educator to write the report on Teacher Education and the first thing he did was to ask a group of teacher educators in a university to tell him what the research showed. This particular example demonstrated three alternative sides of the factors mentioned above. The government asked a question, the question was about something substantial and it was asked in an environment of trust and support. The government trusted a former educator (Donaldson, 2011) to write the report and Donaldson trusted teacher education researchers to provide a comprehensive literature review. The outcome of the Scottish experience was that the report contained fifty recommendations and all fifty have been accepted by the government. They have also been accepted by the education community as being an appropriate way forward. The circle of trust was completed.

Since learning only occurs when we ask ourselves questions, and research always starts from having a question to consider, then this appears to be the best way forward. It might be argued that progress only occurs when people are able to answer questions of substantial issues and are allowed to find the answers to those questions in a supported way.

If we agree that the way forward is through asking substantial questions, then one question to be asked by teacher educators becomes, 'Are we prepared to let others make our decisions for us?' If the answer is, 'No', then the next question is 'Then what do we intend to do about it?'

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