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NEW FLEXIBILITIES IN TEACHER EDUCATION?

Papers of a symposium of TNTEE sub-network A
at the ECER in Frankfurt, September 1997

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Introduction

Sub-network 4 of the Thematic Network for Teacher Education in Europe organised a major symposium at the ECER in Frankfurt in 1997 under the title of „New Flexibilities in Teacher Education". Several discussants agreed to contribute to the symposium theme which was introduced by Pat Mahony and Ian Hextall. Discussants were invited before the conference to consider the questions raised below in the symposium framework and react to them:

Symposium Framework For ECER 1997: Frankfurt/Germany
New Flexibilities in Teacher Education

Major transformations are occurring throughout the nation states of the EU and beyond in the structure, organisation, characteristics and control of teacher education and professional development. One of the purposes of this thematic sub-network is to provide a context in which researchers, practitioners and academics from diverse EU states can reflect upon such changes and sharpen their collective capacity to comprehend and, if necessary, influence developments. It is with this in mind that this symposium has been organised to explore some general issues raised by such transformations.

Why should so much change be occurring now? What are the influences which may be generating such activity in so many diverse contexts?

Is it possible to discern any general trends behind the variability of nation-state policies? Are there common strands underlying the different discourses and rhetorics, or is specificity all-important?

In some countries 'professional status' has been a painfully achieved and jealously guarded designation for teachers. This is, however, by no means true for all member states of the EU. There are some for whom a movement towards 'professionalisation' is viewed as a regressive step. Can the policy and structural changes be viewed as processes of professionalisation, de-professionalisation, or re-professionalisation? What would be the criteria which would enable comparisons to be drawn across these changes in terms of their implications for teachers' work and status?

What contribution have teachers and their representative organisations made to these policy transformations? Which were the other key constituents in the policy process? What does this reveal about patterns of educational governance and accountability?

Nationally and internationally, comparable issues are being encountered more widely than in the field of education. Is it relevant and helpful to draw comparisons with workers in other public sector occupational groups?

How valuable is it to think in terms of a European, or even global, paradigm emerging for teacher education and professional development? How would this intersect with questions of centralisation/ decentralisation, federalism, harmonization and subsidiarity?

This publication contains the papers of the symposium plus invited papers from participants to the symposium.

An introductory paper on „Transforming 'Professionalism': The Teacher Training Agency and National Professional Qualifications in the UK" was written by **Pat Mahony** and **Ian Hextall** (Roehampton Institute, London/England) and distributed before the symposium. The Teacher Training Agency came into existence in England in September 1994. According to the two authors it represents a significant realignment of patterns of power and control in the governance of teacher education and professional development. They maintain that it is now difficult to think of any stage of teaching or area of teacher education which falls outside parameters established by the TTA. The establishment of the TTA is further described as coinciding with a general public policy trend for the government to establish agencies and non-departmental public bodies, popularly known as QUANGO's, to implement and administer whole areas of government policy, but outside the direct control of the central departments - and outside the control of parliament/the public. For the purposes of the symposium Mahony and Hextall concentrate on the system of National Professional Qualifications which the Agency is introducing for the following career stages: newly qualified teachers; expert teachers; subject leaders; headteachers. It is argued that these constitute a powerful intervention in the restructuring and recomposition of the work of teachers and of the teaching profession itself.

David Hartley (University of Dundee/Scotland) in a contribution title „Towards the pedagogical fix" picks up some of the themes in Mahony's and Hextall's contribution casting a critical eye on the theoretical assumptions made and proposing a more rigourous framework. He argues that the New Public Management is not wholly about the implementation of a neo-liberal market agenda in education (including teacher education). If it were, then government would have no need to interfere in matters of pedagogical process; it would only need to confine itself to the generation of output measures of the products. The agenda is deeper: it is a distrust of the discretion of professionals. Generally, the label of the market is thought to be a misnomer. By establishing regulatory measures of the product and the process, governments are seeking to standardize both in a complementary manner. In the UK, it began with the curriculum for school pupils; it is now continuing to regulate that of the universities, beginning with teacher education. Theory is set aside. It is regarded by government as being unable to offer a firm foundation - a knowledge-base - for teacher education, and as the postmodernist knowledge-wars in academe proliferate the government's concerns on this matter are underlined even more. It must, so the argument runs, step in. It must bring order to disorder, and this order is one of old, rooted in basics, abstracted from the cultural flux which consumer capitalism has set in train. The re-processing of professionals is not only derivative of globalization and the quest for competitive efficiency; it is also framed by cultural and intellectual uncertainty which, paradoxically, governments are choosing either to ignore or to corral into a regulatory strait-jacket.

Theodor Sander (Universität Osnabrück/Germany) in turn indirectly examines the theoretical framework of the analysis undertaken by Mahony and Hextall from a German perspective in supplying a paper on „The production of effective teachers for effective schools through neoliberal reforms?". In this contribution doubts are raised concerning the usefulness of the concept of 'neoliberalist governance of teacher education'. Using the label of neoliberal (or managerialist, lean state) policies, as is currently done by supporters and critics of current reforms alike, tends to obscure the meaning of the policies in question which were gradually introduced in the 1980s and 1990s. Both sides have been eager, for different reasons, to describe the policy shifts as a radical break with the past. At school level the break would be identified as a politically motivated turn away from (social democratic) ideals of the past - the provision of excellent educational opportunities for all children - towards the authoritarian introduction of differentiation, hierarchy and so new divisions within the publicly provided school system. At teacher education level the break would be described as a

politically motivated move replacing a humanist, democratic, child-centred vision of teaching and teacher education with new general standards of effectiveness and flexibility as well as hierarchical concepts of society in general and teaching in particular.

On the basis of comparing developments in East and West Germany it is maintained that in a critical perspective the idea of radical political alternatives in education policies in the post-war period is not supported by the facts. Even less so - it might be concluded - could fundamental political alternatives be detected as resulting from changes in parliamentary majorities (as they have occurred in Germany from the Conservatives to the Social Democrats at the end of the 1960s and up to the beginning of the 1980s, then back to the Conservatives in 1982 and now in 1998 back to the Social Democrats). Hence the view of a radical break and the associated theories of neoliberal reforms in recent decades is rejected. Looking back on recent developments in teacher education in Germany in the 1990s, we are certainly not marching from a healthy progressive era to a bleak neoliberalist future, from a relative ineffectiveness of schooling to more effective schools under the control of central institutions, from semi-professionalism or non-professionalism to professionalism in terms of increased application of norms set by the central state, from rigidity of teacher education and the education sector in general to flexibility as dictated by central policy-making bodies. While major changes appear to be occurring in this decade, they could be seen as having a completely different meaning. The existing flexibility of the (teacher) education sector in terms of its social functions appears to be gradually destroyed, and recent policies of the state clearly contribute to producing such destructive effects, thus increasingly endangering the overall stability of the system.

Lourdes Montero and José M. Vez (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain) deal with „Processes of Professionalisation and Deprofessionaliation of Teachers in Spain“ focusing particularly on links between professionalisation and teacher education. Considering the study by Mahony and Hextall on the changing image of teachers in teacher education in England and Wales and the effects of the creation of the Teacher Training Agency on the redefinition of professionalism, they find that many of the aspects being mentioned as typical for England also hold true in the Spanish context. At present, the two countries might in fact be facing the same problems, although starting off from different sides. Even the terms “deprofessionalisation” and “(re-)professionalisation” might be given different meanings in England and Spain. In their opinion, the teaching profession in Spain is still undergoing a process of professionalisation, and this refers in particular to the part played by teacher education in promoting such a development. However, it is also discussed in greater detail which deficits still exist at the level of initial teacher eduction and in-service teacher education. It is noted that much greater research efforts would be needed in order to know precisely about the effects of reforms which have been implemented in Spain in recent years at both levels.

In another discussion paper by **José M. Vez and Lourdes Montero** (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela/Galicia, Spain) it is underlined that there are shared interests and a shared emphasis in developing teacher education, in particular school-based pre-service teacher education, in England and Spain. Within the context of increased government intervention in the education and training of professional groups, especially teaching, a common factor has been an increase in the proportion of training devoted to practice in the workplace. Much recent literature dealing with the implications of this trend focuses upon ‘mentoring’ and ‘reflection’ as key concepts and practices necessary to enhance the quality and effectiveness of teacher education and training. This concentration upon these two concepts, one rooted in the role of the teacher or tutor, the other rooted in the teacher as well as in the learner and in classroom interaction, have led to a modification even the replacement of the ‘theory-practice’ relationship characterising previous approaches. However, in comparing developments in teacher education in England and Spain the main point is that substantial differences still exist between the two countries. This is the result of an empirical study conducted in co-operation between a Spanish and a British team.

John Willumsen (Blaagaard Statsseminarium, Copenhagen/Denmark) in a contribution on „New managerialism in teacher education - professionalization or re-professionalization?“ looks at recent developments in teacher education in Denmark as compared to England and Wales. Since the days of Grundtvig, Danish teacher education by tradition heavily stressed the idea of the personal development of teachers and co-operative as well as theoretical competencies, all to be put into practice in courses run by the autonomous colleges of education. In view of this long tradition it was until quite recently not very likely that managerial theory or concepts be considered as relevant, at least not in the field of (teacher) education. Since 1993 a few steps had been taken in order to evaluate parts of the educational system, especially at the level of upper secondary education. Much of this was introduced as an inspiration from the not very successful attempts at transforming other parts of the welfare state by what may well be called „representing the interests of the customer”. But due to the Danish tradition of decentralisation and the priority given to democratic and personal qualities, it seemed very likely from a Danish perspective that the ”new managerialism“ was just to be regarded as „a British disease”. However, even in Denmark the situation seems to be gradually changing recently. In the political manifest „Folkeskolen 2000“, sanctioned by parliament, eight issues are raised for being developed and launched towards the year 2000. Quite parallel to the development in teacher education, educational differentiation, professional organisational development and quality assesment measures and procedures are now seen as priorities. As a result, in these areas the personal and social skills and understanding and the autonomy of the teacher at the moment seem in danger of disappearing or at least getting less priority in the future.

Pat Mahony and Ian Hextall
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Transforming Professionalism: The TTA and the National Professional Qualifications in England and Wales

The Broader Context

Transformations in the public sector (what we used to call the welfare state) are often presented as a consequence of ‚globalisation'. Although the meanings and significance of ‚globalisation' are matters of much debate, that one word often stands in place of explanation or justification for why we have witnessed rapid change in our education systems over recent years. Hence we begin with some observations about the nature of globalisation which has been a key concept in recent UK policy on education.

Broadly, the discourse around ‚globalisation' tends to operate in a number of ways.

- ‚Globalisation' as a signifier for changes in communications and technology. Accessibility to electronic information, at least for those who can afford it has promoted the flow of both information and knowledge that is anti-educational as well as educational, anti-social as well as to the benefit of society (Albrow 1994). It offers new opportunities for travel and for criminal activity, operating on a transnational basis from the multi-million dollar electronic movement of money, to street level drug exchange or sex trafficking in women and children. It offers both new opportunities for learning as well as a new way in which the gap between rich and poor expresses itself.
- ‚Globalisation' as a signifier for economic forces which determine the form, priorities and functions of national governments. Within this discourse, national governments are said to have no alternative but to facilitate competitiveness in the global markets by deregulation, reduction in public expenditure and an extension of private enterprise. It is a story with which we in England have become familiar over recent years. The attraction of this account is in providing a convenient escape route for those who might find it difficult to justify, on moral grounds, the negative effects of policies which have bitten hardest on the most vulnerable in our societies. The more the poverty gap has widened (IPPR 1993; Lean and Ball 1996), the more that children most in need of resources are fed through to schools least able to provide them, the louder our policy-makers have been able to proclaim their helplessness.
- ‚Globalisation' as a myth designed to encourage us to think that we have no choices about how our societies are organised or the values which underpin them.

> globalisation is a teleological doctrine which promotes, explains and justifies an interlocking system of world trade (Ferguson 1992 p. 87).

Our own position is to reject a deterministic account of economic forces whilst acknowledging that the ease with which ideas, finance and goods can be moved around the world makes the concept of the ‚global village' a reality within which governments have to act. This is not to underestimate the

power of the multinational companies, the influence of international organisations and the effects of the increase of companies' operations across national borders to produce and sell goods in more markets. However these are run by people (albeit with values we may not share), not propelled by some external force. Moreover, the very terms multinational and international suggests an interrelationship with and interest in the national (Ohmae 1992).

It is true that trading agreements have caused erosion of national autonomy. However trading agreements do not appear out of thin air - they involve political choices as we have heard ad nauseam during the recent UK election. There is also a changing pattern of world employment consequent both on the emergence of the major trading zones and the development of technology. The notion of a job for life for example, (for middle class men) has given way to ‚the portfolio career', a euphemism if ever there was one for job insecurity and anxiety about how to pay the next set of bills. However, choices are available in framing employment policy responses.

In our view then, choices over how we shape our world are possible. There is choice, even within narrowing policy options, in how we distribute wealth in our societies, in how we organise public sector institutions and in how we define the purpose and structure of that public sector. Within our education system choices are available in how we shape what it means to be a teacher or a headteacher and over who constitutes the ‚we' making these decisions.

In the course of our recent work, we have found some evidence that different approaches are being adopted by different nation states in response to the changing global context which requires that our education systems become more accountable, more responsive, more efficient and more effective. It is important to sharethe different ways in which these demands are being met and we will argue, particularly important to avoid some of what the English are currently doing in the name of ‚globalisation' and global competition.

Education and the rise of the 'competition state'

In the UK the preoccupation with increasing the competitiveness of UK Ltd. in the global economy is very pervasive in the policy documents of both major political parties. Though the precise contribution of schooling to economic well-being remains controversial, the belief that national prosperity depends on high levels of knowledge and skill has been clearly presumed in the Department for Education and Employment's (DfEE) declared aim 'to support economic growth and improve the nation's competitiveness by raising educational achievement' (DfEE 1995). While the new Labour government's policy on competitiveness, according to the Government pages on the Internet have not yet been ‚settled' the indications are that UK policy will continue in the same vein:

> ... after more than a decade of turmoil, we are slipping even further behind - all the way to 35th out of 48 in the education league... We know what makes a good school: high expectations; strong leadership ... and a vision of the future that motivates pupils and teachers alike ... The rewards will be enormous - a thriving and united Britain, competing with the cutting edge of the global economy. (Labour Party 1995, p. 35)

This competitive ethos underpins the preoccupation with a particular account of school effectiveness and defines priorities for schooling (Mahony and Hextall 1997a). As the Chief Executive of the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) said:

> ... everyone is now agreed that the top priority in education is the need to raise pupils' standards of learning. ... And there is a widespread awareness that, in a competitive world, constant progress is necessary just to maintain parity with other nations (Millett 1996).

Restructuring the welfare state

If one driving force in policy reform has been the need to increase 'effectiveness' in order to be competitive in the global economy, another has involved the drive to cut taxes leading to reductions in public expenditure and the need to make the public sector more efficient. To this end new public management (NPM) has been introduced in most OECD countries (Shand 1996). While some analysts claim to have witnessed a universal shift in the philosophy and delivery of welfare (Osborne and Gaebler 1992) others have produced evidence that different countries and sectors have introduced NPM in different ways according to their diverse historical and cultural traditions (Pollitt and Summa 1996; Mahony and Moos 1997). In England NPM has involved modelling the management, reporting and accounting approaches in the public sector along the lines of 'best' commercial practice. We have witnessed the establishment of quasi markets including the introduction of competition in every area of the public sector (the negative effects of which continue to be published within what is now an enormous literature).

Our argument is that even if we accept that NPM is the new paradigm for reinvented government, the devil lies in the detail of what it means and how it is implemented. It is within these broad contextual parameters that we are locating our specific discussion of the TTA.

Enter the TTA

The TTA was formally established in September 1994 against a background of existing transformations in policies relating to teacher education. Its establishment represented a major innovation in the recruitment, training and management of the nation's teaching force by central government. At first it was widely assumed that the TTA's role was predominantly concerned with initial training but its functions have been progressively broadened. It is now difficult to think of any stage of teaching or area of teacher education which remains outside parameters established by the TTA.

Since its origin the TTA has generated a whirlwind of initiatives. From recruitment, course accreditation, allocation of student numbers, funding and quality criteria, through to curriculum content, appraisal, national professional qualifications, continuous professional development and research there is no aspect of the occupational and professional lives of teachers which is not affected by the Agency. In our research interviews, respondents stressed the significance of TTA activities in creating a much more centralised and systematic control of the education and development of teachers thus facilitating a fundamental redefinition of the nature of teaching and of career long progression. Teacher education in England has become dependent on priorities, criteria, procedures and indicators established at a distance with little scope for autonomous action at alocal level. A major concern is that through this process definitions of 'good' teaching, 'relevant' professional development and career enhancement have all been removed from debate.

Definitions of Effectiveness

One way of understanding the TTA in relation to the needs of UK Ltd. in the global economy, is as a body designed to efficiently reconstruct the mechanisms through which more 'effective' teachers can be produced for more ‚effective' schools. The late Conservative Government's responses to the demand for more effective schools are well known: greater centralised control of a National Curriculum (and perhaps, teaching methods); devolution of financial management to schools and a weakening of Local Education Authority (LEA) powers; the introduction of competitive quasi-market policies exerting pressure on schools via published league tables of exam performance and inspection reports; open enrolment to deliver parental ‚choice', and the re-introduction of differentiated schools. In the light of such pressures, schools have increasingly been driven to conform to notions of school effectiveness defined predominantly in terms of their academic performance.

Concomitantly, teacher education, professional development and quality teaching are to be interpreted vis a vis such ‚effectivity'. All of the policies being adopted, supported or proposed by the TTA are being couched in terms of the production of effective teachers for effective schools whether this be in relation to recruitment of new entrants to the teaching force, increased regulation of teacher training, performance appraisal, a national framework of standards for different stages of teaching, a National Professional Qualification for Headteachers (NPQH) or a National Curriculum for Teacher Training.

It is not possible to speak sensibly about the effectiveness of schools in the absence of criteria against which this is being judged and without consideration of procedures for its recording and reporting. In this sense performance indicators and accountability mechanisms become critical. In addition, one way to achieve ‚policy steering' in order to enhance ‚effectivity', is through tighter regulation. As Paul Hoggett (1996) says:

> In virtually all sectors operational decentralization has been accompanied by the extended development of performance management systems. Such systems seem designed to both monitor and shape organizational behaviour and encompass a range of techniques including performance review, staff appraisal systems, performance-related pay, scrutinies, so-called ‚quality audits', customer feedback mechanisms, comparative tables of performance indicators including ‚league tables', chartermarks, customer charters, quality standards and total quality management. (p 20)

Our reservations about the approach adopted by the TTA arise not because we do not care about improving pupils', students' or teachers' educational experiences; not because we are already satisfied with the quality of schooling and certainly not because we are unconcerned about how we can best educate ‚the citizens of the future'. Rather, our concerns stem from disagreements with the value position upon which the TTA grounds its work, with the account of school effectiveness with which the TTA is operating, with the procedures through which the model of teacher effectiveness has been established and implemented and with the images of schooling, education and society with which the TTA is operating in its vision of the future.

A general concern about current definitions of school effectiveness is that there is no sense that any relevance is accorded to where students come from, the nature of their life experiences nor their prospective destinations. Laurie Angus (1993) has identified the assumptions underpinning such an approach:

> ... educational practice is conceived of in a particularly mechanical way. ... In keeping with economistic definitions of effectiveness, it is the bit that comes between ‚input' and ‚outputs'. It is seen largely as a set of techniques, the ‚core technology', for managing ‚throughput' rather than a complex and always unpredictable process of ongoing construction of educational practice. Practice is imposed rather than constructed, negotiated or asserted; it is a set of techniques to be employed by teacher technicians on malleable pupils. (p. 337)

This is highly relevant to the framework for National Professional Qualifications which the TTA is in the process of introducing.

The new qualification structure for teachers

As we have noted above, in pursuit of the three virtuous ‚Es' of economy, efficiency and effectiveness, teaching in England is being radically transformed. Central to this fundamental restructuring of teaching and recomposition of the teaching force is the development of a National Professional Qualification (NPQ) framework for the education of teachers which consists of national standards and attendant qualifications for the following designated stages within the teaching career: newly qualified teachers (NQTS); expert teachers; subject leaders and school leaders.

At the time of writing the National Professional Qualification for Headteachers (NPQH) is being piloted and the standards for NQTs finalised. The other proposed standards, qualifications and implementation structures are currently moving through the consultation, development and application cycles. We shall focus our attention first upon ‚leadership' and the NPQH.

Leadership

Many authorities in the school effectiveness field have identified ‚leadership' as occupying a critical position in the development of effective schools. It is therefore no coincidence that of all the many places in which the TTA could have begun its work, one of its very first initiatives was directed towards headteachers. This constituency has remained centre-stage from that time, with the training, re-skilling, re-orientation, managerialisation and certification of heads occupying a key place in the TTA's overall strategic vision:

> We also know that effective teaching must be supported by high quality management and leadership at middle and senior levels in the profession ... We know from OFSTED# evidence that the managers and leaders in our schools need: to offer leadership; to set tone, ethos, direction and purpose; to translate purpose into plans; to implement those plans; and to check, through monitoring and evaluation, that progress is taking place. Managers and leaders also need to be accountable for that progress, at whatever level they manage. (TTA: Corporate Plan 1996, para 10, p 9.)

How the role of the head is conceived within different conceptions of what constitutes an effective school are matters of considerable debate. In England such an account seems to embody a mixture of ‚old managerialism' and ‚new managerialism' (Ball 1997), a flavour of which can be detected from the first two ‚Key Areas of Headship' as identified in the National standards for headteachers:

> A. Strategic Direction and Development of the School
>
> Headteachers, working with the governing body, develop a strategic view for a school in its community and analyse and plan for its future needs and further development within the local, national and international context.
>
> They: i) lead by example, provide inspiration and motivation, and embody for the pupils, staff, governors and parents, the vision, purpose and leadership of the school;
>
> ii) create an ethos and provide educational vision and direction which secure effective teaching, successful learning..by pupils and sustained improvements in their spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development...; they secure the commitment of parents and the wider community to the vision and direction .....
>
> iii) create and implement a strategic plan, underpinned by sound financial planning, which identifies priorities and targets... increasing teachers' effectiveness and securing school improvement;
>
> iv) ensure that all those involved in the school are committed to its aims, motivated to achieve them....; v) ensure that the management, finance, organisation and administration of the school supports its vision and aims;
>
> vi) ensure that policies and practices take account of national, local and school data and inspection and research findings;
>
> vii) monitor, evaluate and review the effects of the school's policies, priorities and targets and take action if necessary.
>
> B. Teaching and Learning
>
> Headteachers, working with the governing body, secure and sustain effective teaching

> and learning throughout a school, monitor and evaluate the quality of teaching and standards of pupils' achievement, use benchmarks and set targets for improvement.
>
> They: i) create and maintain an environment which promotes and secures good teaching, effective learning, high standards of achievement, good behaviour and discipline;
>
> ii) determine, organise and implement the curriculum and its assessment; monitor and evaluate them in order to identify and act on areas for improvement;
>
> iii) ensure effective teaching of literacy, numeracy and information technology skills; establish a clear school code where cultural, social and religious differences are respected....
>
> iv) monitor and evaluate the quality of teaching and standards of learning and achievement of all pupils ....;
>
> v) develop effective links with the community, including business and industry, to extend the curriculum and enhance teaching and learning;
>
> vi) create and maintain an effective partnership with parents to support and improve pupils' achievement and personal development. (TTA 1997 p. 6-7)

As presented this is a dominantly hierarchical, ‚hands-on' management model which places other participants in the school community in a largely responsive relationship to the head's vision. As Angus (1994) says:

> Other organisational participants, such as teachers, parents and students, ... are generally viewed as essentially passive recipients of the leader's vision. .... on the basis of this account of leadership, the main skill required of most participants is for them merely to adopt the leader's vision and slot into the leader's definition of school culture. ... The elitist implication of this view is that leaders are more visionary and trustworthy than anyone else. (p. 86)

We know from our experience of working with headteachers in England and elsewhere and from the growing literature on the subject that there are other recommended models of leadership (Fullan and Hargreaves 1992; Starratt 1993; Davies 1994; Hopkins et al 1994; Hall 1996). In the Danish context, where policy is less centrally driven, the Folkeskole is not the embodiment of the headteacher's beliefs or values. The vision or mission of the school is not disseminated from the top down. Instead, consistent with Danish democratic traditions, a discussion of goals and values takes place which is (at least in theory) a shared dialogue between teachers, parents and ‚management' (Mahony and Moos 1997).

In addition to school leadership, the TTA has also constituted a new teacher designation, namely, the subject leader. Whilst there is nothing exceptional about such a strategic move, questions arise over the priority which is accorded to leadership per se and the model of ‚leadership and management' which is entailed. Lurking behind the detail of the proposals are two general issues. One of these is specific to education, the other locates these education-related developments within a wider social frame.

The first issue is that schools in the UK are already very hierarchical organisations. For example in larger schools it would not be uncommon to find between seven and eight levels of status and hierarchy: head, deputy heads, assistant heads, senior teachers, heads of department, deputy heads of department, mainscale teachers with particular responsibilities and those without. The current proposals both reconstitute this hierarchical model and provide much closer and more detailed specification of the positions within it. By providing training within these specifications, it also defines how occupants of these positions relate to others within the school. This has implications for the nature and texture of social relationships within schools and is predicated upon a particular

version of ‚leadership' (and its logical bedfellow, ‚followership') which delegitimates the negotiating space accessible for other, competing styles of leadership.

The second issue relates to a much wider discussion about the transformations in social relationships occurring in other sectors of the public service, particularly the emerging professional/managerial split. In health, criminal justice, housing and other social welfare sectors, it is being claimed that there is a growing divide between the orientations of those who see themselves as occupying client-related professional positions and the managers who administer the service as a whole. As a corollary to this, the power in these areas is also being judged as shifting towards managerial ‚leaders' (Taylor-Gooby and Lawson, 1993). At times the managers in this context have been imported from outside the service, often from outside the public sector altogether, but in addition, ‚professional' positions have been redefined as ‚managerial' with attendant retraining and job-respecification. This is an issue to which we shall return later.

Restructuring and Recomposition

Even before career entry and then through all stages of professional development the TTA can be seen as putting in place procedures for coordinating and regulating the occupational lives of teachers. In prospect this constellation of developments carries important potential ramifications for the opportunity structures available toteachers. Given that many of the elements of career progression will rely upon official sponsorship and support, it is conceivable that already existing inequalities of, for example, race and gender will be exacerbated. There are also points within this cumulative process at which the experiences, opportunities and judgements made about teachers could articulate between an increasingly re-differentiated teaching force and a comparably re-differentiated and hierarchical schooling system (Lawn 1995).

Teaching involves relationships between people whose personal, social, economic, cultural and political identities and positionings are complex. Negotiating and succeeding within this arena calls for sophisticated, everyday repertoires of skills which teachers constantly need to develop. Reference to such creative professionalism is, however, absent from the TTA's documentation which instead concentrates almost entirely on concerns about teachers' subject knowledge and pupil performance, both of which are treated as de-situated from their social and cultural milieux.

In addition the increasingly divisive set of relationships between teachers and leader-managers (Ball, 1994; Walby and Greenwell, 1994.) inherent in the developments outlined above have important implications in terms of the ways in which access to control, leadership and decision-making is becoming distributed and rationalized. For the bulk of teachers, their roles will become increasingly defined as technician-professionals, working to directives established elsewhere and with little opportunity to engage in negotiation over the parameters and criteria within which they work or the indices which are appropriate for evaluating their practice. This is hardly the kind of model likely to inform students of the principles and the practice of participative democracy.

In many ways this is the very antithesis of the assumptions with which the notion of ‚professional' is normally associated. As the OECD report Quality in Education (1994) states:

> Increasingly, teachers are diversifying their pedagogical strategies to incorporate pupil-centred and small group techniques, which are more consistent with contemporary theories of human learning and also more appealing to students who prefer more interactive learning. .... The complex interactions of personalities and pedagogies make classroom dynamics increasingly unpredictable, and teachers must be adept at improvisation. As there is more to think about, reflection becomes an expected part of teachers' work, ... Collaboration among teachers is also increasingly being required, ...(p. 70)

In contrast to this, the model of tight regulation and surveillance being moved into place in the English context transforms the teacher from a decision-maker into a technician or semi-professional, expected to know and follow curricular, pedagogic and assessment frameworks, guidelines and requirements for ‚delivering' content through procedures established from above. Underpinning these moves are mechanistic and technicist assumptions which reshape what may or may not be construed as ‚professional'. These circumscribe the degree of choice and decision-making within which they operate and constitute the indicators on the basis of which their performance will be evaluated and rewarded. Our interviewees, particularly officers from union and teacher education organisations, suggested that prospective teachers could be discouraged from entering an occupation characterised by decreasing levels of autonomy.

Similar trends have been widely and critically discussed in other spheres of public policy. A recent article on social work by Lena Dominelli (1996) provides a chilling comparison with the experiences of those working in education. Paradoxically, this restructuring is claimed to provide a sense of purpose, value and progression for the practising teacher and a motivational inducement for people considering entry to the profession. Thus what many would see as the very essence of the deprofessionalisation of teaching, namely, the increasingly dominant machinery of regulation and surveillance, is being redefined as the ‚solution' rather than as symptomatic of a problem.

As well as redefining teaching, this reconstitution also marks a major claim to define what it is going to mean to become an educated, or at least ‚schooled', person. Tight boundaries are being placed around the nature of the ‚thinkable'. It is this implication which moves the issue away from the allegedly particularistic concerns of a group of ‚self-interested professionals', closeted in their ‚ivory towers' far from the ‚realities of everyday-life' and turns it into a contest about the nature of the social and what it means to be a citizen, equipped with educational resources in the broadest sense. If teachers becomes so tightly controlled, where is the space for difference of viewpoint within the system? If this is seen as unimportant, what does it tell us about current conceptions in England of the commitments and motivations with which teachers operate?

Implications for social justice

> I want to propose that if schools are to be saddled with what appear to be mandated forms of self-management, then this ought to occur on a very different theoretical and philosophical terrain than is happening at the moment- one that is less driven by economic agenda, and that is more informed by educational, social, and dare I say it, democratic ideals. (Smyth 1996 p. 1097).

Despite the fact that the TTA has no explicit agenda in relation to social justice, its redefinition and reconstruction of teaching carry significant implications for any such agenda. In the first case the TTA fails to recognise the problematic nature of the social contexts within which teaching and learning is located. By neglecting the impact of such contextual features it is in danger of failing to educate teachers in the sophisticated professional skills which would enable them to make the most effective contribution to the enhancement of all pupils' learning. Recognising this is not to deny the importance of ‚subject knowledge' but to acknowledge that this needs to be mediated through an awareness of, for example, the racialised, classed and gendered nature of curriculum and schooling processes.

As we have seen, ‚leadership' and teacher's subject knowledge form major priorities within the TTA initiatives. No-one could deny that these are important, schools have to be organised and teachers cannot teach what they do not know. However there are serious problems in the way that the daily realities and responsibilities of schools are obliterated by the decontextualised way in which their populations are depicted as ‚pupils', ‚teachers', ‚headteachers' and ‚parents'. The real problems start when these groups come to life. In any one day, staff or students confront contextual

circumstances ranging from dilemmas over levels and distribution of resources, through acts of violence and aggression, to complex patterns of interpersonal and group relationships. Such issues are intertwined around the axes of gender, ‚race', disability, class and sexuality. To be a teacher is to be located within these politics and to have certain consequent responsibilities. However, at no point in any of the consultation documents on national standards for teaching, is there any substantial reference to equal opportunities issues (ARTEN, 1996).

Janet Newman (1994) amongst others has argued that the reformulation of management and leadership has important implications in gender terms. We know that the TTA is treating as problematic what it sees as the ‚feminization' of teaching. It remains to be seen over time whether the redefinition of leadership within schools will constitute an erosion of the limited opportunities available to women within middle and senior management structures. This has wide implications for the redefinition of ‚professionalism' and for the social/occupational control of the teaching force (Ozga, 1993; Limerick and Lingard, 1995; Dominelli, 1996; Mahony, 1997). All this raises important questions as to whether this reshaped educational provision is capable of making adequate response to:

> ... an increasingly post industrial, postmodern world characterised by accelerating change, intense compression of time and space, cultural diversity, technological complexity, national insecurity and scientific uncertainty (Hargreaves 1994 p.3). At this point we need to address a question put to us recently by one of our Danish colleagues. ‚How' he said ‚have you in your country let this happen?'

Governance, representation and accountability

There is currently a great deal of concern in the UK about the nature of the bodies bringing in all these changes. The Teacher Training Agency is no exception. Membership of its Board was generated not through election but by direct ministerial appointment. It is not known what procedures or criteria were used to appoint the Board and concerns exist about whom they represent (Mahony and Hextall 1997b). The TTA works through a plethora of Board Committees, sub-committees, working groups and advisory groups and again there is no transparency in the original process of appointment, nor any public access to agendas, minutes or proceedings. It is not generally known who makes up the membership of particular working groups or which groups exist at any one time. The centralization of power is inescapable for no-one on the outside of the policy process really knows who is working on what, with whom, with what remit, through what mechanisms, reporting to whom or with what recording procedures. This means that the democratic process of accountability can easily become confused and subverted for it is not clear where the responsibility for policy actually lies.

In accordance with the principles of ‚reinvented government', there has been an enormous amount of consultation on the changes. However such consultation is widely thought to be tokenistic in that agendas for consultation are not negotiable, the context for discussing what such agendas might be does not exist and the relationship between the consultation responses and the final decisions is not clear. In addition schools figure very little in the consultation process (Mahony and Hextall 1997c). Bob Lingard has pointed to a comparable phenomenon in the Australian context in what he calls ‚the silencing of teachers' voices in policy production' (Lingard, 1995 p. 15).

In commenting on who is and who is not represented in agenda-setting and decision-making, we are not advancing an argument in favour of professional autonomy. In a society which takes democracy seriously, thereare widespread legitimate interests in how teachers or headteachers are themselves educated, in the content and purpose of that education, in who should be represented in these decisions and what values they espouse.

Three Major Issues

Arising from our focused work on the TTA we should like to draw out three major areas for general consideration.

A changing model of professionalism

> Teacher professionalism is not a fixed idea, it is situational and relational, it has contradictory aspects (progressive and conservative) and it is not homogeneous. (Lawn 1994 p. 187)

There is currently much debate about the reconstruction of professionalism within teaching and the reconstruction of teachers as individual professionals (Hargreaves 1994; Lawn 1996; Troman 1996; Whitty 1996). These debates reflect three main themes: a) tensions involved in concepts of professionalism; b) contemporary transformations in the social and economic contexts within which teachers are located, and c) specific changes in the nature, control and definition of teaching as an occupational category. As Geoff Whitty (1996) has put it:

> ... there has been something of a move away from the notion that the teaching profession should have a professional mandate to act on behalf of the state in the best interests of its citizens to a view that teachers (and indeed other professions) need to be subjected to the rigours of the market and/or greater control and surveillance on the part of the re-formed state. ... (this) is partly concerned with the reconstitution of teacher subjectivities to accord more closely with the demands of education in a society where the prevailing mode of regulation is changing. (p. 12)

Within the literature there is much concern about the tendencies towards empowered, up-skilled, flexible models of teaching on the one hand and occupational intensification, fragmentation and differentiation on the other. Commentators have pointed to the fact that teachers may experience both the positive and negative aspects of these features at one and the same time. Opportunities for professional development and a structured qualification system may be locked into increasing occupational demands and a requirement that one moves into a supervisory or regulatory role vis a vis one's colleagues. Such apparent professional enhancement and flexibility also open up avenues of sponsorship and discrimination, whilst enabling increasing exploitation and patterns of differentiation within the occupation. It is one thing to construct what looks like a neat and tidy model of career progression from point of entry through to subject and school leadership and to invest this model with very tight specifications of required ‚knowledge, understanding, skills and abilities'. It is quite another to recognise and guard against the potential for discrimination and adverse selection within such progression and to take account of the contestable nature of definitions of professional standards. Quoting Robin Murray, Martin Lawn argues that such changes in the design of teaching:

> ... are not post-Fordist but an extension of Taylorism, a Fordist method of increasing production efficiencies, into the work of previously untouched professional workers. Jobs have been broken down and the less skilled parts assigned to lower paid workers (this has been at the heart of nursing) ... Systems of reward have been measured, and individual cash payments promoted as the main form of incentive ... There has been likewise a restructuring of managerial control. Services are (now) run at arm's length on the basis of a performance agreement. Ministerial and senior bureaucratic responsibility is now confined to issuing contracts and the monitoring of performance. (Murray, 1989, quoted in Lawn 1996 p. 119)

Lawn continues:

> It is worth recollecting that the version of the teacher that is being redesigned is

> individualistic not collective in orientation, differentiated not homogeneous, competent not responsible. (p. 119)

Comparable redefinitions of what it means to be a professional and of the nature of professionalism in the context of high surveillance/low trust are currently receiving much attention throughout the public sector. The public policy literature reveals that managerial transformations raise tensions and contradictions in the very nature of what it means to be a professional within the public sector (Ranson and Stewart 1994; Ferlie 1996; Hoggett 1996). Such research into the experiences of ‚professionals' elsewhere in the public sector has much to offer in an analysis of the dynamics of change being proposed for teaching. Under the impact of changes in the health, socialservices and probation services there has been considerable discussion of the relationship between professional and managerial orientations (Walby and Greenwell 1994; Klein 1995; Dominelli 1996). The most cursory glance at the literature on public policy reveals intense discussion about the definitions and criteria which are being invoked, and more generally about the transference of private sector managerial, personnel and accountability models into the public sector (Hood, 1995a; Hood 1995b; Hughes, 1994).

In their recent book Clarke and Newman (1997) provide a detailed account of the processes through which managerialism has reshaped the bureau-professional regimes which have characterised the public services during the era of the welfare-state settlement. They identify the processes of displacement, subordination and co-option as having been crucial in this transformation. We quote Clarke and Newman at length because they offer both a generalised, theoretical account of an important shift in the patterns of power and control in the public sector whilst capturing what it has felt like to be on the receiving end of this struggle.

> *Displacement* refers to the process by which management has superseded bureau-professionalism in the way public services are organised as regimes. Here organisations are reshaped around a command structure which privileges the calculative framework of managerialism: how to improve efficiency and organisational performance. Complete displacement is relatively rare: the dominant relationship between bureau-professionalism and management has been one of *subordination*. This takes the form of framing the exercise of professional judgement by the requirement that it takes account of the „realities and responsibilities" of budgetary management. ... Where „need" was once the product of the intersection of bureaucratic categorisation and professional judgement, it is now increasingly articulated with and *disciplined* by a managerial calculus of resources and priorities. But many areas of professional service are characterised by a rather different strategy: that of *co-option*. This refers to managerial attempts to colonise the terrain of professional discourse, constructing articulations between professional concerns and languages and those of management. ... These are strategies in the struggle between regimes. They produce new focal points of resistance, compromise and accommodation ... (p. 75-76)

They note many public sector institutions constitute a ‚hybrid' form with members being pulled in contradictory directions.

> Such positions are often an uncomfortable place to be because they are subject to conflicting demands and expectations in a field of tensions between service and corporate concerns. Such hybrid formations are also the focal point for „devolved stress" as significant organisational tensions and conflicts come to be embodied in single individuals. (p. 77)

Tensions of centralism and decentralisation

Within debates on New Public Management and ‚the contract state' one defining characteristic is identified as the centralization/decentralization nexus. This has also been termed ‚tight-loose coupling'. As Paul Hoggett (1996) says:

> ... there has been a pronounced shift towards the creation of operationally decentralized units with a simultaneous attempt to increase centralized control over strategy and policy. (p. 9)

Key parameters for policy are established at the centre, partly policed by the centre through surveillance and regulatory machinery, but, at one and the same time, also subjected to internal, localised control.

> Devolution and decentralisation also have the effect of creating a „dispersed managerial consciousness", the embedding of the calculative frameworks of managerialism throughout organisations. ... all employees come to find their decisions, actions and possibilities framed by the imperatives of managerial coordination: competitive positioning, budgetary control, performance management and efficiency gains. ... people are increasingly conscious that managerial agendas and the corporate calculus condition their working relationships, conditions and processes and have to be negotiated. (Clarke and Newman 1997 p. 77)

All this occurs in a policy context within which room for manoeuvre is highly constrained. Whether in terms of resource allocations or criteria of quality, the parameters are tightly centralized and largely non-negotiable. We have seen such elements of ‚tight-loose coupling' in the TTA's approach to the ‚leadership' role. On the one hand it imbues these ‚leaders' with a degree of independence/ autonomy in relation to policy setting which belies the highly centralized context in which they operate. At the same time it ascribes high levels of accountability forperformance to those leaders, ‚at whatever level they manage', which ascribes to them high levels of corporate responsibility. This managerial/professional tension is one which has been picked up in the educational field but also more widely in the public sector (Bottery, 1996). Writing specifically about the redesignation of the heads' role in the context of the increasing impact of managerialism in education Fergusson (1994) says:

> In essence, the headteacher is ceasing to be a senior peer embedded within a professional group who has taken on additional responsibilities including a significant administrative function, and is becoming a distinctive and key actor in an essentially managerialist system, in which the pursuit of objectives and methods which are increasingly centrally determined is the responsibility of managers who must account for their achievement and ensure the compliance of teaching staff. (p. 94)

These issues lose their abstract form when translated into the highly concrete contexts of, say, centrally designated priorities for continuing professional development (CPD). At this point the practicalities of entitlement, local decision-making and responsibility, regulation, surveillance and social justice move into the foreground. There are real tensions to be resolved over the extent to which it is either legitimate, sensible or practical for the centre to provide a tight definition of what should happen in different localities and regions. Conditions and circumstances may be so diverse, for example in relation to something as tangible as CPD provision, as to warrant responsive arrangements. Different local ‚constituencies' may have views about their ‚needs' which do not correspond, and may even conflict, with central definitions. The fact that such recognitions raise complex issues of entitlement and diversity will become no easier through being ignored or wished away.

That these become issues of contestation binds together two concerns which have wide resonance throughout the whole area of public sector reorganisation, namely, patterns of centralization/ decentralization, and questions of accountability and representation. In a sense these can be combined into the one issue of ‚ownership', or what in more contemporary terms has come to be called ‚stakeholding'.

Governance in education and teaching. What price ‚stakeholding' and inclusive democracy

During our research project we became increasingly aware that, like other government Agencies, the TTA is engaged in a political process which involves the claiming and enforcement of consensus where none exists, leading to an evacuation of debate and the destruction of critical or contestational spaces. Within managerialist discourse the 'delivery' of 'products' in 'cost effective' ways becomes a major preoccupation and the language of commerce and war is rife as bullets are bitten, strategies developed and targets hit (or missed). Decisive decision-making and enforcement must be held in balance with questions of responsibility and representation. In their 1994 report Quality in Education the OECD both recognise and stress the importance of achieving an appropriate balance between:

> state controlled, profession controlled and consumerist accountability, which is adapted both to the extent of autonomy given to the school and to the resources and infrastructural support to use the autonomy constructively. Otherwise there is a danger that the power is kept where it is while the blame is being decentralised. (OECD 1994, p.12)

Establishing structures and processes with adequate criteria of representation, responsibility and transparency through which proper debate can be conducted is no easy task. But the dilemma cannot be resolved by either pretending that it does not exist, nor by the imposition of unrepresentative, unresponsive structures such as Agencies. Issues of representation, accountability and transparency are being widely debated within a burgeoning international literature on models of governance. In the UK they have found their most public expression within the work of the Nolan Committee. This has shown how easily the democratic process of accountability can become confused and subverted within the Quango state. Margaret Simey (1985) has some telling points to make about the principles underpinning the concept of accountability which highlight the increasing ‚democratic deficit' in the UK:

> ... accountability is not a mechanism or a routine but a principle. More than that, it is a principle which serves a specific purpose. In a democracy, that purpose is to provide the basis for the relationship between the society and its members, between those who govern and those who consent to be governed. The word consent provides the significant clue (p. 17).

Within the official documentation of reinvented government ‚effectiveness', ‚efficiency' and ‚higher standards' have become the new mantra, repeated so often that their meaning slips beyond question. Problems arise when one interrogates the substance of these terms and tries to establish democratic and equitable procedures for therepresentation, reconciliation and operational implications of the different interpretations and value positions which underpin them.

Teachers have a vital role to play in the formation and maintenance of the sense of nation and the culture of citizenship. Their training and employment are by no means insignificant elements within public sector expenditure patterns. They possess strategically significant access to the young (and not-so-young) learners in a society and have a privileged position as conduits of the knowable, the thinkable and the profane. They are literally paid to change consciousness, not necessarily in progressive directions. As an occupational cohort they may see themselves as in possession of a communal professional identity or define themselves as servants of the state, perhaps neither, perhaps both at the same time. Angus (1994) neatly highlights some of the democratic implications entailed in inclusive educational governance when he says:

> ... genuine democratic participation in school governance .... need not run counter to efficient site management. It would also probably result in better decisions and greater commitment to those decisions, and would also stimulate greater democratic awareness of and commitment to democratic participation in a broader sense. All of these are significant but .... democratic participation could be most important because it might help to raise for scrutiny a host of issues related to the purpose and meaning of education that are left dormant under market rationality. These include contested notions of justice, relevance, cultural discrimination in schools and the connections between education and society. (pp. 89-90)

Conclusion: How is it for you?

Major transformations are occurring throughout the nation states of the EU and beyond in the structure, organisation, characteristics and control of teacher education and professional development. (Adams and Tulasiewicz 1995; Ahlstrom, Kallos, Kansanen, Sander and Uljens 1996; Galton and Moon 1994; Kallos and Lindblad 1994; Knight, Lingard and Bartlett 1994) We are very conscious that the details in different nation-states will take quite different forms. To fully analyse the ways in which these changes are being implemented would prove a daunting task, not least because the policy picture seldom remains static. In the UK, for example, we are having to build into our analyses the implications of the recent General Election victory of ‚New' Labour. Furthermore, as we have noted, the same concepts may convey quite diverse cultural and political messages in our different countries, or, we may use different words to describe the same phenomenon. However, under the auspices of the Thematic Network in Teacher Education in Europe, a formal basis is available for us all to share research and experiences with colleagues in Europe and elsewhere. Potentially it will provide a context through which researchers, practitioners and academics from diverse EU states can reflect upon such changes as we are encountering and sharpen our collective capacity to comprehend and, if necessary, influence developments. It is with this intention that this symposium has been organised and we conclude by highlighting some general issues as a possible focus for collective discussion.

- Are different nation-states currently experiencing major changes in the structures of their patterns of teacher education and professional development? If they are, why should so much change be occurring now and what are the influences which may be generating such activity in so many diverse contexts? What are the problems to which restructuring teacher education is seen to constitute at least part of the answer? Who is defining those problems, whose solutions become accepted and whose interests do those solutions serve?
- In some countries, such as the UK, ‚professional status' has been a painfully achieved and jealously guarded designation for teachers. This is, however, by no means true for all member states of the EU. There are some for whom a movement towards ‚professionalisation' is viewed as a regressive step. Can the policy and structural changes which are occurring be viewed as processes of professionalisation, de-professionalisation, or re-professionalisation? What would be the criteria which would enable comparisons to be drawn across these changes in terms of their implications for teachers' work and status? Within differing national contexts what are the consequences of these transformations for the nature of teaching as an activity and on the material basis of teaching as a career? Do other countries find that the levels of regulation and surveillance being applied to the work of individual teachers is such as to threaten the creativity and adaptability which are central to the occupation?
- What are the patterns of educational governance and accountability in different countries? Whose voices are heard in debates about the future shape and structure of teacher education? What contribution do teachers and their representative organisations make to policy transformation?

Which other key constituents or stakeholders are involved in the policy process? Are issues of representation, accountability and responsibility recognised and, if so, how are they addressed? Is the balance and interaction between centralization/decentralisation/devolution taken into account, and how is this negotiated?

- Is it possible to discern any general trends behind the variability of nation-state policies? Are there common strands underlying the different discourses and rhetorics, or is specificity all-important? What is there to gain from comparing education with transformations in cognate public sector fields? More specifically, is it valuable to think in terms of a European (or even global) paradigm emerging for teacher education and professional development? In the European context how would this intersect with political issues of centralisation/decentralisation, federalism, harmonization and subsidiarity?

Behind all of these are the concerns as to whether the changes which are being put in train in the English context, will:

- enable teachers to enhance individual and collective learning and development capabilities with which young people will need to confront the future;
- provide a vision of teaching appealing enough to attract new teachers in numbers and quality.

Engaging with such issues will require the development of robust and representative governance structures for teaching. The questions they generate have resonance not only for present and future cohorts of teachers, but for children or students with whom they work and also for the communities in which they are embedded. Complex issues of access and equity, entitlement and diversity, representation and accountability pose dilemmas which lie at the heart of social justice and require democratic arenas for their contestation and resolution.

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Towards the Pedagogical Fix

Teacher education seems to be pulled in different directions, enmeshed in different discourses, revealing different influences. These influences are economic, cultural, intellectual and political. None can stand apart from the others. They are related. The order in which they are defined here is by no means one which sets out a causal direction -that is, from the economic to the political - but nevertheless I shall suggest that there are affinities among them, and that contemporary capitalism allows more easily for some cultural, intellectual and political forms to emerge than others. Whilst, like Mahony and Hextall (1997), my emphasis will be the economic context in which teacher education operates, I shall nevertheless go on to suggest that contemporary capitalism has consequences for the cultural, intellectual and political contexts which frame teacher education.

Markets and teacher education

The neo-liberal governance of education in Britain - especially in England and Wales - has revealed a paradox: whilst government has sought to maximize the available choice of schools, it has also minimized the range of curricular content. Only the provider, not the product, is open to market forces. So it is a rigged market; or, as Glennerster (1991) suggests, a 'quasi-market'. This mode of governance marks a shift from that which was set in train after 1945. Whereas before, funding was up-front, as an investment, it is now a performance-related return on that investment; a reward, so to say, for achievement. Whilst it is too early to say whether or not this mode of governance - now referred to as the New Public Management (NPM) - will serve as a global paradigm, it has nevertheless gained considerable ground internationally (Broadbent and Guthrie, 1992), and so far it has offered little room for manoeuvre. Although teacher educators have encouraged teachers to 'give voice' to their concerns, the teacher educators themselves have been curiously reluctant to do so, though there have been some important exceptions (Gilroy, 1992).

There is another paradox emerging. At the same time as there is a globalization of markets there is a resurgence of nationalism. (The recent referenda in Scotland and in Wales illustrate the trend.) Long-suppressed ethnic identities are beginning to stake their claims to statehood. Take, for example, the recent White Paper published by the Scottish Office: Raising the Standard. The term 'standard' has an intended double meaning. The implication is that those who would take issue with this policy will at a stroke undermine economic competitiveness and national pride. Who, therefore, would wish to be accused of lowering the standard? In the United States, too, national standards are again seen as the saviour of a fractured nationalism and as a reviver of a declining competitiveness within global markets (Ravitch, 1995).

Or take England and Wales. In the 1980s child-centred pedagogy had come to be regarded as heresy. It had to be brought to book. It was said to have lured school teachers off their true course, taking them on a detour of pedagogical deviation, causing primary education in particular to have lost its way. The National Curriculum and the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) were to return

them to the Right track, back to good teaching. Echoing America's Nation at Risk, The National Curriculum 5-16: A consultation document (DES, 1987), the Department for Education and Science in England and Wales did not mince its words:

> We must raise standards consistently, and at least as quickly as they are rising in competitor countries (para.6; emphasis added)

So markets and standards work together. That is to say, there must be an objective way for consumers to distinguish among providers. This requires standardized national testing, cheap and reliable; in turn this requires a standardized national curriculum. In passing, it is worth stating that, logically, the market has no need to regulate process, only to ensure a means for comparing products, but - as I shall argue -the NPM intervenes more and more in the process or in the transformation between input and output. This quasi-market is said to enhance quality and to restore a flagging competitive ethic throughout education.

In the offing is a similar quasi-market for teacher education, which I shall return to, but it bears noting that this shift towards central control was heralded in England as long ago as 1976 when, at Ruskin College, Oxford, the then Prime Minister, James Callaghan, began to call teachers, and by implication teacher educators, to account. And 'account' is a central concept in the reform of teacher education now being devised in England. This is so because the welfare state, of which education is a part, is said to be in a state of fiscal crisis, a victim of its own success, with rising expectations and declining tax revenues to pay for them. Teacher education is caught in the crisis. But, more than that, it is enmeshed also in the culture of contemporary capitalism, namely postmodernism. It is in the consideration of the culture of postmodernism that I wish to add to the more economic focus expounded in Mahony and Hextall's paper.

Teacher education and contemporary culture

The cultural expression of contemporary capitalism is postmodernism. Teacher education is set within it, sometimes resonating with it, sometimes not, as I shall argue. But first let us take postmodernism and its relationship to capitalism. In the 1960s and 1970s, capitalism widened its product-range. It began to make not just material products but also cultural products. As it began to commodify culture it was able to enlist the advertisers and the media, especially television. Just as obsolescence is built in to material products, so also is it built in to cultural products. We are encouraged to change these material and cultural products. Consumerism confronts us with all manner of choices, and if we choose then we need to reflect on our identity and what it 'needs'. But this constant reflection is unsituating, producing existential uncertainty. Melucci puts it thus:

> The search for a safe haven for the self become an increasingly critical undertaking, and the individual must build and continuously rebuild her/his 'home' in the face of the surging flux of events and relations. [...] A world that lives by complexity and difference cannot escape uncertainty, and it demands from individuals the capacity to change form (the literal meaning) (Melucci, 1996:2).

This, argues Melucci (1996:84), 'has led to the wholesale therapeutization of everyday life, so that it now seems more imperative to heal life than to live it'. These cultural goods symbolize the self. They serve to generate identities. They make a public statement about the projected inner-selves of those who disport them. And they are fleeting: we are all on short-term contracts with ourselves. Equally short-lived are other contractual relationships, be they inter personal or employment. Not only is there an ephemerality about this culture of postmodernism, but there is forever a sense of urgency and immediacy: a dipping into and out of a book, a zapping of television channels, last-minute holidays. It seems also that the moral code is fracturing. Relativism is the 'order' of the day. There is confusion:

> The constitutive dimensions of the self - time and space, health and sickness, sex and age, birth and death, reproduction and love - are no longer a datum but a problem' (Melucci, 1996:2).

Like Melucci, Berman, in his All That is Solid Melts into Air, eloquently points up the dilemmas of postmodernism: between a desire for stability and a desire for new knowledge and experience; between a search for our roots and our tendency to uproot everything; between our individualism and our search for national, ethnic and class identities; between our need for a moral standpoint and a desire to take it to the limit (Berman, 1983:35). But he is doubtful that much of this is news - merely more of the same - and indeed the very title of his book is based on an extract from the Communist Manifesto, by Marx (quoted in McLellan, 1977:224; italics added):

> Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social relations, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier times. All fixed, fast-frozen relationships, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.

What Berman is suggesting is that we should not expect culture to be other than it is, given the logic of capitalism:

> The one specter that really haunts the modern ruling class, and that really endangers the world it has created in its image, is the one thing that traditional elites (and, for that matter, traditional masses) have always yearned for: prolonged solid stability. In this world, stability can only mean entropy, slow death [...]. To say that our society is falling apart is only to say that it is alive and well (Berman, 1983:95; italics added).

The irony of our present predicament is that neo-liberal economics has commodified culture. It has spawned choice, almost making consumption a civic duty. But now governments see the effects of this -flux, fragmentation and uncertainty - and seek a moral fix, wishing to regulate the moral order, not only through a national curriculum for pupils, but also - in England - through a compatible national curriculum for teacher educators. Moreover, these national curricula will serve not only to regulate the moral order, but will also be cheaper and efficient: that is to say, the standardization of product and process is less expensive of time and resources than a professionally-produced plurality of product and process. So much for the economic and cultural contexts of teacher education. What of its intellectual basis?

The knowledge base of teacher education

Teacher education is set within intellectual discourses. Here, as with the culture of postmodernism, uncertainty prevails. There is, therefore, a superficial affinity among the instability of the self, of the cultural 'code', and of what shall count as knowledge. In all three, there appears to be a search for structure.

I shall now make some general points about the recent epistemological 'journey' which teacher education has followed in the last fifty years or so. I use the term 'journey' cautiously, for it implies a defined destination, progress, a way ahead. Indeed it would be reasonable to argue that the theoretical basis of teacher education once rested rather comfortably on what came to be termed the 'foundations' of education -the disciplines of philosophy, psychology, sociology and history which brought to bear their different gazes on this domain of activity we call education. In saying this, it is possible to differentiate those disciplines which were generally about education (philosophy, sociology and history) from that which was generally for teaching (psychology) - the difference, crudely, between

teacher education and teacher training. Whilst these foundation disciplines asked different kinds of questions about education, they shared an adherence to what has been termed grand narrative, or universal theory. They sought general laws. Evers and Lakomski (1991) refer to all this as a 'traditional science' paradigm which, with reference to sociology and psychology, admitted empirically testable predictive theorizing of a type akin to that in the natural sciences. It underpinned what Shulman (1987) has called the research-driven knowledge base of teacher education.

In the 1970s, the foundations of the 'base' began to crumble. It all began with the phenomenological critique of structuralist theory - Marxism and structural functionalism - within the sociology of education. At a time when me-too, consumer capitalism was getting into its stride it is perhaps not too surprising that a new individualism should emerge within the realm of ideas. That said, the intersection between the cultural and the intellectual is nothing new: intellectuals seem often to trawl the culture in search of metaphors which will enable them to structure our thinking in new ways. So, for example, were the 'checks and balances' of the American Constitution related to the development of the clock; or was the theory of behaviourism influenced by the telephone exchange; or did the machines of the industrial revolution influence functionalist theory in sociology; and, now, is it any surprise that a culture in chaos should spawn chaos theory in the natural sciences?

But back to the 1970s. The argument was put that the structuralist theories within educational psychology (behaviourism, in particular) and in educational sociology were overly deterministic, admitting no individual agency, or no social construction of reality. So were schools, teachers, curriculum, assessment and pedagogy all just 'there', given, fixed, even natural? Were the laws which governed their form and function merely awaiting to be discovered, or were they no more than constructions - cultural artefacts - contingent upon their time and place? The symbolic interactionists and the phenomenologists took this 'constructivist' line, elevating the actor to prominence, privileging meaning-making, not meaning-taking. And other voices, long consigned to the margins of policy-making in teacher education, called for a place in the reconstruction of teacher education. Among them were the school teachers themselves.

At first glance it would seem that this slide towards subjectivism and social constructivism was at odds with the modernist endeavour. Knowledge appears now to be local, even personal; not universal, as before. The 'foundations of education' were indeed unsound. Here, too, the culture of consumption - postmodernism - insinuates itself into the discourse of teacher education. The reflective practitioner seemed not unlike the reflective, self-seeking consumer: introspective, in therapy, pouring out the soul to a diary or to a mentor. (This parallels the development of self-assessment and profiles of assessment. In all cases, more of the self is reflected upon, being made explicit to the self and to others.) In this way, teacher education acquired a new vitality and a new validity; personal, vocal and local; on-site. So for both the consumer and the teacher, the search is on for a personal or for a professional identity: if a consumer, constructed from within the limits of the shopping malls, or, if a teacher, from within the government's 'fixed menu' of competences. Once the personal identity has been reflected upon and refined then the search for professional soul-mates can begin. And thereafter the researchers can begin to map the pattern of professional identities as they cluster this way and that. But not for long, for the identities and formations re-form, re-imagining themselves. The search for professional (and other) identities continues. Here, therefore, is 'the' profession, in process - the dance of the didacts. The social constructivists, therefore, strike a chord with the vernacular of consumers: reflecting on the style and substance of their identities. But the narrative grandees have warned that teacher education could soon find itself reflecting in a theory-free zone at the margins of academe, devoid of an intellectual identity. Surely, they ask, if there are these constructions, then we should ask some 'why' questions about them? Why this identity, not that? Constructions cannot speak for themselves: that would be to replace the empiricism of the quantitative with that of the qualitative.

But it turned out later that the undermining of the 'foundations' had only just begun. The postmodernists - or at least some of them - were bent upon deconstructing the constructions, both the local narratives and the grand narratives. For them, nothing is decidable. There is no possibility of either Big-'T' Truth, or of little-'t' truths-for-the-moment. Forget rationalism as the dominant (and masculine) mode of understanding. If, before, there had been progress, now there are just wanderings, without pattern, without structure. There is no deep structure, just undecidability, nothing but an endless regression to a meaning which can never come. At least the constructivists would say that some meaning could be arrived at, even if it was contingent and provisional. In this sense, the constructivists and the structuralists were agreed that representations were possible, and in that sense both could be described as modernist. Not so, the postmodernists: they were anti-representationalist, an intellectual world apart. They were going nowhere.

The discussion so far has been about uncertainty: first - and here I agree fully with Mahony and Hextall - the economic uncertainties as nation states struggle to deal with the globalization of markets; second, the ambivalences which continuously beset us as we 'play' in the culture of postmodernism; and third, the undermining of long-held ways of understanding which were set in train by the Enlightenment. In sum, I have set out these economic, cultural and intellectual contexts in order to establish the mix of possible influences on teacher education. I turn now to policy-in-the-making and, with Mahony and Hextall, refer to England and Wales, for here is emerging one way out - there are others - of what seems to be a void.

Teacher education: towards the pedagogical fix

In the aftermath of British Prime Minister Callaghan's Ruskin College speech in 1976, criticism had centred on a presumed decline in standards of morality and attainment. But above the fray of the classroom, constructivist pedagogy was applied by academics to those very trainee teachers who might themselves come to apply it later in the school, albeit within the confines of the National Curriculum. So, if in the '60s and '70s the basics had gone by the board in the primary school, then in the '80s the foundation disciplines in the faculties of education went the same way, leaving a curious mix: a curriculum of competence and a pedagogy of constructivism. Grand theory was replaced by niche narratives, by situated cognitions and by what Alexander (1984) calls 'practical theorising'. Here, as Wilson (1989) saw it, was the de-intellectualisation of teacher education. But this was not just Wilson's concern. Government itself asserted that there was too little substance to these courses, and too few pedagogical skills being taught. Process was no substitute for product.

Nearly ten years after the National Curriculum in England and Wales was launched, Mrs Shephard, the former Secretary of State for Education and Employment, was to stress the need for momentum and haste in her plans for the reform of initial teacher education. In a press notice (DfEE,1996c) she stated, 'I make no apology for the speed at which I am taking this forward. The need for improvement is urgent.' And in her letter to the chairman of the Teacher Training Agency, Geoffrey Parker, she again emphasised the need to press on: 'I know you share my concern to maintain the momentum of teacher training reform.'

The government's solution to our economic, cultural and intellectual uncertainties in teacher education is to revert to a kind of fundamentalism. Just as some individuals who find themselves adrift within postmodernism have begun to resort to pre-modern ways of understanding the world - astrology and fundamentalist religious cults - so, too, have the government begun to fasten themselves to old anchors. Teachers, therefore, should be taught to teach didactically, as in the past. Her Majesty's Chief Inspector in England has for a long time criticised child-centred teaching, and he continues a train of thought which goes back to the '70s Black Papers. In the same camp is Sheila Lawlor (1990:8) who regards the preparation of teachers as one to focus only on practical training: 'Whereas the individual subjects which teachers will teach require academic study, the skills of teaching are essentially practical ones.' This itself echoes Keith Joseph who in a speech on

teacher training at Durham University in 1982 had referred to the 'jargon-ridden theorizing' in teacher education which served as 'lamentable substitutes for serious thought and training' (Joseph, quoted in Wilkin, 1996:149). Wilkin has analysed persuasively the aftermath of this statement, showing that the public-sector providers thereafter became less focused on the foundation disciplines, giving greater emphasis to school-based competence. The die had been cast:

> But in general Circular 3/84 and the CATE criteria for training courses deeply penetrated the training institutions at both structural and substantive levels. The strategies and tactics used for this purpose were multiple and comprehensive: compulsory inspection, the loss of power and influence to the schools supported by the shift from theory to practice in the course. And the most powerful incentive of all - the power to close any course which failed to meet the criteria (Wilkin, 1996:52).

Other concerns about 'theory' have come not from politicians. Pring (1994:175), for example, has underlined the difficulties of establishing a theory of pedagogy. Drawing on O'Connor (1957) he re-states the demanding conditions which must be satisfied before the term 'theory' is warranted. Description is not enough. Theory must explain and make predictions, and it must be open to falsification. So far, pedagogical theory has not met these conditions. The 'theory' debate continues (McIntyre, 1995). Even so, behaviourism, Piagetian developmentalism and the other schools of constructivism have all failed to meet O'Connor's conditions. The once-hallowed Piagetian underpinnings of child-centred education have also been shaken by Foucaultian-inspired analyses (Walkerdine, 1994). And the postmodernists have had a field-day, calling into question the very notion of a universal self on which much psychology rests. So: no self, no psychology; or at least not that which can rest on universalist claims (Gergen, 1995). At best, local 'theories', provisional and contingent, must suffice (Hartley, 1993).

But government has tired of this debate, and has attempted to free education from theory. Cheryl Gillan, a former Education Minister in the last Conservative government in the UK, speaking of the national curriculum for teachers which lay ahead, stated:

> The professional framework will not be a dry theoretical construct. It will be firmly rooted in good classroom practice, and will reflect and affect the way teachers routinely think and talk about their work (DfEE, 1996b:item 56)

The chief executive of the TTA, Anthea Millett, stated in June 1996:

> Two key reforms introduced in 1988 are beginning to work. Training based in schools and the introduction of criteria governing courses, but too many of our ITT courses are still not practical enough and are not providing a professional training. It is clear that the criteria have only been successful up to point [sic] and so we need to develop a NC for teacher training. It is only fair to every-one - teachers, students, teacher trainers - all need to know precisely what is expected of them (TTA, 1996b).

As Mahony and Hextall note, the new OFSTED/TTA (1996:10) framework has now been unveiled. It contains an elaborate arrangement of areas: these are the central assessed area, namely 'Teaching Competence of Students and of NQTs'; its major contributory area, namely the 'Quality of Training and Assessment of Students'; and other contributory areas, namely the 'Selection and Quality of Student Intake', the 'Quality of Staffing and Learning Resources', and the 'Management and Quality Assurance'. Each type of area has its component cells, some sixteen cells in total. Each cell has its own set of criteria, giving over 120 criteria in all. Each of the sixteen individual cells will 'normally' be graded on a four-point scale. There is in all this a resemblance to the 1988 National Curriculum: its curricular core is similar to the areas, and the elaborate grading of the National Curriculum's attainment targets is similar to that of the cells and their component criteria. And just as national testing purported to be both diagnostic and summative, so also does the OFSTED/TTA assessment procedure:

> The combination of rigorous inspection and systematic audit will also help providers to identify their own targets for improvement. The nature of these targets and the extent to which they are met will be taken into account in funding and allocation rounds (OFTSED/ TTA: para. 1.3).

The government in England is constructing two national curricula, for children and for teacher educators: two monuments to modernity - neat, predictable, progressive and coherent, just what might be needed to calm those who believe that the nation and its cultural code are coming apart. There is a strong correspondence between the political processes which have given rise to both: a government-constructed crisis based on ideology not evidence; a declared need for an urgent solution; hasty consultation and quickly-enacted powers; a damning with faint praise; a double-speak discourse of central strategic control and local tactical control; and the 'rise of a qualitariat' (Hartley, 1997a) whose expensive agencies mesh (in theory) to form an over-arching bureaucracy exerting near-total quality control.

In the '90s, the colleges and universities are to be taken to task, to be tried and tested, their performance to be compared in the league tables which shall comprise the marketplace where would-be trainees can gauge the quality of the training on offer (DfEE, 1996d). Just as the teachers in the school were pulled towards teaching to the test in the' 80s, so now it looks like their counterparts in the colleges and universities (and their school-based mentors) may go the same way, their once-cherished professional autonomy to be set aside in favour of both public and market accountability. All this, however, is at the level of policy, which in its implementation will surely be altered. But the space for manoeuvre may be very limited. And this time the government's overseer is already up and running.

The core competences for the teachers in training in the '90s are the counterpart to the core curriculum for the pupils in the '80s. There is, too, a structural isomorphism emerging in the assessment of pupils and in the assessment of training providers. Whereas before education - particularly primary education - was regarded by government as a postmodern 'mess' of progressivism, relativism and constructivism, now a modernist neo-behaviourism lights the way ahead, with signposts to the past. The way forward is now back to basics, for pupils and teacher educators alike. Somehow government believes that the flux and flow of the culture of postmodernism can be contained, and that the knowledge wars now waging within academe can be set aside.

Teacher education: avoiding the void

There is now a lack of trust in professionals among policy-makers. Professionals are seen as self-serving. As for academics: are they not 'just academic'? As more and more relationships within the quasi-market of education become calculative rather than collegial, the absence of trust feeds on itself:

> What is an actor who is defined without any reference to rational action? Someone who is obsessed with identity, and who sees others only in terms of difference. At the same time, in a society which is no more than a market, everyone tries to avoid everyone else, or relates to them only through market transactions. The other easily comes to look like an absolute threat: it is us or them (Touraine, 19 95:193).

And increasingly officialdom in its quest to stem both the flow of postmodernism and the pessimism of the postmodernists resorts to that museum of modernity: bureaucracy. It is not surprising that government has avoided what Giddens (1995:117) calls 'dialogic democracy'. Democratic decision-making takes time, and time is money. But, he argues:

> A post-bureaucratic organization can both harness social reflexivity and respond to situations of manufactured uncertainty much more effectively than a command system. Organizations structured in terms of active trust necessarily devolve responsibility and depend on an expanded dialogic space (Giddens, 1995:123)

In education, as elsewhere, trust and tolerance brought about by open dialogue - to which all can be party - is probably a better way to proceed than the pursuit of calculating self-interest within the confines of a 'market'. In Britain, especially in England, less so in Scotland, bureaucratic structures of great complexity are being constructed, structures which not only retain the precision of job specifications but which add to them even more detailed performance specifications. These performance specifications have two functions: first, to ensure that the consumer in the quasi-market shall be informed with meaningful and comparable output statistics; and second, they are said to constitute the indicators which shall be used as the basis for the funding of the institution and, by implication, the monitoring of the individual or organisational unit. The crucial point made by Giddens that the post-bureaucratic organisation requires trust is missed in current reforms. Government has for a long time preached choice and diversity, and in doing so it follows the logic of consumerism and the tenets of democracy. At the moment, the rhetoric of choice and diversity serve only efficiency. Efficiency is seen as an end unto itself, devoid of values, seeking only value for money. There are audits galore, but no social or democratic audits. Government seeks to contain and to correct the culture of postmodernism.

Conclusion

The New Public Management is not wholly about the implementation of a neo-liberal market agenda in education (including teacher education). If it were, then government would have no need to interfere in matters of pedagogical process; it would only need to confine itself to the generation of output measures of the products. The agenda is deeper: it is a distrust of the discretion of professionals. The label of the market is a misnomer (Broadbent and Laughlin, 1997). By establishing regulatory measures of the product and the process, governments are seeking to standardize both in a complementary manner (Hartley, 1997b).In the UK, it began with the curriculum for school pupils; it is now continuing to regulate that of the universities, beginning with teacher education. Theory is set aside. It is regarded by government as being unable to offer a firm foundation - a knowledge-base - for teacher education, and as the postmodernist knowledge-wars in academe proliferate the government's concerns on this matter are underlined even more. It must, so the argument runs, step in. It must bring order to disorder, and this order is one of old, rooted in basics, abstracted from the cultural flux which consumer capitalism has set in train. The re-processing of professionals is not only derivative of globalization and the quest for competitive efficiency; it is also framed by cultural and intellectual uncertainty which, paradoxically, governments are choosing either to ignore or to corral into a regulatory strait-jacket.

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The production of effective teachers for effective schools through neoliberal reforms? Recent trends in the development of teacher education in Germany

1. Introduction

The paper by Pat Mahony and Ian Hextall on „Transforming professionalism“ which was presented at the Frankfurt conference of the European Educational Research Association in September 1997 presents a detailed analysis of the role of the Teacher Training Agency and its impact on the production of professional qualifications in England and Wales. In this context a few questions were raised to which a number of discussants were invited to respond in a symposium, among them myself. This is a more elaborate and detailed version of what I said at the symposium, focusing on developments in Germany since unification. In order to be able to move beyond the limits of a very superficial analysis it is seen as essential to provide at the same time a short, precise and critical overview of the situation before unification in East and in West Germany.

In reporting on the developments of teacher education in Germany and its historical background - which do not necessarily diverge fundamentally from those in England and Wales - I will take a position differing from that of the main presenters in several respects:

- A first problem arises with questions about the *nature of the changes* occurring in teacher education and the *influences* generating them - and in fact I am convinced that teacher education in Germany has gone through major phases of change in past decades (see Sander 1993; 1994;1996a; 1998). However, I disagree with the idea that it is governmental policy producing the changes. Rather governmental institutions appear to react helplessly and in completely irrational, self-destructive ways to changes in education being far beyond their control, changes actually resulting from the pressures of a negative long-term development of the labour market and production in general. I also disagree with the idea that current governmental policy aimed at restructuring pre-service or in-service teacher education could have anything to do with the professional development and professional competences of teachers. On principle teacher education institutions are incapable of producing any kind of professionalism, and no catalogue of competences for gaining qualified teacher status, scientifically „legitimated“ or „corroborated“, detailed and neatly laid out as it may be, no restructuring of teacher education programmes could ever change that (Sander 1997). Thus, in Germany we are not facing anything like processes of professionalisation, de-professionalisation or re-professionalisation, at least not in pre-service and in-service teacher education. The modern history of the professions as part of an increasing social division of labour is a dead end street, their alleged superior professional knowledge as compared with that of „laymen“ and the acquisition of such knowledge through academic education is nothing but a myth. We need research on how this myth could develop and what the political uses were but above all we need more substantial research on the actual changes occurring in teacher education beyond empty public discourses revolving around pseudo-problems and non-realities.

- A second problem is linked to the current debate about effectiveness, flexibility, quality enhancement, accountability, autonomy, competition, evaluation, etc. allegedly representing the *substance of new political orientations* in the development of teacher education and education in general. Certainly public discourse as fuelled mainly by governments attempts to establish these values as norms which could not possibly be refused and opposed by anyone not being out of his/her senses. It is an interesting side aspect of this debate that everybody seems to accept the idea of teachers and teacher educators having to be appraised, and of teacher education institutions, programmes and courses having to be evaluated - but no-one appears to defend the idea that teacher education policy, policy-makers and policy institutions are badly in need of being evaluated regularly and of administrators being fired if they prove to be ineffective and too costly (as they always have been).

However, I see it as more important to stress the fact that current efforts of changing the patterns of teacher education have nothing to do with producing more autonomy, more quality, more flexibility, more effectiveness, etc. but with finally destroying whatever is left of autonomy, quality, flexibility, effectiveness, etc. on the side of teacher education in Germany (Sander 1993; 1995b; 1998). At least this is true for pre-service and in-service teacher education, whereas developments at the level of schoolteaching could not be taken into account at this point. This is exactly the situation we are confronted with - on the one side there is a highly ideological debate about abstract values, without the different possible meanings and political implications ever being made the object of serious reflection (just believe that the values ought to be accepted without further ado!), and on the other hand government in fact pursues aims and objectives and actually produces effects which represent the very opposite of what the ideological debate tries to suggest. We need more research about the question why governments do not do what they say and do not know what they do, and of course we need research about the political uses of spreading the gospel of autonomy, marketisation, competition, effectiveness, quality, etc. in teacher education (keeping in mind that these values have never worked at the level of managing capitalist enterprises).

- A third problem concerns the *character*, the *meaning* and the *effects of governmental policy shifts* at the level of teacher education and of education in general in recent times - and indeed such shifts have taken place in Germany like in many other European countries (Sander 1993; 1995a; 1995b; 1998). Using the label of neoliberal (or managerialist, lean state) policies, as is currently done by supporters and critics alike, tends to obscure the meaning of the policies in question which were gradually introduced in the 1980s and 1990s. Both sides have been eager, for different reasons, to describe the policy shifts as a radical break with the past. At school level the break would be identified as a politically motivated turn away from (social democratic) ideals of the past - the provision of excellent educational opportunities for all children - towards the authoritarian introduction of differentiation, hierarchy and so new divisions within the publicly provided school system. At teacher education level the break would be identified as a politically motivated move replacing a humanist, democratic, child-centred vision of teaching and teacher education with new general standards of effectiveness and flexibility as well as hierarchical concepts of society. I do not share this view of a radical break and the associated theories of neoliberal reforms, and I am in fact completely unable to see any serious fundamental alternatives in the political landscape of Germany in the post-war period going beyond meaningless paper declarations and political propaganda. Rather I agree with the opinion of a leading political scientist expressed slightly more than 30 years ago who described the West German party system as a pluralist version of a one-party state offering no political alternatives whatsoever, quite independent of how often there would be a change of government. We need more serious research how this „one-party state“ functions and what influences its development but we also need research on the political uses of theories of neoliberal reforms and of tales about effects of „marketisation“ and a new managerialism in the public service (Sander 1996b).

2. Fundamental political alternatives in education in post-war Germany?

It is not much of an exaggeration to say that under structural aspects the education system, as it evolved in Germany with the rise of capitalism, survived more or less intact until the end of the Second World War, without undergoing major transformations in its basic features. For West Germany - and now for united Germany - it would even be quite correct to say that it survived intact until this very day. For East Germany it was claimed (and widely accepted for many decades) that radical reforms of the education system were introduced after 1945. On the other hand such claims have been criticised on various grounds.

West Germany: There has been nothing like the massive attempts to integrate general and vocational education as have been made in many European countries in the post-war period. By far the largest part of vocational education, although under the jurisdiction of the state, is governed by the interests of private enterprise and is kept separate from general education in spite of several attempts to increase the responsibility and the influence of the state in the sphere of the „dual system“ of vocational education and to experiment with integrated forms of education at the level of upper secondary schools.

Similarly, special schools for handicapped children have always led a separate life apart from primary and secondary schools, and for many decades in the post-war period this sector has even seen phases of massive expansion, in the end receiving all children who represented a „problem“ for primary schools in one way or another (be this only at the level of discipline). Only very recently have there been isolated experiments with the integration of handicapped children into primary school teaching but as this requires higher levels of staffing and of funding there is not much prospect for integration becoming the norm in the near future.

Except for a few years of agitated political debate after the First World War and some experiments and isolated experiences with a few hundred schools in certain regions, there has never been a decisive, successful political movement in favour of replacing the existing vertical structure in general education with a comprehensive school system. The only noteworthy development took place back in 1920, when a law was passed abolishing the existing separate primary schools at many *Gymnasia* (nine-year secondary schools preparing for academic studies) particularly in Northern Germany and introducing for the first time an integrated primary school for all children. It should be noted that the legal prescriptions were only fully translated into practice during the Third Reich and that primary schools mostly continued to be separate for Catholic and Protestant children after the war and right into the 1970s. It should also be noted that *Gymnasia* were almost always separate for boys and girls until the mid-1970s.

Consequently, teacher education has been geared to this kind of structural continuity (see Beck 1981; Beckmann 1968; Bund-Länder-Kommission 1978; Klafki 1980), with few exceptions to be made. Education for different categories of teachers was organised in different and separate institutions adhering to quite different philosophies of teacher education and training. At a first level, education of teachers for general education was always kept separate from education of teachers for vocational education. At a relatively early date vocational teacher education established itself at universities but there was absolutely no question of linking it, be this only partly, to the education of teachers for general education (Gymnasia), although most structural features were very similar for both categories. Responsibility for teachers in the area of general education remained with the Philosophical Faculties, whereas Faculties of Economics and Social Sciences were responsible for teachers in the area of vocational education. The dualism continues to exist until this day without the slightest modifications.

At a second level, there has always been a rift in the wider field of educating teachers for general education between *Gymnasium* teachers and teachers for *Volksschulen* (now *Grund- und*

Hauptschulen). The teachers at the *Gymnasia* were not unlike their colleagues at the universities and they enjoyed, in many respects, a comparable socio-economic status deriving from their tradition of studying at universities and then passing through a second postgraduate phase mainly adapting them to the requirements of being a civil servant and to the professional demands being put on them. Teachers at the old elementary schools (*Volksschulen*) were typically products of the elementary schools themselves who had been able to obtain some further education, not in academic institutions but in specific teacher-training seminars. First advances were made after the First World War through the introduction of *Pädagogische Hochschulen*, *Akademien* or *Institute* which made attempts not to compete with universities but to upgrade the education of teachers for the *Volksschulen* by raising it to a clearly post-secondary level. During the past half-century the old elementary school teaching profession has been upgraded in three ways. First, teacher colleges (*Pädagogische Hochschulen*) were given the formal status of institutions of higher education. Second, primary teacher candidates (the vast majority being female) must now be drawn from the reservoir of those who have passed through the *Gymnasium* and have received the *Abitur* (or an equivalent education). Third, primary teacher education has been slowly integrated with other institutions of higher learning. Nevertheless, the rift has not disappeared, and it is certainly the combined effect of the persistence of mechanisms of social selection, as well as related aspects of differences in status, privileges and salaries, career opportunities, self-image and historical tradition that continue to keep the two categories strictly apart.

The education of teachers for children with special needs at the former *Hilfsschulen* (now *Sonderschulen)* has remained in many respects completely different from that of other teacher categories. Basically, there are two avenues leading up to the required examinations, one constructed as a postgraduate course, the other offering education and training in relation to special needs right from the start.

The traditional tensions and distinctions between teacher education for different types of schools and the question of status and duration of teacher education programmes were sharply focused by developments in the seventies. A major policy document (the so-called '*Strukturplan*' of the *Deutscher Bildungsrat*) published in 1973 proposed a move away from the traditional form of teacher education based specifically on type of school towards teacher education based on levels and stages of education, that is, primary, secondary I (aged 11-16) and secondary II (aged 16-19). This was quite in line with efforts to restructure the school system in the direction of comprehensive education. Such a proposal proved to be highly controversial, since it would have led to the removal of distinctions between teachers in the *Gymnasium* and teachers in other secondary schools of lower status. Although amended versions of the proposals were introduced in some *Länder*, they were clearly rejected in most of them. It was possible to pursue the principle of integrating all teacher education programmes into the university and at the same time retain strict hierarchies and differentiation between teachers for different school types.

East Germany: On the other hand in East Germany certain fundamental reforms were introduced soon after the end of the Second World War and throughout the following decades, all of them to be liquidated after unification in 1991. The transition to a comprehensive school system was begun in 1946 and in the same process small non-differentiated schools teaching mixed-age groups in one classroom mainly in rural areas were dissolved. Any existing divisions between children on the basis of religion or gender were abolished and of course it was also assumed that within an integrated comprehensive school discrimination and selection on the basis of social class had ceased to exist. The eight-year compulsory comprehensive school was later extended to ten years from the 1960s onwards. The final stage of compulsory schooling and the transition to upper secondary education represented the most important hurdle to be taken on the way to higher education and access was actually limited in quantitative terms. In accordance with the extension of compulsory schooling age, upper secondary education was reduced from initially four years to two years of duration.

Within compulsory comprehensive education there were certain efforts at catering for the gifted either through special schools or through special classes but except for their specialisation the curriculum was strictly maintained as being the same as for other students at the same education level. Extracurricular activities at all levels of schooling, mainly organised by the Thälmann-Pioniere or the Freie Deutsche Jugend, the child and youth organisations of the Sozialisitische Einheitspartei (Unified Socialist Party), played a much greater role than in West Germany.

From the 1950s onward there were some massive attempts at introducing a substantial polytechnical element into the comprehensive school, particularly when shifting up compulsory schooling age, and thus at least partly bridge gaps between general and vocational education. On the other hand a reconstructed system of vocational education continued to exist beyond the comprehensive school, and although for roughly half the student population in vocational education factories were given new, much extended responsibilities in comparison with former times, most of the pre-war structures and specific traditions of vocational education and training remained intact. It might also be worth mentioning that the categories of unskilled and semi-skilled worker which still played an important role in the immediate after-war years were gradually abolished at the level of vocational education.

Schools for handicapped children remained outside the comprehensive school system in structural terms, and at this point older traditions existing in Germany before the war were simply continued. There was never a serious debate about integration.

Teacher education in East Germany was in an extremely difficult situation in the immediate post-war years as something like 80 percent of all teachers were dismissed for their national-socialist orientations. It took some time until a solid teacher education programme going beyond simple recruitment measures completed by a few weeks of rapid training courses could establish itself and produce the necessary numbers of young teachers for all school levels and particularly for the specific tasks of the comprehensive school. Throughout the history of the GDR the education of teacher for handicapped children and for vocational education and training remained separate from that of teachers for general schools. Otherwise the education of teachers for the comprehensive school reflected the fact that school was now organised by levels in a horizontal structure and not by types within a vertical structure, and it had a clear emphasis on the practical and the political requirements of teaching (Kirchhöfer 1994; Klein 1995; Ministerium für Volksbildung 1983; Ministerium für Volksbildung 1986). It is an interesting fact that all attempts to transfer teacher education to higher education failed and that teachers for grades 1 to 4 were in fact educated at so called *Institute für Lehrerbildung* forming part of the sector of *Fachschulen* which was not at the same level as the *Hochschulen*. Thus, there were basically two types of teacher education, one for teachers of grades 1 to 4 and one for teachers of grades 5 to 12, the latter taking either place at *Pädagogische Hochschulen* or at universities.

Comparison: In terms of dominant ideologies one might well be tempted to attach the labels of „traditional“ (or conservative, reactionary, backward) and „progressive“ (or modern, socialist) respectively to the two education systems having developed in sharp competition with each other in the post-war period (others using labels like open, pluralist, democratic vs. monist, totalitarian). This has been done by many authors and actually this represents the standard approach of Comparative Education in the era of the Cold War (Froese u.a. 1960; Wilhelm 1963; Günther 1971; Kramer u.a. 1971; Anweiler 1990; and many others). If the ideology of diversity has effectively served purposes of political propaganda, the scientific substance of this ideology has been extremely weak:

> • Planning vs. market mechanism? Educational planning in the former GDR was an important part of the overall planning mechanism, comprising planning of production and productivity, of the labour force and of new recruits from the education system. Voluminous plans were elaborated regularly by a highly inflated corps of planning bureaucrats. In this very superficial sense the education system of the former GDR was labelled as a planned system. The central and decisive problem is of course whether real developments of the education system were in any way regulated through the existing planning mechanisms

or not. It has been demonstrated that this was never the case, neither at the level of planning quantitative recruitment of labour for various sectors and branches of the economy, nor at the level of planning for qualification levels, nor at the level of financial planning. Indeed it has been argued that regulation of the education system through planning was perfectly impossible under conditions prevailing in the former GDR, and thus educational planning was bound to remain a matter of no more than building castles in the sand and cherishing illusions about the effects of planning.

• Centrally directed vs. decentralised system? It has been generally assumed that the education system of the former GDR was strictly controlled from the top through the Party bureaucracy, the Ministry and the Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften, critics often comparing it to forms of military command. Political activities of these institutions were invariably seen as following a rational pattern, centres of decision-making were thought of as being well-informed about all the necessary details (taking a realistic view of problems and their origins), bureaucratic elites were regarded as homogeneous - and society as a passive element that could be manipulated at will by the bureaucracy. However, none of these assumptions has stood the test of critical analysis. In fact it has been demonstrated how little the central bureaucracy knew about the reality and the complexities of the education system in particular and the social system in general.

Above all there was never a clear-cut, straightforward relationship between political aims and political actions, the bureaucracy continuously acting against the declared interests of its own plans and programmes. The kind of streamlined unitary command imagined by researchers was not exercised by the Politbureau or the Central Committee of the SED but rather by the harsh realities of the GDR's long-term economic decline. Beyond that, looking at power structures and the mechanisms of decision-making, it could hardly be disputed that there was a number of different decision-making centres in the former GDR, often radically opposing or outmanoeuvring each other, with the top level of the party and the government very seldom exerting the strongest influence in a complicated power game.

• Equal opportunity vs. class inequality? One of the fundamental claims still being repeated over and over again by defenders of the education system of the former GDR concerns the alleged advantages of the education system for guaranteeing equal opportunity to everybody, specifically to working-class children. But educational non-discrimination in the former GDR is a myth which has long since been debunked by (largely unpublished and for a long time inaccessible) research of the Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften and of the Zentralinstitut für Jugendforschung undertaken since the late 1960s. Similar conclusions could be drawn from critical research in the West focusing on the selective functions of the school. It emphasises the importance of factors like language learning, deferred gratification patterns, social bias in assessment, the hidden curriculum of classroom communication, the nature of rewards, etc. Even the methodology of teaching in subjects like the natural sciences has been shown to have been geared to the needs and specific abilities of middle-class children. Discipline in the classroom could be regarded as another important instrument of social selection and discrimination.

No wonder, then, that the importance of social class relative to other sources of variation in educational attainment does not appear to have diminished at all in the former GDR. This could be and has been interpreted in different ways - either as an indicator of social discrimination or as a result of a proletarian refusal of education or as a combination of both. Although it may be true that the working class was not opposed to education as such, considerable working-class antagonism to schooling existed in the GDR as a result of the nature of the education system. Regional differences in participation rates in education could also be interpreted as resulting from regional differences in the social structure of the population in different regions.

• Curricular integration vs. separation of general and vocational education? Undoubtedly knowledge was organised and transmitted in the education system in ways that made the acquisition easier for some social groups rather than others. The separation of general and vocational education has in fact always been the cornerstone of such a system, and it was in fact never abolished in the former GDR. In addition it required certain kinds of cultural supports to succeed within the educational environment that was both socially and individually selective. These are the cultural supports that have been strongly associated with the intelligentsia, i.e. middle-class families stressing individual achievement as the road to personal salvation.

A very instructive case is the experience of polytechnical education being at the centre of a major attempt to integrate school and production, learning and work, general and vocational education, theory and practice. One of its basic aims was to overcome the dual system of preparing in different, separate streams of formal education for manual jobs/clerical jobs on one side and for professional jobs/management jobs on the other. The attempt failed in the end, since neither was it possible to introduce a polytechnical

dimension into *all* subjects (polytechnical education as an additional subject) nor could theoretical and educational aspects of work be sufficiently developed. With more and more emphasis being put on engineering and technology - and increasingly so in the context of the so-called scientific and technological revolution - polytechnical education quickly became integrated into the prevailing culture, which was a culture of social discrimination. As a result general and vocational education remained clearly separate even in a crucial phase when the comprehensive school system was extended beyond grade 8 to include grades 9 and 10.

• Comprehensive school vs. differentiated, vertically structured school system? The non-differentiated comprehensive school is usually regarded as putting into practice the principles of equality and social justice. However, formal equality (indeed the kind of equality offered by comprehensive school system is nothing but formal), in treating non-equals as equals, is far from producing such results. Rather it has to be seen as a perfect instrument of maintaining existing differences in the student population. Such differences will appear within a class between pupils, between classes at the same level of schooling, between schools, and between regions. Thus the comprehensive school (or any other system of formal equality) represents a generalised system of maintaining all the differences existing in society in a particular historical situation - even if these differences are undergoing changes in the long run. The school system of the former GDR was no exception to this rule.

It has to be said, though, that it took the GDR 25 years to achieve a comprehensive system with formal equality up to the age of 16 (and only 16, not beyond). The major part of GDR school history is characterised by institutional differentiation, and children with special needs have always remained outside the institutional framework of the comprehensive school. Apart from that, varying emphasis has been given to special education for the so-called highly gifted, and an important sector of highly selective educational courses for them (mainly as extra-curricular activities) has always existed in the former GDR.

It is noteworthy that in response to a major economic and social crisis at the beginning of the 1980s the authorities in the GDR initiated an educational reform which put the idea of 'individualisation' at the centre of educational ideology and strategy. Concepts of extensive differentiation, promotion of individual talent, particularly in mathematics, German as a first language and Russian, programmes for the highly gifted, supplementary courses in non-compulsory subjects, tendencies of an individualisation of teaching and learning inside the comprehensive school system increasingly gained importance in the 1980s and became keywords of an internal debate on desired changes. In this respect the curriculum reform initiated in 1982 and a major overhaul of the entire education system begun early in 1989 deserve particular attention.

Clearly the traditional views about differences between the education systems of East and West Germany are unfounded, hiding the enormous similarities which have always existed in the areas which were discussed above. The radical alternatives of totalitarianism vs. democracy or of socialism vs. capitalism which usually underlie the analysis of education systems in East and West are nothing but part of the myths and folklore of Comparative Education in the post-war period, serving purposes of the Cold War. All this is not to deny that there were indeed differences, perhaps even essential and far-reaching differences, between the education (and social) systems of the former GDR and the old FRG before 1989, and I will refer to some of them later. However, so far research has preferred to concentrate on whatever could be described as purely imaginary differences, while real differences rather ought to be regarded as an area which has been almost completely neglected.

3. Labour market developments: flexibility of the education sector - flexibility of the employment system

Applying the concept of flexibility to the analysis of education systems, teacher education included, actually reveals some very essential differences between the East German and the West German societies. They are visible in the overall functioning of the social system and in particular in relations between labour market developments, the employment system and the education system.

East Germany: Some of the most important classical forms of mediation as represented by public policies and state institutions were gradually destroyed and thus the former antagonism of state and (bourgeois) capitalist society was superseded by a system characterised by the monism of capitalist society without a state.

Resulting from mechanisms of mediation losing their former importance, a particular tense situation arose in the sphere of production and circulation, where it became impossible and also inadvisable to radically pursue policies of increasing productivity and thus risk growing unemployment. This resulted in the general level of productivity remaining 30 to 50 percent (according to different estimates) below that of West Germany, and the gap probably widened considerably in the 1980s. In other words, labour market problems were solved through overmanning at the level of production and circulation and an inflated administrative bureaucracy, with additional effects in this sense being generated by prolonged phases of idleness of workers caused by frequent lack of supplies of raw materials etc. and by frequent breakdown of machinery. In some branches like the building industry phases of idleness used to add up to 50 percent of working time per year.

As labour market problems were mainly dealt with in the sphere of production and circulation, of course not in the way of rational decisions being taken by an enlightened management but as the effective outcome of class struggles - with the well-known negative effects on the competitivity on the world market - there was no particular pressure on the education system to step in as a reserve mechanism and a relief system for the labour market. It is true that the age level of compulsory schooling was shifted up from fourteen to sixteen years in the 1960s in one of the most dramatic situations of crisis of the society, and it is also true that participation rates in higher education as reflected in the number of first year students in relation to the entire age group slowly increased to a level of 11-12 percent in the 1980s (up from 3.7 percent in 1951). However, these were very modest developments indeed in comparison with other industrial countries in the West.

Thus, the development of the education system over the decades did not change much its highly selective nature and its elitist functions at the level above compulsory schooling, and there were few reasons for change in the face of the particular situation prevailing in the employment system. Some observers have argued that the education system as a whole served nothing but purposes of the ruling class in reproducing itself, once a new ruling class had firmly established itself in the late 1940s and 1950s, and purposes of disseminating the ideology of real socialism as legitimating this particular form of class rule. This would explain not only the highly selective nature of the transition from lower secondary to upper secondary education but also the enormous emphasis being put on „political reliability“ next to intellectual abilities in any selection process in the education system and the particular role of extra-curricular and extra-school activities under the tutelage of the political youth organisations in promoting children or preventing their promotion.

The very rigidity of the education system in the wider social context (in contrast with the flexibility of the employment system in the sphere of production and circulation) contributed greatly to creating very specific and rigid conditions for teaching and learning processes. Observers have described them as being characterised by a „dual system“ of values and beliefs on the side of the vast majority of students but perhaps also on the side of the vast majority of teachers. The „dual system“ implied serious identification with a set of values adhered to in private life and only pretended identification with a completely different set of values and norms as prescribed by official ideology and as having to be used (superficially or not, that was of no importance) in public life. Accordingly, teaching rather became something like a tightrope walk for teachers, particularly if they shared the private values of the students, without having actually too many possibilities of ever showing this openly. It has been said that under such conditions many teachers developed more subtle and unobtrusive signal systems conveying effectively differentiated messages to students about what simply had to be done without really having to be taken very serious.

It could be assumed that the rigidity of the education system, its highly selective character, its emphasis on an ideology which was completely meaningless for the vast majority of the population and its role in the reproduction of the ruling class did create massive tensions inside the education system which also irradiated to other sectors of society and continuously undermined the overall stability of the system.

West Germany: In fact the West German social system functioned in completely different ways. The education system, with the few and rather minor structural changes it underwent since the last century, could seem to be a rather ossified, highly selective, stratified, inflexible system based on elitist ideology and practice - and so it was in the immediate aftermath of the war. However, this West German education system proved capable of very flexible reactions under increasing pressures from the labour market without really changing the structures of the education system in significant ways.

Although the production and circulation system in West Germany did absorb effects of productivity growth over many years, this turned out to be more and more impossible in the 1960s. However, this did not imply acceptance of any kind of policy involving overmanning. If the surplus working population was retained in factories and offices in East Germany this was certainly not the case in West Germany. Thus, the burden of coping with the surplus (not in individual terms but in abstract quantitative terms) increasingly fell on the education system, and particularly on the *Gymnasium* and on the higher education sector. Simultaneously productivity basically continued to grow in absolute terms - although the growth rates showed an alarming tendency to fall in the long run, as they did in the GDR. Within short time the former elitist character of the Gymnasium, by tradition a very selective institution, gradually disappeared, as participation rates at the level of upper secondary education began to rise.

The very flexibility and effectiveness of the education system (particularly the *Gymnasium* and higher education institutions) mainly consisted in the following facts:

The institutions in the public sector were able, against expectations,

- to absorb the growth of participation rates,
- to absorb effects of the prolongation of average years of schooling,
- to take on bigger workloads without corresponding funding and facilities,
- to adapt teaching to requirements of mass schooling,
- to provide teachers with basic competences for new tasks of an expanding school system and mixed ability teaching,
- to attract a continuous stream of recruits for the professions according to their (increasing or decreasing) needs on the side of personnel,
- to contribute to the reproduction of the existing social structures,
- to share in the process of production and dissemination of dominant ideology (i.e. to represent and promote the ideology of the uses of better education).

Therefore, the education system became a major factor, if not *the* major factor, in the regulation of the labour market in West Germany. Total job demand was curtailed permanently by something like 2.5 million jobs as a result of the expansion of the education system between 1960 and 1985 (no statistics available for later period of continuing expansion). It is quite evident that in comparison with West Germany the East German education system showed characteristics of a rather static system, far from demonstrating the same kind of flexibility and effectiveness as the West German system.

Comparison: It could not be denied that in the post-war period both East and West Germany (or, if you prefer, the GDR and the FRG) showed quite remarkable signs of flexible reactions to increasing problems of the labour market involving both the employment system (production and circulation as well as the governmental system) and the education system and the development of relations between them. In fact it is not an accident that within their respective spheres of economic and political co-operation both sides represented highly successful, advanced models of development.

Beyond this simple basic point it is a fact that substantial differences existed between East and West Germany as to the specific modes of historical development of the employment system and the education system. It could well be argued that the differences do help to explain to a large degree why East Germany was first to collapse and then had to accept terms of unification as dictated by West Germany - and not the other way round. Among these differences the following aspects are particularly important:

• *Reducing unemployment via overmanning/via the expansion of education.* By far the major share of employment problems was dealt with at the level of production and circulation in East Germany producing highly negative effects on the average productivity, with considerable differences existing between different branches of industry, but was handled in the way of a rigorous policy of productivity growth producing a very high level of mobility and potential unemployment, if it were not for a considerable parallel growth of participation rates in upper secondary education and higher education. Hence East Germany practically never had an actual unemployment problem up to the end of the 1980s (but a productivity problem in comparison with the West, not with other Eastern countries) and West Germany managed to keep unemployment at very low levels until at least the end of the 1970s, with roughly 4 to 6 million labour migrants being offered jobs simultaneously.

• *Relatively high costs of employment/increasing costs of education.* These different options implied that costs for preventing unemployment were a burden which in East Germany had to be carried by individual enterprises (at best alleviated by enterprises/entire branches of industry succeeding in limiting the extent of overmanning or in the transfer of funds from the central budget), whereas in West Germany the burden fell basically on the state budget, i.e. the taxpayer. Of course this latter solution was a particular advantage for those industries which had the highest productivity growth and thus produced more potential unemployment than the others.

• *Maintenance of an elitist school system/transition to mass schooling*. Quite evidently the starting point for the development of the education system in East and West Germany at the end of the Second World War was more or less the same. Attending the higher levels of the education system and particularly access to higher education were actually the privilege of a very small minority of students in relation to the relevant age group. Very soon after the war this situation began to change visibly in West Germany, with participation rates in upper secondary education and higher education rising quite rapidly, while the expansion of the education sector proceeded only very slowly in East Germany, as the transition from lower to upper secondary education was maintained as a major selection barrier. In West Germany the education system had ceased by the beginning of the 1980s to be a jumping board for successful careers in the professions, but not so in East Germany. Rather there were massive attempts in East Germany to strictly adapt the supply of academically qualified personnel to the real demand - admittedly with varying degrees of success.

• *Reproduction of the ruling class/reproduction of a changing composition of the labour force*. Even if it would be slightly exaggerated to claim that the education system in East Germany served nothing but the purposes of reproducing the newly established ruling class, this was definitely its main function. Against this background it was very logical that promotion in the education system was made dependent not only on intellectual, academic achievement but on „political reliability“, whatever that was meant to imply concretely. On the other hand mechanisms of reproducing the ruling class in West Germany were totally different, with education playing only a very subordinate role. As long as only a small minority of an age group was given an opportunity to attend upper secondary school and higher education, this minority was certainly not identical with the ruling class but represented mainly specific groups of professionals to be employed in their vast majority in the public sector. Corresponding to the self-definition of the state as being „neutral“ in terms of the class antagonism, the ideological orientation of secondary schools and higher education consisted in their interpreting education as being „non-partial“ and „unpolitical“. Among others the increasing participation rates in the West German education reflected more and more massive attacks on the particular social privileges the employment situation of professionals working in the public sector as well as a fundamental transformation of many white-collar jobs, wiping out many of the former distinctions between workers and employees, blue collar and white collar.

• *Refusal of work/resistance to education*. In the end the very area which presented the greatest difficulties for East Germany and most effectively contributed to the collapse of the system was the sphere of production and circulation, whereas (now in very relative terms) this is still a quite effective sector in West Germany. In fact a very unfortunate combination developed in East Germany over the decades, with the particular situation inside factories and offices promoting a growing degree of refusal of work, in spite of the lack of any threat of unemployment, and with the particular situation inside educational institutions promoting a

> growing opposition to the ideological norms and requirements of schooling and consequently a growing refusal of institutionalised education. Although neither refusal of work nor refusal of education could in any way be regarded as being non-existent in West Germany - in fact there is a long-term tendency fuelling both - they have certainly not taken on the same dimensions as in East Germany. Quite clearly the West German education system would now not be perceived as being highly selective or elitist but as open, flexible institutions offering educational opportunities to vast majorities of young people at least in the cities - even if it becomes less and less clear what the specific uses of better education might actually be.

Certainly we are not just speaking about different options here which could have been chosen at will by both East and West Germany. The very peculiar situation in East Germany after the war, the very peculiar composition and historical situation of the working class, the very peculiar needs and efforts at further industrialising regions in East Germany which so far had remained largely rural areas, the very peculiar influence of Russian occupation and the desperate efforts to transfer the political system of Russia to East Germany, and perhaps a few other factors, contributed to creating very specific and highly difficult class relations which increasingly narrowed the range of political choice for the East German ruling class. For some observers it was more or less clear in the 1950s that this model had created or maintained antagonisms which were bound to undermine the stability of the system in highly explosive ways. All this is not to say that on the other side there was no class antagonism in West Germany. However, the West German system really cultivated a vast range of different forms of mediation which at least contributed to slowing down the rate of decline - although decline there certainly was. In comparison with the previous decades the factors of change were less remarkable in West Germany than in East Germany, at least up to the beginning of the 1990s. But the level of relative stability was certainly higher than in East Germany.

4. The counter-movement: Governmental attacks on the effectiveness and flexibility of the education system

The starting point for any debate about recent policy developments in education and their specific impact would have to be the fact that flexible reactions of the education system/of the employment system to a changing social structure and changing needs of social reproduction as well as to growing problems of employment continued to represent an element of stability in the post-war history of German capitalism until fairly recently. As far as East Germany is concerned the moment of unification and the immediately following years put an end to the flexibility of the employment system when a largely non-competitive East German industry was simply declared to be bankrupt and was then practically liquidated in the so-called privatisation of state property. A parallel movement boosting participation rates in the education system was unable to counterbalance the negative effects of destroying entire branches of industry, throwing millions of workers on the scrapheap as well. Thus, the employment system of East Germany, once having been its particular strength, is now its very weak spot.

In West Germany, on the other hand, a tendency to lay the axe to the roots of one of its particular strengths began to emerge more clearly since the mid-1970s, developing further in the 1980s and threatening to finally gain the upper hand in the 1990s. Its essence consists in rigorous attempts to put an end to the expansion movement in the education system and to massively drive down costs for the education sector. It is a telling fact that the present debate around a complete turnabout in education policy, replacing (relative) flexibility of the education system by (growing) rigidity, transforming the education system from a factor reducing unemployment into a factor contributing to seriously increasing unemployment, and in doing so not really heeding the social consequences of such a change of policy orientations and policy instruments, is not led under just these headings but with the alleged aims and objectives of enhancing the „effectiveness“ of schools and other education institutions, improving their „quality“, granting them more „autonomy“, assessing their

teachers for their „competence“, introducing a higher degree of „professionalisation“, strengthening the element of „accountability“. It is hard to believe that George Orwell's „newspeak“ could be more than just a satirical idea - namely plain reality of daily political propaganda under today's conditions.

Both the former (relative) flexibility of the employment system and the (relative) flexibility of the education system have come under massive attack. I therefore find it extremely difficult to accept the vague claims of modern „newspeak“ as something seriously promising more effective teachers for more effective schools, and on the side of policy initiatives I do not see the slightest sign of a serious ability (not to speak of the will) of governmental institutions to improve the situation in schools and in teacher education. Certainly it could not be excluded that those propagating the ideas of effectiveness, quality, competence, etc. do honestly believe in these values - and not just in a very superficial sense. It would be very naive to believe in something like a systematic and conscious „betrayal of the masses“. But there is no reason for any critical researcher to be starry-eyed about such promises if political scientists continuously warn us about the increasing limits for translating the most exciting plans and policy objectives into practice under conditions where every couple of years capitalist systems tumble into deeper crisis. Out of eight years in the 1990s so far no less than six were years of crisis and recession in Germany - and the decade has not ended yet. Already that there are unmistakable signs for a new downturn in 1999/2000. No previous decade since the war was worse than that. This appears to go a long way towards explaining the more and more rigid tendencies of forcing austerity policies on the education sector.

As for teacher education, we do not yet have a basic and widely disseminated document representing the current policy orientation of governments. For schools, however, developments have already gone much further and are expressed in much clearer terms. An almost complete coverage of what has been termed a new policy orientation could be found in a document which was elaborated by a high-level commission in the Land Nordrhein-Westfalen and which was then published in 1995 under the title of „Zukunft der Bildung - Schule der Zukunft“ (Future of education - schools of the future) (Bildungskommission NRW 1995). Actually it also contains almost 20 pages on teacher education and the needs for reform in this area, foreshadowing what might be the path of transforming teacher education according to the needs of the current policy orientations. Considering the particular role which Social Democracy has played in Germany in spearheading massive attacks on the rights and the living standards of ordinary people, it does not come as a surprise that a social-democratic regional government could claim to have installed this commission.

Current reforms and initiatives are certainly not even effective in terms of the stability and coherence of the existing social system, and they are far from producing anything like effective teachers for effective schools. The age of higher education institutions and schools as relatively efficient instruments of mediation is over. Governments have begun to pursue more rigorously policies of destabilisation and to transform the education sector into a model of inflexibility. The many fascinating (?) tales now being told about the new managerialism in the public sector, about the marketisation of education, about the increasing autonomy of teacher education, schools and teachers, etc. and about the success of such policies in establishing new modes of perfect control are nothing but vague ideologies depicting utopias of a reinvigorated state mechanism. These key words do not offer an image of the reality of the education sector but a fictitious account of what is actually happening. However, in a certain sense the ideology of a new managerialism in education does have a ring of truth - managers in education are by now no less successful in destroying whatever remains of the flexibility and stability of society than their colleagues in the management of business firms in production and circulation.

Looking back on recent developments in teacher education in Germany in the 1990s, we are certainly not marching from a healthy progressive era to a bleak neoliberalist future, from a relative ineffectiveness of schooling to more effective schools under the control of central institutions, from

semi-professionalism or non-professionalism to professionalism in terms of increased application of norms set by the central state, from rigidity of teacher education and the education sector in general to flexibility as dictated by central policy-making bodies. In saying this I am not even convinced that developments in the patterns of teacher education in Germany are fundamentally different from those in the UK. My impression is that they are not.

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Processes of Professionalisation and Deprofessionalisation of Teachers in Spain

1. Professionalisation and De-Professionalisation

At the near end of this century, characterised by uncertainty, continuously emerging paradoxa and value conflicts, we are witnessing an aggravation of all problems involved in the professionalisation and de-professionalisation of teaching, two different sides of the same coin. The respective debates are held in most different forms, and this refers to the groups of experts involved just as well as to the special characteristics of the contexts in which the subject is discussed. Each individual group of experts, teachers, researchers, politicians, educational administrative staff, trainers, professional organisations, trade unions etc. add different meanings to the terms involved in the game, their special interests which do not coincide with those of the others and opposite theoretical aspects. At its initial stage, this debate seems to be led in a paradox, complex and fragmented manner. In the following, we shall look into the question of how this debate is shaped within the Spanish contexts and which consequences will result for the area of teacher education.

When looking at the excellent study of Mahony and Hextall on the changed image of teachers in teacher education in England and Wales as being considered as professionals due to the creation of the Teacher Training Agency, we find that many of the aspects they mentioned as typical for their country also hold true in the Spanish context. At present, we might be facing the same problems, although we start off from different sides. In such a sense, even the terms “deprofessionalisation” and “re-professionalisation” might contain a different meaning in England and Spain. In our opinion, the teaching profession in Spain is still undergoing a process of professionalisation, and this refers in particular to the part in which the education of teachers contributes to such a development. As the authors themselves stated rightly, “the same concepts may convey quite diverse cultural and political messages in our different countries, or, we may use different words to describe the same phenomenon”. We shall try to bring some more light into the current debate by focusing the discussion on an analysis of the central problems.

2. The Context of the Reform

Any reflection on the professionalisation of teaching within the Spanish context should take into account the global frame of conditions to which our educational system is submitted at present. Very briefly, our current situation is characterised by the following aspects:

a) An increasing tendency of stressing the neo-liberal perspective, continuously growing since the beginning of the nineties, which finds its expression in attributing more and more importance to the mechanisms of the market as the determining factor of the quality of education. This implies the assertion that the educational system could function according to parameters of efficiency and performance, generally expressed by precise results. As a consequence, there is a notable danger

for the existence of state schools, a possible intensification of inequalities which school should help to reduce, a reconsideration of the meaning of public service and the respective responsibilities of professionals in teaching in the sense of such definition.

b) The state of the reform of the educational system. One cannot help but find it paradox to note that the reform, undertaken during the 80s with the intention to adapt the structures of the educational system according to the respective social changes in order to assure a more democratic form of education, actually finds itself in a counter-reformatory movement. This movement is supported by all those who interpret the extension of secondary education and its comprehensive character as a loss of academic standards for the students, amongst them many teachers who were probably dissatisfied with the professional changes brought about by a reconceptualization of their tasks which goes far beyond the mastering of the curricular subject content of their discipline.

c) The dialectic of a centralised/decentralised curriculum, linked to the debate on the possible function of the curriculum within the professionalisation of teachers, with teachers being considered as active designers rather than mere executors. At present, one has to suspect that decentralisation implies a reinforcement of control (the different levels of decision-making in curricular questions: central, autonomous, by the school centre, by the teacher).

d) The maintenance of insufficient forms of initial teacher education being inadequate for meeting in a professional way the challenges and paradox situations with which the professional role of teachers will be confronted with at the end of this millennium (intensification, uncertainty, hyper-responsibility, mistrust, bureaucratism, instability ...).

3. A Galician/Spanish Approach: Reflections on the role of teacher education within processes of professionalisation

From the first block of the a.m. problem areas, we shall focus our attention on finding out about the links which exist between professionalisation in the sense of professional development and teacher education (initial and in-service), a question which has hardly been analysed so far. Is teacher education part of the problem of professionalisation or could it be the solution for it?

Studies on the influence of teacher education on professionalisation are generally concentrated on that area which is assumed to be the most important one, the part of in-service training, whereas the function of initial teacher education for the forming of a teacher's professional identity seems to have been rather depreciated or ignored. One reason for this tendency might be the fact that there are only few possibilities for new teachers to occupy a post in the Spanish education system, in particular at primary and pre-primary level. Another explanation might be that the area of in-service training seems to offer more possibilities for exerting influence. In the following, we shall analyse briefly some of the key aspects of the impact that each of the two important phases of teacher education have on the professionalisation of teachers.

3.1 Initial teacher education

Initial teacher training is, as we all know, the phase which aims at preparing future teachers for carrying out their professional activity of teaching. The phase consists of a short, necessarily limited period which has an added value of initial preparation. The way in which this phase contributes to the professionalisation of teachers is limited, but essential. Whereas initial teacher education was regarded as the major phase of professional formation until more or less the mid-seventies, with a corresponding image of in-service training being of minor importance, with supplementary character and being predominantly compensatory for the deficiencies of initial teacher education, the latter gradually replaced initial teacher education and constantly grew in importance until today. This change of emphasis is so massive that we could well speak of witnessing a process of initial teacher education coming to an end. The strong unbalanced movement of the pendulum which evidently

can be noted in the Spanish context needs a certain adjustment which consists of recognising the fact that each phase of teacher education has its specific value and that major efforts are necessary to interrelate both phases in a more coherent form. This is a subject still open for teaching.

The compound of all aspects which figure in initial teacher education at primary and secondary level (institutions, curriculum, teacher educators, relation of theory and practice, resources ...) may also be considered as influential factors for the professionalisation of future teachers (this is the reason for their existence), although it might be difficult to estimate the importance of each individual factor due, amongst other reasons, to their close interrelation. We selected three factors:

a) The first one is the continuity of a situation which we always characterised as two education and training structures. Initial education for primary and pre-primary teachers is offered with a different structure than that for teachers at secondary level. The continuity of two training structures in initial teacher education (a phenomenon which does not exist in in-service training), makes it hard to admit that training should supply teachers at both levels, primary and secondary, with sufficient opportunities to meet one of the most innovative professional challenges of the Education Reform: the model of a reflective professional, suitable for all types of teachers without exception. This objective which should be achieved by all teachers in the same way entails two major problems: On the one hand, it has to be taken into account that all education and training processes should and could be analogous if the training objectives are of the same nature. On the other, all efforts which are made within the frame of in-service teacher training, in order to assure the necessary qualifications for teachers on the job, should and could be analogous to those made in initial teacher education (Montero and Vez, 1990).

It would exceed the frame of this study if we tried to analyse the persistence of this dichotomy and the problems implied for the professionalisation of teachers at primary and secondary level in a more profound manner. We can only add at this stage that in the Spanish historical context we missed the professional opportunity of bringing the education of primary and secondary teacher in line with each other in order to guarantee a common preparation for professionals who will fulfil similar tasks. The way in which teacher education is often dealt with as a matter of secondary importance, in particular when compared to other professional groups, will imply the perpetuation of a certain social and cultural image of those who work as teachers, their social, intellectual and professional dignity and, consequently, the prerequisites which are necessary for becoming a teacher. This structural decision creates and maintains a status quo which, as we know well, represents a framework of requirements, recognition and incentives in order to tie education down to certain relevant subjects and even certain social classes.

Certainly, once again, we missed the opportunity to make a stronger, more serious effort of corresponding in an adequate manner to the well-pronounced declarations on the significance of education and its professionals (Escudero, 1990: 17). It is really a serious fact that professionalisation continues to be listed in the common core of special knowledge in education, without being considered as an essential prerequisite, and to be defined as “the specific action of teachers in practice, i.e. the compound of actions, and related abilities, knowledge, attitudes and values which constitute the special quality of being a teacher” (Gimeno, 1993: 54). In other professions, this situation might be criticised as professional “intrusion”.

b) The second aspect to be looked into refers to the strong emphasis with which traditionally the placement of teaching practice is being considered as being the most important factor for the professionalisation of teachers. Within the whole range of components listed in the curriculum for initial teacher training, those periods which are dedicated to the direct teaching experiences of future teachers together with a supervising teacher at a school centre are still considered to be the most valuable ones, in particular by students during their process of qualification for becoming a teacher. The phase of practical teaching, as experiences designed for learning how to teach, are

situations which should help future teachers to understand and try out those professional activities which teachers in-service carry out at the school centres. Taking into account these basic proposals, nobody would doubt the valuable contribution of practical teaching experiences to the professional socialisation of future teachers. However, their real value depends on several factors, such as: the way, in which these placements are planned, followed-up and evaluated, the attention dedicated by the tutors to the future teachers, previous concepts and expectations which are frequently unknown ... - factors which remind us of the fact that situations of practical placements will necessarily develop along the lines of the prestructured frame which results from the relation of theory and practice, implied and expressed by the given curriculum of initial education.

Future teachers will learn during their school placements that their previous experience as pupils, the existing training models, the methodology used by their mentors, the singular characteristics of the individual training institutions will help them to learn. Too often we will find the predominant idea that, on the one hand, the theoretical part of the instruction is received at the university institution for initial teacher education, whereas the school centres represent the site being responsible for the practical part of the training, and that it was up to the students to build the corresponding bridges themselves. This situation of dichotomy is maintained despite sufficient knowledge of the possibilities for interaction between both sites (Montero, 1988).

The assumed implication which lies behind this is that learning of how to teach is the result of situations of observing and trying out all those activities which teachers carry out in their service. It indirectly suggests that the university education and training centres have little influence on the professionalisation of future teachers and that only the situations of confrontation with reality were those of real influential value. And this is always true if and when future teachers are asked to evaluate a learning situation during which they were offered adequate support and tools. Still, the myth of "more and more practical training" develops to such an extent that one might ask whether or not the total training process should take place in form of practical teaching at school. But then again, what kind of value could there be in practical training for its own sake? The practice, as an uncritical reproduction of what is observed, leads to the assumption that certain forms of use are only good because they are commonly used in practice. Practice, without an analysis of the assumptions that lie behind it, should not be automatically qualified as "professional".

c) Another problem, closely related to the above, is the missing link between the school centres and the university centres, a relationship that has been largely neglected until now and which is coined by stereotypes, mutual mistrust, prejudices, manipulation ..... The paradoxical side of it lies in the fact that it offers an enormous potential for the professional development of teachers in-service who work as tutors/mentors.

3.2 In-service training for teachers

During the past 20 years, we witnessed the enormous development of the large "machinery" of in-service training. In a short time, the sector of in-service training was converted into a brilliant star, due to the creation of institutions, the extension of means, the help of those persons who work in it as professionals, the availability of media, the diversity of modalities etc. in a short period of time. The speed in which this enormous development of in-service training took place consequently led to the necessity of making corresponding adjustments and problems emerged that should be analysed more thoroughly (see Villar, 1996). This developmental process could also be considered as a process of professionalisation for the area of training itself, and, above all, for those who exert their professional function in in-service training: advisers and trainers. A type of professionalisation, which, logically, passes through a specific kind of preparation for taking over the special tasks involved in the training of teachers: What will be done, how, where, with what type of media, with whom, what are the underlying assumptions, what kind of alternatives do we dispose of?

This enormous development brought about new problems that require a thorough re-examination of much what was accepted and done in-service-training in recent years. From the various problems which need to be analysed in the future, we have chosen the following ones:

a) The task of planning the training process, with an enormous potential for professionalisation and qualification of teachers and also for qualifying the trainers (planning implies evaluation). The planning of training, a task carried out by the different educational administrations within the context of the Education Reform, who, with slight differences amongst them, develop the plans along newly established levels (Framework Plan, Yearly Plan, Provincial Plans, Teacher Centre Plans ...). The dynamic of establishing different levels within the planning scheme for training is justified, at least in theoretical discussions, by the necessity of simultaneously having to meet the needs of training which result from the reform of the educational system, of teacher education and that of the centres. In order to meet this compound of needs in an adequate way, by setting priorities, two different principles will have to be combined: the principle of centralisation and that of decentralisation in such a form that, in the end, a complete overview is available, which, as a compound, includes all information which derived from the different organisations that intervene in the training process, assuming a multi-directional relation which is sufficiently open. So far, it is needless to say if this could be achieved or not, as there is hardly sufficient information available on what happens inside the organisations at the different levels (Montero, 1996).

On the one hand, it is necessary to meet the needs of training which are pronounced by the professionals themselves (an important factor of professionalisation is that teachers themselves are made protagonists in decision-making on their training). On the other hand, situations of reform produce changes which for the teachers are converted into demands. Demands of such kind, that teachers themselves might not recognise as needs. This is why we talk about “needs of the educational system”. And without going into an analysis of the possible interaction of both at this point, we would like to defend the idea that the discussion of the institutional acts of teacher education is above all (in 90% of all cases) a discussion on how the needs of the educational system are interpreted by a given administration. And this discussion seems to be based upon a somehow magic sense of investigation into and knowledge about these needs, as if this was easy to be achieved, and as if all solutions for problems in training depended on this and thus professionalisation in teacher education would be guaranteed without problems. What seems to be forgotten in all this is the ambiguity of the term of “needs”, the need to build bridges amongst investigating, interpreting and formulating plans of action ... In this respect, the training models are sliding into a direction which was strongly criticised in the 80s; they fundamentally focus on innovation and introduction of changes promoted from outside. Opposite to this tendency, the models of training for school teaching have developed more profile.

b) Another point for reflection is the fact that there are far too high expectations put in what education and training might achieve for the professional development of teachers (i.e., the idea that education and training is the decisive factor for professionalisation). Too high expectations, because we are dealing here with a myth: the more education and training, the better professionals, a myth that is and should be debatable, as following a training does not necessarily mean being trained. Teacher education always contains two components: the first one consists of those elements that we usually think of when talking about teacher education (seminars, trainers, spaces, time, media). However, if we intend to articulate more clearly how education and training is related to professionalisation, it is necessary to clearly point to the teachers themselves as always being the active subjects (also, if they are inhibited), nobody trains them, we train ourselves. This matter has been brought up and analysed in a marvellous way by Ferry (1983).

Still, as long as we do not dispose of evaluations concerning the influence of training on improving the quality of teaching and that of the school centres, we have to stick to quantitative arguments only. We have to return to reports that inform us about how many activities were carried out and by

how many teachers, what kind of activities were involved, which areas they belonged to, and in which context they were carried out. But then, what use is in all this? How can we improve the professional quality of these teachers? How was their professional practice reflected? Was there any benefit for the school centres? And for the pupils? Evaluations that would facilitate collecting some information in order to answer these and other questions are very scarce. And this is why we continue to criticise the excessive material frequently produced on the effects of training activities on the quality of professionalisation without really having the corresponding data available.

In-service teacher training directly aims at the continuous professionalisation of teachers. As far as the concept is concerned, there is no doubt about that. However, this does not imply that all training activities were beneficial for the professional development. Relatively few activities are dedicated to the professional practice in order to improve the quality of teaching, even less are planned for the benefit of the school centres and probably very few for those of the pupils who are the central objective and ultimate aim of any form of teacher education. Thus, there is no harmonious co-ordination between the training activities and no focusing on a continuous professionalisation of teachers. And this is just another reason for carrying on examining the unique character of the relations between teacher education and training and professionalisation.

c) Another important aspect to be considered is the amount of emphasis put in training modalities which concentrate on training at schools or in school centres. Since the end of the 70s, there is an increasing tendency within the international and also Spanish context to support the idea that the point of reference in training is not the individual teacher but teachers as members of a professional group which functions at a certain institution: the school centre. However, it would be too easy to conclude from this that the training based at schools is the same as that taking place in the physical space of the school centre.

A favourite argument is that one of the major reasons for focusing all planning of training activities and resources on the school centres as basic referential point was the general dissatisfaction with the modality of "seminar". If the general aim of in-service training is the professional development of teachers in order to increase the quality of education in the school centres where they work, then we take the centre as the point of departure and as the destination of a training which corresponds more closely to the needs of the different professional contexts, to the expectation of better quality teachers and a stronger participation of teachers in their own training, and which pays tribute to the concept of teachers as reflective professionals and researchers into their own practice.

The above mentioned concepts were complemented by the idea that the changes in education depended more on the total system of a school than on the individual teachers involved. Emphasis was put on the autonomy of school centres in defining the training needs of its staff and of taking corresponding actions. This position never assumed for any moment that external support should be rejected and that one would rely on the self-sufficiency of centres for providing the training. Instead, there were strong expectations that solid supportive structures were implanted and that the advisory function for training was generally recognised as a valuable contribution for professional development. Gradually, this approach leads to the fact, that school centres are generally recognised, at least at a conceptual level, as being autonomous when planning the form of training that they need, so that their autonomy is being considered as an essential element of their educational project. This proposal is based on the need that teacher education be made a part of the professional texture of teachers, not only in an individual sense, but also in the form of dialogues on the needs and demands of the whole structure.

d) Finally, as a conclusion to be drawn from all statements above, it may be guessed by the reader that there is still an enormous task of evaluation research to be done into the processes and results of training activities - and, indeed, this is true. Without doubt, as long as we do not dispose of sufficient information on what is going on with all training activities which are developed, i.e. what

kind of activities are taking place, how they are carried out, for whose benefit, what purpose they serve and how they will be implied in professional practice and help in improving the quality of the school centres, the teachers and the students, then how can we seriously talk about the actual influence of teacher education and training on professionalisation? In this sense, and taking the Autonomous Community of Galicia as a referential frame (see Vez and Montero, 1997), we believe it still holds true to say that on basis of the information available, it would be really difficult to pretend that any sustainable and solid evaluation result could be arrived at. First of all, because the period of what one might consider as a stable situation of in-service training with sufficiently developed structures is relatively short, although our system has been functioning autonomously for twelve years now. Secondly, because very often we lack the adequate information and if this information is to be obtained by researchers or a group of experts, this implies the incurring of high costs. I am referring to the fact that it is really difficult to get access today to the hidden curriculum of education and training in Galicia so that we are not only unable "to make the daily processes visible", but also to have an influence on the daily processes.

Consequently, what we need is research to bring more light into the current situation. Not, because there is no information at hand, but because the type of information that we dispose of is not sufficient or maybe not adequate for interpreting the "success" in teacher education and training. We need to get behind the scenes of each of the levels of decision-making and practical implementation in order to observe *in situ* the processes which are initiated at this stage. We believe, this is an important goal. Sometimes, we cannot suppress a feeling of depression when we are confronted with the maelstrom of activities and the scarce movement that might be thought as leading towards an improvement of the reality of education. We should not be led into temptation of relying simply on the large supply of means, on the grind of those who manage it, on all the money spent on it, ...for evaluating the phenomenon of in-service training, if, at the same time, we can observe the apathy, the discouragement, the lack of enthusiasm that teachers seem to show for the development of their training processes (Montero, 1996, 180).

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Discussion of: New Flexibilities in Teacher Education

1. First impressions

The present paper is our response to P. Mahony's and I. Hextall's main discussion paper on „Transforming Professionalism: The TTA and the National Professional Qualifications in England and Wales".

Our first impression, after reading this most interesting paper, was that of a very sympathetic feeling with the Danish colleague who posed the question: "How have you in your country let this happen?". The question has a particular relevance to us in the way that British educational improvements in the (late) eighties have meant a powerful keystone for curricular and professional development in Spain. In fact, many of the highlights carried out by the Reform proposals along the early nineties in our country bear a strong resemblance to the flexibilities which - by that time - seemed to be the pleasure of our colleagues in the United Kingdom. As things changed drastically in the context of reference and teacher education policies came more and more under New Public Management paradigms, our worries increased in the direction of "when the next house is on fire..."; and as recent social and political changes affected the Spanish educational system in the same way they did in England in the nineties, we (educational researches, teacher educators, teachers ...) started to think seriously that "it's high time to look to our own house". And, with suspicious minds, in a similar contesting atmosphere to that of the late sixties, we ask ourselves: "Where have all the flexibilities gone ...?".

2. Current Contexts in the UK and Spain

The major characteristic of the education system in the UK and Spain since the 1988 Education Act (UK) and the 1989 White Book for the Reform (Spain) has been constant change. The initial critical response (Havilland, 1988) from the British professionals to the Secretary of State for Education that the proposals in the new Bill were too prescriptive, too cluttered, excessively assessed and lacking in flexibility were eventually recognised by Dearing as valid, and his Final Report on the National Curriculum and its Assessment (1993) was accepted by the Government 'in full' in the same year (DfE, 1993). His key proposals were that the National Curriculum should:

- reduce the volume of material required by law to be taught in schools;
- simplify and clarify the programmes of study;
- reduce prescriptiveness, thus giving scope for teachers' professional judgement to be exercised;
- write Orders in a way that gives more support to classroom teachers.

Dearing's review, though it would not be possible politically for him to say this, amply endorses the early reservations shown with regard to a number of central strands of the 1988 Education Reform Act, and which appeared in the millions of words written in response to the Government's consultation document. Had the initial response of the Government been more willing to take account of the 18,000 replies to the consultation, several million pounds spent on documentation, publicity and assessment schemes would have been saved.

The critical response from Spanish professionals reacting to the White Book for the Reform was posed in a different direction: While accepting and even applauding the fresh air that was introduced into the profession, mainly and particularly in the field of curriculum development, it was generally felt that the Reform would not succeed without a deep look into professionalisation and, more specifically, into professional development. These voices of criticism were soon silenced by the noise of the demands which were made on the side of curriculum development, mainly in the form of New Curricular Designs. The move in this direction remained in teachers' own hands (qualified teachers of course) who accepted the challenge as a motive (perhaps the first one in Spain which was taken in a collective and responsible way) of personal and professional growth. Hundreds of draft documents on the development of New Curricula were produced before the official books, established for each one of the seventeen autonomous communities in Spain, were finally approved. The result of the new proposals, in some way a tacit agreement between the Government and the teaching force, was a deep and serious concentration on the following keystones:

- the development of the principle of school autonomy (against the tradition of a centralised organisation and curriculum design) which poses the challenge of the elaboration and practical implementation of educational and curricular projects according to the characteristics and culture of each school;
- an increased assignment of teachers to specialisation in specific subjects;
- the introduction of important changes in the field of educational content which includes more attention to attitudes, values and norms as basic elements of classroom activities; the consideration of interdisciplinary subjects (transversal themes: consumer, environmental and health education, equal opportunities, education for peace, etc.) not as isolated contents but as integrated aspects of the different disciplines; the assumption of four specialised fields of content: foreign languages, music, physical education and new technologies; attention to diversity in a comprehensive school model; attention to the integration of schools into their respective socio-cultural context; and the consideration of new agents of teaching (more participation of parents and a progressive integration of new school settings (co-operation with enterprises, training centres, etc.).

But the more these innovative aspects - some sort of educational revolution - were put into practice and the instruments of curriculum development and the new curricular materials were experimented, the stronger was the feeling of a lack of professional development in the same direction, at an equal speed and with a similar economical and social commitment. And the impression was that the cart had been put before the horse, and that weaker teachers were - as always? - the price of revolution.

3. A critical view

The phenomenon described above with reference to the National Curriculum for UK schools, (i.e. a rhetoric of consultation with professionals which is then ignored by ministers and civil servants on the grounds that the professionals have a vested interest in the result of the consultation), is in danger of being repeated as the British Government turns its attention to Initial Teacher Education in the way it has been stated by Mahony and Hextall's main discussion paper. As far as we know, The DfEE presented for consultation in February 1997 a series of documents amounting to what is a de facto 'national curriculum' for teacher training. It is not the purpose of our contribution to offer a critique of those proposals, though it is important to note the communication from the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of Universities in the UK, (CVCP, 13.3.97), that 'it is undesirable and inappropriate for the Secretary of State to prescribe the content of courses'. In our opinion, this is not an argument; it is a statement of a specific ideology about universities and their purpose.

Mahony's and Hextall's study, examining the policy, context and impact of the Teacher Training Agency, raises very important issues. Of particular significance for our educational context in Spain were their questions on the extent to which the TTA interventions affected 'the nature of teaching as a professional activity' and how far 'the manner in which the work of individual teachers is being

subjected to such levels of regulation and surveillance as to threaten the creativity and adaptability which are central to the profession'. Of course we have not got a TTA in Spain (we cross our fingers!) but there are growing symptoms of governmental interest in initial teacher education - traditionally a unique responsibility of Spanish Universities - once they have the absolute control of in-service teacher education and training. One of these symptoms is the recent debate on the control of secondary school teachers' qualification (a certification of pedagogical qualification) to enter the teaching profession.

Within the context of increased government intervention in the education and training of professional groups over which some control is exercised, especially teaching, a common factor has been an increase in the proportion of training devoted to practice in the work-place. Much recent literature dealing with the implications of this trend focuses upon 'mentoring' and 'reflection' as key concepts and practices necessary to enhance the purposes and effectiveness of teacher education and training. This concentration upon these two concepts, one rooted in the teacher or tutor, the other rooted in the teacher as well as in the learner and in the classroom interactions, have led to a modification even the replacement of the 'theory-practice' relationship evident in previous approaches.

4. Common ground: Shared interests in the UK and Spain

What follows is a brief summary of a partnership research work we have recently carried out in collaboration with two colleagues from the School of Education in Durham about the analysis of the practical element of the professional training of teachers in both countries. Our aim in this research has been to elicit information on:

- the purposes of the practical component in the preparation of teachers;
- the extent to which those purposes are achieved;
- the relationship between theory and practice, (or university and school) in pursuing those purposes and achieving them.

Further, we have drawn our data from three sources, each source a key 'stakeholder' in the preparation of teachers: the student teacher, the teachers in the host schools and the university based staff - and all this in two EU countries.

This research seeks to analyse critically one central part of the professional preparation of teachers: the school-based practice. Whether as a result of political directives or from the professional concerns of teachers, teacher educators and students, the school placement seems an appropriate context within which to explore perceptions of purpose, effectiveness and theory-practice links. Data have been drawn in both Spain and the UK on the grounds that, given intra-EU mobility of labour and the intended inter-validity of qualifications, single nation studies will have limited applicability.

Each of the two research teams, having carried out a literature search of both empirical and conceptual studies to establish a 'status quaestionis' pertinent to the research, used two methods to draw the relevant data for this essentially exploratory survey. The rich data base yielded from the opportunity samples in each country offers good face validity (higher reliability would be sought via a more comprehensive study) based on hypotheses generated from the current work. The two methods for data elicitation were:

- Semi-structured, tape-recorded, focused group interviews.
- A controlled repertory grid analysis, using constructs based on elements drawn from the UK Teacher Training Agency's list of competencies required in new teachers.

A comparison of the data allows us to make the following tentative conclusions:

a) University Departments of Education in Spain are granted by statute full autonomy over their curricula, within broad governmental guidelines. In the UK, by contrast, UDEs are totally constrained by the requirements of the new (1997) National Curriculum for Teacher Training. This ideological

variation at national level manifests itself to some degree in the data drawn by the instruments from the respondents.

b) In UK university staff have a much closer link with host schools than is the case in Spain. Thus, British university staff are expected to maintain practical involvement in teaching children in school, (in a manner analogous to medical doctors in university departments of medicine retaining a hospital-based, medical responsibility as well as a clinical teaching responsibility); they visit their students who are on teaching practice; the host school concludes a written contract with the university stipulating precise responsibilities in exchange for payment by the university to the school -in 1997, approximately 1,000 Pounds Sterling per student per year.

c) As regards the relevant teacher education schemes, it is worth noticing that the autonomy of University in Spain - as under the Law for the Reform of University of 1983 - acknowledges the competence of each University to draft the syllabus for teacher education, pursuant to the guidelines and basic general content as established by the central government for all the territory. This means that we actually find very different models of coping with the teaching practice period student teachers are supposed to have as a required part of their career. The differences are not only among universities (concerning contents, duration, assessment, tutorials, etc.) but there is also a notable distinction between primary and secondary teacher education programmes. It seems to us that the predominant model in initial teacher education in Spain matches the implicit theory that teachers, and not the schools, are the ones who individually assume responsibility for building on the bridge between theory - concepts, skills, strategies and attitudes - which they are supposed to acquire in universities, and practice -students, curriculum skilful teachers and contexts - which primary and secondary schools give them. In some way we are missing a theoretical model capable to explain how we learn to teach and how the different subjects which constitute the curriculum, and the designed situations which help to bring student teachers in close contact with the real characteristics of their future activity, contribute to this learning. It is this theoretical insufficiency what, perhaps, has been contributing to explain the current value which is given to field experiences or pre-professional teaching practice. But when we do it in that way we are giving an occasion to define teacher education as intellectually weak: we understand it as experience-dependant and not as a means to investigate how teaching is learnt, and, from that, to contribute in the construction of bridges between theory and practice.

d) Where in the UK the model of post-1997 National Curriculum for Teacher Training is competency-based, almost an apprenticeship model, (vide OECD 1994 comments cited earlier), the Spanish model retains the former British model of reflective, professional practitioners. In general lines, it is possible to say that aims in the Spanish context try to be in real consonance with the fundamental purpose of the Practicum:

i) to make contact with real work at school, to learn how it works, to know the educational practice which is developed in it by all of this in a systematic way. It seeks that the impact of the student teacher with the school reality is not limited to a mere contact and, in that direction, providing student teachers with guidelines which help them to lead their observation: the school environment, the institutional characteristics, the classroom, the pupils' profile, etc.;
ii) to get involved in the proper work and professional skills of a teacher; that is, to facilitate the access of student teachers to teachers' professional tasks by giving them occasions of trial and error around their prospective roles. This is generally achieved by means of two kinds of complementary processes: the collaboration with in-service teachers and the design, development and evaluation of a teaching unit;
iii) to develop reflection-in-action. It seeks to achieve that student teachers learn to develop by themselves different mechanisms of analysis of their own experience, to contrast this experience with other points of view (the ones derived from theory, from supervision, or having to do with their mates' opinions) and to obtain a framework from the reflective activity which will guide their

future work. This sort of aim allows us to understand the practicum - as a whole - as a good occasion for student teachers' professional development;
iv) to integrate theory and practice in the double sense of applying theory and to build theory out of practice.

It seems quite obvious that achieving these objectives depends much more on the special care we devote to the mechanisms of implementation of the process: the selection of school centres, the establishment and negotiation of co-operation rules, the negotiation with in-service teachers, the clarification of the whole process with student teachers, etc. And this is one of the key points that has just opened up a debate in most Spanish universities which establish and understand, in various and different ways, the collaboration with school centres.

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New managerialism in teacher education - professionalisation or re-professionalisation? On the latest developments in teacher education in Denmark

At the TNTEE/ECER Frankfurt symposium on "New Flexibilities in Teacher Education" chaired by Martin Lawn part of the debate raised the question of Danish teacher education. It was held by some that the development in the UK was not likely to be copied in countries like Denmark. Since autumn 1997, however, the development in teacher education in Denmark may well challenge that view. A new law on teacher education was passed in parliament in a very short time. One of the explicit reasons used by the Minister of Education was the need for professionalisation and the enhancement of the status of Danish teachers, made necessary by the shift from the traditional skilled teacher toward the more reflective, quality assessing and evaluating teacher who is needed in today's changing society. Parallel to this another focus has been on the organisational structures of teaching from schools to universities where parents, employers and other parts of society were seen as consumers with interests in the field of school education. Thus the traditional Danish teacher education system which, since the turn of the century, had stressed the personal development of the pupil and the teacher and the social and democratic values as traditional was challenged by new ideas and agendas.

Inspired by a comparative study of Hofstede (1), the Danish Ministry of Education in 1997 outlined possible future scenarios of general trends of education in the global society. Not very surprisingly, Denmark was seen in one of these scenarios as a potentially leading country, more or less facing a „golden age". At the same time Danish teacher education has experienced some new developments which may be seen to be more in line with scenarios influenced or inspired by what Pat Mahony and Ian Hextall have called „new managerialism"(2). This paper presents a review of the 1997 report from the Danish Ministry of Education, of the latest law on teacher education becoming effective in July 1998 and of some of the very recent initiatives in in-service training as well as in evaluating education in general and in teacher education and schools in particular in Denmark, trying to understand the Danish development in the light of professionalisation or reprofessionalisation of teacher education and the impact on teachers work and status as issues raised at the Frankfurt symposium of TNTEE sub-network A on "New Flexibilities in Teacher Education".

1. The Danish tradition of decentralisation and „new managerialism"

Debates on standards, outcomes and assessment in the education of teachers in Denmark have been almost abandoned since the time when Danish teacher education was under the influence of Grundtvig (at the turn of the century). Only very few and very broad guidelines have traditionally been issued by the state or the central government, as Danish teacher education developed from a professional training of people with a background very often in some vocational area into an academic, but still separate and autonomous education in the restructured 18 state colleges of education which were

allowed to base their work on their own interpretation of the very general Teacher Education Act of 1991. The four-year courses in teacher education accordingly could be and actually were very different from institution to institution concerning content, by intention to be negotiated between students and teacher educators (3). Since the days of Grundtvig, Danish teacher education by tradition particularly stressed the idea of the personal development of teachers and co-operative as well as theoretical competencies, all to be put into practice in courses run by the autonomous colleges of education.

In view of this long tradition it was until quite recently not very likely that managerial theory or concepts be considered as relevant, at least not in the field of education. Since 1993 a few steps had been taken in order to evaluate parts of the educational system, especially at the level of upper secondary education. Much of this was introduced as an inspiration from the not very successful attempts at transforming other parts of the welfare state by what may well be called „representing the interests of the customer" (4). But due to the Danish tradition of decentralisation and the priority given to democratic and personal qualities, it seemed very likely from a Danish perspective that the "new managerialism" was just to be regarded as „a British disease", as some called it at the TNTEE/ ECER symposium chaired by Martin Lawn in Frankfurt in September 1997. This was even more the case when viewing the situation at the organisational level. There was nothing like the British Teacher Training Agency (TTA) and other bodies assessing educational quality and allocating resources, in spite of the fact that. some new bodies in this field had in fact been created in Denmark as well.

Part of the reason for that may be given on the other hand to the fact that „globalisation" had not yet really entered teacher education in Denmark. Pat Mahony's and Ian Hextall's three ways in which „globalisation" may enter into education did not seem very likely at that time in Denmark:

- 'Globalisation' as a signifier for changes in communications and technology.
- 'Globalisation' as a signifier for economic forces which determine the form, priorities and functions of national governments.
- 'Globalisation' as a myth designed to encourage us to think that we have no choices about how our societies are organised or the values which underpin them (5).

Communications technology had for some time been introduced in teacher education but the speed in which this was done was relatively moderate. From different ministers this field had however gradually been given a still higher priority very recently. Economic perspectives as dominating the priorities of education was not the general situation if one regards the Danish „Folkeskole" and teacher education at that time. On the contrary, one may argue, the priority was an emphasis on personal development creativity and the integration of all into a democratic society. And so far this had even been supported by the big, "high tech" companies in Denmark. On the other hand, however, if it was merely a myth so far, it certainly seems spreading fast recently.

2. Decentralisation and evaluation

On the basis of the „decentralising" Teacher Education Act from 1991 a new development took shape in the colleges of education. A variety of different kinds of courses and projects was introduced as a result of co-operation between teacher educators, teacher students and mentors as well as between students during the time of studies in the colleges. Quite visibly a transformation was taking place, and in some colleges internal evaluation was developed in order to provide the best possible organisation and content of the study programmes. Not only students but also candidates having a job as teachers were included in the surveys and interviews. At the same time experiments and further development of exams were made possible and encouraged by the Ministry of Education. Such developments were then evaluated in some colleges of education.

Much of this work was seen as a kind of action-research concerned with or even regarded as an element of the „self-reflective organisation“ (6) of the new modernity. In fact the 1991 law was seen as promoting the transition of teacher education from tradition to modernity, stressing more than ever the students co-operative and personal development competences that were highly demanded following the new legal basis provided for the „Folkeskole“ (compulsory comprehensive school) in 1994 (7). From this internal evaluation it could be concluded that the first and more general part of the study programmes had severe problems with the number of exams. This in turn led to a series of experiments with different ways of making the study programmes and the exams more meaningfully integrated, with the aim of enhancing personal development (8).

Within the general part of the study programmes other elements were evaluated more positively by students and teacher educators, as is shown by the evaluation report made at one of the largest colleges of education, Blaagaard State College of Education. Here the organisation of the study programme was to a high degree project based with the use of team teaching in large study units of students (9). The basic motive for organising teacher education in this way was seen in the idea or principle that students actually had to experience different didactical approaches and learning environments which they then had to practise later in the „Folkeskole” (10). But this way of organising courses also had its background in the Teacher Education Act of 1992 that prescribed parts of project organisation and cross subject studies and courses in some parts of the study programme. Evaluation pointed out that many students and teacher educators found it very positive that the courses were organised this way. Especially team teaching, the particular project organisation and the students' influence were highly viewed by the students. In a later study of the candidates this was stressed even more strongly. But the same evaluation study showed severe problems in the area of teaching practice as part of the study programme which was only vaguely related to the other elements of the programme and organised in an unclear way, leaving the mentors and students in a difficult situation (11).

3. The professional council and the reform of teacher education

In 1996 the peer „reviewers” (12) of teacher education programmes in the colleges were given a new role. Prior to this, each of the study subjects had a professional consultant, appointed by the Ministry with the task of giving advice to teacher educators and to the Ministry. Among the peer reviewers of exams who are appointed each year by the Ministry from a list proposed by the 18 colleges of education, one person was now, in 1996, elected as chairman for each subject studied. Among the 19 chairs one was then elected as head of chairs of review bodies. This body, or „professional council” for teachers, found itself in a rather confusing situation, taking up its work in 1996/1997. It seemed to many that the variety of programmes, courses and projects was too difficult to assess or to set proper standards for. Accordingly, this professional council made the request for a more standardised framework for teacher education as a whole.

At the same time, in 1996, an international study of the OECD (13) asserted that the Danish schools, compared with other countries, were to blame for very low standards in mother tongue teaching and learning. Nobody really cared to examine the study further, but if anyone had actually done that, one would have been unable to ignore that the Danish pupils in fact did rather well at the level of the secondary school, indeed with the same teachers as in the comprehensive school. In comparison with other countries it is also not possible to use the argument of cuts in educational expenditure as a factor supporting the theory of low achievement. On the contrary, Denmark is one of the countries occupying a top position in international comparisons of teacher expenditure per pupil at the primary and lower secondary level (14). Irrespective of the weak factual basis of the OECD assertions, the criticism was eagerly taken up by interested groups and persons. To the politicians this meant both a need for and an opportunity to try to raise standards and to „professionalise“ teacher education. To the newly created „professional council” this meant an opportunity to advocate a more centrally

governed teacher education system, or at least to limit the extent of decentralisation which had so far characterised the situation of the 18 colleges of education. The Minister of Education, newly appointed, may for his part have seen this as a perfect occasion and possible opportunity for putting his name to a new act of teacher education. He sent out a new statement proclaiming that he intended to very swiftly pass the law through parliament in order to prevent certain organisations from delaying or obstructing the legislative process. In justifying new legislation, the Minister made reference to rapid changes in society, the need for raising standards and the need for raising the competences and status of teachers through more centralised guidelines and „professionalisation". Apparently the OECD report and the demands of the professional council had left their mark, at least providing a welcome pretext.

In contrast to this, many representatives of the colleges of education who since 1992 had been implementing a new law on teacher education emphasised the need for patience and a chance to work and to make use of experiences and internal evaluation procedures. Not only the older, more traditional generation which had been anxious about imminent changes for some time, but several of the younger teacher educators were indeed deeply worried (15).

4. In-service training in teacher education - some new developments

In-service education for teachers is offered at all 18 colleges of education and at the Royal Danish School of Education in Copenhagen. Since summer 1997 a new diploma course has been introduced in in-service teacher education. The general aim is to provide an opportunity of building on the teacher education certificate which gives access to all municipal and private schools from 1st to 10th grade (age 7 to 17), expanding into more subjects, studying subjects at a higher, advanced level or acquiring organisational skills useful for administrators at schools (16). This development may bee seen in parallel to the Swedish development in teacher education (17). At the same time a new course programme of „Adult Education" has been introduced by the colleges of education by which different groups outside traditional teacher education programmes are given a chance of upgrading and developing their education into fields of adult education.

Both these recent types of education are being organised under the auspices and financial arrangement of the Open University which means that they are financed by the students themselves or by an employer. It is still too early to judge the outcomes of this recent development. The start has been rather modest with only a few courses being offered, but it seems to be a field of possible expansion in the future, since there is a parallel development in the wage systems towards more a more hierarchical structure. In order to organise the diploma courses, the colleges have found it necessary to co-operate regionally in such a way that applicants from one college of education where a course is not possible due to a low number of applicants are advised to attend corresponding courses at a co-operating college.

5. Denmark as a „leading country" in the field of (teacher) education?

In his annual report dating from 1997 the Minister of Education elaborated different scenarios for the future of Danish education in relation to education in other countries in the year 2025, that is one generation ahead of today (18). As this elaboration of scenarios was made prior to or during the process of enacting the new law on teacher education, a brief overview may contribute to understanding some of the underlying conditions and ideologies of the new developments.

Based on a comparative study of Hofstede (19), four scenarios for Denmark were constructed. Hofstede had tried, on the basis of an empirical study, to identify four different educational cultures or groups of cultures and values in the world of today. The idea was that by identifying different positions of countries on the scale, or along a continuum, of individualism/collectivism and equal distribution of power/unequal distribution of power within the educational systems in different

societies it would be possible to identify the most important similarities and differences between the national educational systems today.

The Danish Ministry of Education now simplified this structure by distinguishing between two extremes: on the one side a „dragon-type development", that is a more centralised, less democratically organised educational system, and on the other side the „Danish", more „democratic" tradition. This distinction was then combined in a matrix distinguishing between possibilities of a diverging and a converging global development at the level of education during the next thirty years:

	Dragon countries in harmony with global development	Danish values in harmony with global development
Educational systems diverging, remaining specific	(A) Danish education being marginalised in relation to dragon countries	(C) „Golden age" of Danish education
Educational systems converging, harmonisation	(B) Danish education converging with that of dragon countries, moving away from democratic organisation	(D) Denmark as a „leading country" in the field of education

There could be very little doubt which kind of development, among the four possibilities, the Ministry would regard as desirable and which kind of consequences that could have for future policy developments of the Danish education system. „Denmark as a leading country" stressed both professionalisation, effectiveness and the need for more reflective, democratic values in education in general. Since the 1991 Act, Danish teacher education consisted of a general two-year part of the study programme in combination with and followed by a more specialised two-year study programme of two subjects. But after examinations all teachers were then qualified to teach all subjects from age 7 to 17 up to the end of lower secondary school.

The Minister now suggests four special subjects to be studied by everyone in order to raise standards and a stronger emphasis on teaching practice and on the relation between subject theory, didactics and teaching practice in order to professionalise teacher education. To make sure that standards were raised generally and made assessable, the Minister also suggested that a set of specific guidelines should be elaborated for each subject studied at the colleges of education. The body to be in charge of this task was decided to be the new „professional council" for each subject (20).

But the Ministry intends to go much further than this in implementing policies linked to the idea of „Denmark as a leading country". At this year's „Sorø meeting" the new Minister of Education had invited two teachers having recently graduated. They both strongly advocated more detailed guidelines and standards in education in Denmark. One suggestion was that in order to reconstruct common values a centrally decided new subject might be introduced in the schools (21). At the same meeting the Minister announced that in the near future she intended to propose a law on the establishment of an Evaluation Centre being responsible for all higher education in Denmark in order to improve standards (22). Just recently, a national committee on quality improvement in the education system has published its report on education from primary school to universities and adult education (23). On September 18th the Minister put forward the proposed law on evaluation suggesting that from January 1999 onward 23 million Danish kroner and from the year 2000 onward 43 million kroner (=approximately 4 million pounds) be spent for the activities of a new National Institute of Evaluation. At the same time the first report on the entire field of teacher education has just been evaluated by the Evalueringscenteret (Evaluation Centre). The report suggests that essential

parts of the Royal School of Education have to be closed down in order to adjust to the policy of the Ministry of Education today (24).

Another development in relation to standards and quality is the question of the size of the 18 colleges of education in Denmark. Just lately the Ministry of Education announced that during the next 3-5 years the colleges of education should develop into considerably larger units, from the present size of ranging from 400-1300 students to that of around 4-5000 students in order to raise standards in fields like research and development which today is of limited though growing importance for these institutions.

The traditional Danish teacher education system stressing the personal development and social experience as a means of developing social and democratic skills and understanding in combination to the study of a few subjects is shifting towards more emphasis on the latter. This development, which may be characterised as a shift towards individualisation has its parallels in the Danish folkeskole.

6. Professionalisation, deprofessionalisation or re-professionalisation of future Danish teachers?

Ruling out the possibility of a general de-professionalisation - which seems reasonable in the case of Danish teacher education today -, the issue of professionalisation versus re-professionalisation as raised at the Frankfurt symposium remains. Understanding by professionalisation that teacher education is moving from a non academic traditional to an academic system and by re-professionalisation that teacher education in its academic form is restructured to meet new challenges directed towards a changing teaching profession, it seems most adequate to place the Danish development in teacher education in the second conceptual framework.

On the one hand professionalisation as a more practice oriented development of teacher education was an important issue, since complaints of the missing relation between theory and practice had been raised since many years even in the Danish tradition where teaching practice, subject studies and pedagogical and psychological theory had long been integrated (25). As the last country in Europe teacher education in Denmark is still organised in autonomous mono-organised colleges of education, many of them run by the state, and the call for mergers together or with universities may be seen as a traditional professionalisation by some actors in the educational arena. And this may even be argued from the fact that subject studies play a more important role in the 1997 Act.

However, not only the political views of the Minister of Education, even the restructuring of teacher education itself points in the direction that it is more adequate to view the development as a re-professionalisation of teachers. The 1997 Act directs the education of teachers not towards a traditional teaching profession, on the contrary. Hence the intention of creating a more tight relation between subjects, didactics, pedagogical theory and teaching practice than before. The latest initiatives to educate future mentors to cope with their new changing role in teacher education also points clearly in the direction of a re-professionalisation. The set of specific guidelines elaborated for subjects studied at the colleges of education and the internal evaluation launched so far may be viewed along the same lines. But it seems a possible development, that future external evaluation and organisational developments may lead to a development better described as deprofessionalisation of future teachers. To understand this possibility it is necessary to take into account some recent developments in the organisation of teacher education and in the Danish folkeskole, in specific the political declaration known as „Folkeskolen 2000" (26).

In teacher education the shift towards more individualisation and less emphasis on personal development and social experience leaves a concern about future teachers social and democratic skills and understanding. In the political manifest „Folkeskolen 2000", sanctioned by the parliament, 8 issues are raised to be developed and launched towards the year 2000. Quite parallel to the

development in teacher education, educational differentiation, professional organisational development and quality assessment measures and procedures are seen as priorities. However, in these areas the personal and social skills and understanding and the autonomy of the teacher at the moment seem in danger of disappearing or at least getting less priority in the future. Educational differentiation tends to stress subject-matter teaching at the expense of „soft values" like personal and social development. Professionalisation, the hierarchical organisation of school management seem to be undermining the autonomy, the personal and social development of the teacher and the external assessment measures may exclude considerations for the less privileged groups in school.

I am not attempting to sketch a horror scenario of future Danish teacher education but merely pointing out areas where the concept of deprofessionalisation may well knock on the door. So that, even if the teachers' professional competence and status on the one hand seem to be growing, it is in danger of a decline in other important aspects. Aspects that seem closely related to the built-in bias of „New Managerialism", whether introduced in Britain or in Denmark.

The questions remaining to be answered against the background of such developments are simple: To what extent will the values of the traditional democratic Danish teacher education system, with its emphasis on personal development of teachers and co-operative competencies in order to meet the demands and challenges of the Danish „Folkeskole", still be important features of the colleges in the future? To what extent will this reform seriously contribute to establishing an educational system where Denmark might be seen as a „leading country" at a global level? Are we facing developments where Denmark is in the process of giving up parts of the Grundtvig heritage of emphasising the link between education and democracy? This question is even more relevant in the light of the fact that this heritage has so far been regarded as playing an important role in creating the prosperity of Danish society. The answers are not obvious.

Footnotes

1) Hofstede, G. (1991) Kulturer og organisationer. Overlevelse i en graenseoverskridende verden, Kobenhavn

2) Mahony, P. and Hextall, I. (1997) Transforming professionalism: The TTA and the National Professional Qualifications in England and Wales. Paper presented at the European Conference on Educational Research, Frankfurt, September. (Published on the TNTEE website: http://tntee.umu.se/tntee/bulletin_board/symposium.html#keypaper)

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3) Website of the Danish Ministry of Education: http://www.uvm.dk. General introduction to Danish teacher education.

4) Clarke, J. and Newman, J. (1997) The managerial state, London: Sage publications, p. 116.

5) Pat Mahony and Ian Hextall: "Transforming professionalism", p. 1 .

6) Bendixen, C. and Willumsen, J. (1995) Evaluering, Blaagaard Tidende.

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8) Evalueringsgruppen Blaagaard Statsseminarium (1998) Rapportering om examens-forsog m.v. Blaagaard State College of Education, Januari.

9) Bendixen, C. and Willumsen, J. (1995) Evaluering, Blaagaard Tidende.

10) Thorslund, J. (1997) Organiseringen på Blaagaard og moderniteten, Blaagaard Tidende.

11) Bendixen, C. and Willumsen, J. (1995) Evaluering, Blaagaard Tidende.

12) In Denmark, it has been a long tradition in all parts of education from the „folkeskole" to the university to have colleagues function as external evaluators/co-examiners in examinations.

13) OECD (1995) Education at a glance, Paris: CERI. See also: Den grimme oelling. Om danske elevers laesefaerdigheder, Kobenhavn, 1995.

14) OECD (1997) Education policy analysis, Paris: CERI, p. 27.

15) DM (Danish Masters Association) (1997) Undersøgelse af seminarielærere.

Roskilde Universitet-rapport (1995) Omstilling på seminarierne, Roskilde.

16) http://www.uvm.dk/lov/bek/0000619.htm#K3.

17) Kallós, D. (1998) Recent changes in Swedish teacher education. Sigma update - Contribution to the Lyon conference, July.

18) Undervisningsministeriet (1997) Uddannelsesredegørelse, p. 39.

19) Hofstede, G. (1991) Kulturer og organisationer. Overlevelse i en grænseoverskridende verden, København: Schultz Erhvervsbøger.

20) Censorformandskabet for seminarierne (1997) Beretning for læreruddannelsen.

21) Undervisningsministeriet (1998) Undervisningsministeriets Nyhedsbrev nr. 11, 1998 (Sorø-meeting).

22) Ibid.

23) Undervisningsministeriet, Arbejdsministeriet, Forskningsministeriet, Økonomiministeriet, Erhvervsministeriet, Statsministeriet og Finansministeriet (1998) Kvalitetet i uddannelsessystemet, September (available at http://uvm.dk).

24) The results are roughly indicated on the website of the Ministry: http://www.uvm.dk/news.

25) In the comprehensive school. In the case of upper secondary the development is different.

26) http:www.2000.dk

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