New Frontiers of Educational Research

Xudong Zhu
A. Lin Goodwin
Huajun Zhang *Editors*

Quality of Teacher Education and Learning

Theory and Practice

Springer

New Frontiers of Educational Research

Series editors

Zhongying Shi, Beijing, China
Ronghuai Huang, Beijing, China
Zuoyu Zhou, Beijing, China

Editorial Board

Chengwen Hong, Beijing, China
Cynthia Gerstl-Pepin, Vermont, USA
David Osher, Washington, DC, USA
Felix Rauner, Bremen, Germany
Huajun Zhang, Beijing, China
Jonathan Michael Spector, Georgia, USA
Kenneth Zeichner, Washington, USA
Kerry Mallan, Brisbane, Australia
Levin Ben, Toronto, Canada
Liyan Huo, Beijing, China
Mang Li, Beijing, China
Qi Li, Beijing, China
Ronghuai Huang, Beijing, China
Shinohara Kyoaki, Gifu, Japan
Susan Neuman, Michigan, USA
Wei Kan, Beijing, China
Xudong Zhu, Beijing, China
Yan Wu, Beijing, China
Yanyan Li, Beijing, China
Yaqing Mao, Beijing, China
Yong Zhao, Oregon, USA
Zhikui Niu, Beijing, China
Zhiqun Zhao, Beijing, China
Zhongying Shi, Beijing, China
Zuoyu Zhou, Beijing, China

More information about this series at http://www.springer.com/series/10795

Xudong Zhu · A. Lin Goodwin
Huajun Zhang
Editors

Quality of Teacher Education and Learning

Theory and Practice

Springer

Editors
Xudong Zhu
Beijing Normal University
Beijing
China

Huajun Zhang
Beijing Normal University
Beijing
China

A. Lin Goodwin
Columbia University
New York
USA

北京师范大学教育学部2014年度学科综合建设专项资金资助 Funded by 2014 Comprehensive Discipline Construction Fund of Faculty of Education, Beijing Normal University.

ISSN 2195-3473 ISSN 2195-349X (electronic)
New Frontiers of Educational Research
ISBN 978-981-10-3547-0 ISBN 978-981-10-3549-4 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3549-4

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017930164

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2017
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.
The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.
The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd.
The registered company address is: 152 Beach Road, #21-01/04 Gateway East, Singapore 189721, Singapore

Preface

Background

For over three decades, globalization as a force of societal change has helped world leaders to revamp their school systems for international competitiveness and to alter the direction of teaching and learning in schools. Policy-makers in education have been quick to grasp information about the accomplishments of schools in other nations. Attractive packages are picked and translated into policies with transplantation in mind. The schools and their teachers are asked to conform to reform mandates. Teacher education programs are expected to accommodate policy implementation.

When schools are slow in responding to the requirements of reform, their inefficacies are being delineated. When teachers, who are designated as the spearhead of reform, question the wisdom of reform measures, their effectiveness is challenged. The programs that nurtured teachers are also deemed ineffectual. Today, a chorus of criticisms against teacher quality can be heard, suggesting a worldwide impeachment of the quality of schooling, teachers, and teacher education programs.

Instead of contesting widespread cynicism, we invited fellow educators and researchers to join us in addressing critical issues regarding teachers and teacher education so that their quality can be enhanced. This book is the collective contribution by the keynote speakers we invited to the Second Global Teacher Education Summit held in October 2014, Beijing. By linking teacher education to teacher and student learning, we sought to provide a platform for an international and cross-cultural dialogue with educators and researchers from different parts of the world so that a broad view on the improvement of teachers and teacher education quality could be established. By initiating an inquiry into the practice, innovation, and policy of teacher and student learning, we hope to draw attention to the accomplishments of teachers and to derive meaning from innovative ideas and research findings for a well-balanced approach to teacher education.

Summary of the Book

With the general theme of "Quality of Teacher Education and Learning: Theory and Practice", the book contains four subthemes as follows: (1) innovative ideas and practices in teacher learning and teacher preparation; (2) challenges and new trends in teacher education; (3) rethinking the meaning of teacher quality; and (4) roles and identities of teachers.

In Part I, there are three chapters contributing to the theme of teacher learning and teacher preparation, and how teacher education institutions could improve the program according to conceptual and empirical studies. Goodwin introduced two innovative practices in teacher education: teaching residences and teacher leadership online. She discussed the benefits, challenges, and contextual considerations of each practice. Clarke and Collins examined the motivations of cooperating teachers in student teacher practicum in five countries. They mainly used large-scale questionnaires for data collection and analysis. In the interview with Hansen, he invited readers to think about the teacher as a person in the world. This study helps us to rethink the meaning of teacher quality and takes innovative practice in teacher education and teacher learning.

In Part II, the theme is challenges and new trends in teacher education. Zhu proposed a concept of teaching as a "holistic profession" to reflect his thoughts on the new traits in teaching and teacher education. Loughran explored teaching and learning about teaching through the lens of foundation principles for teacher education, principles that are able to be explicated, enacted, and valued in developing teacher education programs of quality. Paine examined the marginalizing of voices of teacher educators in global discussions about teacher education and invited teacher educators to frame globalization imperatives in social and cultural rather than entirely economic terms.

In Part III, we invited authors and readers to rethink the meaning of teacher quality in these testing times. In his chapter, Day highlighted three areas which are key indicators of teacher quality and which are likely to be influenced directly and indirectly by school principals: professional autonomy; professional capital; teacher commitment, well-being; and expertise. Gu proposed a relational concept of resilience with teachers, leaders, and pupils and called for attention to be focused on teachers' everyday resilience. Zhu's chapter adopted the narrative approach to call attention to the affective dimension of teachers and teacher education.

In Part IV, the theme focused on roles and identities of teachers in history and in the current globalized time. Lo and Ye's chapter traced historical data along the theoretical routes of Chinese officialism and new institutionalism, and delineated several possible answers on the submission of Chinese teachers to state power and on their excessive attention given to examination preparation. Craig used Schwab's theory of teachers as self-moving living things to propose the sustaining of teachers as the best-loved self in teacher education. Using narrative inquiry, she researched pre-service teachers, experienced teachers, and teachers who quit the profession on this identity of teachers as best-loved selves. In the final chapter, Meijer suggested

that teacher education should pay attention to the unmeasurable dimension of teacher identity. She further discussed the social elements of identity development: identification and separation, as well as the intro-psychological elements played in identity learning: crisis, transformation, and resistance. She finally posed questions on what teacher training programs should do to promote teachers' identity development.

Acknowledgements

In this book project, we would like to especially thank Prof. Leslie Lo, who initiated the project and made a significant contribution to the completion of this volume. We would like to thank all the authors of this book for their qualified work and patient collaboration. We also would like to express our sincere gratitude to the faculty members and students at the Center for Teacher Education Research at Beijing Normal University, who made tremendous efforts for the summit.

Beijing, China — Xudong Zhu
New York, USA — A. Lin Goodwin
Beijing, China — Huajun Zhang

Contents

Part I
Innovative Ideas and Practices in Teacher Learning and Teacher Preparation

Innovation in Teacher Education: Cutting Edge? Or on the Cutting Room Floor?

A. Lin Goodwin

In the U.S., teachers and the university-based programs that prepare them, have been relentlessly criticized. "Blistering media commentaries" about teacher education (Cochran-Smith 2006, p. xxxii) have been further fueled by U.S. students' middling performance on international tests such as PISA and TIMSS in comparison to top performing peer nations, causing policy makers to argue ever more vociferously that teacher education requires a "sea change…revolutionary change, not evolutionary tinkering" (Duncan 2009). Increasing calls for the "dramatic overhaul of how teachers are prepared" such that teacher preparation will be turned "upside-down" (NCATE 2010, p. 2), have spurred energetic reform, change, and innovation in the profession. While the impact of these changes and reforms has not yet been fully measured or realized, the education field is certainly undergoing a period of revision, reflection, and even renewal, and is exploring an interesting array of practices in an effort to be relevant and responsive.

While the public scapegoating of university-based teacher preparation, so ubiquitous in the U.S., is far from an international phenomenon, it is fair to say that there seems to be global consensus that teacher preparation—along with curriculum, schools, and teaching—needs to be different in the rapidly evolving world of the 21st century. This chapter will identify some examples of innovative practices —related to particular aspects of teacher development and learning—that seem to have captured the imagination of educators and/or policy makers, in the U.S. (and even in many places in the world). Two of these innovations have been selected for more in depth definition and description. Each of these ideas is connected to a particular facet of teacher education, specifically: field placements/student teaching, and teachers' role. The description of each practice will be accompanied by a brief discussion of possible benefits and problems since no practice is ever optimal or perfect, framed by questions of context—what are the conditions that might affect

A.L. Goodwin (✉)
Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, USA
e-mail: alg25@tc.columbia.edu

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2017

X. Zhu et al. (eds.), *Quality of Teacher Education and Learning*,
New Frontiers of Educational Research,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3549-4_1

the efficacy or implementation of the innovation? The paper will then go on to ponder innovations that we might need in response to problematic areas or concerns in teacher education. The chapter will conclude with some thoughts about where we might go next, and argue for why we must relearn some of what we have apparently forgotten or discarded on the cutting room floor, in our rush to be "cutting edge."

Innovations (?)

Before any identification or discussion of innovations can begin, it is important first to say upfront that while I may have my own favorites among these practices, the mere fact that I am choosing to describe them should not be read as any kind of endorsement or implicit 'thumbs up.' I present them as examples of some of the kinds of things educators are doing in the name of improving teacher education because they feel it is the right thing or the best thing to do. This does not necessarily make any one thing right or best, and in fact, you may feel some of these practices are highly problematic; but it is important to acknowledge that each idea grows out of a desire to do teacher education differently for the sole purpose of changing education for the better.

Second, it would be remiss of me not to be transparent about the context from which I will speak. My context is the U.S.; therefore, when I talk about "the country" or "the nation," it is the U.S. to which I am referring when no country or nation is specified. This should not be interpreted to mean that the U.S. is the center of innovation in teacher education, but rather that it is simply the environment I know best. In fact, it may well be that some of these innovations are truly groundbreaking and fantastic, but the reality is that they will not necessarily translate directly into other contexts, such as the settings in which each of you sits. In fact, even the most amazing innovation may not transfer well from one city/state/region to another within the U.S., because, as we all well know, context definitely matters, and can make or break reform efforts. So I encourage you to think about the ideas and principles beneath the innovation—what it is trying to accomplish and through what means—rather than on the technicalities or specificities of the innovation itself.

Innovations to Explore. Innovations in teacher education typically are associated with a key component or aspect of teacher learning or development, such as: field placements/student teaching; teacher preparation curriculum; assessment; teacher identity or role. Sometimes the innovation is simply a shift in the balance among different components so that more time or weight is given to a certain aspect or component of teacher preparation than previously. This is the idea behind calls for "*clinically rich*" teacher preparation programs, such that the time student teachers spend in field placements or clinical settings (i.e., classrooms and schools) has been, in programs across the country, increased—sometimes significantly. In some cases the turn towards "clinically rich" has been so dramatic that the university-based or academic coursework portion of teacher preparation has all but

disappeared. So an increasingly popular revision has been to make teacher preparation almost entirely practice- and school-based. Relay Graduate School of Education, started by two charter schools and a charter school management company, is a stand-alone, degree granting entity that is not associated with a university at all in terms of its teacher preparation program or curriculum. It is one of a growing number of examples of teacher preparation programs that consist almost entirely of time in the field.

However, most of the innovations are more than additive (or not completely reductive), and focus on revision of the component—changing the nature or substance of the experience itself. For example, *Teaching Residencies* are an example of "clinically rich" because by very definition and practice, they afford deep and extensive immersion in schools. But the field experience is not simply quantitatively different, but qualitatively, and typically occurs in tandem with university coursework, thus making it rich in both theory and practice.

Innovations or changes in one component often result in a corresponding change in another because teacher preparation is not a series of isolated experiences. Thus, changes in the length or substance of field placements or student teaching have resulted in changes in teacher preparation curriculum and/or pedagogy. One example of a pedagogical innovation is the use of avatars to help student teachers develop their teaching skills. *TeachLivE* (*TLE*), developed at the University of Central Florida, "is a mixed-reality classroom with simulated students that provides teachers the opportunity to develop their pedagogical practice in a safe environment that doesn't place real students at risk" (http://teachlive.org/). In the lab,

> pre-service and in-service teachers walk into a room where everything looks like a middle-school classroom including props, whiteboards, and of course, children. However, unlike the brick and mortar setting, the lab is a virtual setting and the students in the classroom are avatars. The virtual students may act like typically developing or not-typically developing students, depending on the objectives of the experience. Participants can interact with students and review previous work, present new content to students and provide scaffolding or guided practice in a variety of content areas, and monitor students while they work independently. In an environment like this, prospective teachers can learn the instruction and management skills needed to become effective teachers and practicing teachers can hone and refine their skills (http://teachlive.org/).

Another example of a pedagogical innovation is the use of *Education Rounds or Teacher Rounds* (Del Prete 2013; Goodwin et al. 2015b). Rounds engage teachers in learning communities where they work collectively to analyze and reflect upon their own—and others'—teaching practice in order to share, learn from, and improve teaching (Del Prete 2013; Reagan et al. 2015). The implementation of Rounds begins with the identification of an instructional issue or concern. This concern may be shared across the group, or may be an issue that an individual teacher identifies as something she or he would like help understanding. Teachers then open their classrooms and their practice to their peers who conduct observations and collect data related to the teaching concern identified. Observers share their observations, as well as feedback and suggestions, with the host teacher, enabling him/her the opportunity to "see" the practice through multiple perspectives

and learn from the community. Feedback may be shared in the form of notes or records, or teachers engaged in Rounds may come together to discuss, share insights, consider next instructional steps (Reagan et al. 2013). While *Instructional Rounds* have been used in schools and districts for a number of years (City et al. 2009; Marzano 2011), they are becoming more popular in and have been adapted by/for preservice teacher preparation programs.

All the attention to teacher quality—what it is and how to measure it—has resulted in changes in how teachers are assessed. New systems of teacher assessment and evaluation are in place for both teacher candidates who are not yet certified, and inservice teachers who are already in practice. A prominent innovation has been performance assessments as a gatekeeper for initial teacher certification. Performance assessments are not new; what is new is the large scale application of a qualitative tool across systems and programs for consequential purposes. Specifically, edTPA "is the first nationally available authentic capstone assessment that can be used for teacher licensure and to support state and national program accreditation"; it "was nationally validated in 2013" (https://scale.stanford.edu/teaching/edtpa), and is currently being rolled out at some level in most U.S. states. Developed by SCALE (Stanford Center for Assessment, Learning and Equity) and delivered in partnership with AACTE (American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education), edTPA requires teacher candidates to submit video documentation of their practice, accompanied by lesson plans and a written analysis of their teaching and instructional decision-making. SCALE terms this "the three tasks of edTPA within an interactive cycle of planning, instruction, and assessment" (SCALE edTPA 2013, p. 4), and provides a variety of supports, resources, professional development, technical assistance, etc., as this major innovation moves from piloting towards scaled up implementation.

A key feature of the development of edTPA is the involvement of hundreds of teachers in the design process, in the creation of 27 subject handbooks and 13–15 rubrics per handbook, and the acknowledgement of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards[1] as a model for the development of the assessment. This is part of a nascent trend towards greater recognition of teachers as central to innovation and education reform, and towards the redefinition of teacher leadership. This trend is clearly contrary to much of U.S. education policy that seeks to increasingly regulate what teachers do, apply punitive accountability measures of quality, and de-professionalize the teaching profession. However, both the expansion and reduction of teacher autonomy and decision-making can be seen as two sides of the teacher quality and improvement movement.

There is not enough space to explore more innovative moves being made by educators, schools, universities etc. in the quest for improved teaching and learning.

[1]For additional information, see http://www.nbpts.org/.

The discussion thus far only skims the surface, but does provide a glimpse into the many different directions "innovation" can take. Below I have selected two innovations for more in-depth discussion in an effort to place them in context and analyze both benefits and challenges.

Teaching Residencies: Redesigning Field Placements/Student Teaching

As mentioned earlier, current imperatives for teacher education reform in the U.S. uniformly call for "clinically rich" teacher preparation that is deeply embedded in schools and classroom experiences (NCATE 2010; New York State Department of Education 2011; USDOE 2009, 2011). Inherent in exhortations to "place practice at the center of teaching preparation" (NCATE 2010, pp. 2–3) such that programs are "deeply, clinically-based with academic coursework informing and supplementing field experience" (USDOE 2011, p. 20), is the assumption that more practice in K-12 classrooms will improve the quality of teachers. Moreover, the student teaching or fieldwork component of any teacher preparation program is almost unanimously perceived by new teachers to be the most useful component of their preparation (Cochran-Smith and Zeichner 2005; Feiman-Nemser and Buchmann 1985; Holste and Matthews 1993; Johnson and Birkeland 2003). This perception further fuels the notion that increasing the amount of field experience will enhance new teachers' knowledge and skill.

These calls shift the fulcrum of teacher preparation from the university to P-12 schools and from education professors to school-based practitioners, primarily classroom teachers. While there is little evidence that more time in classrooms ensures better prepared, higher quality teachers, there is generally a noticeable move by university-based teacher preparation programs in the U.S. to increase the amount of time their teacher candidates spend in the field. One response to this call for a change in the balance between university coursework and school-based immersion is teaching residencies.

What are Teaching Residencies? Teaching Residency programs have actually been around for over a decade, but until six or so years ago, there were only a handful of them in the U.S. That changed with the Obama administration when significant funding was made available for residency programs. Teaching residencies are analogous to medical residencies—i.e., they are founded on the basic principle that long-term immersion in authentic settings that provide the opportunity to apprentice with and learn from seasoned practitioners is the most rich, meaningful, and powerful way to learn about the realities of professional practice and to be best prepared to enter the field. Thus, central to any teaching residency is, as the name implies, being resident in a school. In most cases, the residency experience is a full- or close to full-time experience that follows the school calendar. Beyond this key characteristic, teaching residency programs share several features in common:

- An apprenticeship model whereby residents typically work alongside and learn from a mentor teacher[2];
- Partnerships that can involve any combination of school districts and public schools, universities, private schools, charter schools,[3] non-profit organizations, cultural institutions, and philanthropic organizations;
- Residency programs are typically graduate level programs that lead to Master's degrees, and are structured such that residents are simultaneously engaged in teaching and university coursework;
- A focus on high need schools serving primarily students labeled "disadvantaged"; in fact, most residencies are located in large cities or areas defined as "urban" and the acronym UTR or *Urban Teacher Residency* has become a very commonly applied term/label;
- A focus on preparing teachers in specific shortage areas such as science or mathematics.

This is not to suggest that the implementation and design of residencies is standard, and many different iterations of this innovation are evident.

Benefits, Challenges, and Contextual Considerations. The primary benefit afforded by residency programs is the opportunity for preservice teachers to experience firsthand what it means to be a teacher in a particular context under the guidance of a teacher in that setting. Thus, the immersion is not a 'sink or swim' experience, but a 'swimming with a personal coach' experience. As a consequence, residents not only gain much practical experience, but the experience that they undergo is (intended to be) well-rounded and includes the many different aspects of a teacher's role (teaching, working with parents, collaborating with peers, curriculum development, assessment, etc.), the many different facets of school life (after school programs, professional development, staff meetings, open houses, etc.), as well as interactions with the many different people and roles that make up a school community (paraprofessionals, special subject teachers, administrators, parents, etc.). Residents become members of a community and are seen as 'real' teachers rather than transient visitors. Being resident in a school also means the opportunity to see things through—take lessons and curriculum from start to finish, watch students grow and develop over time, stay with projects to their conclusion, engage in follow through, witness and learn from daily transitions—between classes, between days, between grades, and so on.

But residency programs are not without their problems. Given their emphasis on challenging, high need, urban schools, finding educative and supportive placements is not easy. This challenge is exacerbated by the fact that most programs focus on shortage areas/subjects, which translates into a parallel shortage of qualified,

[2]There are, however, some programs that require applicants to secure a full-time teaching position in a partner school in order to be considered. In these cases, residents hold full responsibility as the teacher of record.

[3]For some basic information about charter schools, see the National Education Association's website http://www.nea.org/home/16332.htm.

experienced mentor teachers. Even when there are experienced mentors available, often they have either had no or limited experience serving as mentors to new teachers because challenging schools are often not sites in demand for student teaching; or alternatively, the mentoring experience they do have does not prepare them for the residency experience which is very different from "regular" student teaching. In addition, even in the best of situations, the extended placement in one setting means that residents in essence "learn" that one school. There is seldom time for exposure to different settings or schools; residents become very adept at operating within one school environment and culture, but find that this familiarity and ease do not necessarily mean that they can transition easily to a different culture, such as when they begin their first teaching position.

There are contextual issues that affect the implementation and success of UTRs. In the U.S., teachers work under increasing conditions of surveillance and compliance associated with high stakes testing and ever more stringent teacher accountability mandates. Teachers are under tremendous pressure to focus narrowly on increasing test scores because their very livelihoods depend on their students scoring well. Unsurprisingly, mentor teachers in high need schools that typically have not demonstrated strong test performance are often reluctant to hand over their classroom to fledgling teachers who will make mistakes on students. The narrowing of the curriculum because of test pressure also leaves less room for experimentation or for subjects that are not tested. It also means that efficiency and expediency may be favored over deep or gradual learning on the part of student teachers—mentor teachers focus on the technical versus the conceptual in their work with residents (Goodwin et al. 2016). Finally, residencies are often perceived to be expensive because residents are provided a fairly substantial living stipend as an incentive to participate. While data indicate that retention among residents is higher than teachers prepared via other routes, and teacher turnover costs literally millions each year,[4] during a time when teachers have been laid off and school district budgets have been severely slashed, the upfront costs of residency programs can appear prohibitive.

Teacher Leadership Online

Teacher leadership as a concept has changed and been redefined over time. Silva et al. (2000) suggest three views of teacher leadership. The first two: *teacher leaders as managers*, and *teachers as instructional leaders*, both conceptualized leadership as activity separate from the classroom, often delegated (or designated) by the principal (Boyd-Dimock and McGree 1995). Teachers as managers typically took on administrative responsibilities, while teachers who exerted instructional

[4]The cost of attrition among first-year teachers in NYC alone has been estimated at 21 million (UFT 2013).

leadership focused on curriculum and staff development. More recently, notions of teacher leadership have evolved to embrace a both/and philosophy such that teaching and leadership are integrated (Pounder 2006). In this third view, teacher leadership is not apart from the classroom nor confined to a particular position, but "include[s] opportunities for leadership to be part of teachers' day-to-day work" (Silva et al. 2000. p. 781). Thus ideas about teacher leadership are expanding beyond traditional definitions of leadership—"role-dependent definitions" which are "not only overly narrow and circular, they over-emphasize the work of the individual" (Rutherford 2009, p. 50). "Today, leadership roles have begun to emerge and promise real opportunities for teachers to impact educational change—without necessarily leaving the classroom" (Boyd-Dimock and McGree 1995; Goodwin et al. 2015a). These roles have become more fluid, encompass both formal and informal roles (Danielson 2007; Harrison and Killion 2007; Teacher Leadership Exploratory Consortium 2011), and allow leadership to be distributed (Spillane 2005). According to the perspective of leadership as distributed, "the authority to lead is not exclusively located in formal positions, but is dispersed throughout the organization" (Rutherford 2009, p. 50).

It should come as no surprise that these fresh conceptions of teacher leadership are gaining attention during a time when schools are being asked to do more and more, thus the scope and complexity of school-building leadership has expanded such that "the demands of the modern principalship are practically impossible to meet" (Danielson 2007, p. 15). There is growing acknowledgement that achieving meaningful and effective reform can no longer depend on the sole efforts of the principal but instead demands the collaborative efforts of many. Experienced and effective teachers are tuned into student learning, remain closely connected to curriculum and instruction on a day-to-day basis, and have demonstrated instructional adeptness. Expert teachers also possess many of the skills relevant to working with and leading other teachers including knowledge of curriculum development, group facilitation and collaboration skills, deep understanding of school contexts, facility with mentoring and assessment, and perseverance and resilience.

Teacher Leaders/Leadership Re-conceptualized. In 1999, Barnet Barry secured funding to initiate the Southeast Center for Teaching Quality (the Center), an organization that grew out of his work with NCTAF (National Commission for Teaching and America's Future) and was conceived as a regional arm of the Commission. The Center embraced a deep belief in "the bold ideas and expert practices of teachers",[5] as central to educational reform and innovation, and focused on "teachers transforming teaching," harnessing the energy of expert practitioners to be levers of educational change. In 2003, the Center launched the Teacher Leaders Network, using "a simple listserv…to elevate the voices of expert teachers on issues of education policy and practice." "Highly accomplished teachers,"

[5]Unless otherwise indicated, all the quotes in this section about Teacher Leaders/Leadership Re-conceptualized come from the Center for Teaching Quality (CTQ) website: http://www.teachingquality.org.

especially teachers with National Board Certification or Teachers of the Year were invited to join the network. This was the start of "building and sustaining virtual communities" of teacher leaders across the U.S. The Center was renamed the Center for Teaching Quality (CTQ) in 2005 and has supported a wide variety of virtual teacher leadership initiatives, including:

- TeacherSolutions teams—teachers analyze and report on timely and perplexing issues confronting the profession, such as performance pay, assessments of teaching, teachers' working conditions, or the impact of National Board Certification on teaching and learning; the Global TeacherSolutions team recently put out a report on "professional learning systems in six cities" across four countries;
- CTQ blogs—accomplished teachers comment on contemporary issues and share their ideas and experiences;
- National Board Certified Teacher experts—offer "their best thinking on some of today's most complex educational issues," and provide support to struggling or new teachers, as well as to other teachers undergoing the National Board Certification process;
- Virtual Community Organizers—teachers who "facilitate professional development and collaborative projects on any online platform";
- CTQ Collaboratory—the present day iteration of the Teacher Leaders Network that serves as "an incubator for teachers' bold ideas and innovative solutions";
- Teacherpreneurs—a "hybrid position" whereby accomplished classroom teachers "bridge two worlds" and "devote time to both teaching students and leading innovations in practice or policy." The first group, initiated in 2011, divides their days between teaching and working with CTQ in leading education reform efforts both locally and nationally;
- Teacher-Leaders-in-Residence—who work with CTQ full-time;

In just over fifteen years, CTQ has clearly reimagined and elevated the notion of teacher leadership in substantively sophisticated, concretely practical, and conceptually innovative ways, backed by empirical evidence and informative tools and guidelines. Thus CTQ has engaged in research, on its own as well as in collaboration with other education organizations. For example, CTQ, along with the National Education Association and the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, recently launched *The Teacher Leadership Competencies* (CTQ, NBPTS and NEA 2014) that outlines what teacher leaders should know and be able to do in terms of overarching competences, and in terms of competencies to support instructional, association, and policy leadership. It also provides other forms of professional development and training such as VOICE (Virtual Organizers Inspiring Communities of Educators) to help teachers acquire specific skills and strategies to enact their leadership potential and facilitate the participation and engagement of their peers.

Benefits, Challenges, and Contextual Considerations. The primary benefit of teacher leadership online is the opportunity for classroom practitioners to participate

in local and national conversations about what matters to them most in their day-to-day work—their students, their teaching, their development, and the well-being of their profession—conversations in which they are well-equipped to participate (from wherever they may be) because of their lived and professional experiences, and the on-the-ground, up-to-the-moment perspective only they can bring. Through the CTQ online communities, expert teachers are "leading, not leaving," thus stanching the drain of good teachers whose only option typically is to leave teaching if they aspire to lead. This is a critical benefit of online teacher leadership, it keeps strong teachers where they are needed most—engaged directly with student learning AND engaged directly in school change and improvement. Enabling an online presence for teacher leaders means that their scope of influence can expand because they are able to educate and inform teachers, policy makers, and public communities across time and space, not just within national boundaries, but beyond them. Much has been written about the isolation of teaching that happens behind closed classroom doors, the positive impact that results when teachers learn from teachers, and the importance of relevant mentoring, professional development and induction on new teacher growth, retention, and teacher learning overall. Online teacher leadership enables teacher expertise to be easily shared in both broad and targeted ways. For instance, CTQ blogs make teacher knowledge available to a wide and general audience, National Board Certified Experts work with teachers on particular issues, and Implementing Common Core Standards teams focus their work on materials and resources development for a specific purpose.

The history of educational reform is not one where classroom teachers have occupied a central position. Perceptions of teachers' work, intelligence, status, and place have often conceived of teachers as followers, not leaders. Additionally, the gendered nature of teaching and the (under)value placed on children and on child caring have had an indelible impact on who gets to make decisions (mostly men) about and for teachers (mostly women). Thus, a primary challenge to teacher leadership is pervasive mindsets that don't take teachers seriously and don't see them as capable of leading. This pervasive (and historical) mindset often infects teachers themselves, so teachers don't necessarily see one another as leaders, or don't see leadership as something they can or want to take up. A second challenge is the common stance around reform and change, that policy pronouncements will activate instantaneous shifts in practice or immediate implementation. CTQ has gradually built its teacher leadership network; it is 16 years into a three + decade plan with definite goals and a clearly articulated vision, underscoring the understanding that real change that actually "takes," demands time. However, the evolving nature of the CTQ teacher leadership movement has not simply been a matter of affording adequate incubation or implementation time, or the growth of participant numbers—it has been an organization that has constantly re-imagined its aims, redrawn its goals, and changed itself even while it has initiated and nurtured change. More importantly, it has defined education reform as work that teachers must author and direct, and over time has created additional structures and pathways that further intensify and increase teacher participation within the

organization. It has managed to avoid what often happens to grassroots movements, where those closest to the ground who created the movement, can become distant from "real" practice because of the demands exacted by their involvement in and commitment to the change (organization). CTQ deliberately sustains close connections to classrooms, schools and teachers by continually engaging teacher partners whose leadership is essential, not adjunct, to the ongoing expansion and re-invention of CTQ.

A third challenge is funding and partnerships. CTQ has been very successful in garnering funds, leveraging resources, and connecting with established education organizations. Some of the innovations would not be possible without funding, especially in a climate of budgetary belt-tightening, especially for schools. Teacherpreneurs are able to devote half their time to working at the school level because CTQ provides financial support for their release time. Good ideas do attract funding, but we all know of interesting ideas that go unnoticed, promising beginnings that fizzle, good programs that are co-opted by funding so that their original mission is lost. The secret behind the steadfastness of CTQ's adherence to its mission and goals is beyond this chapter (and my knowledge), but we all know that mission drift and lack of funding to support ideas are perennial concerns. Finally, technology, social media, and the internet are essential to virtual teacher leadership, which may be a real barrier in some communities around the world.

In terms of context, it is interesting that the policy and education context was a galvanizing force in the birth of CTQ. The U.S. has been in a period of educational reform for over two decades, and so the time was fertile for a focus on teacher quality when the center was created. As the era of No Child Left Behind (NCLB)[6] took hold, teaching, teachers, and schools were subjected to a tsunami of regulations, policy mandates, and prescriptions that reduced their autonomy in the name of accountability and market forces, at the same time the world globalized, economies faltered, and international benchmarking became omnipresent. Teachers and schools were pushed further and further into the background of policy making even while their work was becoming more complicated than ever and their expertise was desperately needed. CTQ clearly is the result of imagination and deep commitment to teachers as the solutions to education problems, not the source or cause of them, and it stepped into a leadership vacuum, at least leadership that was truly knowledgeable about classrooms, learners, and teaching. Through CTQ, teachers' voices have been inserted into national conversations and teachers are playing a critical, substantive, and essential role in advancing the reform agenda—not just the agenda that is being forwarded by policy makers, but a ground up agenda that comes from those who really understand what is needed to make schools and teaching better. However, it is important to remember that leadership

[6]As of this printing, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has been reauthorized and ESSA (Every Student Succeeds Act) signed into law, replacing NCLB. The impact of ESSA is yet to be seen.

from within the ranks is characteristic of professions, and so teacher leadership should be a perennial given, not an event triggered by circumstance.

Innovations Needed? Innovations Ignored?

In this conversation about innovations in teacher education, it is clear that there is no shortage of ideas that seek to refine the practice of teacher education from a number of directions. The question that begs to be addressed is, in what ways have these innovations fundamentally changed how teachers are educated and enact their roles? If the answer is affirmative, that fundamental changes have indeed occurred, one then needs to ask if those changes have moved the practice of teaching and teacher education in positive directions? For example, the wholesale relocation of teacher preparation from the university to the school—not just in terms of place, but in terms of curriculum—has (in some cases) substantively changed the content that novice teachers actually learn such that their preparation consists almost entirely of discrete strategies and instructional techniques. Teacher candidates practice these skills to a level of accepted perfection, and are judged to be successful or competent if they raise their students' test scores. Whether that is a move in a positive direction is a question that would likely result in vigorous debate. But it is a question that must to be asked of any innovation—does it make a positive difference, according to whom, by what measure? Another question that needs to be asked is in what ways should the teacher education enterprise be changed and if any innovations seem poised to make those changes happen? For instance, the model of student teaching as primarily an apprenticeship experience between one teacher, one student teacher, one classroom has stubbornly persisted with little examination of alternatives. Research, though nascent, supports induction and mentoring as key to retention and success as a classroom teacher, but there are few innovations that seem to respond to this understanding. Different models of supervision cannot be considered as long as we continue to hold on to the prevalent model of supervision that reinforces the separation between practice and theory, between field and university.

Still, different is not always better and so a final perspective on innovation might be that the best innovations could be hiding in plain sight—that it would be truly innovative if we actually were to do what we have always done, but well. This might include providing cooperating teachers with professional development, training and support, rather than simply relying on their good will or assuming that good teachers will automatically make good school-based teacher educators. That preservice teacher education not be out-sourced to doctoral students, instructors, clinical faculty adjuncts and new professors, but actually take center stage in the work of university faculty, and especially faculty who see themselves as teacher educators. That university administrators actually see teacher education as worthy of support and serious scholarship, as opposed to being a taken-for-granted cash cow, a golden goose that is currently losing its ability to produce as many golden

eggs/students (and thus creating lots of excitement among administrators and faculty because of the financial shortfall this foretells) (cf. Sawchuk 2014). That teacher educators actually receive formal preparation rather than teacher education work being the equivalent of a hot potato that everyone tries to pass around or pass off as quickly as possible. That partnerships with school practitioners actually operate as mutually respectful relationships with shared decision-making, goal-setting, and a focus on professional growth for the field as well as for the professionals. The list of what we could do with what we already have in place is long. As a field we might do well to take a good hard look at ourselves and engage in internal reform, instead of always looking outwardly to the next novel idea as the solution for our own unwillingness to see teacher education as valuable, intellectual, and meaningful work.

References

Boyd-Dimock, V., & McGree, K. (1995). Leading change from the classroom: Teachers as leaders. *Issues about…Change, 4*(4). Retrieved from http://www.sedl.org/change/issues/issues44.html

Center for Teaching Quality, National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, & National Education Association. (2014). *The teacher leadership competencies*. Retrieved from http://www.teachingquality.org/sites/default/files/Teacher%2520Leadership%2520Competencies%2520-%2520FINAL.pdf

City, E. A., Elmore, R. F., Fiarman, S. E., & Teitel, L. (2009). *Instructional rounds in education: A network approach to improving teaching and learning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Cochran-Smith, M. (2006). *Policy, practice, and politics in teacher education*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Cochran-Smith, M., & Zeichner, K. (2005). *Studying teacher education: The report of the AERA panel on research and teacher education*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Danielson, C. (2007). The many faces of leadership. *Educational Leadership, 65*(1), 14–19.

Del Prete, T. (2013). *Teacher rounds: A guide to collaborative learning in and for practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin.

Duncan, A. (2009, October 22). *Teacher preparation: Reforming the uncertain profession*. Speech presented at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York

Feiman-Nemser, S., & Buchmann, M. (1985). Pitfalls of experience in teacher preparation. *The Teachers College Record, 87*(1), 53–65.

Goodwin, A. L., Low, E. L., & Ng, P. T. (2015a). Developing teacher leadership in Singapore: Multiple pathways for differentiated journeys. *New Educator, 11*(2), 107–120

Goodwin, A. L., Reagan, R. & Roegman, R. (Eds.). (2015b). Rounding out teacher preparation? International perspectives on education rounds for teacher professional learning and development. Special Issue of the *International Journal of Educational Research, 73.*

Goodwin, A. L., Roegman, R., & Reagan, E. (2016). Is experience the best teacher? Extensive clinical practice and mentor teachers' perspectives on effective teaching. *Urban Education, 51* (10), 1198–1225. doi:10.1177/0042085915618720

Harrison, C., & Killion, J. (2007). Teachers as leaders. *Educational Leadership, 65*(1), 74–77.

Holste, D., & Matthews, D. (1993). *Survey of 1991 teacher education graduates conducted in May 1992*. Champaign, IL: Council on Teacher Education.

Johnson, S. M., & Birkeland, S. E. (2003). Pursuing a "sense of success": New teachers explain their career decisions. *American Educational Research Journal, 40*(3), 581–617.

Marzano, R. J. (2011). Making the most of instructional rounds. *Educational Leadership, 68*(5), 80–82.

National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education. (2010). *Transforming teacher education through clinical practice: A national strategy to prepare effective teachers*. Report of the Blue Ribbon Panel on Clinical Preparation and Partnerships for Improved Student Learning. Washington, DC: NCATE.

New York State Department of Education. (2011). Graduate level clinically rich teacher preparation pilot program: 2011–2016. Retrieved June 15, 2012 from http://www.p12.nysed.gov/compcontracts/rttt/teacherprep/

Pounder, J. S. (2006). Transformational classroom leadership: The fourth wave of teacher leadership? *Educational Management Administration & Leadership, 34*(4), 533–545.

Reagan, E., Chen, C., Roegman, R., & Zuckerman, K. (2015). Round and round: Examining teaching residents' reflections on education rounds in an urban teacher resident program. *International Journal of Education Research, 73,* 65–76.

Reagan, E. M., Roegman, R., & Goodwin, A. L. *Inquiry in the round? A qualitative case study of education rounds in a residency program.* Paper presented at the 2013 annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Rutherford, K. (2009). Distributed leadership and comprehensive school reform: Using the distributed leadership perspective to investigate the distribution of teacher leadership. *International Journal of Teacher Leadership, 2*(2), 49–68.

Sawchuk, S. (2014, October 21). Steep drops seen in teacher-prep enrollment numbers. *Education Week*. Retrieved from http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2014/10/22/09enroll.h34.html

SCALE edTPA. (2013, October). *Making good choices: A support guide for edTPA candidates* (Vol. 2). Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University.

Silva, D. Y., Gimbert, B., & Nolan, J. (2000). Sliding the doors: Locking and unlocking possibilities for teacher leadership. *Teachers College Record, 102*(4), 779–804.

Spillane, J. (2005). Distributed leadership. *The Educational Forum, 69*(2), 143–150.

Teacher Leadership Exploratory Consortium. (2011). *Teacher leader model standards.* Retrieved from http://www.teacherleaderstandards.org/downloads/TLS_Brochure.pdf

United Federation of Teachers, New York Teacher Issue (2013, January 31). *Teacher attrition up after recession-driven lull*. Retrieved from http://www.uft.org/insight/teacher-attrition-after-recession-driven-lull

U.S. Department of Education. (2009). *Teacher quality partnership grant program.* Retrieved from http://www2.ed.gov/programs/tqpartnership/index.html

U.S. Department of Education. (2011). *Our future, our teachers: The Obama administration's plan for teacher education reform and improvement*. Washington, D.C.: Author. Retrieved from http://www.ed.gov/sites/default/files/our-future-our-teachers-accesible.pdf

Comparative Work Within the Context of Practicum Settings: A First Look at What Motivates and Challenges Cooperating Teachers from Five Countries

Anthony Clarke and John Collins

Introduction

The current study is set within a context of a larger research project which addresses a significant challenge in Teacher Education: the largely untutored and atheoretical approach to student-teacher mentoring in practicum settings. This "crisis" (Rubenstein 2014) continues because student-teacher mentoring falls between the jurisdictional gap where, on the one hand, schools regard universities as the final arbiters of the B.Ed. degree and are reluctant to be unduly proactive in that domain (Russell and Russell 2011) and, on the other hand, universities see the schools as a threshold across which they step cautiously for fear of losing practicum placements (Beck and Kosnik 2002). The continued neglect of student-teacher mentoring has serious consequences, for example: beginning teachers often lack basic skills on entry to the profession (Boyd et al. 2007; the dropout rate after entry is unacceptably high (Ingersoll and Kralick 2004); and pupil achievement in beginning teachers' classes can be negatively effected (Harris and Sass 2011).

By drawing on two theoreticians, Sarason (1996) and Alexander (2001), this research project proposes a framework that both pinpoints the underlying factors for this crisis and highlights a potential solution. In the first instance, the absence of "practitioner inquiry" and the lack of "a specialized knowledge base" for mentoring are seen as the main impediments to the development of student-teacher mentoring. In the second instance, unless student-teacher mentoring is conceptualized as a Professional Practice—which implies practitioner inquiry and a knowledge base—then mentoring will continue to languish as labour or technical work, a situation that is neither productive nor tolerable given the impact of teacher preparation on

A. Clarke (✉) · J. Collins
University of British Columbia, 2125 Main Mall,
Vancouver, BC V6T1Z4, Canada
e-mail: anthony.clarke@ubc.ca

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2017

X. Zhu et al. (eds.), *Quality of Teacher Education and Learning*,
New Frontiers of Educational Research,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3549-4_2

teacher quality, teacher retention, and pupil learning. By conceptualizing student-teacher mentoring as a Professional Practice, this study is guided by two questions:

1. What are the dimensions of mentoring, as identified by mentors, that enhance (motivate) or constrain (challenge) mentoring and how can these dimensions be used to facilitate practitioner inquiry?
2. What are the dimensions of mentoring that are peculiar to or representative of local, national, and international mentoring contexts such that knowledge claims arising from mentoring research in these contexts can be judiciously used for a specialized knowledge base?

In answering these questions, this work is grounded in the tradition of phenomenology (Husserl 1980) and draws on the Mentoring Profile Inventory (MPI) (Clarke et al. 2012) which is a 62-item instrument currently available in five languages on the web. First, the MPI will be used to elicit student-teacher mentors' conceptions of mentoring. An important part of this phase (and a key aim of the study reported in this paper) is to generate *Individual MPI profiles* that accurately identify mentors' conceptions with the potential that the MPI could be used as a tool for practitioner inquiry. Second, the MPI will be used to generate *Aggregate MPI Profiles* for cohorts of mentors at local, national, and international levels (also an aim of the study reported in this paper) with the potential of eventually developing a metric that can be used to make judgments about research outcomes in these contexts; that is, to provide the ability to distinguish idiosyncratic claims from those that might contribute to broader conceptualizations of mentoring.

In sum, the larger research context tackles a persistent but rarely acknowledged challenge in Teacher Education by conceptualizing and facilitating student-teacher mentoring as a Professional Practice. The more focused research reported in this paper is designed primarily to gather data to help in answering the first question—eliciting the motivations and challenges as reported by mentors—and to provide evidence for addressing the second question—what are the differences between the motivation and challenges faced by mentors within and across local, national and international contexts.

Literature Review

Professional Practice is characterized by an activity known as "practitioner inquiry" (Green 2009; Hargreaves 2001). Practitioner inquiry, within the context of student-teacher mentoring, allows mentors to make explicit *why they do what they do* as mentors. Mentors who do not engage in practitioner inquiry rely almost exclusively on their own experiences as student-teachers to guide their current supervisory practices. In short, they 'teach as they were taught' without thinking

critically or reflectively about *why they do what they do* (Bullough and Draper 2004; Hobson et al. 2009). As such, they unwittingly replicate past practices that are often unresponsive and inappropriate to the current teaching contexts in which they and their student-teachers find themselves (Kent 2001). When practicum mentors fail to inquire into their supervisory practices, they are unable to:

- interpret current teaching practices in ways that make sense to novice teachers (Smith 2005);
- develop a language for conveying the complexities of teaching to novices (Hastings 2005); and
- separate 'the personal' from 'the professional' in the context of mentoring (Swennen et al. 2008).

Further, when mentors fail to be reflective, relevant, and respectful in their work with student-teachers, they fail as stewards of and gatekeepers to the profession (Smith 2010). For example, research shows that poorly prepared mentors allow more students to pass their practicum than do their more professionally prepared counterparts (Clarke 2003). Research also shows that, for example, one third of Canadian teachers leave the teaching profession in their first five years with an unsatisfactory practicum experience contributing to their abandonment (Canadian Teachers' Federation 2011). Without practitioner inquiry as key component of the Professional Practice of mentoring, the successful preparation and supervision of student-teachers will continue to be seriously compromised (Darling-Hammond 2000; Clotfelter and Vigdor 2007).

A second key element of Professional Practice is having access to, and being able to draw upon, a "specialized knowledge base" (Green 2009; Hargreaves 2000). Essential characteristics of a specialized knowledge base include:

- the provision of a framework or structure within which knowledge claims arising from research can be located and categorized (de Jong and Ferguson-Hessler 1996; Sweeny 1994);
- a method by which those claims can be judged, without which "there is no guarantee that the knowledge generated at local sites is correct or even useful" (Hiebert et al. 2002, p. 23); and
- the development of theoretically sound principles and specific practices that professionals can use to query their own practice and adopt as they see appropriate (Achinstein and Athanases 2006).

It is widely agreed that student-teacher mentoring lacks a knowledge base upon which mentors can draw. The most recent review of the international literature on student-teacher mentoring confirms that the research is dispersed, disconnected, and disparate (Clarke et al. 2014). In short, there is currently no way to make informed judgments about the claims from the mentoring literature such that we can distinguish between claims that are particular to the contexts in which they were generated and those that are more representative of mentoring within and across contexts. Without a framework or structure, the development of specialized

knowledge base for mentoring languishes and the quality of student-teacher learning is dangerously diminished (Glanz 2000).

In the absence of practitioner inquiry and a specialized knowledge base, mentors are left to continually 'reinvent the wheel' and have little opportunity to move beyond 'trial and error' to more sophisticated understandings of mentoring (Shulman 1987). In sum, mentoring in practicum settings remains largely untutored and atheoretical. The outcome of this neglect within the context of mentoring is that the preparation of student-teachers (Borko 2004; Devos 2010) and, by implication, the quality of pupil learning, is unreasonably compromised (Clotfelter and Vigdor 2007; Gareis and Grant 2014).

The intention of the current study is to test and demonstrate how the Mentoring Profile Inventory can be used in service of the goals of the larger research project, namely, practitioner inquiry and a specialized knowledge base. As such, the focus of the project reported in this paper will be on eliciting mentor's conceptions of their practice (i.e., their motivations and challenges in working with student-teachers) and comparing and contrasting those conceptions within and across international contexts.

Method

The Use of the Term 'Cooperating Teacher'

Student-teacher mentoring is a special form of teaching set in the immediacy of the practicum setting. Classroom teachers in schools throughout the world who take on this role are known by a variety of names; for example, school-based teacher educators, school advisors, practicum supervisors, school associates, or mentors. In North America, where this paper originated, the most common term used for this role is cooperating teacher and this is the term that will be used throughout the remainder of this paper.

Data Collection

The Mentoring Profile Inventory. The MPI is a web-based inventory offered in five languages: Chinese, Thai, French, Spanish, and English. The MPI was constructed in a North American context (Canada) and its development occurred in concert and direct collaboration with professors from China, Thailand, Spain, and France to ensure that as far as possible that the underlying concepts were relevant, consistent, and valid beyond North American (Clarke 2012). When cooperating teachers complete the MPI they automatically receive a simple single-page report depicting their results in an easy to read graphical form (Fig. 1).

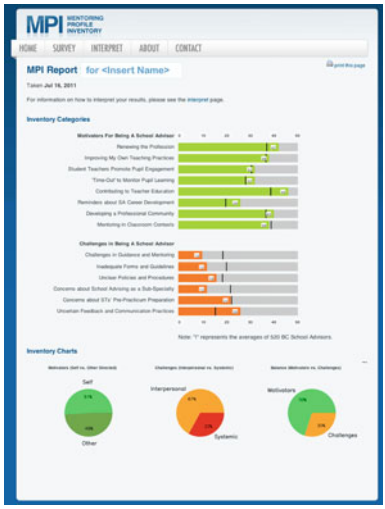


Fig. 1 Mentoring profile inventory report

Table 1 Mentoring profile inventory: items, scales, and balance charts

Items: Motivator (32) and Challenge (30)	Scales: Motivator (8) and Challenge (6)	Balance Charts: Intermediate (2) and Overall (1)
• It's the 'right thing to do' to help and mentor Student Teachers • It's satisfying to know I can facilitate a Student Teacher's development • I'm making a real difference when I coach beginning teachers + 29 other items	• Renewing the Profession • Improving My Own Teaching Practices • Student Teachers Promote Pupil Engagement • 'Time-Out' to Monitor Pupil Learning • Contributing to Teacher Education • Reminders about SA Career Development • Developing a Professional Community • Mentoring in Classroom Contexts	Motivators: Self versus Other
• Difficulties in outlining what Student Teachers can expect from me as a Cooperating Teacher • Difficulties in articulating the evaluation procedures at the start of the practicum + 28 other items	• Challenges in Guidance and Mentoring • Inadequate Forms and Guidelines • Unclear Policies and Procedures • Concerns about School Advising as a Sub-Specialty • Concerns about STs' Pre-Practicum Preparation • Uncertain Feedback and Communication Practices	Challenges: Interpersonal versus Systemic
		Motivators versus Challenges
62 Items →	14 Scales →	3 Balance Charts

The core of the MPI is a 62-item survey that quantifies the important features that motivate (32 items) and challenge (30 items) cooperating teachers in their work with student teachers (Table 1, Column 1). Motivator items ask teachers to indicate the degree to which a particular statement represents a motivator for working with student teachers (e.g., "Supervising helps refine my own teaching practices and

skills"). The five possible response options for motivator items are: Not a Motivator (or Does Not Apply), A Slight Motivator, A Moderate Motivator, A Significant Motivator, or A Critical Motivator. Challenge items asks teachers to indicate the degree to which a particular statement represents a challenge in working with student teachers (e.g., "Lack of clarity about supervisory responsibilities at the district or regional level for student teachers"). The five response options for the challenge items are: Not a Challenge (or Does Not Apply), A Slight Challenge, A Moderate Challenge, A Significant Challenge, or A Critical Challenge. Item responses are scored from 0 to 4 (e.g., '0' for Not a Motivator or Not a Challenge, '1' for A Slight Motivator or A Slight Challenge, '2' for A Moderate Motivator or A Moderate Challenge, etc.). The responses to the MPI are then processed into 14 scales: 8 motivator scales and 6 challenge scales (Table 1, Column 2). A respondent's scale scores are the linear sums of each respondent's answers to the items that comprise each of the scales. For convenience, all scale scores are renormalized to a common range of 0–50 in the final report.

Beyond the 14 scales, there are two internal MPI structures that provide an additional level of detail for understanding teachers' conceptions of the practicum (Clarke et al. 2012). These structures result in two intermediate balance charts: one for motivators illustrating the balance between 'self' and 'other' motivations; and one for challenges illustrating the balance between 'interpersonal' and 'systemic' challenges (Table 1, Column 3). For the motivators, the 'self' score reflects personal gains from working as a cooperating teacher. The 'other' score reflects gains offered to others as a result of working as a cooperating teacher. For the challenges, the 'interpersonal' score reflects challenges with communication, feedback, etc., that arise from interpersonal relations when working as a cooperating teacher. The 'systemic' score reflects a lack of clarity about policies, a paucity of guidelines, or unclear evaluation forms or procedures, etc., that are essentially procedural in nature and arise when working as a cooperating teacher. Calculations for the internal components of the two balance charts (self/other and interpersonal/systemic) are reported as percentages. A third and final balance chart depicts the overall balance between the 32 motivator items and the 30 challenge items of the MPI (Table 1, Column 4). Calculations for the internal components of the third balance chart (motivator/challenge) are also reported as percentages.

The MPI is freely available on the web with the understanding that: (1) all MPI respondents will always have access to their own *Individual MPI Profiles* at any time (via a unique URL that is sent to them by email); and (2), their results will become as part of the MPI database for use in larger-scale MPI analyses of cohorts of cooperating teachers (e.g., local, national, or international cohorts). All names and other personal information are removed to ensure confidentiality and anonymity of respondents for larger-scale analyses.

Generating Aggregate MPI Profiles. *Aggregate MPI Profiles* for a cohort of cooperating teachers is possible by using identifiers that respondents provide when completing the MPI, for example, country designation. *Aggregate MPI Profiles* can also be generated through a special provision within the MPI that allows project coordinators to allocate a unique Project Code to their group of cooperating

teachers. For example, if a professor at Beijing Normal University (BNU) in China was interested in tracking the collective results of the BNU cooperating teachers who supervised student-teachers during the 2015 academic year, he or she could apply for a special Project Code (e.g., 'BNU2015') which the BNU cooperating teachers would then enter when completing the MPI. The project coordinator would subsequently use this code to track the *Aggregate MPI Profile* for his or her cohort of Beijing cooperating teachers.

In this study we use the country designation of the MPI respondents who have completed the MPI over the past five years to construct five international cohorts of cooperating teachers. The total number of respondents in the current study is 1479 and includes cooperating teachers from the following countries: Spain (n = 124); New Zealand (n = 178); Australia (N = 314); China (n = 258), and Canada (n = 538).

In all five countries, university professors who were involved at the outset in the development and testing of the MPI were instrumental in arranging for the cooperating teachers from their countries to complete the MPI. The Australian sample has received an additional boost in the past year because the MPI has been included as part of a national resource package for cooperating teachers: the Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL) program (see www.aitsl.edu.au/initial-teacher-education/supervising-preservice-teachers). As a result, at least half of the Australian sample is made up of cooperating teachers from across Australia who have taken the MPI independent of a particular professor's invitation.

Data Analysis

This study draws on *Individual MPI profiles* to develop *Aggregate MPI profiles* which are necessary for a comparative analysis of cohorts of cooperating teachers from international contexts. *Aggregate MPI profiles* are based on each cooperating teachers scale scores (20 in total) that constitute the *Individual MPI Profiles* and averaged across each of those scales for a cohort of cooperating teachers.

Statistical comparisons across cohorts using *Aggregate MPI Profiles* are done with one-way ANOVAs for the 14 scales, where the $p < 0.05$ Games-Howell test for post-hoc multiple comparisons is applied to determine which specific cohort means differed from each other and by how much. In particular, the Games-Howell procedure does not assume equal variances across groups, hence corrects for unequal sample sizes while remaining sensitive to small differences between means. Throughout, we maintained a standard $p < 0.05$ alpha level to determine the significance of differences between means or any pairs of means. Comparison of the balance charts is simply a comparison of the percentage scores for the two components that constitute each of the three charts (self/other, interpersonal/systemic, and motivators/challenges, respectively).

Data Reporting

We report the results to the comparative analysis using a chart designed specifically for this purpose (Fig. 2). This chart enable us to locate individual country results against:

(1) the backdrop of the overall sample of cooperating teachers; and
(2) the cohorts of cooperating teachers from other countries.

Normalized MPI Challenge Scores Compared Across Five Countries

Australia-A (n=314), New Zealand-Z (n=178), China=Q (n=258), Canada=C (n=538), Spain-S (n=124),

%ile	Challenges in Guidance and Mentoring	Lack of Forms & Guidelines	Unclear Policies & Procedures	School Advising as Sub-Specialty	Pre-Practicum Preparation	Uncertain Feedback & Communication	%ile
98%	47	46	46	42	44	42	98%
95	42	42	40	36	40	38	95
90	36	38	38	34	38	36	90
			36	32	36		
85	30	30			34	32	85
			34				
80	26	32		30	32	30	80
			32				
75%	16	16	16	16	16	16	75%
				26	30	28	
70	22						70
		28	28	24	28	26	
65	20						65
		26			26		
60	18	24	24	22	24	22	60
55	17	23		21		21	55
			22		23		
50%	16	22	20	20	22	20	50%
				18			
45	14	18	18		20	18	45
						16	
40	12	16	16	16	18		40
				14			
35	10	14	14		16	12	35
		12	12	12			
30			10			10	30
25%	16	16	16	16	16	16	25%
			6				
20		6	4	8	8	6	20
		4		6			
15	4	0		4	6		15
					4		
10	0		0	0		0	10
					0		
5							5
2%							2%
1%							1%
	Challenges in Guidance and Mentoring	Lack of Forms & Guidelines	Unclear Policies & Procedures	School Advising as Sub-Specialty	Pre-Practicum Preparation	Uncertain Feedback & Communication	

Fig. 2 An example of the format used to report the comparative analysis (in this case, the MPI challenge scale report chart)

On this chart, the central axis (i.e., the shaded horizontal line) that runs left to right midway through the chart is the point at which 50% of the population falls above the line and 50% falls below the line. The far left and right margins of the chart (percentiles) represent the percentage of the population that resides at the particular points indicated. For example, 10% of the population resides beyond the 10 and 90% points of the chart. Twenty-five percent of the population resides beyond the 25% and 75% points or interquartile ranges (i.e., the shaded but slightly fainter horizontal lines).

The identifier that we use to locate each individual country's position on the 8 Motivator scales and 6 Challenge scales is the mean score for that country for that scale. We use the mean because it best represents the collective assessment of all respondents from that country on that scale. Subsequently, we centered all scales on the report sheet such that each scale mean fell on the 50% percentile line and then adjusted each scale's dispersion to conform to a near-normal distribution. We highlighted the semi-interquartile range (25 and 75%) in preference to standard deviations because most cooperating teachers (and other audiences) are more intuitively familiar with percentages than standard deviations. Nevertheless, all tests of statistically significant differences among countries are performed using standard ANOVA procedures. The advantage of this configuration is that we are able to provide both an accurate reflection of each country's scores for each individual scale and an overall picture of where that country is located in relation to the cooperating teacher sample as a whole and to the cohort of cooperating teachers from the other countries.

Finally, we connect the points on each of the scale scores for each country thereby generating a single line that represents each country across the motivators scales and across the challenge scales. This line, in itself, has no particular significance, however, we found that the line helps readers to visualize how each country differs from the overall sample and other countries in the study.

The Results

The results will be reported in three sections: a comparative analysis of the motivator scale scores; a comparative analysis of the challenge scale scores; and a comparative analysis of the two components that make up each of the three balance charts. As this paper is being presented in a Chinese context, the analysis concludes with a special consideration of the 10 'hot button' issues for each of the motivators and challenges (based on the individual items that constitute the MPI) for the Chinese cooperating teachers.

With respect to the first two comparisons (motivators and challenges scales), the results are examined in terms of what is distinctive for a particular country on each of the scales in comparison to:

(1) the scores of the overall sample of cooperating teachers; (i.e., that country's results in comparison with the central axis or black line that runs left to right midway through the chart or the point at which 50% of the sample falls above the line and 50% falls below the line), and
(2) the scores on each of the scales for the five countries (i.e., that country's results as depicted a by a line joining the individual scale scores for that country in comparison to the other four countries).

Motivator Scores

Motivator Scores by Country in Comparison To the Overall Sample. We begin with a comparative analysis of the motivator scales for each country in relation to the overall sample of cooperating teachers; in particular, we highlight those occasions where the scale score for a country differs from the score for the overall population by 15 percentile points. Although arbitrary, we have chosen this point (65th percentile and above or 45th percentile and below) as being a point at which a country starts to distinguish itself in a substantive way from the overall sample of cooperating teachers (Fig. 3).

(a) Australia and New Zealand. Although Australia and New Zealand are two separate countries with their own distinctive educational systems, it is interesting to note the high degree of similarity between these two nations. Two of the motivator scores stand out as being particularly high (above the 65th percentile line). In these two instances, the cooperating teachers indicate that they are motivated to work with student-teachers because: (a) it helps them to improve their own practice; and (b) their belief in the importance of mentoring with in classroom contexts. One of the motivator scores stands out as being particularly low (below the 35 percentile line) and therefore is not seen by the Australian or New Zealand cooperating teachers as being an important motivator, namely, 'having time out to monitor pupil learning.'
(b) Canada. What is particularly striking about the Canadian cohort of cooperating teachers is that the Canadians, with the exception of two scales, either fall near or just below the median scores for the overall sample. Where they do differ markedly from the overall population (outside the 35th percentile) is that they do not regard 'renewing the profession' or 'reminders about career development' as being strong motivators for working with student-teachers.
(c) China. The Chinese cohort of cooperating teaches in comparison to the overall sample of cooperating teachers are quite strongly motivated in working with student-teachers on nearly all scales and in particular in terms of seeing their work with student-teachers as: (a) 'an opportunity to promote pupil engagement'; (b) allowing 'timeout to monitor pupil learning'; and (c) serving as 'a reminder about career development.'

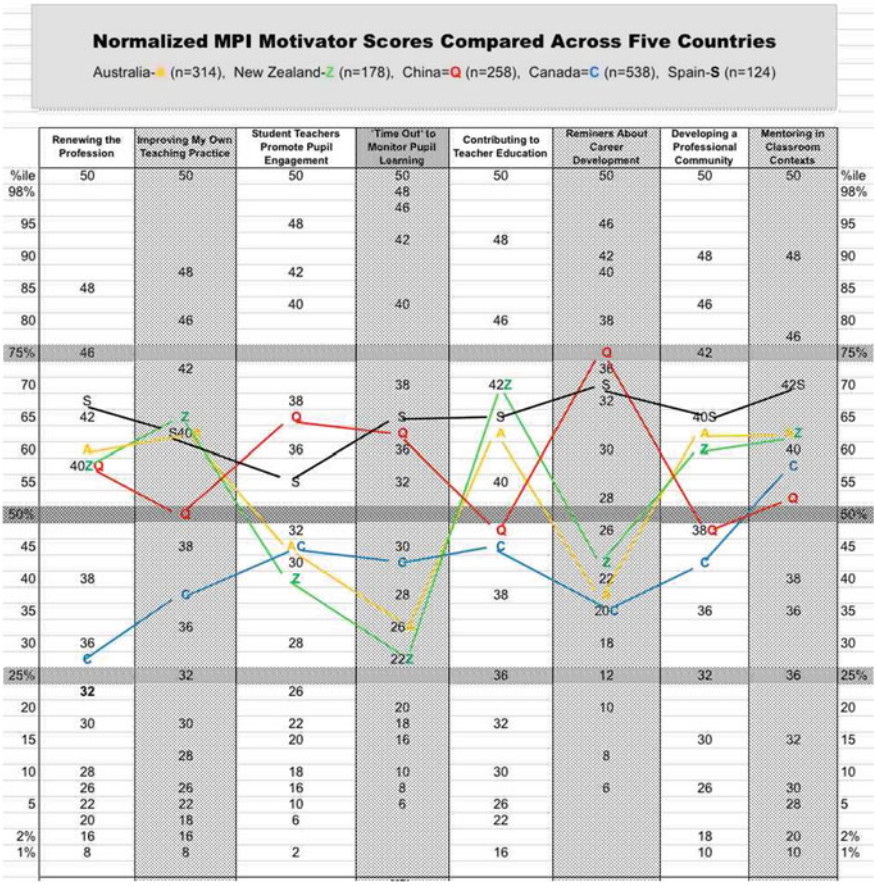


Fig. 3 The MPI motivator report chart: comparative analysis

(d) Spain. The Spanish cohort, in comparison with the overall sample of cooperating teachers are the most highly motivated (across all scales) in comparison to the overall sample in their work with student-teachers. In particular, five scales are distinctive: (a) 'renewing the profession'; (b) allowing 'timeout to monitor pupil engagement'; (c) a sense that they are 'contributing to Teacher Education'; (d) 'reminders about career development'; and (e) the importance of 'mentoring in classroom contexts.'

Motivator Scores by Country in Comparison To Other Countries. In an attempt to identify differences between countries, we move from scale to scale and report those instances where the scale scores for countries are distinctively different from other countries (Fig. 3).

(a) Renewing the Profession. Canada is the only country that differs in a substantive way from all the other countries all of whom regard 'renewing the profession' as a motivator for working with student teachers (60th percentile). The Canadians report this as being as a relatively weak motivator for working with student-teachers.
(b) Improving My Own Teaching Practice. Once again, the Canadians standout in relation to all other countries in reporting that this is not a particularly strong motivator for them in working with student teachers.
(c) Student-Teachers Promote Pupil Engagement. The most distinctive feature about this scale is that Chinese and Spanish cooperating teachers value working with student-teachers in terms of 'promoting pupil learning' as a much stronger motivator (65th and 55th percentile, respectively) than any other country (42nd percentile).
(d) Timeout to Monitor Student Learning. This scale splits the countries in a significant way with both China and Spain regarding the opportunity that student-teachers provide in terms of allowing 'timeout to monitor pupil learning' as being an important motivator. On the other hand, Australian and New Zealand (and the Canadians to a lesser extent) do not see this as a particularly important motivator in their work with student teachers.
(e) Contributing to Teacher Education. The Australians, New Zealanders, and Spanish regard this as being a relatively important motivator for working with student teachers (65th percentile) whereas the Chinese and Canadians much less so (47th percentile).
(f) Reminders About Career Development. We see a very large split between China and Spain who regard this as a particularly important motivator (75th percentile) while the other three countries do not see this as overly important (40th percentile).
(g) Developing a Professional Community. We see a similar split here to an earlier scale, 'contributing to Teacher Education,' were we find the Australians, New Zealanders, and Spanish see this as relatively important (63rd percentile) but the Chinese and Canadians much less so (45th percentile).
(h) Mentoring in Classroom Context. The results show that all five countries see this as important with four countries clustering together (60th percentile) with the Spanish reporting the strongest results of all five countries (75th percentile).

Challenge Scores

Challenge Scores by Country in Comparison To the Overall Sample. As with the motivator scale comparisons, we begin our comparison of the challenges scales with a comparative analysis of each country in relation to the overall sample of cooperating teachers (Fig. 4).

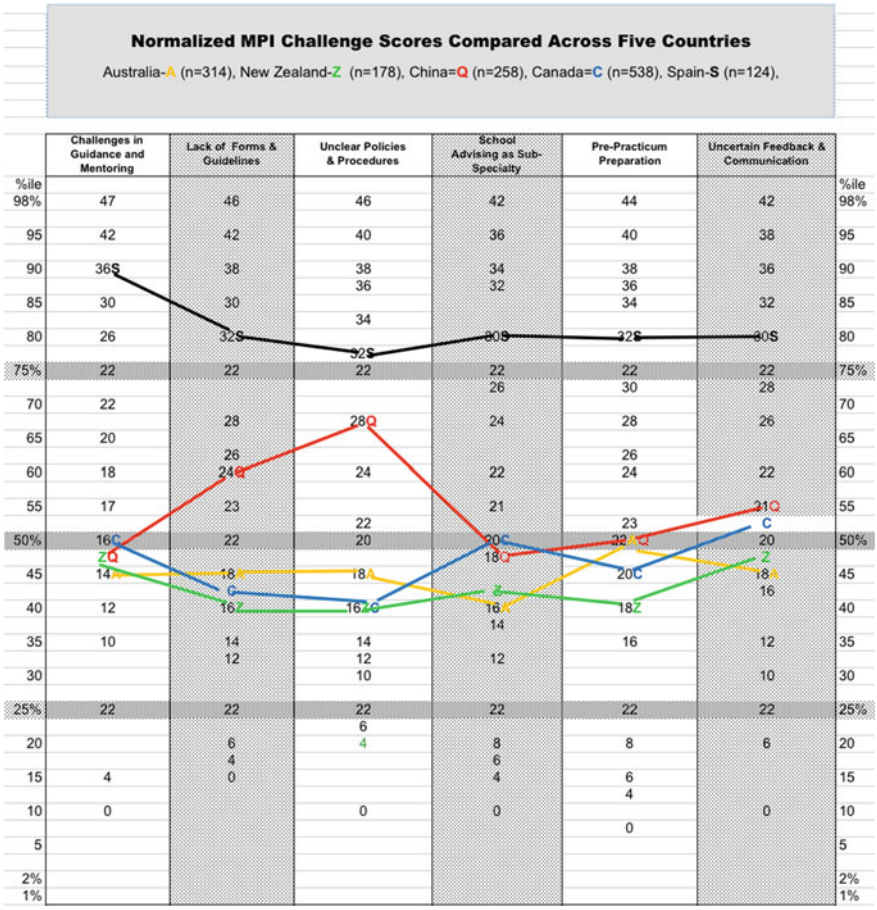


Fig. 4 The MPI challenge report chart: comparative analysis

(a) Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. As with the earlier analysis, we can see that the three countries, although each has a different educational system, display remarkable similar results for all of the challenge scales. Their results all fall on or very near the result for the overall sample of cooperating teachers (i.e., the shaded line running from left to right in the middle of the chart). The scores for the three countries fall within the 40th percentile to 50th percentile range with the no scale scores being particularly distinctive for any of the three countries.

(b) China. The scores for the Chinese cohort of cooperating teachers follow a similar pattern to the above countries with two exceptions. The Chinese cooperating teachers show that they are distinctly challenged by: (1) the 'lack of forms and guidelines' (60th percentile); and (2) 'unclear policies and procedures' (68th percentile) compared to the overall sample of cooperating teachers.

(c) Spain. A completely different picture emerges for Spain. The Spanish cooperating teachers, in comparison to the overall sample, display extremely high levels of challenge across all six scales (75th percentile to 90th percentile).

Challenges Scores by Country in Comparison To Other Countries. It should be noted at the outset that three countries—Australia, New Zealand, and Canada—report remarkable similar scores across all six scales and mostly lying near or just below the 50th percentile.

(a) Challenges in Guidance and Mentoring. Spain, in comparison to the other four countries, whose scores are located around the 50th percentile, report an extremely high level of challenge on this scale with the cohort score being located at the 90th percentile.
(b) Lack of Forms and Guidelines. This scale shows that both China and Spain are distinctly more challenged than Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, whose scores reside around the 50th percentile, with the Chinese cohort at the 60th percentile and the Spanish at the 80th percentile.
(c) Unclear Policies and Procedures. A similar result here to the previous challenge scale with China at 68th percentile and Spain at the 78th percentile.
(d) School Advising as a Sub-Speciality. Here Spain differs from all other countries (who are located between the 40th and 50th percentile) by reporting at the 82nd percentile.
(e) Pre-Practicum Preparation. The same as the above with Spain reporting at the 80th percentile.
(f) Uncertain Feedback and Communication. Again, very similar to the above with Spain reporting at the 80th percentile and the other countries lying between the 45th percentile and 55th percentile.

A Comparative Analysis of the Internal Components of the Balance Charts.

An analysis of the three balance charts—motivator, challenge, and overall—shows that the percentage scores for the two sectors within each of these charts are remarkably similar. Only in a couple of instances are the differences noteworthy (Table 2).

Table 2 Balance chart scores: internal components

	Motivator balance chart		Challenge balance chart		Overall balance chart	
	Self	Other	Interpersonal	Systemic	Motivators	Challenges
Australia	50.99	49.01	56.14	43.86	67.72	32.28
New Zealand	51.58	48.42	58.01	41.99	67.48	32.52
Canada	50.59	49.41	54.66	45.34	66.64	33.36
China	50.09	49.91	47.03	52.97	63.56	36.44
Spain	49.85	50.15	48.07	51.93	54.54	45.46

Table 3 Top 10 motivator items for the Chinese cohort

	Top ten MPI motivator items
1	It's gratifying to watch student teachers learn and develop
2	It's satisfying to work with another adult
3	Supervising is important to education and to society in general
4	Supervising helps develop student teachers into teachers
5	Supervising cautions me about the dangers of self-aggrandizement
6	Supervising helps refine my own teaching practices and skills
7	Producing more teachers is our social responsibility
8	It is satisfying to know I can facilitate a Student-Teacher's Development
9	Student Teachers keep me on my toes to hone my own teaching skills
10	Supervising STs confirms that there are many "right ways" to teach

In the ideal world, we posit (or theorize) that the Motivator and Challenge balance charts should be roughly balanced with a 50/50 balance between the scores suggesting that:

(1) in the case of Motivators, that there is an even balance between inward and outward sources of satisfaction for working with student-teachers on practicum; and
(2) in the case of Challenges, we would hope that neither the interpersonal or systemic challenges outweigh each other and that a balance between the scores is evident.

With respect to the final chart—the overall balance between motivators and challenges—it is hoped that cooperating teachers are generally more motivated than challenged, therefore a chart where the motivation percentage is somewhat greater than the challenge percentage would be ideal.

In our analysis of the data, all five cohorts of cooperating teachers show around the 50/50 split between 'self' versus 'other' for the Motivator Balance Chart. The results for the Challenge Balance Chart differ a little more from country to country, although not drastically so. The Australians, New Zealanders, and Canadians show that 'interpersonal' challenges are greater than 'systemic' challenges in their work with student-teachers (approximately a 57% vs. 43%). China and Spain show an almost 50/50 balance between 'interpersonal' and 'systemic.'

Finally the Overall Balance Chart for the Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and China cohorts is remarkably similar showing a 2/3rds versus 1/3rd. balance. The only distinctly different Overall Balance Chart is for Spain which shows a 55% versus 45% balance with the motivators just outweighing the challenges. This balance chart is edging towards a point where the challenges outweigh the motivators for being a cooperating teacher.

Table 4 Top 10 challenge items for the Chinese cohort

	Top ten MPI challenge items
1	Unclear feedback mechanisms between Faculty Advisors* and Cooperating Teachers
2	Absence of systematic procedures to select and prepare Faculty and Cooperating Teachers
3	Power and authority issues between Faculty Advisors and Cooperating Teachers
4	Lack of clarity about the roles and responsibilities of Faculty Advisors
5	Lack of access to university resources for assistance with STs who are struggling
6	Uncertainty about specific practicum preparation for STs prior to practicum
7	Little general agreement on a 'standard model' for supervising student teachers
8	Absence of feedback from Administrators to inform me how well I am assisting STs
9	Unhelpful Supervision Handbook guidelines, scenarios and examples
10	Little information about university course work for Student Teachers prior to practicum

*Faculty Advisors are instructors from the university who visits student-teachers on practicum

'Hot Button' Issues for Cooperating Teachers: An Analysis of the Chinese Cohort.

As a confirmatory strategy, the top ten items highlight more specific features that each country might want to attend to. These results provide a more fine-grained analysis of the issues of most importance for a particular cohort of cooperating teachers, in this case we use China as an example (see Table 4), as this paper was presented in a Chinese context.

These items provide a particular insight into how and in what ways cooperating teachers in China conceive of their work with student teacher in practicum settings. Further, there are some clear trends appearing in this final analysis; for example, for the Challenge items the relationship between the cooperating teacher and the faculty advisor (i.e., the supervisors from the university) appears to be problematic. This specificity provides important direction to those responsible for establishing relationships and offering professional development opportunities for cooperating teachers in practicum settings.

Discussion

The comparative analysis provided by this paper provides both an overview of the MPI and an appreciation of how the MPI can be used to highlight issues of importance for cooperating teachers. We do not assume to know and understand the individual nuances presented by each country's context and believe that those nuances are better examined in detail by those whose daily work is with student-teachers and cooperating teachers in those contexts. Some of this work has already begun in the Chinese context (Lu et al., in press). Colleagues in Australia and Spain are working on similar analyses in their countries that will be published in the near future.

In conclusion, we argue that such analyses are important for three reasons. First, they are important for the identification of issues that might otherwise remain hidden or unrecognized from *a single-context perspective* but become apparent when perspectives from *other cooperating teacher contexts are brought into play*. Second, comparative analyses are important because what might be claimed as being *distinctive in a particular context* might be shown to be *less so* when that claim is located against the backdrop the other cooperating teacher contexts. Third, in the case of the cooperating teacher literature, the comparative analyses presented here represents an important shift in from what has been largely *idiosyncratic within-context analysis* to *comparative across-contexts analyses.* We are excited by the potential that the MPI has to offer and the issues that it highlights within the context of cooperating teachers working with student-teachers in practicum settings.

References

Achinstein, B., & Athanases, S. (2006). *Mentors in the making: Developing new leaders for new teachers*. New York: Teachers' College Press.

Alexander, R. (2001). Border crossings: Towards a comparative pedagogy. *Comparative Education, 37,* 507–523.

Beck, C., & Kosnik, C. (2002). Components of a good practicum placement: Student teacher perceptions. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 29*(2), 81–98.

Borko, H. (2004). Professional development and teacher learning: Mapping the terrain. *Educational Researcher, 33*(8), 3–15.

Boyd, D., Goldhaber, D., Lankford, H., & Wyckoff, J. (2007). The effect of certification and preparation on teacher quality. *Future of Children, 17*(1), 45–68.

Bullough, R. V., & Draper, R. J. (2004). Mentoring and the emotions. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 30*(3), 271–288.

CTF (Canadian Teachers' Federation). (2011). *The voice of Canadian teachers on teaching and learning*. Online, available: www.ctf-fce.ca/priorities/default.aspx?ArtID=1929&lang=EN&year=2011&index_id=65551. Retrieved September 10, 2012.

Clarke, A. (2003, October). Characteristics of cooperating teachers. *Canadian Journal of Education, 26*(1), 237–256.

Clarke, A., & Collins, J. (2004). Carl Glickman's supervisory belief index: A cautionary note. *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision, 20*(1), 76–87.

Clarke, A. (2012). Burgeo and back: Catching oneself in the act of being attentive to pedagogy. In A. Cohen (Ed.), *Speaking of Teaching* (pp. 55–62). New York: Sense Publishers.

Clarke, A., Collins, J., Triggs, V., & Nielsen, W. (2012). The mentoring profile inventory: A professional development resource for cooperating teachers. *Teaching Education*.

Clarke, A., Triggs, V., & Nielsen, W.S. (2014). Cooperating teacher participation in teacher education. *Review of Educational Research* (40 pages).

Clotfelter, C. T., Ladd, H. F., & Vigdor, J. L. (2007). Teacher credentials and student achievement: Longitudinal analysis with student fixed effetcs. *Economics of Education Review, 26*(6), 673–682.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2000). How teacher education matters. *Journal of Teacher Education, 51*(3), 166–173.

de Jong, T., & Ferguson-Hessler, M. (1996). Types and qualities of knowledge. *Educational Psychologist, 31*(2), 105–113.

Devos, A. (2010). New teachers, mentoring and the discursive formation of professional identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 26,* 1219–1223.

Gareis, C., & Grant, L. (2014). The efficacy of training cooperating teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 39*, 7–88. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2014.07.007. Retrieved September 15, 2014.

Glanz, J. (2000, Fall). Supervision for the millennium: A retrospective and prospective. *Focus on Education, 44*, 9–16.

Green, B. (2009). *Understanding and researching professional practice*. Rotterdam: Sense.

Hargreaves, A. (2000). Four ages of professionalism and professional learning. *Teachers an Teaching: History and Practice*, *6*(2), 151–182.

Hargreaves, A. (2001). Four ages of professionalism and professional learning. *Teachers and Teaching: History and Practice, 6*(2), 151–182.

Harris, D. N., & Sass, T. R. (2011). Teacher training, teacher quality, and student achievement. *Journal of Public Economics, 95*(7), 789–812.

Hastings, W. (2005). Emotions and the practicum: The cooperating teachers' perspective. *Teachers and Teaching, 10*(2), 135–148.

Hiebert, J., Gallimore, R., & Stigler, J. W. (2002). A knowledge base for the teaching profession: What would it look like, and how can we get one? *Educational Researcher, 21*(4), 3–15.

Hobson, A. J., Ashby, P., Malderez, A., & Tomlinson, P. D. (2009). Mentoring beginning teachers: What we know and what we don't. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 25,* 207–216.

Husserl, E. (1980). *Phenomenology and the foundations of the sciences*. Boston: Martinus Hijhoff Publishers (Original work published 1952).

Ingersoll, R. M., & Kralick, J. M. (2004). *The impact of mentoring on teacher retention: What the research says*. Denver: Education Commission of the States.

Kent, S. I. (2001). Supervision of student teachers: Practices of cooperating teachers prepared in a clinical supervision course. *Journal of Curriculum and supervision, 16*(3), 228–245.

Lu, L., Wang, F., Ma, Y., Clarke, A, & Collins, J. (in press). A profile of Chinese cooperating teachers in a university-government-school practicum initiative. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*.

Rubenstein G. (2014). Confronting the crisis in teacher training: Innovative schools of education invent better ways to prepare educators for the classroom. *Edutopia*, *9*(10). Available: http://www.edutopia.org/building-a-better-teacher. Retrieved September 30, 2014.

Russell, M. L., & Russell, J. A. (2011). Mentoring relationships: Cooperating teachers' perspectives on mentoring student interns. *The Professional Educator, 35*(2), 16–38.

Sarason, S. (1996). *Revisiting the culture of the school and the problem of change*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Shulman, L. (1987). Knowledge and teaching: Foundations of the new reform. *Harvard Educational Review, 57*(1), 1–22.

Smith, K. (2005). Creating partnerships between teacher education institutions and the field: An international view with the emphasis on the Professional Development School (PDS) model for professional development. In M. Silberstein, M. Ben-Peretz, & N. Greenfeld (Eds.), *New trends in teacher education: Partnerships between colleges and schools—The Israeli story* (pp. 21–67). Tel Aviv, Israel: Mofet Institute.

Smith, K. (2010). Assessing the practicum in teacher education: Do we want candidates and mentors to agree? *Studies in Educational Evaluation, 36,* 36–41.

Sweeny, B. (1994). *A new teacher mentoring knowledge base*. The Mentor Center. Online: http://www.mentors.net/library/knowl_base.php. Retrieved, August 10, 2014.

Swennen, A., Lunenberg, M., & Korthagen, F. (2008). Preach what you teach! Teacher educators and congruent teaching. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and practice*, *14*(5,6), 531–542.

Re-Imagining Educational Research on Teaching: An Interview with Dr. David T. Hansen

David T. Hansen and Huajun Zhang

Introduction

This article features an interview, conducted by Dr. Zhang Huajun, Beijing Normal University, with Dr. David T. Hansen, the Sue Ann and John L. Weinberg Professor in the Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. The interview took place in Beijing on October 19, 2014.

Dr. Hansen has been Director of Teachers College's Program in Philosophy and Education since 2001. Before that, he served as director for ten years of an urban secondary teacher education program at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Dr. Hansen's research has focused on the philosophy and practice of teaching. He has been interested in the moral and ethical dimensions of educational work—for example, the ways in which teachers and the curricula they employ can assist students in deepening rather than rendering shallower their sense of humanity. Hansen's published work in this area includes books such as The Call to Teach (1995), Exploring the Moral Heart of Teaching (2001), and Ethical Visions of Education: Philosophies in Practice (2007a), all published by Teachers College Press. He has also written on John Dewey's philosophy of education, with a particular eye on Dewey's rich conception of the ethics of education, in works such as John Dewey and our Educational Prospect (2007b, State University of New York Press). In addition, Hansen has addressed relations between cosmopolitanism, teaching, and human flourishing in our globalizing world, including in a book

D.T. Hansen (✉)
Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY, USA
e-mail: hansen@tc.columbia.edu

H. Zhang
Center for Teacher Education Research, Beijing Normal University, Beijing, China

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2017

X. Zhu et al. (eds.), *Quality of Teacher Education and Learning*,
New Frontiers of Educational Research,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3549-4_3

entitled The Teacher and the World: A Study of Cosmopolitanism as Education (2011, Routledge).

From 2011–2014, Dr. Hansen guided a research project that centered around two questions: (1) What does it mean to be a person in the world today? and (2) What does it mean to be a person in the role of teacher today? His inquiry involved a self-selected group of sixteen highly-regarded teachers in a large US city. Dr. Hansen observed nearly two hundred classes taught by the teachers; met with them twenty-one times for dinner-discussions of the theme of being a person, including in the role of teacher; and, along with two doctoral research assistants, conducted forty-two individual interviews with them. The group discussions and interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Dr. Hansen gave a keynote lecture on this project at the Second Summit on Teacher Education held at Beijing Normal University on October 17–20, 2014. Intrigued as much by the methodology of the project as by its outcomes, Dr. Zhang Huajun arranged for the interview that forms the basis of this article. She invited Dr. Wu Guozhen (Beijing Normal University), a close colleague, to join in the conversation. Ms. Zhao Ting, a graduate student at Beijing Normal University at the time, also attended the interview and has been helpful in transcribing it.

The interview encompasses the following themes that touch on Dr. Hansen's recent project with teachers. (1) What does it mean to fuse philosophy and anthropology in educational research? (2) Why deploy the concept "person" rather than other familiar terms such as self, individual, and identity? (3) What is distinctive about Dr. Hansen's methodological approach toward thinking about persons, including what it means to be a person in the role of teacher today? (4) How does this approach reflect the career-long research path Dr. Hansen has taken? and (5) How can we support teachers to stay close to their original 'call' to teach, even in the face of the many challenges teachers face today?

The Interview

Fusing Philosophy and Anthropology in Educational Research

Z Professor Hansen, I have prepared some questions in advance, some of which I've discussed with my colleague, Professor Wu. They are intended to let you talk about the trajectory of your research, but we will not need to adhere to them in a strict manner. Professor Wu and I can jump in from time to time spontaneously, including to talk about the Chinese context in juxtaposition with US and international contexts.

Can we start from your recent project, which you've broadly entitled "What does it mean to be a person in the world today?" with a particular focus on what it means to be a person, *a human being*, in the role of teacher. You've described your project

as a "fusion" of philosophy and anthropology (see Hansen, Wozniak, & Diego, 2015, in References below, which also includes a description of the project). What's the difference between your project and other qualitative studies on teaching?

H I think one difference that makes a difference is that the work that I'm doing is normative from the very beginning. It takes very seriously deep ethical questions, and it approaches them through an ethical rather than traditional epistemic lens. In mainstream social scientific research, it's viewed as important to keep normative questions outside, because it's assumed they will corrupt the research or undermine its objectivity. But it's a mistake to conflate normative questions with 'subjective' questions or points of view. Education and teaching are value-saturated practices. They embody normative intent from their very inception, from the very first step that we take in them or toward them. All teaching and all education expresses values of one kind or another. Normative research seeks to engage those expressions of value and of worthwhileness 'head-on', with normative, or ethical, inquiry and questioning.

It is hard to describe what I'm doing because I don't really know what the name is to give my research in terms of method. I think of it as a non-objectifying approach to field work. I want to take seriously the value-saturated nature of everything in education. And so it's curious because one part of the work is quite scientific in terms of the method. I am rigorous in my note-taking procedures and organization, very careful in interpreting the notes, always on the lookout for alternative perspectives, and self-critical. I do my own coding. I read the notes I accumulate as if they constituted a text, and I try to look at them as an outside person would. I read and re-read my field notes, the interview transcripts, and the transcripts of the meetings we had with teachers. I try to look at all this as if I was a stranger, even while keeping an eye out for patterns of action, concern, and meaning.

Some of these steps are familiar in qualitative research. But the interpretive framework is philosophical, and so that's where I don't hesitate to try to draw out issues of deep ethical significance. This would be a beginning way to describe the fusion of philosophy and anthropology. They're actually very closely allied fields, and both of them emerged at almost the same time, at least this is so in ancient Greece. The Greeks during Plato's time were amazed and fascinated with the cultures around them. They had a lot of conflict with the Persian Empire and some wars with them, and the Greeks traveled everywhere throughout the Mediterranean and beyond. They were really taken by cultural difference: they were struck by the evident fact that cultures were not created 'by the gods' but by human beings themselves. This realization triggered any number of questions that were at once both philosophical and anthropological. In a way, they actually invented anthropology, which is the empirical study of humanity and cultures. Anthropology comes from the Greek word *anthropos*, which means man, or I will translate it as person. So anthropology is *logos*, or language, about humanity. It's a descriptive

undertaking, it's observational: the researcher goes out into the world. And some early Greek writers, such as Herodotus, were really very good anthropologists, very critically observant.

So anthropology emerges at the same time philosophy does. As I mentioned, in part because of the sheer fact of cultural differences, philosophers in Greece began to raise questions about ethics, knowledge, beauty, and more—including education. In fact, we could say anthropology, philosophy, and education all began at the same time. I find this extremely interesting and exciting—in a way, it's how I would describe my own way of working. Plato's dialogue *Meno*, composed nearly 2500 years ago, begins with the young man by that name asking: "Can you tell me, Socrates—is virtue something that can be taught? Or does it come by practice? Or is it neither teaching nor practice that gives it to a man but natural aptitude or something else?" (70a1–4, translation by W. K. C. Guthrie). Right here, we see a philosophical question about virtue being posed—and at the same time, a question about educational practice. Meno says, "Can you tell me?" He wants a lecture! But Socrates does not provide one. Instead, he engages him in dialogue, because for Socrates education is not mere *transmission* "to" the student but involves *transformation* "in" the student. I'm very moved by all this, how education, philosophy and I also think anthropology began at the same time. So that's my inspiration for the kind of work that I do. I go talk to people and witness them do what they do, but the work is philosophical from start to finish and of course concerned with education.

Z Yes, I see what do you mean, but probably for some other people they may have the question: So what's the difference between fusing philosophy and anthropology, as compared with just fusing theories of anthropology?

H Let me step to a broader platform than anthropology in itself. Social science, as we know, is very interested in making causal connections and correlations. 'We know this action causes this result': that's the traditional aim of social science, rooted in presuppositions about the operations of the social and psychological world. Or if it cannot establish causal links, it seeks correlation. 'When this happens, this other thing also often happens': but there is no causal claim here, just an association of varied strength. I'm not trying to do this kind of work, so it's not social science strictly understood. And much qualitative research is grounded in social science, trying to undertake causal and correlational analysis. My approach is much closer to the humanities, much closer to poetry and fiction and painting as modes of access to our lived reality. If science and social science seek to explain, the humanities seek to illuminate meaning, to advance understanding, and to approach wisdom. I believe we need research informed by the humanities as badly as we need social scientific research. At present, the latter has been foregrounded in an unbalanced manner in the research and policy community.

Z I feel this kind of approach is very exciting because this is what I really want to do. I think it is a really significant contribution for social scientists as well as for

those who approach the world of education differently. Because we do need some alternative approaches to study education and to study humans other than social science.

H Yes, I agree. And here we can think of the knowledge of a painter or of a poet. We tend to think that painters and poets are just pure ego, that they are just doing their own 'subjective' thing. But that conception of art is very wrong and I think one of the problems is that we have separated science and art in our cultures, in perhaps both China and the United States. And this separation is why it's difficult to describe to you my method, because we don't have a natural language here at our disposal. We have separated science and art, whereas the ancient Greeks and Chinese did not have that separation.

So this separation is a modern invention, and people find themselves assuming that science alone gives us objective truth, through causal and correlational connections, while art is all subjective. This assumption represents a poor understanding of both science and art. Good scientists and good artists *both show us reality*. Great artists move us and thrill us because they show us aspects of reality that science simply cannot show. Science has a quite narrow empiricist epistemology, which has certainly served it well. And science has led to invaluable discoveries with equally invaluable consequences for everything from health to urban planning. And science's cousin (or friend, I'm not quite sure of the relation), social science, has yielded insights with important practical consequences.

Nonetheless, the sciences are constrained by their scope of what counts as knowledge and truth. The literature on epistemology that addresses this issue is copious, including oft-cited work by Ludwig Wittgenstein, Sandra Harding, John Dewey, Martin Heidegger, and Michael Polanyi. We have to turn to artists, and to the humanities, to picture adequately and to understand important features of our reality—for example, the unfathomable realities of human emotion, human communication, human happiness, human joy, human failure, human suffering, human wonder. These forms of experience, which embody ways of knowing, reach beyond the subject/object distinction. They cannot be grasped or understood through that distinction. We do not *know* our spouses, children, and friends through 'explanations' of them. We cannot know them by objectifying them. If we want to refer to 'inquiry' into marriage or friendship, it has to be *profoundly and ethically informed by the other's reality, which must be seen as independent of any and all apriori 'methods' I could conceive to understand her or him*.

But, again, there is no easy, straightforward language here. I think the researcher who seeks to understand teaching and teachers, and to grasp the meaning that practitioners discern in their work, needs to use her whole life's education to find the right language. And I think it important for the researcher to begin with the world, not with theory per se. Of course, you, me, and Professor Wu, we each come to the world with interests and we come with theoretical knowledge and various scholarly dispositions. But, somehow, the important thing is to really pay attention closely to the world, to the realities of the world, to the ways teachers and students move in the classroom world—both literally and 'spiritually'—the ways they speak,

the expressions they have, the ways they occupy space in the classroom and school, all of these very daily things that we usually don't pay attention to. That's where the magic is, it's in the most everyday things.

Z Yes, I think we need to really connect the life of teachers and students with our own lives as teacher educators or researchers.

H That's a very beautiful way to put it, "to connect." It has many complicated meanings and aspects: aesthetic, moral, epistemic, and existential.

Z Would you describe what you call the fusion of philosophy and anthropology as a new or alternative methodology for research? Is the term "methodology" itself appropriate here?

H Yes, it certainly works well. For instance, I think we can say that a good painter has a method, or a good poet has a method. Their methods may change over time, and in less systematic, explicitly formulated ways than in science, but method remains a pertinent concept. It is also possible to be methodologically wary of methods.

On the Concept of "Person"

Z You use the word person rather than man or human being in your work. Did you pick this word deliberately?

H It's a good question because, as you know, in English we have person, self, individual, identity, character, and more. I chose "person," in part, because it seems to be less under the control of any particular discipline. The concept self, by contrast, almost always makes us think of psychology. Identity often makes us think immediately of psychology or sociology. I thought about using "human being," which is so very close existentially to person. But the concept human being can make us think of science in general, or biology in particular—i.e. a human being compared to other creatures. But "person" does not seem to be owned by any school of thought, though philosophy has certainly engaged the concept a great deal. Philosophers have thought a lot about the idea of what it means to be a person, going all the way back to figures such as Plato and Confucius.

"Person" is just a word. But the term allows us, I think, to gather things together about being a human being in the role of teacher, a being who dwells alongside other human beings in educational settings. And there is also this educational perspective: you might say we are born as human beings, but we become persons through our upbringing and education. There is a strong emphasis here on *becoming*, on possibility, on potentiality. And yet it remains indeterminate, which is important. Notions of 'self', for instance, can sometimes call to mind fixed or predetermined 'stages' of development—but to become a person is not a linear, straightforward, necessarily progressive process. It features many ups and downs,

many failures and confusions, many reversals, some going forward in ethical terms, but some going backward. The concept person is dynamic. It runs 'ahead' of any attempts to fix a definition to it.

An Alternative Approach to Research on Teaching: Bearing Witness

Z Your remarks suggest that undertaking research on teaching and teachers may differ, or can differ, from other forms of research. Do you think this kind of methodology has a particular contribution to research on teachers and teachers' practice? Do you think your method of working with the teachers in your project offers a particular insight or value to research on teaching in a general way?

H That's a good question you pose, and I would like to say "yes" emphatically, there is something in this approach that is valuable for those who care about the teacher's world. What was important and exciting for me in the project was *proximity*: being *near* to teachers, being close to their world. This near-ness is why I conducted so many classroom visits, met with the teachers as a group so many times, and conducted so many individual interviews. It turned out to be profoundly moving to be near them, and I say this in light of our conversation thus far. I think we need to learn in a new, fresh way, *how to pay attention to teachers as persons*. This commitment entails two things. First, we need to learn *how to listen to teachers* both epistemically and ethically. We need to learn to heed their concerns, their perceptions, their experiences, and their insights. I'm thinking firstly of good teachers, of dedicated teachers, of thoughtful teachers—but, importantly, not necessarily those who grasp 'research talk', but rather those who really dwell in and 'live' the practice of teaching children and youth. These are the men and women who are on 'the front line', unlike policy-makers who operate at sometimes considerable distance from the realities of the teacher's world.

The posture I'm describing does not mean endorsing whatever teachers do. Quite on the contrary, it can create a mode of trust through which it becomes possible to talk in the frankest, most sincere terms about teaching—including where a teacher may be falling short or struggling. This trust is often absent in the ways teachers are formally assessed in the system.

Second, we need to spend *quality time* in schools and classrooms. Researchers need to pay close attention to the everyday efforts of teachers. One of the things I experienced in the project, thanks to its longitudinal nature, is just how richly complex the teacher-student-subject matter relation can be in the life of the classroom. I think a serious problem in educational research is the presumption that 'we've seen it all before', so that all we need to do is focus on changing or reforming it. When I read today's mainstream research-policy work, I sometimes wonder what decision-makers are actually looking at, whether they are taking time

to look, with deep humility, at what good teachers are doing. There seems to be a collective haste among policy-makers to change things, and to show the world that they are doing something. In today's world, if you don't show you are changing things—almost regardless of what sort of changes you're implementing—you are presumed to be doing 'nothing'. Policy-makers simply must, it seems, *change* things rather than *nurture* them. What would the contemporary scene look like if policy-makers *cared* for teachers, school administrators, parents, and above all students in the richest aesthetic, moral, and reflective sense of that term 'care'?

My approach is quite different from mainstream, social scientific research on teaching. Such research often begins with an hypothesis, with its own preset questions, with its own predetermined interventions in the school and classroom. There is nothing in principle wrong with this, since there certainly is always much to learn about how to educate well. But if that is the *only* approach, then we will end up operating in the dark, ignoring much of the very promise and potential in teaching. So for me, the first steps are to listen, to spend time with teachers, and let your research questions evolve, or perhaps better, let your research questions take on substance, take on depth from what the teachers say and from what you see them doing. Otherwise, the temptation to begin *elsewhere*, *anywhere* but in the day by day life of the classroom and school, seem peculiarly enormous these days.

The approach of 'waiting' for questions to take on substance and trajectory is what I enacted in the project at hand here. I did not begin with an hypothesis about what it means to be a person in the role of teacher, and I do not have a 'final' response today to this question of meaning. I had of course given the matter considerable thought—indeed, over the course of many years—but what I learned is that the question does not admit of a terminal answer. Instead, it serves as a vivid spur to thinking, wondering, questioning, and acting. I saw how the question of what it means to be a person in the role of teacher had this effect during the two years I worked with the teachers.

Relatedly, and with respect to your question of whether working with teachers in the ways I did can have an impact on their practice, here I would also say "yes." I was able to create a space for these teachers to come together and talk together about the deep meanings of their work, the most pressing difficulties of their work, the richest joys of their work, and the true realities of their work. They remarked that such opportunities are rare, thereby echoing testimony widely reported by teachers throughout the system.

They also remarked that it was good to have an adult visitor in the classroom who was not there to intervene or to judge but rather to "bear witness," which is a term of methodological art I am developing (see Hansen 2017). To bear witness is to be present to the teacher's presence, if I can put the matter this way—to listen, to speak with, to be near, for a more than an abbreviated time. The teachers took my visits as a sign of respect both for them and for the practice itself. We held countless impromptu discussions, before or after my visits, in light of the larger questions about being a person in the world and a person in the role of teacher. These many discussions, combined with the regular whole-group dinner-discussion meetings we

held, created a dynamic and unusually rich platform for plumbing the depths of meaning in the work. It led the teachers to rethink many aspects of their work: to unearth assumptions they had not pondered for quite some time, to articulate their deepest concerns and values, to entertain new perspectives on teaching, and much more. In the last semester of the two-year-long endeavor, many of the teachers undertook some formal writing where they responded both to the guiding theme of being a person in the role, and to their experience in the endeavor (I plan to publish an account of the teachers' experiences and reflections on the overall undertaking).

Z Your approach of beginning with a stance of listening, of showing respect, of expressing support through creating these kinds of spaces for dialogue—all of this reminds me of Professor Wu's approach, too, which she and I have discussed in depth. There is promise here to studying teaching and teachers' work in a way that enables teachers to develop, in a natural way, approaches to improving and deepening their work without we 'outsiders' having to do all the intervening.

H Yes: it's important to begin by recognizing and acknowledging teachers' own agency, and to spend time with them and support them in articulating this agency—all of this can affect their 'world' in a natural way. It requires patience, not of an onerous kind, but of a respectful, even loving kind, in the sense of being animated by a love for teaching itself, the very idea and practice of it.

I can give you an example. I spent several hours one morning with a Grade 5 (and later Grade 2) teacher named Karolina (a pseudonym). At one point she had an open period while the children went to art class, and she suggested we go for a walk in the neighborhood. During our 45-min stroll, she raised many questions and concerns she has about her students, naming particular individuals who were struggling in one way or another, and describing ways she has tried to connect with them. She had much to say on the topic. At the end of our walk, as we stepped back through the big heavy door to the old school building, she stopped and said to me point-blank: "Look, I know this is a research project and all that, but can I just ask: how am I doing? I mean, I really wonder if I am a good teacher with these children. If you have any suggestions for me, I'd really welcome them."

I had spent enough time with Karolina to know that she was deeply sincere. She was not seeking flattery or easy comfort, nor was she simply asking for more 'teaching tips'. She wanted to know how she was faring: whether she was doing right by her students in both academic and moral terms.

I did not anticipate Karolina's question. She is a thirteen-year veteran whose practice I had come to admire and respect (for details, see Hansen 2017). I was deeply moved by her expression of trust in me—just as I had come to trust in the integrity and goodness in her teaching—and I saw all this as a testament to the structure of the overall undertaking. Trust is so crucial, and it cannot be forced or rushed. But when it's there, you have a ground for meaningful discussion of pedagogy, including ways to improve and enhance one's work. You also have a ground for genuine philosophical inquiry with teachers about education. In my

experience, with trust and mutual respect as a platform, teachers show themselves in many, many cases to come to philosophy in a natural, organic way. They want to think richly and deeply about the work.

Z I would add, too, that this mutual, trusting relationship can also encourage teachers to think of themselves as researchers, to think of teaching not only as an action of helping the young grow, but also as a practice open to endless, generative inquiry.

H And this inquiry may not have as its purpose to create 'brand new knowledge'. It may be geared much more to the teacher cultivating his or her wisdom, understanding, perceptivity, and sensibility toward working with children and youth. Of course, teachers can learn many useful, practical things for their work through their own inquiry. But they don't have to 'produce' knowledge to be profoundly successful as inquirers. They can discover that, through their reflections, questions, and pondering of their classroom world, they have gained a broader perspective, one that can also reinforce their commitment to and joy in the work.

Dr. Hansen's Career-Long Research Path

Z You have done research on the moral and intellectual dimensions of teaching, expressed for example in your book on the topic and your article on the poetics of teaching (see Hansen 2001, 2004). You've also studied cosmopolitanism in its relation to education. Now you've been doing this work at the crossroads of philosophy and anthropology, thinking about the person in the role of teacher. Can you talk about how these lines of inquiry have influenced you as a person, teacher educator, and philosopher?

H Your question makes me think that sometimes there is truth in the saying that each of us is the last person to know ourselves. It's really our friends and colleagues who know us best. So maybe I should deflect your question! But, seriously speaking, I did have the feeling again this very morning in giving the lecture that I have in fact been pursuing the question of what it means to be a teacher for my entire career. Every single project has in one way or another been animated by this fascination, this wonder. Perhaps it has to do with my having been a teacher myself for a long time now, as well as having had some very good teachers as a child, adolescent, and adult at university. Perhaps my current endeavor with the teachers is simply the natural outcome of all this.

In thinking back over the past several decades, I don't think I was experienced or wise enough, before now, to take on directly the question of what it is to be a person in the role of teacher. Not that I have wisdom now. I think that term is more a regulative ideal, an ideal that can guide one's conduct, than it is a 'possession'.

The study of the moral dimensions of teaching was a revelation to me, in terms of gaining insight into the teacher's world and thinking about the very meaning of the practice of teaching. I will be forever grateful to my doctoral adviser and mentor, Philip Jackson, for inviting me to participate in the Moral Life of Schools Project, an undertaking he launched at the end of the 1980s. The project was the first occasion in which I could look long and systematically at the 'inside' of teaching, at all that is there to see—and there is so much to see—once we can look beyond the behavioral surface. I learned a great deal about how to think about teaching, the teacher-student-subject relation, and more. It also opened a very wide window into thinking about my own teaching—and some of what I 'saw' looking out that window was uncomfortable, since I have had my share of failures in the classroom. But the difference is that now I understood those failures—and my successes—in a much deeper manner, looking at the work through a fused moral and intellectual lens.

The intensely human dimensions of educating I witnessed through that project led me to a second endeavor, which pivoted around the idea of teaching as a calling, or vocation. This undertaking involved both philosophical inquiry and field-based work. I also drew upon interviews and material I had collected during the Moral Life of Schools project. I learned how and why it is that for many teachers, the practice evolves into something much more meaningful and profound than what the terms job, occupation, or even profession can evoke. These are teachers who, if not in so many words, grasp why the work is so morally, ethically, aesthetically, and intellectually challenging *as well as* rewarding. They have their fingers on the pulse of education, on why that term constitutes something more than socialization, enculturation, or training. If only today's policy-makers would base their recommendations around what these teachers know and understand, around what they *see* in children, youth, and in the overall endeavor of teaching.

My work over this last decade on cosmopolitanism was, in part, the serendipitous outcome of working in two large, culturally diverse 'universes' as a scholar and teacher: Chicago and New York City. At the University of Illinois at Chicago, where I had my first faculty appointment, I directed the College of Education's Secondary Teacher Education Program. I spent countless hours with teacher candidates in schools, while also interacting with school administrators and teachers. Many of these settings featured extraordinary cultural diversity thanks to immigration and population movement in the U.S. over the past few decades. The same holds true for New York City, with regards to many of its schools. Moreover, Teachers College features a remarkable array of students from around the nation and world, so this fact only fueled my curiosity about the play of culture, of place, of experience, and more, in what it is to be a teacher in our era.

The idea of cosmopolitanism has been very significant for the trajectory of my work. My research taught me that this concept points to an educational relationship people can form with their experience. People can, and do in many instances, learn to learn from both difference and similarity. The literature on cosmopolitanism, which goes back several millennia (see the references in Hansen 2011), makes plain that persons can indeed learn to be open reflectively to new people, ideas, practices,

and values, even while remaining loyal or devoted reflectively to local commitments, heritages, and the like. The key term here is 'reflective', suggesting why it is that people can do more than tolerate one another, important as that is, but actually can learn from and with one another, however modest the transformations in their lives may be (it is possible to tolerate another person without learning anything from him or her). All in all, the extensive literature on cosmopolitanism deeply affected my sense of human possibility, why it is that we humans are not automatically locked into dogmatisms, cultural bubbles, and isolationism. We are not fated to permanent antagonism (as contrasted with agonism), and there appear to be countless teachers and students in the world today whose practices work against such a fate. They are engaged in very real modes of cultural creativity.

I think here, for instance, of research on the Chinese diaspora around the world. There are some interesting examples of Chinese communities that are interactive in cosmopolitan-minded ways with surrounding communities (and vice versa). They are not living inside an airtight bubble, and their ways of life are evolving as a consequence. Of course there are counter-instances, and instances where Chinese immigrants have been discriminated against—obviously, the human scene is a conflicted, often violent one. But, again, the key is that the die are not cast: it is always possible to move in a more affirming, peaceful, and collaborative direction, as teachers and students are often the first to show us. Indeed, while children and adolescents can certainly be cruel to one another, they are also in many cases 'natural' cosmopolitans, able to interact meaningfully across any number of differences.

Z I think this idea has lots of potential significance in the Chinese context, given what you've said about people not being imprisoned by their own cultures. There are serious tensions and divisions in China now regarding the values of life, whether we have in mind rich or poor, rural or urban, the east or west of the country, our different cultural groups, and so forth. Your term "cultural creativity" takes on importance.

H I've written before on the difference between tradition and traditionalism (Hansen 2001). The latter term denotes a kind of frozen cultural condition—or, better, the attempt to freeze culture as it is. History demonstrates that this attempt, however understandable, always fails, and also often leads to violence. Tradition—in which we drop the 'ism'—means something very, very different. Tradition is a living, dynamic relation with the past and one's heritage. It is not an idolatrous relation, a worshipping, unquestioning relation. Rather, a person with a sense of tradition acknowledges that his or her tradition has from its very beginnings been influenced by the larger world and has always been evolving. Thus a person with a sense of tradition understands that for a heritage to remain real, and vivid, and meaningful, it must interact and evolve in response to other traditions, peoples, practices, values, and the like. And this is precisely a cosmopolitan orientation toward culture: that we stand (lovingly) with one foot in our culture, but also (lovingly) with one foot in the larger world for which we all, more and more, bear a measure of responsibility.

Z Yes, that is a very important message because now in China, there are two contrasting trends, one which is to globalize, internationalize, westernize, and in general to interact with the world. The other trend is what you call traditionalism, which we can see in calls to go "back to the classics." Some of these calls even suggest putting aside the basic curriculum of school, from mathematics to science. I believe it is possible to go back to our cultural roots while being open to others and learning together.

H As many people have noted, there is a lot of fear in the world today—fear and uncertainty brought about by the tremendous acceleration of change in our time. I think for very understandable reasons, people everywhere feel unsettled and nervous. I myself sometimes worry greatly about the speed of change and our human capacity to not be overwhelmed by it. So it's natural, in a way, to turn backwards to something that appears to offer security and permanence, something not in question, not in doubt. A grave problem is that sometimes this attitude can become explosive, as we also see today, and I don't just mean in terms of physical violence and destruction, but in mindsets and dispositions.

Ironically, a sure-fire way to destroy a tradition is to try to hold on to it in a traditionalist manner. This posture makes a culture brittle and subject to shattering. It is like with the classics: none of them are 'classic' in a closed-minded sense. Every classic, including those by Confucius and others, has been influenced by ideas from near and far. A classic is by definition, as I see it, open to the world, it has been influenced by the world. Fundamentalists simply don't know how to read classic works. They put them into a straightjacket to assuage their own anxieties, rather than truly open themselves to the actual lessons in those classics. But fundamentalists aren't the only ones who do this. Academics and professors can also squeeze the life out of classic works by treating them as 'objects' rather than as dynamic voices whose ideas are, in many cases, still well ahead of our own time.

It would be a good thing if we had more leaders in political office who could help people deal with their fears and anxieties, rather than stoking them as is so often the case. What would the world be like if our leaders were, in fact, good teachers? This state of affairs won't come to be anytime soon, so once again I see an enormous role for education in our time, wherein a cosmopolitan orientation can come into play, and where teachers can come into play.

The Teacher and the Call to Teach

Z Professor Wu has some questions which I will translate. She has translated Parker Palmer's *The Courage to Teach*, a book you know. She has introduced this book to thousands of Chinese teachers by giving workshops on it. She says she feels fortunate to know the book since it has helped inspire her to work closely with teachers and to keep at it, to keep her own courage, in the face of many obstacles and difficulties in our educational system. She also says that

over the years she has discerned numerous connections between Palmer's humanistic philosophy and elements in Chinese tradition as exemplified in Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism.

Her question springs from reflection on the challenges facing Chinese teachers today. We educators often have so little time and so few resources. Our teachers are busy with readying students for college entrance exams. The pace is relentless. They speak of being tired, of having a kind of 'cancer' in the mind, a dying-out of their profound belief in education, caused by the pressure of the testing system. And yet, having read and taught Palmer's book for years now, I find teachers respond powerfully to it. They take advantage of engaging it to create a kind of platform, where they can share narratives of their work and renew their hope and convictions. Professor Wu was thinking here of your work on teaching as a calling, how for some teachers the work is a form of genuine service fused with a form of deep personal reward.

It seems that your research project has many similarities with her work since it seems you and she have both seen what quality time with teachers, and trust, can position them to do and learn. It helps them rediscover their 'inner light', or as I described in my book (see Zhang 2013), a kind of self-enlightenment. Again, Professor Wu sees a link here with your emphasis on teaching as a calling—all of this cannot be 'explained' or even approached in a typical research or 'scientific' manner. We need other approaches.

H Your and Professor Wu's talk of inner light and enlightenment is crucial. I entirely agree that creating platforms for teachers to work closely and in a trusting ethos creates the possibility of them 'rediscovering' their original motivations to teach, their original ideals and hopes, and to reconstruct them (as John Dewey would say) for their present circumstances. And your points make me think that teacher education, as a whole, should turn to the humanities for its fundamental grounding. It is radically insufficient just to throw at young teachers manuals with 'tricks of the trade', which may well help them survive the rigors of their first year or so but which give them no intellectual or critical grounding *for understanding their work and its significance*. Only the humanities, or resources and dialogue rooted in the humanities, can help young teachers truly appreciate the human dimensions of their work: the humanity in their students, the humanity behind the creation of what we call the curriculum, and the humanity in themselves. Now, more than ever, teachers need a deep immersion in philosophy, the history of education, studies of contemporary culture, and the like.

It is so important to protect and defend the idea of teaching as a calling. To be sure, we should not expect new teachers to have a sense of calling—this can only truly grow through practice. But we should be talking with them directly about the difficulties they will encounter, which they do need to 'survive', of course, but more than that, they need to come out on 'the other side' of those difficulties as strong, caring educators, with a depth sense of the long-standing significance of their

practice. A battery of techniques goes only so far. In fact, as mentioned it can have over the long term quite narrowing consequences for teachers and their students, in the absence of a compelling philosophy of education. Thus we need undertakings like those Professor Wu has led, like the endeavor I was fortunate to lead, and like those that other colleagues are instituting with teachers in various places around the world.

Z Professor Wu has two additional questions which can be translated as follows. (1) Why does a work like Palmer's have the effect on teachers that it does? The effect is so different than when teachers read traditional academic research papers. (2) Relatedly, is it possible for the academic community of the university, including teacher educators, to learn to recognize and support work like Palmer's? If we truly want to help teachers, it seems we need to learn to write in new, fresh ways, rather than simply speaking down to them or 'at' them with technical knowledge regarding what they should be doing (and it seems so much of this publishing frenzy is forced on scholars so that they can gain tenure, rather than really help teachers and others).

H I think it's true: the educational research community does not, on the whole, write to teachers as if they were persons with a sense of calling, or persons who with the right support could transform their work into a calling. Much of the published literature objectifies teachers—in an almost literal sense—and perceives them as employees or, worse, as mere functionaries in the system whose everyday work should be defined by those who do not do the work and, often, lack an intimate feeling for what the work is and how to do it. I also think it's true that it is hard, at present, to imagine a change in this state of affairs given the power of entrenched academic interests.

At the same time, things aren't quite as hard and fast as that. I don't believe educational research is so monolithic, even if quantitative social science seems to have an exclusive hold on policy-making these days. While the latter engage in their pas-de-deux, there are countless scholars and teachers around the world working very hard on the ground to undertake humanizing research and practice. I see hope in their work, which is hope for teaching as an enduring calling as well.

As for the question of why a book like Palmer's seems to 'speak' so directly to teachers: I would say that he, like other writers who aspire to address teachers, is engaged in a deep ethical rather than epistemic endeavor as such. He respects the knowledge of the teacher, and the value of research that supports teachers in the various subjects taught in schools. He does not downplay the epistemic. But he seems to see teaching as a larger 'whole' than passing along a set of skills and information, valuable as they are.

In the terms of the project I spoke about this morning, there is a concern for persons at play here: the persons teachers and students are and are becoming through their time together. To me, there is a time-honored image of the elder and the youth here—not the elder who 'has' the knowledge and who must 'fill up' the 'empty' youth, but the elder who has seen something of the beauty of life, the truth of life, the magnificent diversity of life, and the love of life itself, and who would

'invite' the youth into a journey of discovery where that youth can encounter beauty, truth, goodness, and the possibility of what it means to love something deeply. The curriculum could become this source, as it does for many teachers—rather than just something 'to get through' so you can pass a test.

So in reading this kind of writing, it seems teachers feel these truths instantly. But they find not just affirmation, important as that is in our difficult times, but also provocation. These books, like Palmer's, also engage teachers in *thinking their work*, in examining themselves and their work. I believe these works approach teachers in a trusting spirit, as we discussed previously: and teachers, like all human beings, tend to respond to expressions of deep, authentic trust. I would say these works address the teacher as a person.

This address is what I have sought to bring to bear in the project I talked about today. I strongly believe that this approach, pivoting around a deep ethical proximity with teachers, merits a place at the research and policy table. If we genuinely wish to help teachers, and to enhance the profession, we need to rethink our relation with teachers and with the practice which they, and they above all, are carrying forward in the world today.

References

Hansen, D. T. (1995). *The call to teach*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Hansen, D. T. (2001). *Exploring the moral heart of teaching: Toward a teacher's creed*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Hansen, D. T. (2004). A poetics of teaching. *Educational Theory, 54,* 119–142.

Hansen, D. T. (2007a). *John Dewey and our Educational Prospect*. New York: SUNY Press.

Hansen, D. T. (2007b). *Ethical visions of education: Philosophies in practice*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Hansen, D. T. (2011). *The teacher and the world: A study of cosmopolitanism as education*. London: Routledge.

Hansen, D. T. (2017). Bearing witness to teaching and teachers. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *49*, 7–23.

Hansen, D. T., Wozniak, J. T., & Diego, A. C. G. (2015). Fusing philosophy and fieldwork in a study of being a person in the world: An interim commentary. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 34*(2), 159–170.

Zhang, H. (2013). *John Dewey and Liang Shuming in China's education reform: Cultivating individuality*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Part II
Challenges and New Trends in Teacher Education

On the Attributes of the Teacher's "Holistic Profession"

Xudong Zhu

Introduction

Two reasons are responsible for the construction of the concept of the teacher's "holistic profession". The first comes from the author's constructing the connotation of "teacher profession"; the second is triggered by the misunderstandings of such profession in reality. In the paper of "On the Construction of Theoretical Model for Teacher Professional Development", the author posited that the connotations of "teacher profession" are comprised of three sub-concepts: "Teaching students to learn", "cultivating students" and "serving" (Zhu 2014, p. 82). In terms of "Teaching students to learn", it covers three questions: How to teach? How to learn? And learn what? These three questions constitute three attributes of teacher profession: attribute of teaching being professional, attribute of learning being professional and attribute of contenting being professional.[1] These three attributes comprise the teacher's "holistic profession", none of which is dispensable. The

[1]In this paper, content can come not only from one subject, but also from more than one subject. Contenting means the process of gaining subject content and reconstruction of the content with in a subject or among subjects.

X. Zhu (✉)
Key Research Institute of Humanities and Social Science in Universities, Ministry of Education, Beijing, People's Republic of China
e-mail: xudongzhu99@sina.com

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2017

X. Zhu et al. (eds.), *Quality of Teacher Education and Learning*,
New Frontiers of Educational Research,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3549-4_4

second connotation of teacher profession is "cultivating students", which covers two questions: One is how to cultivate students; the other is what kind of person we are supposed to cultivate students to be.[2] There are different approaches to cultivate students: by nurturing a good environment, by constructing a culture, or by creating a new classroom. Whether the approach is effective or not is determined through whether the students are really learning. What is more is that, we have to take into consideration what kind of person we would like to cultivate our students to be: the all-round person, the harmonious person, the whole person…. However, the academia do not identify clearly what an all-round person means. From the perspective of the students' learning and development, all-round development can be defined as joint development with five elements: cognitive and emotional development, moral and citizenship development, individuality and sociality development, health and security development, artistic and aesthetic development. These five perspectives of development can only be accomplished through students' learning in a certain atmosphere, culture and classroom activity, as well as through students' exploring subject content or learning content. Therefore, teacher profession is well exemplified in three attributes: learning being professional, teaching being professional and contenting being professional.

The reason why we intend to discuss the teacher's "holistic profession" also originate from our observation of the fact that the reformation of the Chinese teacher education system was obstructed by the traditional conception of teaching profession, in which the dichotomy between "pedagogy-oriented" and "academy-oriented" thinking is saturated (Xu 2005). This either-or thinking style has severely hindered teacher education reform at tertiary level, especially in the normal universities, founded for cultivating middle school teachers, which are organized in logic of the subject content. Besides, in the secondary and primary classrooms, teacher-centered or content-based teaching is still prevailing, while the student-centered teaching is very trivial. Contenting, i.e. the reconstruction of learning content, and teaching based on the understanding of students' learning and development is far to emerge. Further, in the process of enacting regulations and

[2]The current theories under discussion on cultivating the students keep developing, including "Three Dimensional Goals of Curriculum Reform in Basis Education", "Student Core Competencies", and "Subject Core Competencies". However, some concepts should be made clear over the discussion. As we can see, there exists the semantic repetition with the concept of "Student Development Core Competences", while students as the object to be served are absent from the concept of "Subject Core Competencies". We argue that the clear concepts should be "Core Competencies of Students' Development" and "Students' Subject Core Competencies", for example, "Students' Math Core Competencies". But it is still not clear about "student's development". In our mind, the concept of "student's development" can be constructed as follows: cognitive and emotional development, moral and citizenship development, individuality and sociality development, health and security development, arts and aesthesis development. These five dimensions possess core competencies on their own, for example, in term of student's cognitive development, the core competencies contain language, concept formation, knowledge presentation, problem solving, as well as expertise and innovation. What's more, these core competencies are developed in different order and level because of differences in genes, environment and education of individual student.

systems relevant to teacher profession, for example, in the enacting of teacher certification system, "preferring testing without cultivating" can be exemplified as attaching great importance to subject content while neglecting students' learning and development. The trend of the increasing number of non-normal university graduates (i.e. students not graduating from schools or colleges or universities founded for teacher preparation) have rushed to become teachers is not well controlled, which has imposed great pressure on supporting school-based teacher development in secondary and primary schools. Finally, there exists a serious divorce between the subject content or learning content and students' learning and development in the curriculum design and content construction of teacher preparation and training programs, in which the dichotomy thinking can be seen everywhere. Based on what we have discussed above, it is safe to come to a conclusion that the teacher's semi-profession is well-evidenced around China. The proliferation of curriculum, whether the national curriculum, the regional curriculum or the school-based curriculum, especially the increasing amount of the last type, has imposed great pressure on student learning, and meanwhile, the teacher spares no time to explore how the student learn to learn. However, the improvement of students' performance is not always coordinating with the increasing number of the school curriculum. Taking this background into account, we should have more understanding and clear recognition on what teacher profession is meant by, from which we put forward the notion of the teacher's "holistic profession" and its three integrated intrinsic attributes.

Several questions are raised from the previous discussion: What exemplifies the attributes of Chinese teacher's "semi-profession"? What is the connotation of "holistic profession"? The sub-questions related to these two questions are: "What is "profession"? What is "holistic"? What is the value of the teacher's "holistic profession" and what are its characteristics? By answering all these questions, we come up with the idea that the teacher's "holistic profession" which can be an embodiment of an integration of humanism and scientism.

Characteristics of the Teacher's "Semi-profession"

(1) **The evidence of the teacher's "semi-profession"**

Some would think that it is too radical to put forward this argument. But we assume that a majority of teachers working in different educational stages are semi-professionals, ranging from kindergarten to middle school, in particular, to universities. In our respect, those who stand on the platform, only telling what they have known about the subject content by themselves, with negligence of students learning, and/or only designing the subject content for teaching, with negligence of students learning process and the methods taken in the process, are semi-professional. If we take this as a criteria of judging whether a teacher is semi-professional or not, we would be certain that Chinese teachers are remarkably

semi-professional, though they have constructed subject content in a fully logical way. Bearing subject content logic in their mind, they can satisfy students' need of listening and understanding clearly, but cannot meet students' demands of being capable of innovating. Those who are presenting in TV programs, like "Lecture Room" (a CCTV program in China in the form of lectures), can be typically exemplified as semi-professional in nature. Their presentation can be regarded as "show", as they utter what they have known without designing listeners' learning process. Though they can design teaching content as interesting and attracting, they are possibly regarded as "specialists", instead of "teachers". In reference to this, we can safely contend that a scientist, if not connected with education, is only regarded as a scientist; however, if connected with education, especially with classrooms, with students in terms of teaching and learning, he or she is surely involved in the teacher profession. However, how can we make a judgment of whether this teacher scientist is "professional "or "semi-professional"? If a scientist can only talk about his/her research, the students will be just like the listeners in the *Lecture Room*, in which students' learning is not designed and organized, he or she is surely be taken as "semi-professional" (Liu 2001, p. 77), instead of "holistic professional". Here we convincingly contend that a scientist does not be equal to a holistic professional, but only a semi-professional in terms of teacher "holistic profession".

Actually, teachers' being semi-professional prevails in the field of education. The establishment of Art Curriculum Standard can be taken as an example. This standard is designed with the logic of art subject, instead of the logic of students' learning and development. The administrative authorities, while compiling textbooks or curriculum of art education, heavily rely on the specialists in art, such as musicians, artists, and dancing experts. On the contrary, they have little faith in the experts of education. They argue that education experts are not proficient in arts, but the problem is that those musicians and artists are not understanding of students learning and development. Those who only concern about the logic of subject content, while neglecting the logic of pedagogy and psychology are also semi-professional. An artist can be professional in terms of art subject content, but in terms of art education, an artist is likely to be semi-professional. Therefore, without any doubt, we need those holistic professional teachers in the field of education.

We can take "Children Learning and Development Guidelines (3–6)" (abbreviated as 'Guidelines' in the following) as an example. The teacher's "semi-profession" is clearly demonstrated, as soon as we set our eyes on the contents of the "Guidelines" (Li 2014). In these contents, five children learning areas are defined, saying, health, language, society, science and art respectively. All of these are listed in terms of subject content logic without taking the logic of students' learning and development. As far as we are concerned, children's learning in the kindergarten contains four areas, which are living, playing, listening and "working". For the children, the learning happens whenever they are living their lives, playing and having fun, listening and attending the lessons, as well as "working" with some tasks. As for children in the kindergarten, living is in their

first priority. Living itself is not only a means but also a purpose. Just because of this, in the daily routine of a kindergarten, "life in a day" has been taken as a course.[3] More importantly, in the kindergarten, living is a certain approach of learning, during which the kids develop life skills and understand common senses of life. In addition, playing can also be taken as a magnificent manner of learning. Actually, playing is an integral part of children growth and development. Many things are gained in this process, for playing activities, like air, are saturated everywhere in the kindergarten. As for children, playing is learning and children's learning is accessed through playing. Kids in the kindergarten are also in need of listening to learn. Learning to listen can be regarded as a learning skill. What's more, working is also needed for children. In another word, children learn from activities, such as hands-on tasks, labors and so on.

As we have demonstrated, the teacher's "semi-profession" exists, to varying degrees, in different educational stages, from kindergartens to universities. However, such semi-professional teachers cannot make real learning happen in the class, for they do not design for learning to happen. As a teacher, he or she should take students' learning and development as the first working priority and then subject content. Only those who deliver the lessons following contenting, i.e. the reconstruction of content knowledge based on the logic of students learning and development can be esteemed as holistic professionals, otherwise they are only semi-professionals.

(2) **Problems arising from the teacher's "semi-profession"**

Teachers' "semi-profession" can bring a lot of problems. First, teachers turn a blind eye on students as human beings. Actually, teachers, who can be semi-professional in terms of subject content, are able to carry out classroom teaching. This should be an intending situation. However, with negligence of students' learning and development, they can hardly well build up the coherences between subject content and students' learning and development. What's more, in essence, as soon as teachers enact subject content, they should take first priority of students' learning and development as their foothold. But, those teachers, who are semi-professional on subject content, obstinately believe that only by commanding subject content can they come to stage and teach the student. They stick to their argument that there is no need for them to understand how students learn, and what targets they should set for student development. They become the only protagonist in the classroom teaching, without the involvement of student learning. The

[3]Interestingly, there is no any sense of "life in a day" in the "Guidelines". In pre-school education, the popularity of "learning story" indicates teacher's professionalism in learning. Learning science has become a relatively independent discipline, and teachers can only be regarded as professionals only if they have a high command of learning sciences, for teachers are not only guides, instructors, facilitators, but also designers of students' learning. All the children's learning in the classroom cannot be accomplished without the aid from the teacher's design on learning.

teacher's semi-profession is also illustrated by the negligence of students' diversity. Without understanding and concerning student individuality, teachers tend to teach the students with the same content and teaching method, which is simultaneously exemplified semi-professional teaching. Though students are possessed with common characteristics, they, even at the same age, are physically and psychologically different. Take music learning in the field of art education as an example, student learning should be based on an individual student's vocal characteristic, which is the prerequisite of deciding what songs should be selected as learning content. Assumedly, songs to be taught should be chosen according to students physical conditions, to establish the students' artistic and aesthetic abilities, and further accelerate their artistic and aesthetic development. The reality, however, is the other side of the picture. The same song with the same level is taken to all the students and taught to them with the same teaching method. What is worse, this teaching is based on the logic of subject content. Consequently, students in the class who are physically agreeable with the songs chosen managed to sing the song, but those whose physical conditions are not suitable for the song chosen fail to sing it. Still worse, the teacher makes an inappropriate assessment on the student performance simply with the student being able or unable sing the song, which consequently humiliates students' self-respect and their self-confidence. Worst still, the teacher's semi-profession exerts a profound influence on the scientific logic construction of classroom teaching. This can be illustrated in that teachers are capable of design for teaching, but not for learning, even in ignorance of design for students' learning process. If we take it as criteria that teaching that cannot make students learning happen is of semi-profession, teacher's semi-profession is more than serious. In actuality, the number of teachers who are acquainted with the deigning for students' learning is limitedly small. Therefore, a basic judgment can be safely made that no design for students' learning is featuring the teacher's semi-profession.

Connotation Construction of the Teacher's "Holistic Profession"

Based on the introduction of background of teacher's "holistic profession" and the illustration of the teacher's semi-profession, we further need to develop the connotation of the teacher's "holistic profession".

"Zhuanye" in Chinese, as a concept, has been elaborated over and over again in the academic world. There are many interpretations of this concept. In the Chinese language, "Zhuanye" has the possible two counterparts in English as "major" and "profession". Thus, in a university, a student can "major" in a certain subject (also discipline or major) and then receive a certain professional education. After the professional education, the student can hunt for a job and then become a professional, for example, doctor, surgeon, lawyer, or engineer. The teacher is also regarded as a profession. Therefore, a teacher, as a profession, must major in a

certain subject (also discipline or major) and then accept a certain professional education. Clearly, the area the students major in is the subject content students are expected to professionalize in. Obviously, any professional must take two sets of education, one being their majoring, and the other being the professional education. It is the dual attributes of teaching that convince some scholars to take the teacher as a dual profession. However, we contend that such a statement on the duality of teaching may lead to the separation of the majoring education from professional education.[4] Thus, we argue the majoring and professional education should be integrated and merged rather than separated with each other. In reality, the lack of professional education contributes to the overwhelming emphasis on majoring education, and misunderstanding on the concept of profession.

What should be mentioned first here is that the concept of the teacher's "holistic profession" is not out of wonder or inspiration, nor of profound innovation. However, from cognitive psychology, concept formation is a cognitive ability. Now that we have come up with the teacher's "holistic profession", we need to construct the connotation of this concept. Here two sub-questions need to be answered. One is "what is profession"?; The other is "what is holistic?" In terms of profession, scholars contend that it entails the following elements: being educated for a long period of time, acquiring knowledge and capabilities, possessing autonomy, self-regulation, and standard property (Chen et al. 2002, p. 39). Actually, this understanding emphasizes the external conditions and representation of profession, instead of its own attributes. In this article, we argue that profession refers to the essential attributes with which the related profession is to achieve certain kinds of mission. The "holistic" means that the integrality during which the related profession is to achieve certain missions. Accordingly, teacher's "holistic profession" can be defined as the attributes of learning being professional, the attribute of teaching being professional and the attribute of contenting being professional during the process where the teacher accomplish the mission of "teaching students to learn", "cultivating students" and "serving". None of these attributes can be deleted in this concept. Apparently, we intend to construct the connotation of the teacher's "holistic profession" with three attributes: learning being professional, teaching being professional and contenting being professional. We purposefully indicate that teacher profession cannot exist without students' learning and teaching is based on student learning. Meanwhile, teaching being professional and learning being professional cannot exist without contenting being professional, which means the reconstruction of the teaching content, sometimes in a single subject, and sometimes in more than one subject. Learning being professional, teaching being professional and contenting being professional are relatively independent to one another. The teachers' teaching is originally coming with students' learning, but the reality is that the teachers concern themselves more with teaching, but less with the

[4]Some scholars describe teacher education as "university education plus teacher education".

design and deliver for student learning. Thus, in order to highlight student learning, learning being professional, teaching being professional and contenting being professional are defined as the connotation of teacher's "holistic profession". It involves the teacher being professional in learning, teaching and contenting.

As we have argued, the teacher's "holistic profession" contains three basic logics: students' learning logic,[5] teachers' teaching logic and subject matter contenting logic. Only by integrating all of these three logics can we take the teacher as a "holistic profession". Any one of the three being neglected, the teacher can only be regarded as a semi-profession. Currently, the teacher is mostly a semi-profession or quasi-profession, for it is not interpreted as an integration of these three elements. Teaching as quasi-profession concerns the logic of the subject contenting and teachers' teaching, while neglecting the logic of students learning.

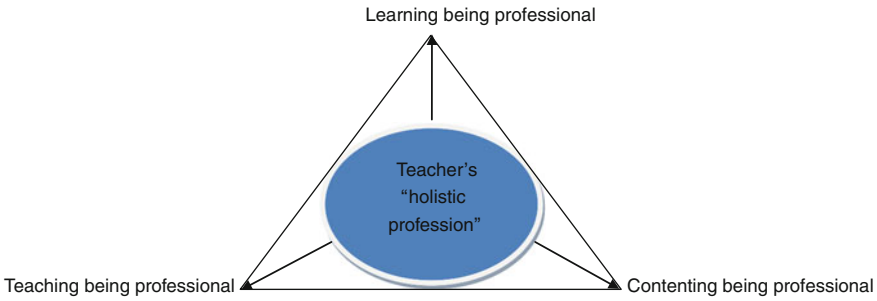
From this perspective, the teacher's "holistic profession" can firstly be illustrated with the attribute of learning being professional. As Shulman (1999) advocated, we should take learning seriously and Hoban (2002) also stated that teacher learning can change their practice, and thus lay a foundation for the educational change. Compared with the above two authors, we argue that such learning is comprised of teacher's learning of the children, of designing for children's learning and of evaluating children's learning. Further, when learning sciences have become an independent discipline, teachers are supposed to have a command of this discipline to be professional in guiding student's learning.[6]

[5]With the radical development of the Internet and information technology, learning has re-conceptualized and this entails a horrible judgment that teachers will be out of employment and learning will be overwhelming regardless of time and space. This judgment also indicates that students' learning has moved beyond traditional learning territory in education. However, we contend that technological inventions and innovations and their applications in learning, life and work have made it possible for us to employ more tools conveniently, but cannot change the nature of learning and teacher's "holistic professionalism". These new technological innovations can satisfy the needs for people to "immediately learn what I want to learn", but cannot meet the demands to create ideas and technologies to "let others know". The knowing-oriented learning on the Internet is full of modeling, copying and plagiarism, instead of innovation. Education, essentially, is to cultivate and nurture learner's innovations and this cultivation needs teacher's "holistic professionalism". Though the Internet has built up a virtual world, it cannot eradicate national boundaries and ethic consciousness in reality. Education, in essence, is to cultivate and nurture ethnic and nation consciousness and therefore is in need of teacher's "holistic professionalism".

[6]We take learning sciences as part of teacher profession, for it has developed beyond the traditional realm of psychology and educational psychology. Learning science has become part of natural sciences and social sciences, within which learning networks and learning communities are emphasized in sociology; learning equality in politics; learning design in information and technology. Learning science has become an independent discipline. Learning should be an integral part of teacher profession and therefore, learning attribute, in our opinion, should be included in teacher profession in terms of teacher's "holistic professionalism". In addition, school principals should base school management on learning sciences, especially in the course of school culture construction.

Secondly, the teacher's "holistic profession" entails the attribute of teaching being professional, including teacher's self-identity construction, teaching design, teaching implementation and teaching evaluation. What should be mentioned here is that teaching being professional is based on the understanding of students' learning. Therefore, teachers are obliged to be prepared and trained in the professional education of learning pedagogy.

Thirdly, the teacher's "holistic profession" also means contenting being professional, the reconstruction of content that students are supposed to learn. It should be admitted that student teachers are supposed to major in a certain subject (which also means discipline or major in universities) before entering teaching staff in middle or primary schools. A mastery of this subject content can be a profession, but it is not teaching profession. If a student who has a command of the subject matter intends to be a teacher, he or she should reconstruct the subject content. That is, a potential teacher should learn to reconstruct contents of textbook. Occasionally, for example, in the comprehensive course, this content reconstruction happens covering several subjects. This reconstruction of content, i.e. contenting, should be a profession, for it builds on understanding of the law of student's learning and development. If not, a teacher can only be regarded as semi-professional. Specifically, a teacher is obliged to design content for learning. Therefore, contenting is an integral attribute of teacher's "holistic profession".



In our perspective, the teacher can only be entitled as a "holistic profession" if it is equipped with the attribute of learning being professional, teaching being professional and contenting being professional. Those who are only professional in subject content or in teaching cannot be regarded as "holistic profession", but only as semi-profession. For example, the graduates from the major of pedagogy who work in kindergarten or primary schools or middle schools are holistic professionals only on the condition that they are professional in contenting, learning and teaching. Based on the discussion above, we can categorize teacher into a holistic profession or a semi-profession. The so-called semi-professional teacher refers to those who implement their teaching only relying on their professional subject content knowledge.

How can we judge whether a teacher is a holistic professional or not? In our mind, there are, at least, three criteria: One is that the teacher can understand the subject essence and ideology and can reconstruct the content according to their understanding. The second is that the teacher can understand children's learning and development, and can design learning process based on their understanding; the third is that the teacher can construct the teaching process independently and can deal with the relation between professional consciousness and professional materials.

According to the above three criteria, a holistic professional teacher can reconstruct content knowledge based on his or her understanding of the subject essence and ideology, design and implement teaching and learning activities based on his or her understanding of children's learning and development, and simultaneously involve his or her professional consciousness and professional material.

The connotation of the teacher's "holistic profession" is founded on trinitarian ontology of "teaching students to learn", "cultivating students" and "serving". Ontologically, "teaching students to learn" means that a teacher must understand how to teach students to learn, how to teach students how to learn, and how to teach students what to learn.

In terms of the above discussion, we are safe to arrive at a conclusion that teachers are learning professionals, teaching professionals and at the same time contenting professionals. Teachers, only integrated with these three professionals, can be of the attribute of "holistic profession".

Values and Characteristics of the Teacher's "Holistic Profession"

The construction of the teacher's "holistic profession" can lay the foundation for our discussion further on its values and characteristics.

(1) **Values of the teacher's "holistic profession"**

The teacher's holistic profession can dissolve the dichotomy thinking of "teacher directing and students' subjectivity" (Wang 1983, p. 70), which has been dominating teaching epistemology for a long period of time. This thinking really helps teachers' teaching to be consolidated, but neglect students' learning. In this dichotomy thinking, teaching and learning are respectively affiliated to two subjects, that is, teacher and student. The logic behind is that learning is the students' responsibility and has nothing to do with teachers. The only connection, if there is any, is the teacher directs the learning process. This is the philosophical and theoretical foundations of the teacher as a semi-profession, because under such understanding, the teacher only needs to fulfill the teaching to realize their professional tasks. On the contrary, the teacher's "holistic profession" merges the dichotomy boundary between teaching and learning. Teachers posit themselves within a fusion system, whose interrelated and interactional elements are "learning

being professional, teaching being professional and contenting being professional". In this sense, teaching and learning are absolutely not contradictory to each other.

The teacher's "holistic profession" is significant in theoretical construction for teacher preparation, teacher induction and teacher training. Traditionally, teaching preparation is made up of liberal arts education, subject education and professional education. From the perspective of the teacher's "holistic profession", teacher preparation, obviously, is comprised of liberal arts education, subject education, learning science education, pedagogical education. These four areas of education help the student teachers to fulfill the role of "teaching students to learn", "cultivating students" and "serving", embodying an integration of learning being professional, teaching being professional and contenting being professional.

In the stage of teacher induction, new teachers should conduct such a professional labor with "non-full workload" under the framework of "holistic profession". Here, we mean that all the new teachers, even though they have had teaching practicum, should also carry out holistic professional learning with "non-full workload" within the mentoring system for their first year at working place. In other word, they need to learn to design and implement learning and teaching and reconstruct subject content. They need to practice "teaching students to learn", "cultivating students" and "serving".

As far as teacher training is concerned, the purpose is to help nurture and mature "holistic profession". As an increasing development of learning being professional, teaching being professional and contenting professional can be guaranteed, teachers are increasingly qualified to "teach students to learn", "cultivate students" and "serve". The purpose of teacher training is to motivate their professional development, which should be exemplified with improvement of teacher's ability to "teach students to learn", "cultivate students" and "serve". The more importance is that learning being professional, teaching being professional and contenting being professional are gradually gaining weight and attention.

Judging from the above statement, we contend that the teacher's "holistic profession" is not embedded and embodied in teacher education in reality, and most of the activities are conducted on assumptions of the teacher's semi-profession. We insist that teacher education should be aimed for the accomplishment of the teacher's "holistic profession", which illustrated from "holistic profession" of teacher preparation institution, "holistic profession" of teacher education curriculum, "holistic profession" of teacher education pedagogy, "holistic profession" of teacher educator, and "holistic profession" of teacher education practice. Besides, such "holistic profession" needs to be enacted on teacher education quality, and teacher education standard. Specifically, the teacher's "holistic profession" is of great significance in reconstructing teacher professional standards. The teacher professional standards should not only be comprised of teacher knowledge, teacher capability, teacher morality and attitudes. It should involve the concept of the teacher's "holistic profession". This profession requires contenting being professional and teaching being professional to be based on students' learning and development. If any of these three is deleted, teacher professional standard is semi-professional standard, instead of holistic professional standard.

The teacher's "holistic profession" means a lot to teacher certification system. This indicates that this system should take all these three attributes into consideration. "Preferring testing without cultivating" only assess the subject content, not assess the cultivation of student learning and teacher teaching. In the area of teacher education, a celebrated thesis is "learn to teach". It indicates that teaching should be learnt. Actually, the teacher is a profession made up of student's learning, teacher's teaching and subject contenting. It requires that the teachers should be cultivated and educated with these three elements. Under such circumstances, national teacher certification system should be redesigned according to teacher's "holistic profession", which covers both the knowledge dimension as well as capability dimension. Hence, the modification of the teacher certification system should also be based on teacher's "holistic profession".

(2) **Characteristics of the teacher's "holistic profession"**

The characteristics of the teacher's "holistic profession" are shown in the logic of development. The concept of development can be featured in its systematic, structured and sustainable, which we can use to help the understanding of the teacher's "holistic profession". "Development means that the structure changes systematically and sustainably in certain period of time" (Lerner 2011, p. 19). Human being is an individual agent with developmental changes. "Developmental change means those systematic, sustainable, and self-adaptive changing within an organic being within a certain period of time." "Developmental progress only takes place as the systematic and sustainable changes take certain forms. In other words, only if the structure of an organism changes in a certain sequence, developmental progress takes place" (Lerner 2011, p. 20). From this perspective, teachers exist not only as organic agents, but also as developmental agents. Their developmental changes are those systemic, sustainable, and self-adaptive changes happening in their professional career. The structure of teachers as organic beings is illustrating its developmental progress with the orderly change in the professional field.

In terms of teacher professional development, "holistic profession" is also a developmental process. That is, a holistic professional teacher develops with the maturing of subject content and contenting and of understanding of students' learning and development. According to the concept of development mentioned above, teacher's "holistic profession" entails three features: being systematic, being sustainable, and being structured. Such features are shown in the subject content and students' learning and development.

Teacher's subject content, especially the textbook content, is systematic, structured and sustainable. Systematic is embodied by the systematic construction of knowledge in textbook, structured by structural construction of the textbook knowledge, and sustainable by the coherent reconstruction of textbook knowledge and textbook structure.

Teacher's understanding of students' learning and development also has three characteristics: systematic, structured, and sustainable. Holistic professional teachers' understanding of students learning and development evolves

systematically and structured from the beginning. With further and deeper understanding of student's learning and development, they tend to combine scientism and humanism together.

The teacher's "holistic profession" is obsessed with different characteristics in different educational stages. In kindergarten, the teacher's "holistic profession" entails students' leaning and development more than contenting, that is, the reconstruction of subject content. Though kindergarten teachers should be equipped with knowledge and abilities in five fields, they should equally have the literacy like knowing about children, understanding children, studying children and respecting children. The literacy is urgently needed in preschool education. Therefore, kindergarten teachers should understand contents and law of children development and, based on this, get to realize that the children learn not only by listening, but also by living, playing, and practicing. In primary school, it is more important for the teachers, especially the teachers at lower-grades, to create learning environment than contenting, that is, reconstruction of subject content. Besides, the students at lower grades develop a variety of learning abilities, while those at upper grades pay more attention to subject content. "With the subjects in their minds, teachers can realize the importance of knowledge, but with the students in their hearts, they can feel the whole world" (Li and Fang 2015). Middle school teacher's "holistic profession" lays more importance on subject content, but they also need to know how to help the students to develop the higher cognitive abilities like concepts formation, knowledge representation, and how to understand, design and implement learning process.

Concluding Remarks

From the above discussion, we arrive at a basic conclusion that the teacher's "holistic profession" contains the attributes of learning being professional, teaching being professional and contenting being professional. Only on the condition that all the three attributes are attained can we say that teaching is holistically professional. However, in reality, the teacher's semi-profession still prevails, thus exerting serious influence on students' learning quality. Just because of this, we need to theoretically reconstruct the connotation of teacher profession and its attributes. With this intention, we come up with a concept of the teacher's "holistic profession". In terms of relations between teacher's "holistic profession" and student's development, we contend that we should reconstruct subject knowledge based on the understanding of students' development and learning. With this, we make clear of children development goals, contents, process, approaches, and evaluations. Furthermore, we need to know that development can never take place without students' learning.

What's more, the teacher's "holistic profession" can justify teacher professional development. What is teacher professional development? In our mind, the improvement of abilities to reconstruct subject content according to students'

development and learning can be ingeniously taken as teacher professional development. Those who are able to reconstruct subject content or understand students' learning and development are only semi-professional, instead of holistic professional development. Additionally, we can infer that teacher professional development can be entailed in the improvement of subject contenting being professional but also in understanding of students' development and learning, learning being professional, teaching being professional. We can even assess that teachers' professional development means more than the improvement in subject content, but the improvement in understanding the students' development, as well as the improvement of professional level in learning, and in teaching. The improvement of teachers' subject content and teaching is obvious, but not in the area of student development and the teacher learning, which need more of our concern.

We also strongly argue that the teacher's "holistic profession" is founded on the integration of scientism and humanism (Zhou 2012). In essence, it is a philosophy about human. If teachers of "holistic profession" stand in front of us, it is easy for us to see that they are an embodiment of scientism, which attaches great importance to the logic of scientific knowledge, and of humanism, which put emphasis on human logic based on traditional humanism. The teacher's "holistic profession" insists that teachers should be the integration of scientific spirit with humanistic spirit. Teachers, if they are incomplete in either of them, are not well-developed. Indeed, scientism emphasizes reason, knowledge and subject knowledge, subject essence, but teachers, if only equipped with these, will turn a blind eye to human beings, neglecting students. That is, teachers with subject logic and subject essence can only be called semi-professionals.

Teacher's humanism, with its ontological significance, suggests that being able to know about children, respect children, understanding children and care about children is of a disposition. This disposition is embodied in the construction of disciplinary essence and disciplinary logic. Hence, we argue that a holistic professional teacher is an integration which demonstrates scientism with humanism. As the teacher's "holistic profession" indicates, teacher's scientism only combined with teacher's humanism, can illustrate the significance of existence. The students can understand and master, even, apply and innovate the disciplinary logic and essence only when the holistic professional teachers truly understand the essence of student learning and development. These are the areas requiring further research and discussion.

Notes: The attributes of the teacher's "holistic profession" are made up of teaching being professional, learning being professional, and contenting being professional. We think that teaching professional can be abbreviated as teaching profession, learning being professional learning profession and contenting being professional contenting profession.

References

Chen, Q., Pang, L. J., & Xu, X. H. (2002). On teacher professionalism. *Theory and Practice of Education, 22*(1), 38–42.

Hoban, G. F. (2002). *Teacher learning for educational change-an systems thinking approach*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Lerner, M. R. (2011). *Concepts and theories of human development* (pp. 19–20). Zhang, W. X. Beijing: Beijing University Press.

Li, K., & Fang, T. (2015, April 29). Reform for children's core competencies. *Chinese Teacher's Newspaper, 2*.

Li, J. M. (2014). *Responses on the implementation of "Children Learning and Development Guidelines (3-6)"*. Beijing: Beijing Normal University.

Liu, J. (2001). Teachers' professionalization and reform of Chinese normal education. *Journal of Tianjin Normal University, 2,* 75–80.

Shulman, L. S. (1999). Taking learning seriously. *Change, 31*(4), 11–17.

Wang, C. S. (1983). On "Teacher Directing and Student Subjectivity". *Journal of Beijing Normal University (Social Sciences), 6,* 70–76.

Xu, L. Q. (2005). Debates between professional character and academic character-on the professional character of teacher education in comprehensive universities. *Teacher Education Research, 18*(1), 7–11.

Zhou, C. H. (2012). The transition of international teacher education paradigm and its philosophical foundations. *Studies in Foreign Education, 35*(12), 1–6.

Zhu, X. D. (2014). On the construction of theoretical model for teacher professional development. *Educational Research, 35*(6), 81–89.

Quality in Teacher Education: Challenging Assumptions, Building Understanding Through Foundation Principles

John Loughran

Background

Quality is a term that has been used in many ways in the educational literature. The notion of quality has been used to support arguments for the implementation of such things as: standards; competencies; and, accreditation and registration requirements. However, when quality is used as a proxy for such things as compliance or accountability, then attempts to measure, rank and standardize tend to confuse the debate about quality, where it resides and how it might genuinely be recognized. Even the most superficial glance of the literature illustrates that teacher education has continually been buffeted by such debate and that progress in better clarifying—and valuing—the work of teacher education has been slow and painful.

Greene (1988) lamented the 'new wave' of educational reform supposedly designed to improve the quality of teaching and teacher education which she interpreted as measuring, testing and comparing against predefined properties, thus suggesting that 'the idea of quality entails doing better at what we thought we were doing all the time' (p. 237). She was more concerned to conceptualize quality as something that should be linked to thinking, particularly that which catalysed closer examination of the lived experience. Drawing on the work of Dewey she was interested in pursuing how teacher education could help prospective teachers move beyond the everyday, 'it is essential to move teachers-to-be to risk interruptions of ordinary and habitual behaviour at certain moments, to "think [about] what they are doing" … at a time so heavy with kitsch and hollow proclamation, so dominated by technical rationality … [it is important] to keep the questions alive, questions that can "slice" through the taken-for-granted and disclose new possibilities for thought and action. Such an approach to quality may appeal to those who feel themselves submerged in everydayness and banality …' (p. 240).

J. Loughran (✉)
Monash University, Melbourne, Australia
e-mail: John.Loughran@monash.edu

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2017

X. Zhu et al. (eds.), *Quality of Teacher Education and Learning*,
New Frontiers of Educational Research,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3549-4_5

Greene's response to questioning the nature of quality in teacher education echoes a recurring theme in the literature; one which is remarkably common across nations and time periods. In many ways, understanding issues around 'the quality debate' depend on making sense of where the argument is coming from or, put another way, the contextual perspective driving the espoused view.

> [In relation to the] issue of quality in teacher education … there are really two very different contextual arenas—one which is essentially political in nature, and the other which is more academic in nature. The former is important because it reflects external influences—and often limitations and obstacles. It is the real world and we would be naive to ignore it. On the other hand, in an academic context, we can systematically examine what we know about learning and teaching and the practices that follow logically from this knowledge. This is the context that holds the greatest potential for increasing quality in teacher education (Kealy 1995, pp. 47–48).

Understanding the 'arena' is important but so too is the very nature of the work itself for, as Gallagher et al. (2011) noted, teacher education is a complex and challenging landscape that involves:

> curriculum, pedagogy and research … [and teacher educators] are expected to attend to, and experiment with, clinical aspects of practice in order to develop into skilled practitioners … [and] to pursue rigorous programs of research (Gallagher et al. 2011, p. 880)

Within the academy, and sadly even within Faculties/Schools of Education, teacher education tends to suffer from superficial understandings of the nature of its work. Unfortunately, that has led many (from inside and outside the profession) to propose simple solutions to complex problems. For example, the 'rucksack philosophy' of teacher education, often espoused by politicians, education bureaucrats and school principals, commonly assumes that:

> (1) ITE [Initial Teacher Education] is able to equip (prospective) teachers with most/all competencies that seem to be necessary for them to enable them to fulfil the many tasks of the teaching profession throughout a professional career; (2) that during (a sometimes relatively short period of) ITE (prospective) teachers are able to acquire all the knowledge structures and attitudes that seem to be necessary for permanent professional learning and development; [all within a working environment where] (3) coherent measures for an induction into the professional cultures of school, are not taken; [and in which] (4) INSET, as well as further education, might happen on a voluntary basis (Buchberger and Byrne 1995, p. 14).

Thus, on the one hand, that which happens in school is expected to inform and shape teacher education programs in order to best prepare students of teaching for their first year of fulltime teaching. On the other hand, there is an expectation that teacher education programs should produce beginning teachers prepared and capable of challenging the status-quo of schooling with little ongoing development or support. In short, teacher education is sometimes positioned as the vehicle for 'curing the ills' of the schooling system.

One response to such conflicting expectations is to consider the importance of supporting the professionalization, as opposed to accepting the socialisation, of prospective teachers (Zeichner and Gore 1990). However, in and of itself that is no

simple task for as is readily apparent across nations, teacher education is often saddled with unreasonable expectations. Managing such conflicting demands inevitably creates challenges that are not so obvious from the outside yet are exceptionally difficult to navigate from the inside.

In an extensive study of curriculum reform and professional development in China, Zhu (2010) aptly captured the dilemma faced by teacher educators in responding to such contradictory expectations. He noted that curriculum reform in the schooling system did not necessarily translate into curriculum development in teacher education programs and that a disjunct between both meant that teacher education could easily appear to be distanced from the demands, expectations and requirements of teachers and their needs in relation to changes in school curricula. As a consequence, the simplistic view that changing the school curriculum would be supported by changes in the teacher education curriculum was clearly found to be erroneous. More so, he concluded that, a market orientation for 'services' in teacher education led to a loss of 'the values cherished by traditionalists, such as teaching and nurturing and modelling the integrity of morality and scholarship [and did not] satisfy the innovative values advocated by futurists, like facilitating holistic development and cultivating lifelong learning competence' (p. 388).

In many ways, as painful and difficult as the situation might appear, it is not new. Teacher education has long suffered as a consequence of the never-ending quality debate. Long ago Brickman (1956) noted that it is 'of supreme importance to consider the role played by quality in teacher preparation' (p. 246). Back then he lamented the ever present debate around what was needed to produce good teachers with a 'clear understanding of the learner [and] the learning process' (p. 250).

It is not difficult to see then, that for the quality debate to make a real difference for teacher education, a focus on teaching *and* learning about teaching must be at the heart of the endeavour. In paying more attention to the learner and the learning process, by making that explicit and clear, the nature of quality in teacher education might finally be conceptualized in ways that are more germane to the work at hand. What teacher educators know and are able to do, the skills, knowledge and abilities that make a difference in supporting student learning, have for too long simply been ignored. Understanding what quality in teaching and learning about teaching looks like, and how it might be captured and portrayed is then important in creating a more informed debate about quality in teacher education.

This chapter explores teaching *and* learning about teaching through the lens of foundation principles for teacher education; principles that are able to be explicated, enacted and valued in developing teacher education programs of quality. Foundation principles should be such that they are evident first of all in the learning about teaching students of teaching experience in their teacher education program, then ultimately in how those experiences translate into *their* practice in *their* classrooms with *their* students. What follows is an attempt to outline some foundation principles that play a role in shaping quality in teacher education by paying heed to the importance of learning.

Foundation Principles

Teacher Educators Are Learners

It seems self-evident that quality in teacher education must be based on the work of quality teacher educators. However, such a statement is not quite as simple in practice as it is in text because, as has been well documented in the literature (Boyd and Harris 2011; Dinkleman et al. 2006; Guilfoyle et al. 1995), the transition from school teacher to teacher educator is demanding. Furthermore, issues created through the transition from schoolteacher to teacher educator tend to be something for the individual to manage rather than a situation that is formally addressed by, or supported in, the institution per se (Loughran 2014).

In their research into the transition into becoming a teacher educator, Murray and Male (2005) suggested that it can take up to 3 years for beginning teacher educators to establish their sense of identity, not least because of the shift in thinking, skills, knowledge and understanding required to move from 'first order teaching' to 'second order teaching' (p. 126). When challenged by the shift from first order to second order teaching, Brandenburg (2008) found herself confronted by unanticipated expectations about teaching because she 'was required to be more than a classroom teacher … [but] was not quite sure what the *more* meant' (p. 5). Martinez (2008) suggested that the shift from teacher to teacher educator involved six specific challenges. Her explication of those challenges helps to illustrate why Brandenburg initially struggled to know what *more* really meant.

It is not difficult to see why Martinez's six specific challenges might be confronting when viewed from the perspective of an experienced and successful teacher moving from the top of one profession to the beginning of another. Martinez outlined the challenges as involving:

(1) Teaching new students—teaching adults not children. This shift requires new teaching approaches and procedures in concert with changes in approaches to interpersonal communication.
(2) Autonomy—the professional freedom and independence associated with teaching in a tertiary setting. However, such autonomy may also be 'accompanied by anxiety and uncertainty, as along with the independence and freedom from surveillance is a new set of responsibilities for self-management … [creating, for some, a] general lack of confidence on the part of new teacher educators' (p. 39).
(3) Institutional structures and size—the move into a new institution with a different organisational system, structures and processes is demanding and can lead to a sense of isolation.
(4) Work environment and technology—work and the nature of changes to approaches to teaching through on-line platforms can be confronting.
(5) The modelling imperative—'Perhaps the most challenging of all the transitional demands on new teacher educators, and the one that most clearly marks them out from other disciplines, is to model and practise the knowledge base they teach.

"Practising what they preach" requires sophisticated levels of meta-cognition, as teacher educators must be able to "do" and to provide the running commentary of justification and explanation for their teaching practices' (p. 42).

(6) Research and promotion culture—becoming a researcher is a new and often demanding aspect of work that can appear to be in competition with teaching as research is often valorised to the detriment of quality in teaching. Similarly, promotion is dominated by research outputs which challenges further the standing of teaching as a valued high quality outcome.

These challenges, in part, help to explain that which the literature continually illustrates—that the transition from school teacher to teacher educator is enmeshed in an identity shift that is often experienced as stressful because of the 'need to establish [a] new professional identity as [a] teacher educator and to develop new areas of expertise' (Swennen and van der Klink 2009, p. 93). Therefore, the notion of becoming—the development of an identity—shapes as a crucial aspect of understanding a personal component of quality in teacher education because:

> Becoming a teacher educator thus highlight[s] the complexities of this passage and the often unacknowledged difficulties involved [in the] … professional 'transition' [it is] a transitional shift in role identification, institutional context, frames of understanding and knowledge, support and development … [as well as the] challenges of practice, modelling and advocacy (Davey 2013, pp. 58–59).

If teacher educators are to be the change agents essential to enhancing the enterprise of schooling (Darling-Hammond 2000), then supporting them in the transition to the world of academia is crucial. Clearly, if beginning teacher educators struggle to understand what it means to grow beyond being a good teacher and why that might matter, or where to seek mentoring and support in a system that institutionally tends to lack leadership in so doing, then building a career as a teacher educator will be difficult. Institutionally there needs to be an acknowledgement of, and support in responding to, the implicit and explicit expectations teacher educators face in learning what it means to be a quality teacher educator. Although some beginning teacher educators learn how to respond to these expectations by themselves (Bullock and Ritter 2011), it is not good enough to leave it to individuals to work it out alone. If quality in teacher education counts, then creating conditions that will be conducive to teacher educators' professional learning is crucial. That means they need to know more than the *how* of practice, they need to actively develop their knowledge of *why*.

Articulating Pedagogical Purpose Matters

> Purposeful teaching is the use of appropriate methods designed to encourage learning for understanding. For this to be the case, teaching procedures need to be carefully selected because they support and encourage learning of the content/concepts under consideration in a meaningful way. It is therefore clear that teacher educators need to carry and display this

> sense of purpose as they consider and construct their teaching about teaching experiences. Teacher educators need to ensure that the purpose in their teaching is clear and explicit for themselves and their students and to encourage questioning about purpose to be common place in teaching and learning about teaching (Loughran 2006, p. 91).

If learning about teaching is to move beyond technical rationality (Schön 1987) then it is crucial that that which underpins the pedagogical experiences that teacher educators and students of teaching share is open to scrutiny. It seems reasonable to suggest that for students of teaching to see teaching as much more than doing, they need to be given opportunities to see into their teacher educators' practice and, that in so doing, they may then become more informed about their own learning about practice.

Seeing into teacher educators' practice is made possible through 'think aloud' approaches to teaching about teaching. Berry (2004, 2007) successfully shared her pedagogical reasoning with her students of teaching and illustrated how important it can be for them to delve into the underpinnings of practice from their shared experiences of learning about teaching. She noted how well it supported 'the capacity and motivation of students to take responsibility for making their own meaning and progress in learning about teaching' (Berry 2007, p. 163).

Understanding the importance of pedagogical reasoning is one way of developing knowledge of practice that goes beyond a 'tips and tricks' approach to teaching. Although developing a broad range of teaching procedures is advantageous for students of teaching in increasing the choices they might have in relation to activities to use with their students, being able to make informed decisions about why a teaching procedure might be used and understanding how it influences learning hints at a knowledge of practice and a level of professionalism that goes well beyond a tips and tricks approach to "doing teaching".

Simply using a teaching procedure to encourage student thinking is not the same as implementing a teaching procedure for a particular reason, tied to the context and content central to the learning agenda. For students of teaching immersed in learning about teaching, such a distinction may at first appear opaque, but the subtlety matters as it goes to the heart of the importance of pedagogical purpose and the place of pedagogical reasoning. Just as sometimes fun can be confused with engagement in relation to classroom learning, so too thinking can superficially mask understanding when considered in pedagogical terms. For example, Bereiter (2002) discussed at great length the importance of thinking but drew a distinction between thinking as an activity in education and genuine engagement in learning. In so doing, he touched on an important aspect of the relationship between teaching and learning and highlighted how pedagogical purpose is crucial to supporting students in learning for understanding. He went so far as to state that in terms of education, 'a simple rule should suffice: If the only justification for an activity is that it is supposed to encourage or improve thinking, drop it and replace it with an activity that advances students' understanding or that increases their mastery of a useful tool' (p. 381).

Pedagogical purpose—making reasoned choices about what to do, how and why—is central to quality learning about teaching and matters in helping students of teaching come to recognize the difference between purposeful practice and the delivery of information and/or the illusion of learning. The following anecdote illustrates how easy it can be for students of teaching to be satisfied with their teaching rather than focusing on the learning. Understanding and valuing pedagogical purpose is one way of helping to make the shift in focus from teaching to learning tangible in practice.

What you hear in silence

This was the first time I taught this particular year 10 class. The topic was melody writing and I was more than prepared for the lesson with every word scripted and carefully emblazoned on the pages in front of me in my lesson plan.

"O.K., melody writing is a fairly simple concept." I started, "As long as you follow the seven rules."

"Rule number one is …" and so I started blurting out the rules as the class frantically raced to write them down in their note books.

"And rule number seven, are you with me now James?" my confidence growing with every word as I pushed them to keep up, "You must always end on the tonic."

It was as easy as that!

I knew that now all they had to do was follow the rules and they would all be melody writers extraordinaire.

"And for homework tonight I want you to follow those rules and write your own melody. Any questions?" I asked as I scanned the room quite pleased with my delivery.

The silence beckoned so I asked again, "O.K., quite simple really. Any questions?"

Not a sound.

"Great, they all understand." I said to myself in a congratulatory tone.

The bell sounded right on cue and as the students filed out of the room I started to pack up my things to follow them out.

I was pleased with today's lesson and was quietly rewarding myself on a job well done as I strode to the door.

"Did you understand any of that?" Ben asked Jeff as they spilled out into the corridor.

"Nup, not one bit." Jeff said.

"Me either." (Loughran 2006, p. 130)

This anecdote supports a crucial aspect of reflective practice—problem recognition (and acceptance of the problem)—which is critical to learning from practice. When students of teaching are supported in learning from their practice through reflection and inquiry, real gains in understanding the nature of teaching are possible.

Student Teachers as Researchers

Arguments around the much maligned theory-practice gap abound across the professions (see for example, Allmark 1995; Gao and Rhinehart 2004; Pilecki and McKay 2013; Reed 2009) and have attracted similar attention in both teaching and teacher education (Korthagen 2010; Korthagen and Kessels 1999). The idea that schools, or the swampy lowlands as Schön (1983) described the world of practice, and that of universities as ivory towers in which theory abounds, has long created an impression that there is a great deal of distance between the two worlds; hence the notion of the divide commonly known as the theory-practice gap. Clearly, one way of bridging the gap is for researchers to be involved in practice and practitioners to be involved in research; a situation that would be beneficial in the defining experiences of a beginning professional.

Although the idea of student teachers as researchers of teaching at first blush sounds unremarkable, the reality is that there is very little in the literature to suggest that the idea has had much traction in teacher education programs—or at least reported as such. Cochran-Smith's (1991) work around program START (Student Teachers as Researching Teachers) stands out as a formalised approach to a student teacher as researcher stance and offers a concrete way of helping students of teaching purposely bridge the theory-practice gap. Cochran-Smith noted that Project START was designed to: 'Prepare student teachers who know how to learn from teaching by inquiring collaboratively into their own practices and who help build cultures of teaching that support ongoing professional growth and reform' (p. 106). Through Project START the intention was that students of teaching would complete assignments and tasks that focussed on helping them put theory into practice and, in so doing, bridge the gap that is so frequently decried as creating barriers to meaningful teacher professional learning.

There are many valuable outcomes possible through genuinely adopting a student teacher as researcher stance in teacher education. One in particular, drawn from the notion in reflective practice of framing and reframing (Schön 1983, 1987), is the encouragement to see experiences from different perspectives. In so doing, understanding complex situations in practice can emerge as students of teaching learn to be more open to the notion of teaching as being problematic—and how to be more informed in responding.

A student teacher as researcher stance is suggested through the notion of effective reflective practice (Loughran 2002). One example of the learnings of students of teaching is evident through an analysis of their reflection on their practicum experience (see Table 1) which offers insight into how students of teaching develop *their* new knowledge of practice which is a crucial outcome of research.

Many teacher education programs have what, on the surface, may appear to be structured assignments designed to encourage students of teaching to research teaching. However, more often than not, they become routinized tasks or assessment activities through which the value of researching practice is diminished by the need to complete the assignment and "move on" in the program, or suffer from the

Table 1 Students of teaching assertions about practice

Statements about teaching and learning drawn from student teachers' reflection on practice following a school practicum experience
The medium of instruction influences the success (or failure) of the lesson The students have a management script, you have to de-program before you re-program
Sometimes you teach in ways you don't like because it helps you cope
Teaching in a way that works isn't always a way that you'd like to be teaching
Too much enthusiasm (student and teacher) may be lead to other problems
Students and teachers can have different ideas of what is fun and exciting
Students have more control over what works in the classroom than the teacher
Students have to make connections between their school work and their existing knowledge for the tasks to be meaningful
Clear expectations and guidelines are important for students to know how to act/learn
The success of teaching strategies is dependent on students' skills - they may or may not have these skills

Source Loughran (2002, p. 39)

perception that assessment is not explicitly tied to learning—and hence is just another task to be completed. Kinchloe (2003) was concerned about this issue and stated that teacher research should be:

> … a central point of the conversation about good teaching … a more textured reflection of one's teaching involves a teacher's self-understanding of his or her practices, especially the ambiguities, contradictions and tensions implicit in them. … This is the basis of education change … Teacher education which neglects these aspects of teacher research misses the point … teacher education … by necessity must view teachers as self-directed agents, sophisticated thinkers, active researchers in a never-static, ambiguous context … A recurrent theme here is teacher education's history of ineffective incorporation of research into professional education programs (Kinchloe 2003, pp. 39–40).

As a very experienced teacher educator, Tom Russell, over a number of years, has illustrated how, by positioning learning at the centre of the student teaching experience, the value of being a researcher of practice dramatically changes what learning about teaching can mean. Russell has supported a number of his students of teaching in their research (see for example, Featherstone et al. 1997; Olmstead 2007; Russell and Bullock 1999; Smith 1997) and at the heart of his endeavour has been a concern to help them recognize and develop the authority of their experience (Munby and Russell 1994). In so doing he has purposely sought to develop their voice so that they might take confidence from their learning and apply it in their practice. In many ways, his approach has fostered a research-led development of the

pedagogy of some of his students of teaching and has highlighted the importance of students of teaching researching their experiences of learning to teach and applying that learning in their practice; thus more than adequately responding to the perceptions surrounding the theory-practice gap. Russell argued that:

> Many teacher education programs begin and end in the university classroom, with teaching practice in several settings sprinkled throughout. This could be characterized as a model in which 'theories, maxims and rules of thumb' are learned at university and then 'put into practice' in a school classroom … the initial preparation of teachers will only improve as we show new teachers how to develop a personal sense of voice and authority and then support them by listening to their voices (Russell et al. 1997, pp. 2–3).

One particular aspect of Russell's work was to challenge the status-quo of teacher education by endeavouring to create the possibility for students of teaching to experience extended school teaching very early in their program and thus avoid the typical "front loading" of preparation for teaching that, structurally, most teacher education programs tend to be organised around. Russell suggested that through early extended school experience, students of teaching could formulate their own questions about that which they needed to learn about in relation to their own teaching, thus changing the dynamic of teacher education from the outset and empowering learning about teaching.

His work was based, in part, on a response to 'ten significant points of debate that mark[ed] teacher education in the late 1990s' (Russell 1998, p. 52), and which it seems fair to suggest, persist to this day. One of these points in particular was that of 'theory versus practice' in which he illustrated that 'experience-free "teaching" of theory has gone hand in hand with our determination to "tell new teachers everything we know" … theory first has not transformed our schools and experience first will not compel new teachers to repeat past "mistakes"' (p. 53). Russell's approach is a strong example of how embedding student teacher as researcher within a program might work and some of the assumptions that need to be challenged in empowering students of teaching to adopt a meaningful research stance in their learning about teaching.

Understanding Teaching as a Discipline

> Our views of teaching over the past several decades have evolved from an emphasis on teacher characteristics to a focus on teachers' behavior to more recent cognitive views of teachers as decision-makers and reflective practitioners. Teacher education has responded to this final turn towards the cognitive by shifting its focus from skills to knowledge and reflection. While clearly both of these are essential to the work of teaching, we want to argue that teacher education should move away from a curriculum focused on what teachers need to know to a curriculum organized around core practices, in which knowledge, skill, and professional identity are developed in the process of learning to practice (Grossman et al. 2009, pp. 273–274).

Moving beyond simplistic views of "telling as teaching" and "listening as learning" has been an issue that has plagued education for a considerable period of time. Dewey (1938) was critical of education when conceived largely as the delivery of facts and information, Freire (1972) also explained the folly of such thinking through his description of the banking model which illustrated how such an approach created passive recipients waiting patiently for their deposits of information. Barnes (1976) described such practice as comprising a transmissive approach to teaching which undermined the value of teacher-student discourse which is so crucial to meaningful learning.

Although thorough and extensive arguments have been made to highlight the importance of understanding and conceptualizing teaching as so much more than the delivery of information, and despite constructivist views (Gunstone 2000) of learning being deeply ingrained in the language and practice of education, it seems that when arguments about quality in education arise, the standard response is to reassert the primacy of an approach that has been soundly critiqued as naïve and simplistic.

Teaching needs to be understood both theoretically and practically and one way of understanding that is to consider teaching as a discipline rather than as a way of delivering the "knowledge of a discipline". It stands to reason that if teaching is problematic it must therefore be complex work. Following on from that, teaching about teaching must then be even more complex as it demands highly skilled professionals capable of putting the sophisticated knowledge of teaching into practice in ways that enhance learning about teaching by students of teaching. Mason (2009) described such practice as disciplined enquiry and noted how that inevitably impacts and shapes the work of teacher education:

> I hold that someone who is not themselves learning in a situation cannot be teaching as effectively as possible. For teachers, this means increasing sensitivity to notice not only salient features of the subject discipline's process of enquiry and validation, but also salient features of the learning process and of the choices made when preparing for and interacting with learners. For teacher educators this means increasing sensitivity to notice not only as a teacher, but at an even more complex level of teacher awareness (p. 220).

Understanding teaching as a discipline offers insights into what it means to develop quality in teacher education. Bullock (2009) was of the view that 'The discipline of teaching is grounded in careful and systematic examination of one's own practice … [and that] understanding teaching as a discipline rests squarely on the shoulders of teacher educators' (p. 293). Crucial aspects of his exploration of teaching as a discipline are driven by attention to the implications of the problematic nature of practice and how expertise is derived of the ability to manage and respond to the problematic in informed, thoughtful and pedagogically appropriate ways. Such responses become articulable and useful for others (particularly students of teaching) when made explicit as a consequence of pursuing teaching as more than doing. Hence, Boyer's (1990) reconsideration of the notion of scholarship offers ways of thinking about what it really means to develop knowledge *of*, *for* and *in*, teaching. In so doing, the technical-rational cannot be an end point unto

itself as a way of conceptualizing teaching, rather acknowledging that knowledge informs practice and practice informs knowledge building is crucial—and that is the substantive work of a discipline.

If teaching is understood as scholarship, then quality in teacher education is dependent on scholars of teaching whose "content" is teaching and whose knowledge, skills and ability are derived of expertise in the teaching and learning of their discipline: teaching.

Quality Learning Requires Learner Consent

> Teachers are frequently disappointed by the lack of student response to what ought to be richly stimulating activities and experiences … Teachers work hard to provide engaging learning sequences designed to challenge young minds and make them think skilfully … It is frustrating for teachers when the level of student response to carefully organised instructional materials is underwhelming compared with the time and effort invested in their preparation. To the beginning teacher, this is a hard lesson to learn (Hattie and Yates 2014, pp. 3–4).

Just as teachers in schools may struggle at times to engage their students in learning, so too the same occurs in teacher education classrooms. Despite their best efforts, teachers can find themselves confronted by a situation in which they may feel as though they did the teaching but the students didn't do the learning. Unfortunately, such a feeling is too often predicated on an assumption that delivering the curriculum equates to teaching. Ironically, too heavy a focus on teaching (or how it is enacted in practice) can overshadow the importance of learning and so inadvertently place teaching and learning in opposition rather than in a symbiotic relationship. However, recognizing and responding to that situation is not as easy as it might initially appear. As those involved in self-study research continually note, when teaching, the view from the teacher's side of the desk does not always accord with that of their students (see for example, Aubusson and Schuck 2006); it is what Whitehead (1993) described as being a living contradiction.

Jeff Northfield was a teacher educator who actively sought to address the "personal blind spots" that allow being a living contradiction to prosper in our practice. In actively seeking to better align his teaching intents with his students' learning outcomes; he consistently demonstrated his scholarship as a teacher educator. His extensive efforts to learn from his own practice developed his knowledge and practice in teaching and teacher education that highlighted the value of a serious focus on learning.

Northfield was well aware of how shifts in demands and expectations of students of teaching in their learning about teaching created ongoing challenges for his pedagogy and so advocated a greater focus on the learner than the curriculum (Northfield and Gunstone 1997). To foster that focus, he encouraged his students of teaching to work closely with their peers in order to purposefully draw on their

shared experiences of teaching and learning and to use those as a site for inquiry, knowledge development and reflection on practice.

Northfield's work is a reminder that it is not possible to mandate learning. Teachers can deliver the curriculum, students can be kept busy, classroom activities may be fun, interesting or even engaging (and being able to differentiate between each is important), but it is not possible "make" students learn. Students need to be invited to learning. They need to experience an environment in which the conditions for learning are actively created and continuously supported pedagogically. In such an environment, teaching and learning are in a powerful reciprocal relationship, pedagogy in the true sense of the word is what is being developed and supported, and learning is consensual. Under such circumstances it becomes clear and obvious that quality learning requires learner consent. If the notion of *quality learning requires learner consent* is used as a guiding principle for teacher education practices then it offers a mirror for viewing the pedagogical experiences being created and as a consequence, can inform practice in new, different and significant ways.

Conclusion

Great expectations are placed on teacher education programs to develop beginning teachers who are ready, able and capable of managing the demands of classroom teaching from day one of their appointment—and to do so with a high level of competency. The translation of learning about teaching into skilled classroom practice requires much more than baseline competencies. Teaching is a profession that requires genuine professional learning and development within the context of the teaching and learning environment in which the teacher operates at the time; context is important.

If beginning teachers are to be able to manage the demands of their work, they need ways of looking into their practice in order to make decisions about what they need to develop, how and why. I suggest that is more likely than not if they have learnt about teaching based on guiding principles derived of quality in teaching and learning. Therefore, teacher education is both a source and possible solution, and the challenge of so doing should not be taken lightly.

Darling-Hammond (2000) stated that strong teacher education programs share a number of features: a common clear vision of good teaching; well-defined standards of practice; a curriculum grounded in learning and taught in context; clinical practice that supports coursework ideas; explicitly confronting teaching and learning beliefs and assumptions and learning about the experiences of others; strong school-university relationships; and, learning being applied to real problems of practice. These are attributes that one could surely argue need to be built on a foundation of principles that matter, principles of quality in teaching and learning. This chapter has suggested some such principles, turning them into practice is what quality in teacher education is all about.

References

Allmark, P. (1995). A classical view of the theory-practice gap in nursing. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 22*(1), 18–23.

Aubusson, P., & Schuck, S. (Eds.). (2006). *Teacher education: The mirror maze*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Barnes, D. (1976). *From communication to curriculum*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Bereiter, C. (2002). *Education and mind in the knowledge age*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Berry, A. (2004). Making the private public: Giving preservice teachers access to their teacher educators' thinking via an electronic journal. *Didaktisk Tidskrift: För practiker och forskare (Nordic Journal of Teaching and Learning: For Practitioners and Researchers), 14*(1), 17–24.

Berry, A. (2007). *Tensions in teaching about teaching: Understanding practice as a teacher educator*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Boyd, P., & Harris, K. (2011). Becoming a university lecturer in teacher education: Expert school teachers reconstructing their pedagogical identity. In T. Bates, A. Swennen, & K. Jones (Eds.), *The professional development of teacher educators* (pp. 20–34). London: Routledge.

Boyer, E. L. (1990). *Scholarship reconsidered: Priorities of the professoriate*. Princeton, NJ: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Brandenburg, R. (2008). *Powerful pedagogy: Self-study of a teacher educator's practice*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Brickman, W. W. (1956). The quest for quality in teacher education. *Educational Theory, 6*(4), 246–251.

Buchberger, F., & Byrne, K. (1995). Quality in teacher education: A suppressed theme? *European Journal of Teacher Education, 18*(1), 9–23.

Bullock, S. M. (2009). Learning to think like a teacher educator: Making the substantive and syntactic structures of teaching explicit through self-study. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 15*(2), 291–304.

Bullock, S. M., & Ritter, J. K. (2011). Exploring the transition into academia through collaborative self study. *Studying Teacher Education, 7*(2), 171–181.

Cochran-Smith, M. (1991). Reinventing student teaching. *Journal of Teacher Education, 42*(2), 104–118.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2000). *Studies of excellence in teacher education*. New York: AACTE.

Davey, R. L. (2013). *The professional identity of teacher educators: Career on the cusp?* London: Routledge.

Dewey, J. (1938). *Experience and education*. Chicago: Henry Regnery.

Dinkleman, T., Margolis, J., & Sikkenga, K. (2006). From teachder to teacher educator: Reframing knowledge in practice. *Studying Teacher Education, 2*(2), 119–136.

Featherstone, D., Munby, H., & Russell, T. (Eds.). (1997). *Finding a voice while learning to teach*. London: Falmer Press.

Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Herder & Herder.

Gallagher, T., Griffin, S., Parker, D. C., Kitchen, J., & Figg, C. (2011). Establishing and sustaining teacher educator professional development in a self-study community of practice: Pre-tenure teacher educators developing professionally. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 27*, 880–890.

Gao, Z., & Rhinehart, R. R. (2004, June 30–July 2). *Theory vs. practice: The challenges from industry*. Paper Presented at the American Control Conference, Boston, Massachusetts.

Greene, M. (1988). Quality in teacher education. *Educational Policy, 2*(3), 235–250.

Grossman, P., Hammerness, K., & McDonald, M. (2009). Redefining teaching, re-imagining teacher education. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 15*(2), 273–289.

Guilfoyle, K., Hamilton, M. L., Pinnegar, S., & Placier, M. (1995). Becoming teachers of teachers: The paths of four beginners. In T. Russell & F. A. J. Korthagen (Eds.), *Teachers who teach teachers: Reflections on teacher education* (pp. 35–55). London: Falmer Press.

Gunstone, R. F. (2000). Constructivism and learning research in science education. In D. Phillips (Ed.), *Constructivism in education: Opinions and second opinions on controversial issues (99th Annual Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I)* (pp. 254–280). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hattie, J., & Yates, G. (2014). *Visible learning and the science of how we learn*. London: Routledge.

Kealy, R. (1995). Perceptions of quality in teacher education and training. *European Journal of Teacher Education, 18*(1), 47–57.

Kinchloe, J. L. (2003). *Teachers as researchers: Qualitative inquiry as a path to empowerment*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Korthagen, F. A. J. (2010). The relationship between theory and practice in teacher education. In E. Baker, B. McGaw, & P. Peterson (Eds.), *International encyclopaedia of education* (Vol. 7, pp. 669–675). Oxford: Elsevier.

Korthagen, F. A. J., & Kessels, J. (1999). Linking theory and practice: Changing the pedagogy of teacher education. *Educational Researcher, 28*(4), 4–17.

Loughran, J. (2002). Effective reflective practice: In search of meaning in learning about teaching. *Journal of Teacher Education, 53*(1), 33–43.

Loughran, J. (2006). *Developing a pedagogy of teacher education: Understanding teaching and learning about teaching*. London: Routledge.

Loughran, J. (2014). Professionally developing as a teacher educator. *Journal of Teacher Education.* doi:10.1177/0022487114533386

Martinez, K. (2008). Academic induction for teacher educators. *Asia Pacific Journal of Teacher Education, 36*(1), 35–51.

Mason, J. (2009). Teaching as disciplined enquiry. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 15*(2), 205–223.

Munby, H., & Russell, T. (1994). The authority of experience in learning to teach: Messages from a physics method class. *Journal of Teacher Education, 4*(2), 86–95.

Murray, J., & Male, T. (2005). Becoming a teacher educator: Evidence from the field. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 21*(2), 125–142.

Northfield, J. R., & Gunstone, R. F. (1997). Teacher education as a process of developing teacher knowledge. In J. Loughran & T. Russell (Eds.), *Teaching about teaching: Purpose, passion and pedagogy in teacher education* (pp. 48–56). London: Falmer Press.

Olmstead, M. (2007). Enacting a pedagogy of practicum supervision: One student teacher's experiences of powerful differences. In T. Russell & J. J. Loughran (Eds.), *Enacting a pedagogy of teacher education: Values, relationships and practices* (pp. 138–148). London: Routledge.

Pilecki, B., & McKay, D. (2013). The theory-practice gap in cognitive-behavior therapy. *Behaviour Therapy, 44*(4), 541–547.

Reed, M. I. (2009). The theory/practice gap: A problem for research in business schools? *Journal of Management Development, 28*(8), 685–693.

Russell, T. (1998). Why doesn't teacher education begin with experience? *Teacher Education Quarterly, 25*(4), 49–54.

Russell, T., & Bullock, S. (1999). Discovering our professional knowledge as teachers: Critical dialogues about learning from experience. In J. Loughran (Ed.), *Researching teaching: Methodologies and practices for understanding pedagogy* (pp. 132–151). London: Falmer Press.

Russell, T., Featherstone, D., & Munby, H. (1997). Introduction. In D. Featherstone, H. Munby, & T. Russell (Eds.), *Finding a voice while learning to teach* (pp. 1–6). London: Falmer Press.

Schön, D. A. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*. New York: Basic Books.

Schön, D. A. (1987). *Educating the reflective practitioner*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Smith, K. (1997). Learing to teach: A story of five crises. In D. Featherstone, H. Munby, & T. Russell (Eds.), *Finding a voice while learning to teach* (pp. 98–108). London: Falmer Press.

Swennen, A., & van der Klink, M. (2009). Becoming a teacher educator: Voices of beginning teacher educators. In A. Swennen, L. Shagir, & M. Cooper (Eds.), *Becoming a teacher educator: Theory and practice for teacher educators* (pp. 91–102). Dordrecht: Springer.

Whitehead, J. (1993). *The growth of educational knowledge: Creating your own living educational theories*. Bournemouth: Hyde publications.

Zeichner, K. M., & Gore, J. M. (1990). Teacher socialization. In W. R. Houston (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teacher education* (pp. 329–348). New York: Macmillan.

Zhu, H. (2010). Curriculum reform and professional development: A case study on Chinese teacher educators. *Professional Development in Education, 36*(1–2), 373–391.

Alternative Framing of Teacher Education: A Challenge for Teacher Education in an Age of Globalization

Lynn Paine

Much of the current discourse of teaching makes explicit reference to globalization. Whether framed as needing teaching to prepare students for a global economy or introduced in terms of how teaching can be improved by learning from the policies and practices of teaching elsewhere, "global" discourses powerfully shape how teaching is currently discussed. This is true in the global north as well as the global south. This is true in a country like the US—proud of its unique history and its often defiant and "exceptional" position—and in a larger regional entity like the EU. These arguments understandably have seeped their way into conversation about the purpose and practice of teacher education. Today new expectations of accountability, shared frequently across borders, and the international rise of market-driven notions about teacher quality and value are influential challenges to conventions of teacher education in many countries. In this chapter, while acknowledging the importance of these phenomena, I explore their consequences and an alternative way to envision how globalization might affect teacher education. In particular, I examine the marginalizing of voices of teacher educators in global discussions of teacher education and invite teacher educators to frame globalization's imperatives in social and cultural rather than entirely economic terms.

In this chapter, I treat globalization as a set of processes. As Dale and Robertson (2002) argue: "globalization represents a complex, overlapping set of forces, operating differently at different levels, each of which was separately set in motion intentionally, though their collective outcomes were not uniform, intended, or predicted" (p. 11). In my analysis, I particularly focus on globalization as it involves actors who work within national systems, in international and multinational organizations, and new actors—such as venture philanthropy—who influence the visions of, goals and expectations for, and work in, teacher education. While I will

L. Paine (✉)
Michigan State University, 620 Farm Lane Rd. Room 517,
East Lansing, MI 48824-1034, USA
e-mail: painel@msu.edu

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2017

X. Zhu et al. (eds.), *Quality of Teacher Education and Learning*,
New Frontiers of Educational Research,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3549-4_6

often use the term "globalization," I do so with caution, aware that there is no single set of processes at work, nor are they working in some uniform direction. I also am mindful of the ways in which globalizing tendencies are met with and occur simultaneously with a rise in indigenous, local, and aboriginal "practices and political presences" (Bruno-Jofré and Johnston 2014, p. 4). My goal here is not to analyze globalization but to consider how teacher education, in this emergence of what Bruno-Jofré and Johnston (2014) call a "globalizing and transnational world" (p. 3), has been and can be framed.

The Problems for Teacher Education of an Economic Framing of Globalization

In the US, teacher education began as teacher training for a generation of teachers for a young nation (Labaree 2004). Indeed, in the US and elsewhere, the mission of teacher education historically has been to prepare teachers to help build a nation. Little surprise, then, as nations are understood in economic terms, in a competitive global market, that the status and strength of an education system is seen as reflecting on the quality of teacher education. From the urgent calls of *A Nation at Risk* (Gardner 1983) on, American education has been assessed in part through comparisons to the rest of the world. As its schools and its students' learning appear lacking, so the calls for revamping teacher education grow. International test scores of student achievement fuel a growing industry of reform, one that argues for improving education through standardization and accountability.

Yet the US is not alone today in renewed focus on education, teachers and hence teacher education. Countries across the world now point, usually with reference to international studies and cross-national comparison, to the importance of teacher education (Gopinathan et al. 2008).

Global flows of ideas have contributed to these calls. Both in offering external warrants and international examples, international research and global policy networks support the directions of debate of national teacher education policy and practice. In that sense, globalization is a powerful context for teacher education today. (While not deterministic,[1] its influence on policies and institutions of teacher education can be felt nonetheless.)

Most frequently globalization is referenced in economic terms. The term globalization becomes code for heightened trade, movement of goods, and intensified connectivity as they give rise and reflect tighter connections between national economies, increased awareness of interdependence, and the emergence of new

[1]Bates (2008) and others are persuasive in arguing against the tendency to paint globalization with a single broad-brush stroke and in so doing ignore the variations as well as the resistance and contrapuntal tendencies of local assertion.

transnational and international organizations committed to easing international exchange. It has now become routine to refer to the power of globalization to affect societies and the lives of individuals.

It is similarly common to point to the way national economies, especially in the global north, are driven by the growth and flow of knowledge. Moving from a manufacturing to a knowledge economy, society's education serves a purpose of generating workers for a knowledge economy. Arthur Levine, in an influential critique of US teacher education, starts from this assumption:

> To compete in a global marketplace and sustain a democratic society, the United States requires the most educated population in history. For these reasons, the future is in the hands of the nation's teachers. The quality of tomorrow will be no better than the quality of our teacher force (Levine 2006, p. 11).

It has become almost predictable that broad pronouncements about education today begin with claims about the changing world, the power of globalization to shrink distances and reduce the height of borders, and ways this creates new imperatives for education systems, school, teachers, and the learning they envision for their students. Most frequently, these claims are couched in economic frames: the importance of education to economic development as nations compete in global markets, the transformation of educational aims and curricula in the context of a global knowledge economy (Gopinathan et al. 2008). In light of these arguments about schooling and its purpose, it is not surprising, then, that teacher education gets caught up in the larger discourse of globalization.

As Richard Bates, from Australia, notes: "teacher education is under scrutiny in virtually every country. In part this is a result of increasing public concern about the availability and quality of public education. Such education is seen by both individuals and states as a crucial factor in obtaining positional advantage in an increasingly integrated and competitive economy" (2008, p. 277). He argues that teacher education in many countries and regions "is currently being transformed to better serve the cause of competition in an emerging world economy; markets and money are the dominating structure to which education and teacher education must be subordinated in the ruthless competition for economic survival" (p. 278).

Teacher education's historical role of developing citizens and workers for the nation can thus not avoid being affected by these shifting currents that connect nations, intensify connections, and increase the speed of shared ideas. Below, I examine two aspects of economic globalization, as they have led to what I see as a problematic narrowing of teacher education energies: accountability and an increased emphasis on markets and competition.

Global Discourses of Accountability

As many have argued, one feature of globalization and an attendant rise in neoliberal ideology is an emphasis on accountability. This has clear significance for

teachers and the discourses and policy rhetoric surrounding teaching. Robertson (2012), for example, claims that teachers today are placed "in global governance agendas", where one witnesses a convergence in goals countries claim. National education systems and international/multilateral organizations, such as the World Bank and UNESCO, rely increasingly on mechanisms that focus on outputs. Shifting from attention to outcomes rather than inputs becomes a dominant motif in the accountability narrative geared to support "competitive comparison" (Robertson 2012) of teaching.

Not surprisingly, such emphasis on accountability ripples through the discourses of teacher education as well, given increased sharing of ideas across national policy discussions and domestic research and the framing of teacher education as an institution to serve national economic competitiveness. "The resulting competition between individuals and societies has brought a new emphasis on league tables and accountability through which success and failure may be judged and competitive and positional advantage organized and legitimated" (Bates 2008, p. 279). This is certainly the case for initial teacher education. Studies demonstrate a growth in accountability-oriented reforms in teacher preparation, with a variety of approaches being championed (Tatto and Plank 2007)[2]

> Within the context of the global teacher reform, accountability is a term used to identify a number of actions (accreditation, standards development, curricular change, high stakes testing, credentials, career ladders, etc.) directed at identifying and enforcing "best practices" in teacher education, development and teaching (Tatto 2007, 235).

National governments increasingly have developed regulatory policies to hold teacher education programs accountable or have drawn on policies developed by national bodies within the field. In the US, teacher education has recently seen a sharp rise in ways accountability language shapes not only the rhetoric but also labor within teacher preparation programs; consolidation of what had been diverse accreditation agencies into CAEP, coupled with new federal and state policies, heighten the attention to accounting for the "value" of teacher preparation programs (Zeichner 2014).

The increased regulation of teacher education that is occurring in many national systems, as well as the rise in monitoring of both inputs and outputs in teacher preparation, are noteworthy. The focus, as with new global monitoring of teaching (Robertson 2012), is on learning—either the learning outcomes of teacher candidates or, more pointedly in some US jurisdictions, the learning (read: achievement on standardized tests) of the pupils of newly minted graduates of teacher preparation programs.

These accountability chords are infused with the language of economic value. They have justified what Tatto (2007) observes as "drastic changes" in many

[2]Despite overall patterns of increased policy rhetoric about the importance of accountability, the recent TEDS-M (Tatto et al. 2012) study found that while many countries have developed a range of quality assurance mechanisms regarding teacher education, at the level of programs and their accreditation, "rigorous procedures … are rare" (p. 52).

countries' teacher development systems (p. 234). They have also added fuel to longstanding attacks on teacher education as an enterprise (Labaree 2004; Zeichner 2014). In many ways, the discourse of teacher education today is a response to such attacks. For example, even though there are well-documented critiques of the limitations associated with what have become narrow perspectives on evaluation of teacher preparation programs in the US (Feuer et al. 2013), the accountability trope has set terms for discussion.

Global Discourses of Markets and Competition

Coupled with the growing power of accountability as a frame for teacher education is the neoliberal view of markets and competition. Here too we see teacher education discourse framed in economic terms. The rise of international studies and the exchange of data across countries have contributed to this. Indicator studies in the US and OECD, for example, have been used in the critiques of teacher education (Tatto 2007).

> One of the most frequently heard attacks is that teacher preparation institutions have failed to provide teachers with the knowledge, skills and dispositions necessary to teach. A consequence of these criticisms in some country contexts is that the—until now—untouched monopoly universities and other traditional institutions have had over the education of teachers has been broken and market forces have been allowed to operate (as in the UK and in some states in the USA) (Tatto 2007, p. 235).

While within the narrative of economics, alternative routes to teaching are advocated as cost-effective. Thus, although the rise of such fast tracks into teaching (Zeichner 2014; Crowley 2016) should not be viewed as deriving solely from the vantage point of accountability pressures, their growing presence across the world does indeed reflect the ways in which the development of teachers and the growth of a teaching force are understood as economic issues. The rise of Teach for All—the network of affiliated programs, like Teach for America and Teach First in the UK, in more than 34 countries—is evidence of the growing popularity of a view that getting teachers in schools can be done well, efficiently and economically, through bypassing university-based initial teacher preparation. An underlying assumption of this movement is that teaching does not require extensive professional education or preparation. One upshot of this is the way in which teacher educators are placed in a defensive position. The terms of the debate are captured by a market model, with consideration of "value-added" as a leading indicator of what counts.

In many countries, including the US, the shifting landscape of higher education generally provides additional layers to the ways market-oriented frames drive the discourse about teacher education. The corporatization of higher education creates models for strategic planning and decision making that pose threats to the status of teacher education within the university. Comparison, as a key element of discussions of higher education within and across countries, is a more prominent feature

of academic discussion thanks to the burgeoning role of university ranking systems. These systems (such as the *Times Higher Education Thomson Reuters World Ranking of Universities*, *QS World University Rankings*, *Shanghai Jiaotong Academic Ranking of World Universities*, and *US News and World Report*) today allow universities to be compared within and across contexts. While the set of criteria used by each rankings system varies to some degree, all tend to valorize "not just Anglo-American Knowledge but the institutional missions, habits, and assumptions of the leading Anglo-American universities" (Marginson 2010, p. 37). In addition, the most prominent thread found across rankings systems involves the value given research publication. Here, university-based teacher education, and colleges of education, are often at a disadvantage in light of traditional missions and programmatic arrangements for faculty (Labaree 2004). As a result, whether in China, the US or other countries, teacher education and faculties of education sometimes have been viewed by their university central administration as the weak link bringing down their increasingly important institutional ranking.[3]

While this pressure on teacher education reflects transnational and global trends, a second one has emerged as well through the rise of indicators developed for higher education. OECD has worked to steer efforts to create "internationally comparative measures of higher education learning outcomes" (OECD 2007, p. 2). Its International Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes (AHELO) effort, like in OECD and other international K-12 initiatives, focused on student learning outcomes and is intended to allow comparison, in a competitive market, in higher education. While teacher education remains an enterprise formally regulated at a national level (or provincial/state), this new form of global policy work can shape policy thinking and bring global stakeholders into policy formation for higher education (Shahjahan 2013; Shahjahan and Morgan 2016).

The press within the university and the rise of comparisons across universities have had powerful effects on the energies of teacher educators and on the perspectives of policymakers. For teacher educators, it is likely that the internal pressures are more directly felt than those refracted through the lens of international comparison. Yet there are numerous examples of the ways in which cross-national comparison and the use of international referents inform the terms of discussion about teacher development. For example, Linda Darling-Hammond, an influential voice in US educational reform and teacher education debates, has regularly drawn on international studies in her arguments (Darling-Hammond 2010; Darling-Hammond et al. 2010; Darling-Hammond and Lieberman 2012), writing that:

> The highest-achieving countries on international measures such as Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) have been particularly intent on developing teachers' expertise both before they enter the profession and throughout their career (Darling-Hammond et al. 2010, p. 1).

[3]Anecdotal evidence from China and the US illustrate the closing of faculties of education as part of this larger trend (Zhang, personal communication; Bronner 1997).

The international reports developed by McKinsey are frequently cited. Its 2007 report argued that that "the quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers" (Barber and Mourshed 2007, p. 13). This claim received much popular and policy attention and has been used to justify (different) reforms for teacher development/teacher education in a wide range of national contexts; contexts as diverse as Australia, Hungary, Ireland, and United Arab Emirates have pointed to the McKinsey report to recommend changes in their development of new teachers (Paine 2013). The 2010 McKinsey report's findings that "top-performing" countries achieve their educational outcomes by having "quality" teachers is referenced as policy makers advocate for the importance of teacher recruitment and selection (Auguste et al. 2010). At the same time, both in the 2010 report and the use of it, there has been little attention given to the content of teacher preparation (Paine and Zeichner 2012). In that sense, while international studies support highlighting teacher education in policy discussions, for the most part they have left unexamined and invisible the core of teacher education practices—its curriculum content and pedagogy.[4]

While comparison has played an ever more important role in the discourse about teacher education, the rise of new markets also affects teacher education. Here one notes the growth of teacher mobility. This comes in part as a result of changes in the market (as some countries, like the US, actively recruit international teachers to fill shortage areas) (Dunn 2013). It also is a result of policies, such as of those of the EU, which facilitate the flow of workers across national borders (Aydarova 2015).

The heightened attention to markets and the discourses of competitive comparison frame teacher education debates. They have given rise to more actors who now have a stake in the discussion about, conduct of, and evaluation of teacher education (Zeichner 2014). Teacher educators, in this cluttered field, are too often marginalized or forced to focus their attention on crafting research and argument in the terms set by others (Tatto et al. 2016). Within the past two years (2015, 2016), with only one exception every issue of the leading journal of teacher education in the US (*Journal of Teacher Education*) has had at least one piece explicitly addressing accountability issues, markets in teacher education, and/or the importance of international/global voices.

Much of this discussion of teacher education, in the context of globalization, shared by policymakers and by researchers, has treated "global" as about international comparisons. Most often these comparisons require standard metrics. This has contributed to a "soft form of governance" (Knodel et al. 2013), but it is "governance by numbers" (Ozga 2009) nonetheless. As Akiba (2013) notes,

> Teacher reforms around the globe are influenced by market-driven, neoliberal thoughts promoting accountability, standardization, and privatization (MacBeath 2012; Robertson

[4]A noteworthy exception is the landmark IEA TEDS-M study of teacher preparation policies and practices in 17 countries (Tatto et al. 2012). That investigation included careful analysis of curriculum, content, and learning opportunities in teacher education programs for future mathematics teachers.

> 2012). Literature reported that, among many factors, two factors seem to be influencing this global trend. They are (1) international reports produced by the Organization for Cooperation and Economic Development (OECD) and (2) international assessments that rank countries based on national average student achievement." (p. xxii)

In this context, teacher education is framed in economic terms, focusing on value and efficiency. The purposes of teacher education are assumed to be related to national competitiveness; student learning as measured by standardized tests often becomes the chief consideration of teacher education's ability to reach its goals. While these broad-brush strokes of the dominant narrative are, of course, too broadly characterized here, they nonetheless highlight salient concerns that are driving much of the debate about teacher education.

There are clearly problems associated with this dominant narrative. The global intensification in attention to teachers and their importance to the improvement of education and national goals creates possibilities for teacher education. But interestingly, teacher educators' voices have typically been omitted from the larger global conversation. The International Summit of the Teaching Profession, an international conference convened annually since 2011, for example, has highlighted the importance of teacher preparation as a topic. Yet the participation of teacher educators and the perspectives of teachers have been strangely marginalized. Accounts from teachers in fact criticize the forum as leaving them, literally, sidelined.[5]

The problematic consequences of this current mainstream framing of teacher education in the context of globalization are not only about who is at the table (i.e., whose perspectives shape the agendas), but what gets defined as the issues and problems. As the discussion of accountability, markets and competition suggests, the issues of teacher education, and even much of the most cited international research on teacher education, heavily emphasizes the economic dimensions of globalization and education. Relatively little work has opened the "black box" of teacher education to inquire about the ways content and pedagogical practices have been or could be influenced by the current globalizing world.

The Possibilities for Teacher Education in an Alternative Framing of Globalization

I suggest that this dominant framing misses a powerful alternative aspect of globalization's challenge to teacher education. While globalization is often described in terms that note the increased connection across boundaries and a

[5]Seating arrangements at the forum placed key stakeholders—policymakers from national ministries and international organizations, "expert" (scholars) and consultants—around the main stage/table, while teachers were sitting on the sides as observers, not central participants (Paine et al. in press).

seemingly "flat world" (Friedman 2005), globalization also brings with it new challenges: increased immigration, resurgent and sometimes resistant localism, greater inequalities and factionalism, and heightened insecurities (Rizvi 2004). The challenge for teacher education, when considered against this portrait of globalization, is less about "surpassing Shanghai" and more about the making of what some call a global educator (Merryfield 2002) or what others see as a cosmopolitan teacher (Luke 2004). Luke (2004) describes the "transcultural and cosmopolitan teacher" as one with:

> Capacity to shunt between the local and the global, to explicate and engage with the broad flows of knowledge and information, technologies and populations, artifacts and practices that characterize the present historical moment. What is needed is a new community of teachers that could and would work, communicate, and exchange—physically and virtually—across national and regional boundaries with each other, with educational researchers, teacher educators, curriculum developers, and indeed, senior education bureaucrats (pp. 1438–1439).

Despite the heavy policy emphasis on an economic framing of globalization's challenges for teacher education, teacher educators point to the importance of helping future teachers recognize the growing diversity in the world and in their classrooms, understand the world, have cross-cultural communication skills, have perspective-taking skills and develop skills for advocating for action (as a global citizen) (Avery 2004; Gaudelli 2003; Merryfield 2002).

Such an alternative framing in teacher education allows us to notice other challenges, respond to important new demands on teachers, and assert a different purpose for teacher education, one that is less about national competitiveness and more about supporting all students learning and greater social cohesion. This perspective relies less on economic framing of the issues and instead on social and cultural understandings of teaching and the world. Here I briefly consider three among the many implications of the social and cultural implications of globalization: the rise in immigration, the increase in social and cultural diversity, and the tendency for resurgent localism in the face of diversity. Each of these puts demands on teachers and hence teacher education. Each invites new research in teacher education and new insights from those engaged in this work.

Immigration in the Classrooms

One well-documented feature of globalization is the greater movement of people across borders. In the US, estimates are that one in four pupils is an immigrant or the child of immigrants, and enrollments of immigrant children have risen 10 times in Spain and three times in Italy in the past decade (Tamer 2014; Gomez-Hurtado and Coronel 2015; Contini and Harold 2015). Teachers today, in many contexts and not only countries that historically welcomed immigrants, are increasingly likely to work in classrooms with students from immigrant backgrounds. But studies document the lack of preparation teachers from many countries (Canada, Denmark,

Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Israel, South Korea, and the UK) report in terms of their knowledge and skill for dealing with this increasing diversity (Horst and Holmen 2007; Kalekin-Fishman et al. 2002; Kim and Kim 2012; Eisikovits 2008).

Researchers on teacher education who consider the social and educational consequences of such mobility argue that teachers need both new kinds of knowledge as well as pedagogical skills to respond to the cultural and linguistic diversity of their students. Whether in developing culturally responsive teaching, finding ways to draw on the life experiences of students, or building bridges between home and school cultures, teachers in this so-called flat world need to have a repertoire of understandings and moves that they may not have witnessed in their own schooling. The impact of globalization is that these issues are neither restricted to only a few national contexts, nor to only a small portion of the schools in a society. Far from being something that might be seen as optional within a teacher education curriculum, understanding immigrant children, the language dimensions of teaching and learning in a world of much movement, and how to teach in ways that draw on the strengths and enhance resilience in newcomers now becomes core to teacher education. For policy makers engaged in teacher education, and even some teacher education practitioners, this is a different entry point to think about the challenges globalization bring.

Greater Cultural Diversity and the Need for "Global Competence" (Zhao 2010)

The flow of people leads, of course, to greater cultural diversity within society and schools. While a competitiveness argument pushes achievement to the top of the list of urgent goals, without recognizing the need for teachers to be able to communicate effectively with their students, there is little chance that all children can reach high levels of academic success. Zhao (2010) argues in this moment there is a heightened need for teachers to develop:

> the ability to interact effectively with people who speak different languages, believe in different religions, and hold different values has become essential for all workers (Committee for Economic Development [CED], 2006). That is, what used to be required of a small group of individuals—diplomats, translators, cross-cultural communication consultants, or international tour guides—has become necessary for all professions (p. 425).

Teacher education now has, as part of its mission, developing teachers with skills and knowledge that had not been required in the past. The significance of language and culture is clear, and building in opportunities to engage these as areas of study, for which teachers need fluency and deep understanding, is an enormous challenge for programs of initial teacher preparation.

Striving for Cosmopolitan Learning (Noddings 2005)

Teachers agree in large numbers that "it is more important than ever before for students to learn about other countries and cultures" (Dion 2013). In fact, in a survey of US teachers, 80% supported this claim, yet only 30% reported teaching lessons that actually include information about other countries. If students are to develop as global citizens, they need to be able to understand and see connections between themselves and others, including others outside their home countries. To make this possible, teachers themselves need to know more about the world. They also need the ability to see different perspectives, and help their students see other perspectives, to make this kind of cosmopolitan learning possible.

Globalization invites teacher educators to imagine ways their future teachers can re-see their worlds. One US teacher education student who participated in a short-term study exchange with counterparts in China explained that "China did not teach me about every culture, but it taught me that other cultures exist and are infinitely more complicated than I once thought" (Paine 2014). The increased movement of people and the tighter connections of the world produce challenges for teacher education, yet they also offer possibilities. With a frame of social and cultural dimensions of globalizing trends, teacher educators turn to learning opportunities such as short-term international study, international field placements, and reciprocal learning to encourage the kind of re-seeing that seems called for today's teachers (Xu et al. 2015; Dunn et al. 2014; Mahon and Cushner 2002; Kabilan 2013).

Concluding Thoughts

The term globalization is often used, unexamined, as both explanation and motivation for education reform. Too often, in discussions of teaching and teacher education, globalization is understood as chiefly about economic dynamics, and the metaphors associated with that have driven much of the policy talk about teacher development. If we shift the frame, and recognize the powerful ways in which globalization is a set of processes that are profoundly social and impacting culture(s), both the problems teacher education is to address and the means to do so are opened up. Teacher educators, and researchers who study teacher education, have much to contribute to our understanding globalization's impacts on education.

References

Akiba, M. (Ed.). (2013). *Teacher reforms around the world: Implementations and outcomes*. Bingley, UK: Emerald.

Auguste, B., Kihn, P., & Miller, M. (2010). *Closing the talent gap: Attracting and retaining top-tier graduates to careers in teaching*. London: McKinsey & Company.

Avery, P. G. (2004). Social studies teacher education in an era of globalization. In S. A. Adler (Ed.), *Critical issues in social studies teacher education* (pp. 37–57). Greenwich, CT: Information Age.

Aydarova, O. (2015). Glories of the Soviet past or dim visions of the future: Russian teacher education as the site of historical becoming. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 46*(2), 147–166.

Barber, M., & Mourshed, M. (2007). *How the world's best-performing systems come out on top*. London: McKinsey & Company.

Bates, R. (2008). Teacher education in a global context: Towards a defensible theory of teacher education. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 34*(4), 277–293. doi:10.1080/02607470802401388

Bronner, E. (1997). The end of Chicago's education school stirs debate. *New York Times* (Sept. 17)

Bruno-Jofré, R., & Johnston, J. S. (Eds.). (2014). *Teacher education in a transnational world*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Contini, R. M., & Herold, M. (2015). Intercultural Education in Italy and in the United States: The Results of a Binational Inquiry. *Revista Romaneasca pentru Educatie Multidimensionala, 7*(1), 203–218. Retrieved from http://msulibraries.summon.serialssolutions.com/2.0.0/link/0/eLvHCXMw3V1LT8JAEN6gJ6MxPuMz2ZOXpqTdlj5MPABCIFEwBS4eJNvt1pBIIQL_353u9gF4Uk8emrTbdLfd_To7M5n5BiGLVA19QyZwJvRi5sWmOEI7oh7hVsjgxCcktiGV-LVORm37ZeC2K5UscbBo-w8Ln_r4ckKNPIADHBtdoWlnfEvbGmcW4hHwhXh6ITMnG5PcXViOGs4ovSE3fUm1YDalCacLRrU5uItX2bhCaEDEYgQ1BCT_R74NBKJniL5Z8Q-qNfu9YbeXe3CfwYIXANU6raD_9Fh2TZi1IoRKSjCghtd9IiuDVPk3bUoEu1tIU-LUsEo7M1GSeo00u0STukGaDeGF49nn-1gtxTi0QX3x_Mi1QtsJwVQzwjhiQg3iVsxqd8C2Po0mbPnAE3002BGmvOeWzHQho0zi-gZR_ELpbu-DFgCuPCDG110rLYy

Crowley, C. B. (2016). Teach for/future China and the politics of alternative teacher certification programs in China. In L. Lim & M. W. Apple (Eds.), *The strong state and curricular reform: Assessing the politics and possibilities of educational change in Asia* (pp. 131–147). New York: Routledge.

Dale, R., & Robertson, S. L. (2002). The varying effects of regional organizations as subjects of globalization of education. *Comparative Education Review*, *46*(1), 10–36.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2010). *The flat world of education: How America's commitment to equity will determine our future*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Darling-Hammond, L., & Lieberman, L. (Eds.). (2012). *Teacher education around the world: Changing policies and practices*. London: Routledge.

Darling-Hammond, L., Wie, R. C., & Andree, A. (2010). *How high-achieving countries develop great teachers.* Stanford Center for Opportunity Policy in Education Research Brief.

Dion, D. (2013). *Global education exploration study: Key findings and implications*. New York: ProjectExplorer.org.

Dunn, A. H. (2013). *Teachers without borders? The hidden consequences of international teachers in US schools*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Dunn, A. H., Dotson, E. K., Cross, S. B., Kesner, J., & Lundahl, B. (2014). Reconsidering the local after a transformative global experience: A comparison of two study abroad programs for preservice teachers. *Action in Teacher Education, 36*(4), 283–304.

Eisikovits, R. A. (2008). Coping with high-achieving transnationalist immigrant students: The experience of Israeli teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 24*(2), 277–289. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2007.06.006

Feuer, M. J., Floden, R. E., Chudowsky, N., & Ahn, J. (2013). *Evaluation of teacher preparation programs: Purposes, methods, and policy options*. Washington, DC: National Academy of Education.

Friedman, T. (2005). *The world is flat: A brief history of the twenty-first century*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Gardner, D. P. (1983). *A nation at risk*. Washington, DC: The National Commission on Excellence in Education, US Department of Education.

Gaudelli, W. (2003). *World class: Teaching and learning in global times*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Gómez-Hurtado, I., & Coronel, J. M. (2015). Nothing to do with me! Teachers' perceptions on cultural diversity in Spanish secondary schools. *Teachers and Teaching, 21*(4), 400–420. doi:10.1080/13540602.2014.968896

Gopinathan, S., Tan, S., Fang, Y., Devi, L., Ramos, C., & Chao. E. (2008). *Transforming teacher education: Redefined professionals for 21st century schools.* Singapore: National Institute of Education.

Horst, C., & Holmen, A. (2007). Bringing multicultural education into the mainstream: Developing schools for minority and majority students. In L. Adams & A. Kirova (Eds.), *Global migration and education: Schools, children, and families* (pp. 17–33). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Kabilan, M. (2013). A phenomenological study of an international teaching practicum: Preservice teachers' experiences of professional development. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 36,* 198–209.

Kalekin-Fishman, D., Pitkanen, P., & Verma, G. (Eds.). (2002). *Education and immigration: Settlement policies and current challenges.*

Kim, S. K., & Kim, L. H. (2012). The need for multicultural education in South Korea. In D. A. Urias (Ed.), *The Immigration & Education Nexus* (pp. 243–253). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Knodel, P., Martens, K., & Niemann, D. (2013). PISA as an ideational roadmap for policy change: Exploring Germany and England in a comparative perspective. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 11*(3), 421–441.

Labaree, D. F. (2004). *The trouble with ed schools*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Levine, A. (2006). *Educating school teachers*. Education Schools Project.

Luke, A. (2004). Teacher after the marketplace: From commodity to cosmopolitan. *Teachers College Record*, 106, 1422–1443.

MacBeath, J. (2012). *Future of teaching profession*. Educational International Research Institute and University of Cambridge.

Mahan, J., & Cushner, K. (2002). The overseas student teaching experience: Creating optimal culture learning. *Multicultural Perspectives, 4*(3), 3–8.

Marginson, S. (2010). Global comparisons and the university knowledge economy. In *Higher education, policy, and the global competition phenomenon* (pp. 29–41). Palgrave Macmillan US.

Merryfield, M. M. (2002). The difference a global educator can make. *Educational Leadership, 60* (2), 18–21.

Noddings, N. (Ed.). (2005). *Educating citizens for global awareness*. NY: Teachers College Press.

OECD. (2007). *Assessing higher education learning outcomes summary of first meeting of experts*. Paris: OECD

Ozga, J. (2009). Governing education through data in England: From regulation to self-evaluation. *Journal of Education Policy, 24*(2), 149–162.

Paine, L. (2013). Exploring the interaction of global and local in teacher education: Circulating notions of what preparing a good teacher entails. In X. D. Zhu & K. Zeicher (Eds.), *Preparing teachers for the 21st century* (pp. 119–140). New York: Springer.

Paine, L. (2014). *Helping future teachers learn from short-term study abroad*. Presentation to the Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, Montreal, Canada.

Paine, L., Aydarova, O., & Syahril, I. (in press). Globalization and teacher education (Chapter 68). In D. J. Clandinin & J. Husu (Eds.), *International handbook of research on teacher education.* New York: Sage Publications.

Paine, L., & Zeichner, K. (2012). The local and the global in reforming teaching and teacher education. *Comparative Education Review, 56*(4), 569–583.

Rizvi, F. (2004). Debating globalization and education after September 11. *Comparative Education, 40*(2), 157–171.

Robertson, S. (2012). Placing teachers in global governance agendas. *Comparative Education Review, 56*(4), 584–607.

Shahjahan, R. A. (2013). Coloniality and a global testing regime in higher education: Unpacking the OECD's AHELO initiative. *Journal of Education Policy, 28*(5), 676–694. doi:10.1080/02680939.2012.758831

Shahjahan, R. A., & Morgan, C. (2016). Global competition, coloniality, and the geopolitics of knowledge in higher education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 37*(1), 92–109. doi:10.1080/01425692.2015.1095635

Tamer, M. (2014). *The education of immigrant children*. Retrieved from https://www.gse.harvard.edu/news/uk/14/12/education-immigrant-children

Tatto, M. T. (2007). Education reform and the global regulation of teachers' education, development and work: A cross-cultural analysis. *International Journal of Educational Research, 45*(4), 231–241.

Tatto, M. T., & Plank, D. (2007). The dynamics of global teaching reform. In M. T. Tatto (Ed.), *Reforming teaching globally* (pp. 267–277). Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.

Tatto, M. T., Richmond, G., & Carter Andrews, D. J. (2016). The research we need in teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education, 67*(4), 247–250.

Tatto, M. T., Schwille, J., Senk, S. L., Ingvarson, L., Rowley, G., & Peck, R. (2012). *Policy, practice, and readiness to teach primary and secondary mathematics in 17 countries: Findings from the IEA teacher education and development study in mathematics (TEDS-M)*. Amsterdam: IEA.

Xu, S., Chen, S., & Huang, J. (2015). Pedagogies of working with diversity: West-East reciprocal learning in preservice teacher education. In *International teacher education: Promising pedagogies (Part B). Advances in research on teaching* (Vol. 22, pp. 137–160). Emerald Publishing Group.

Zeichner, K. (2014). The struggle for the soul of teaching and teacher education in the USA. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 40*(5), 551–568.

Zhao, Y. (2010). Preparing globally competent teachers: A new imperative for teacher education. *Journal of teacher education, 61*(5), 422–431.

Part III
Rethinking the Meaning of Teacher Quality

School Leadership as an Influence on Teacher Quality

Christopher Day

The Policy Context

I will begin with a brief consideration of the role of policy in framing teacher educators' and teachers' work. I do so because teacher educators' and teachers' work always takes place within broad policy mandates and policies over which they have little, if any, control. In this respect, they are semi-professionals who are in part charged with carrying out the policy decisions of government on behalf of society but who are also expected to make contextually wise and sensitive decisions about students' needs and progress in what Shulman (1986) long ago called the 'unavoidable uncertainties' of classrooms. I call them semi-professionals, not for the purpose of being critical, but because recognising and giving voice to the everyday tensions present in carrying out their work provides us with opportunities to understand them better.

In China, government reform initiatives since 2001 have increased the direct responsibilities of school principals for curriculum leadership (Ministry of Education 2001) and, since 2011, for the implementation of teachers' professional standards (Ministry of Education 2011, 2013). This has brought the working responsibilities of Chinese principals much closer to those of principals in Western societies. The norms now in China, it has been claimed, are, 'to move students to the centre of teaching and learning and to transform teaching and learning to foster such capacities as creativity, innovation, collaboration, self-expression, engagement, enjoyment of learning, inquiry skills, problem-solving abilities and the ability to apply knowledge in practice' (Haiyan et al. 2015: 98).

C. Day (✉)
University of Nottingham, Nottingham, England, UK
e-mail: Christopher.Day@nottingham.ac.uk

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2017

X. Zhu et al. (eds.), *Quality of Teacher Education and Learning*,
New Frontiers of Educational Research,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3549-4_7

Most people would agree that school standards, conditions for teaching, learning, and curriculum, are affected significantly by these and other policy initiatives, and that these are a continuing force which influence teachers work and lives. The strength of the policy voice, however, has varied historically between countries. For example, China has in the past had a school system dominated by the need for students to do well in national examinations in order to attend the best universities. In other South East Asian cultures similar importance is attached to this priority; whereas in Scandinavia and Southern Europe this has been less important. However, advances in technology have enabled more close scrutiny of the relationships between teachers' work and student progress and achievement, comparisons between student test results in different countries and educational 'policy borrowing' by governments. Where countries are positioned in international student performance 'league tables' now counts for more, since educational performance, however narrowly measured, is perceived to influence the relative strengths of national economies. OECD's programme for international student assessment (PISA) is a prime example of new instrumentalist cultures in which most teachers work and which, in the view of some (Firestone et al. 2004) have sometimes resulted in 'teaching to the test' at the expense of teaching for thinking.

It is legitimate for policy makers in Western nations to be concerned about teacher quality because (i) teachers are acknowledged to be a key element in the successful implementation of education reform to raise standards of learning and achievement; (ii) there is evidence of a substantial variation in their quality in terms of raising levels of student achievement (Engel et al. 2014: 37); (iii) schools which serve highly disadvantaged urban and rural communities are staffed by a disproportionately high number of inexperienced and less well qualified teachers than others and experience a higher level of teacher (and principal) turnover (Boyd et al. 2005); (iv) there is a high wastage rate of teachers in many countries in the first four years; and (v) there is a well-reported perceived theory-practice gap between what is taught in pre-service teacher education programmes in universities and what is needed for teaching effectively in schools. In almost every country, teacher education continues to be criticised by both students and policy makers for its lack of relevance to practice (Zeichner 2010; Darling-Hammond et al. 2012).

Lack of Research

Whilst there has been much ideologically—driven research at the **macro** level on equity in education, performativity, and the negative effects of central reforms on teacher professionalism, there has been much less conceptual and empirical research on **meso**—level school level factors which influence teachers' long term commitment to teaching, health and well-being, and loyalty to the schools in which they teach. Less well researched, also, is the extent to which teachers sustain their commitment and how teaching quality is built and sustained over time. Notable

exceptions to this are the on-going work on early career teachers in the USA of Susan Moore-Johnson and her colleagues at Harvard (Moore-Johnson 2007), the development of the notion of 'professional capital' by Hargreaves and Fullan (2012), David Hansen's seminal work on the call to teach (Hansen 2005), early years teacher resilience by Bruce Johnson and his colleagues in Australia (2012), and our own extensive mixed methods research in the UK on teachers' work, lives and effectiveness (Day 2008).

Yet even in this body of research, little connection has been made between the quest to build and sustain quality in testing times (Day and Gu 2014) and the powerful influence played by school principals whose work, it has been argued forcibly, is second only to that of teachers in its influence on students learning and achievement (Leithwood et al. 2006). There have been too few studies which have sought to examine whether and to what extent teacher quality fluctuates and is or is not sustained over a career and the relationship between teacher health and well-being and student educational outcomes. In China, research on school principals and their work revealed 153 published papers and of these only 17 were empirical (Haiyan et al. 2015). In a survey of 331 principals in Shanghai's Pudong district, Jiang et al. (2010) found that the three factors given the most importance to school success were teachers' professional capacity, policy support, resources from local education bureaux and the quality of the student intake (cited in Haiyan et al. 2015). The omission of principals is, to say the least, surprising, given the range and depth of research internationally on the influence of school principals on school success (e.g. Leithwood et al. 2007; Mulford and Silins 2003; Day et al. 2000; Hallinger 2010).

Although initial teacher education programmes influence the beliefs, values, knowledge and teaching competencies of their students over the short term, over a much longer period, the physical, social and psychological conditions experienced by teachers are likely to have a more powerful negative or positive influence on their dispositions, levels of commitment and capacities for resilience (Day and Gu 2014), and willingness and abilities to engage in the everyday challenges and vulnerabilities of striving to achieve quality teaching. A key issue for all principals concerned with raising standards of teaching, learning and achievement, then, is to manage change whilst building and sustaining stability of whole school vision and direction, and, within this, teachers' capacities and abilities to teach to their best. It is the primary responsibility of principals to create, work with and sustain cultures of high expectation that are conducive to the learning and achievement of all students and all teachers. Research demonstrates that successful schools are staffed by, regardless of policy and social and geographical and national contexts and cultures, principals and teachers who place values and broader educational purposes and practices before the slavish implementation of policy dictates and who are able, also, to produce the positive student outcomes which policy makers demand (Day and Leithwood 2007). Teacher quality is at the heart of school improvement and success.

Teacher Quality

Teacher quality is an imprecise term. Although it is sometimes associated in research (e.g. Engel et al. 2014) with types and levels of entry qualifications, for example, graduate degree level entry and pre-service certification, we know that these only provide one set of indicators of quality and that by themselves they are not reliable, since academic qualifications do not guarantee excellence in teaching. In those countries and jurisdictions whose students achieve well in international league tables (e.g. South Korea, Singapore, Shanghai and Finland), teachers have high qualifications and status and in-school collaborations are high. Other, perhaps more important, indicators of quality are classroom management skills, the ability to inspire a love of learning, subject and pedagogical knowledge, a strong sense of vocation, reflexivity, a desire to continue to learn and, of course, the teacher's contributions to students' academic results.

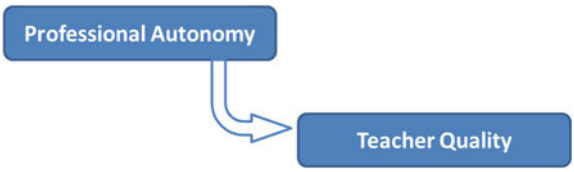
Yet there is an emerging body of research, which suggests that key to enabling the sustained application of these indicators is teachers' professional identity and, within this, their sense of self-efficacy, job fulfilment and well-being. We know from a range of research internationally that teachers' capacities and motivations to perform successfully in the workplace throughout their careers are not guaranteed, that these may fluctuate and that their work and lives are moderated and mediated by seven contributory influences:

(i) external factors: the extent to which school teachers and teacher education programmes are able to meet but also go beyond the specified implementation needs of government policy at any given time;
(ii) societal expectations: the expectations of parents and the community;
(iii) practice-based results: the measurable test and examination results of students;
(iv) internal expectations: standards defined by individual teachers;
(v) the school environments and cultures in which they work;
(vi) the quality of school principals;
(vii) teachers' own motivations, commitment, resilience and emotional health.

In this chapter, I will highlight three areas which are key indicators of teacher quality and which are likely to be influenced directly and indirectly by school principals:

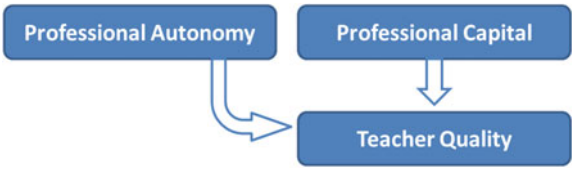
1. Professional Autonomy
2. Professional Capital
3. Teacher Commitment and Expertise

1. **Professional Autonomy**



A recurring issue in writings and conversations in the West is about the effects of the increased policy voice e.g. through OECD (PISA) reports which compare student results across countries and jurisdictions on teachers' professional selves and practices. Critics refer to central government reforms as 'neo-liberal', 'results driven', claiming that such 'performativity' agendas have resulted not only in a new transparency and increased bureaucratic burdens on teachers which have led to a lowering of morale and a 'de-professionalization' of teachers' work. As evidence of this, they point to a decline in teacher autonomy (Apple 2011; Ball 2012; Ozga 2012). Foucault's (1977) early work has often been used to explain what is said to be happening. In this, he suggested that 'professional autonomy' of teachers is illusory and not real, that it is constrained by what he called. 'regimes of truth' in which teachers, 'have made the society's disciplinary techniques and ruling ways of thinking very much their own and, by doing so, have come to believe and behave *as if* they were free and autonomous' (Foucault 1986: 221, in Raaen 2011: 628). From this perspective, '*Individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application*' (Raaen 2011: 629). Raaen (2011) suggests, however, that in Foucault's later works, he changed the focus of his position by proposing an 'ethics of the self.' By seeking knowledge about the circumstances that influence the way we think, we can develop an ethical system, 'that can make way for an autonomy based on an outspoken, frank and critical thinking [mastery of self] that breaks with the normalisation pressure faced by individuals in today's society' (Raaen 2011: 631). It would seem, then, that schools and those who work in them need not be regarded as victims of repressive educational policies or unwitting carriers of their values but, on the contrary, are potentially able to exercise degrees of autonomy. However, the understandings and applications of autonomy in practice are likely to be influenced by national culture, traditions and, at school level, and especially the principal and other leaders.

2. Professional Capital



Teachers' work in the twenty-first century especially, if it is to be at its best, requires higher levels of intellectual and emotional energy than ever before. It requires investment in what Andy Hargreaves and Michael Fullan have described as 'professional capital' (Hargreaves and Fullan 2012). This is an amalgam of 'human, social, and decisional' capital (ibid: 3). They suggested that:

> Unless you deliberately learn how to get better so that you can teach the students of today for the world of tomorrow, you will not be teaching like a pro. You will just be an enthusiastic amateur.
>
> (Hargreaves and Fullan 2012: 46)

In doing so, they are both emphasising, as others before have done (e.g. Brookfield 1998; Day 1999) the need for teachers to be aware of and engage in lifelong learning. Their work draws also upon and extends research by Leana (2011) in New York elementary schools. She found, perhaps unsurprisingly, that there were strong associations between the combination of individual qualifications and talent (human capital) and 'the frequency and focus of conversations and interactions with peers (social capital) that centred on instruction' (cited in Hargreaves and Fullan 2012: 3). These resulted in pupils making higher achievement gains in mathematics. These were similar to findings of Bryk and Schneider (2002), who found that relational trust was a key factor in pupils' achievement in maths and reading in elementary schools in Chicago; and Karen Seashore Louis (2007), who identified organisational trust as a key factor in improving and effective high schools in North America. It is not difficult to see a connection between relational and organisational trust and the quality of the work of the school principal in shaping the learning and achievement culture.

Hargreaves and Fullan define the third element of professional capital, decisional capital, as:

> The capital that professional acquire and accumulate through structured and unstructured experience, practice, and reflection – capital that enables them to make wise judgements in circumstances where there is no fixed rule or piece of incontrovertible evidence to guide them.
>
> (Hargreaves and Fullan 2012: 93–4)

The essence of professionalism, then, is the possession of discretionary capital. However, it is worth unpacking what might be meant by 'ability' or 'expertise' in the context of the quality of discretionary capital and what strengthens or weakens the willingness and capacities of teachers to make 'wise' judgments. At the core of the capacity to exercise discretionary capital are teacher commitment and teacher expertise.

3. Teacher Commitment and Expertise

According to Stobart (2014), experts are likely to excel in:

- Choosing the appropriate strategy to use;
- Generating the best solution, often faster and more accurately than others;
- Using superior detection and recognition, for example, seeing patterns and 'deep structures' of a problem;

- Applying extensive qualitative analyses to a problem;
- Accurately monitoring their own performance; and
- Retrieving relevant information more effectively.

In the classrooms of teachers who exercise discretionary capital we might expect to see both teachers and students engaged in 'surface, strategic and deep' learning. Stobart (2014: 70) provides details of the defining features of each approach (Table 1):

Stobart goes on to cite a study of 25 exceptional teachers in New South Wales, Australia by Ayres et al. (2004: 61) whose student examination results were in the top 1% nationally for at least six consecutive years in a range of schools:

Table 1 Approaches to learning and studying

Approach	Defining features
Surface Reproducing	Treating the course as unrelated bits of knowledge
Intention: to cope with course requirements	Memorizing facts and carrying out procedures routinely Finding difficulty in making sense of new ideas Seeing little value or meaning in either courses or tasks sets Studying without reflecting on either purpose or strategy Feeling under pressure and worry about work
Strategic Reflective organising	
Intention: to achieve the highest possible grades	Putting consistent effort into studying Managing time and effort effectively Finding the right conditions and materials for studying Monitoring the effectiveness of ways of studying Being alert to assessment requirements and criteria Gathering work to the perceived preferences of lecturers
Deep Seeking meaning	Relating ideas to previous knowledge and experience
Intention: to develop ideas for yourself	Looking for patterns and underlying principles Checking evidence and relating it to conclusions Examining logic and argument cautiously and critically Being aware of understanding developing while learning Becoming actively interested in course content

Stobart 2014: 70

> While teachers used a wide range of teaching strategies to build student understanding, a key common factor was an emphasis on having students think, solve problems and apply knowledge. Simply reporting back knowledge or practising formulae outside the context of application was unusual. These teachers strongly saw their role in the classroom as challenging students, rather than 'spoon-feeding' information. They demonstrated ways of building notes and assisted in this process, but were never observed dictating a complete set of notes or having students simply copy notes without a context developed or a lead-up involving student responses.
>
> (Stobart 2014: 73)

It seems that, in terms of 'decisional capital', these attributes of expertise may be regarded as essential, as part of a passion for teaching, in the process of making wise judgments. The *best* teachers are always seeking to improve, regardless of their age and experience. They never remain within the 'comfort zone' of past and present knowledge and practice. However, not every teacher will necessarily always be able to teach in these ways. They may lack the expertise to do so, or, more importantly, the commitment, resilience, sense of engagement and wellbeing which are necessary pre-requisites. These will be influenced positively or negatively by particular school environments, cultures and leadership; and they may fluctuate as a result of both anticipated and unanticipated experiences and events.

In the 'paradox of expert performance', Matthew Syed claims that:

> Excellence is about stepping outside the comfort zone…Progress is built, in effect, upon the foundations of necessary failure.
>
> (Syed 2010: 79, cited in Stobart 2014: 50)

Yet stepping outside of one's comfort zone is not easy. It requires courage and confidence in self and the support of others. 'Expertise', 'wisdom' and 'decisional capital' cannot be regarded as inborn or stable qualities that are easily acquired and sustained.

An Educational Myth

The continuing passion to learn and, where appropriate, change one's thinking, planning and practices which may have taken years to develop, do not necessarily increase with age and experience. They can fluctuate according to personal and professional contexts. We know from research that not all teachers are always able to adapt successfully to the inevitable changes in expectations, policies and pedagogies that will occur over their careers in teaching. The extent to which they can adapt successfully depends upon their willingness, capacity and ability to do so; and these in turn depend upon their whether and to what extent the changes are aligned with their own educational values, the interaction with cultures which influence these and their personal, workplace and policy contexts, and their sense of efficacy, agency and professional identity. Interestingly, despite received wisdom, in recent

empirical research, teachers' years of experience have been not been found to be useful as a directly associated measure of teachers' willingness or ability to change. Nor have age and experience been associated with teacher quality. Recent research has shown, for example, that teachers do not always learn from experience. Our own large scale, longitudinal research findings about teachers' work and lives in different professional life phases is contrary to the belief in some cultures which suggest that they move in stages, in an upward direction, from being novices to (eventually) becoming experts who no longer need to learn (Day et al. 2007). In fact, we found that in early, middle and later career phases, teachers in each of these phases associate their level of commitment with their capacity to teach to their best and that levels of commitment are also statistically associated with their students' test and examination results.

Teachers' commitment and capacities to be resilient are influenced positively or negatively by their working environments, colleague relationships, leadership, the strength of their sense of vocation and moral purpose, colleagues, and unanticipated changes in personal circumstances which may affect their sense of well-being. A recent report examined the literature on associations between teachers' health and well-being and student outcomes.

> Employees in good health can be up to three times as productive as those in poor health; can experience fewer motivational problems, are more resilient to change and they are more likely to be engaged with the business's priorities…..In addition, it is likely that presenteeism, defined as reduced performance and productivity due to ill health while at work, could cost employers two to seven times more than absenteeism.
>
> (Bajorek et al. 2014: 7)

Whilst the authors did not find direct cause and effect relationships, they found that there were close associations between health and well-being and teacher effectiveness and that, 'having a good teacher (defined as those within the top quarter of teachers in terms of their effectiveness) as opposed to a mediocre or poor teacher (defined as those within the bottom quarter) made a big difference in student exam results' (Slater et al. 2009, cited in Bajorek et al. 2014). Moreover, 'if a student from an economically deprived community had effective teachers and a non-poor student had ineffective teachers, then the gap in outcomes would reduce. Another study of 24,200 staff in 246 primary and 182 secondary schools in England examined three aspects of well-being: (i) feeling valued and cared for, (ii) feeling overloaded and (iii) job stimulation and enjoyment. It found a statistically significant association between staff well-being and student examination results and that 8% of variance in examination results can be attributed to teacher well-being (Dewberry and Briner 2007).

Teacher commitment, well-being, expertise, and thus quality, are, then, likely to be subject to fluctuation in response to personal, organisational and socio-cultural factors; and because conditions, policies and personal circumstances, needs and demands change, sometimes in unpredictable ways, teachers' motivations, learning and development needs and demands for workplace performance need to be supported, challenged, reviewed, enhanced and renewed.

Successful Schools, Successful School Leadership

No one is better placed to influence teachers' quality directly and indirectly than the school head teacher/principal. Being engaged in building and sustaining expertise requires in teachers, for example, the confidence to take risks, engage in close and regular examination of their own practices as well as policy contexts in which they take place; and a belief, regardless of age and experience, that they, as well as their students, need to continue to learn; and the capacity to be resilient. The school principal and other senior staff have key responsibilities, with the teachers, in building and sustaining teachers' expertise, commitment, resilience and sense of wellbeing.

We know that principals of successful schools have the second greatest influence (after that of the teacher) on student learning and achievement (Leithwood et al. 2006), that they exercise such influence largely through creating the optimum conditions for excellence in teaching and learning, that other work is driven by strong moral and ethical values and that the largest effect size (0.84) of five dimensions identified by Robinson et al. (2009) in their meta-analyses of research about effective principals is promotion of and engagement in teachers' continuing professional learning and development.

Stobart suggests that the 'expert' school promotes a culture in which teachers feel able to take risks and that [effective] school leaders model this. He suggests that 'daring' school leaders:

- Support learning in depth even though that may mean less coverage;
- Want teachers to get well beyond 0.5% of lesson time being spend in group learning;
- Would welcome more time being spent in classroom dialogue and rich questioning;
- Encourage teachers to conduct at least one 'risky' lesson a week, which involves doing something new for which the outcome is not assured;
- Support teachers who want to do things differently for reasons they can justify;
- Encourage collaboration in researching new lessons on difficult topics.

(Stobart 2014: 160)

Moore Johnson and her colleagues (2007) identified the quality of support provided by principals and colleagues as key factors in teacher retention. Similar findings resulted from research in England (Day et al. 2007, 2011a, b); and research internationally on effective and successful school principals consistently reveals the impact on teacher quality of their values, qualities and strategies. In these successful schools, regardless of socio-economic contexts and country specific cultures, teachers have high expectations of themselves and their students, a strong sense of moral purpose, high levels of motivation and commitment, a sense of job satisfaction and fulfilment, collegiality and trust, academic optimism and a strong capacity for resilience (e.g. Day and Leithwood 2007; Robinson et al. 2009; Day and Gurr 2014; Tschannen-Moran 2004). So it does not make sense to discuss **teacher** quality without also taking into account the responsibilities of school principals and other school leaders to build teacher commitment, expertise and capacity to be resilient and to actively put into place the conditions which ensure **teaching** quality. For example, according to one influential review of employee engagement, a key indicator of commitment, the main factors that influence quality of work are:

- Leaders who support employees and see where they fit into the bigger organisational picture;
- Effective line managers who respect, develop and reward their staff;
- Consultation that values the voice of employees and listens to their views; and
- Concerns and relationships based on trust and shared values.

(MacLeod and Clarke 2009, cited in Bajorek et al. 2014: 8)

It is important, then, that teachers' workload and environments are well managed, that they have support from colleagues and their heads of department that relationships between staff are harmonious whilst at the same time driven by a desire to learn and improve, that they have clear understandings of the expectations of quality and that they have a sense of control and influence on how they carry out their work. It is equally important that where there is change, it is well led and managed.

Figure 1 below illustrates key dimensions of effective leadership derived from a three year mixed methods national research project in England into the effects of principals of improving and successful schools on measurable student outcomes (Day 2011; Day et al. 2011a, b). The inner circle illustrates the core focus of leaders' attention, the inner ring their core strategies, and the outer ring the actions they take in support of these strategies. The building of trust is an intrinsic part of successful leaders' work, embedded within each of the core strategies and an essential part of the actions in the outer ring.

Defining the vision, values and direction: building professional trust. Effective heads have a very strong and clear vision and set of values for their school, which heavily influence their actions and the actions of others. They establish and maintain a clear sense of direction and purpose for the school within a climate of evidence informed professional trust. Values are shared widely, clearly

Fig. 1 Dimensions of successful leadership

understood and a range of 'fit for purpose' classroom practices are used by all staff. They act as a touchstone against which the efficacy and effectiveness of all new developments, policies or initiatives are tested.

Improving conditions for teaching and learning. Successful heads identify the need to improve the conditions in which the quality of teaching can be maximised and pupils' learning and performance enhanced. They develop strategies to improve the school buildings and facilities. By changing the physical environment for the schools and improving the classrooms, they confirm the important connection between high-quality conditions for teaching and learning, and staff and pupil wellbeing and achievement.

Redesigning the organisation: aligning roles and responsibilities. Successful heads purposefully and progressively redesign their organisational structures, refine roles and responsibilities and distribute leadership at times and in ways that promote greater staff engagement and ownership which, in turn, provided greater opportunities for student learning. While the exact nature and timing will vary from school to school, there is a consistent pattern of broadening participation in decision making at all levels.

Enhancing teaching and learning. Successful heads continually look for new ways to improve teaching, learning and achievement. They provide a safe environment for teachers to try new ways of working and alternate approaches that

might be more effective. Where this is done, staff respond positively to the opportunity. It affects the way they see themselves as professionals and improves their sense of self-efficacy, commitment and job satisfaction. This, in turn, has a positive impact on the way they interact with pupils and other members of staff and their professional capital.

Redesigning and enriching the curriculum. Successful heads focus on redesigning and enriching the curriculum as a way of deepening and extending engagement and improving achievement. Academic attainment is not seen to be in competition with personal and social development: rather, the two complement one another. They adapt the curriculum to broaden learning opportunities and improve access for all pupils, with the emphasis on 'stage not age' learning. Changes to build students' creativity, problem-solving capacities and self-esteem, feature heavily in the curriculum, as does a focus on developing key skills for life, without neglecting the academic. There is a recognition that when pupils enjoy learning, they are more engaged and that when they are more engaged they are more effective learners. Successful heads also emphasise the provision of a broad range of extracurricular activities, including lunchtime and after-school clubs, as well as activities during school holidays.

Enhancing teacher quality (including succession planning). Successful heads provide a rich variety of professional learning and development opportunities for staff as part of their core drive to raise standards, sustain motivation and commitment and retain high quality staff. They place a high premium on internally led professional development and learning, teachers and support staff are also encouraged to take part in a wide range of in-service training, and are given opportunities to train for external qualifications. This combination of external and internal continuing professional learning and development is used to maximise potential and develop staff in diverse areas. Succession planning and targeted recruitment are strategies which are also adopted by effective heads.

Building relationships inside the school community. Successful heads develop and sustain positive relationships with staff at all levels, making them feel valued and involved. They demonstrate concern for the professional and personal wellbeing of staff. The relationship between heads and senior leadership teams (SLTs), in particular, indicate trust and mutual respect.

Building relationships outside the school community. Building and improving the reputation of the school and engaging with the wider community is seen by successful heads as beings essential to achieving long-term success. Heads and their senior leadership teams develop positive relationships with community leaders and build a web of links across the school to other organisations and individuals. Strong links with key stakeholders in the local community are also seen to benefit the school.

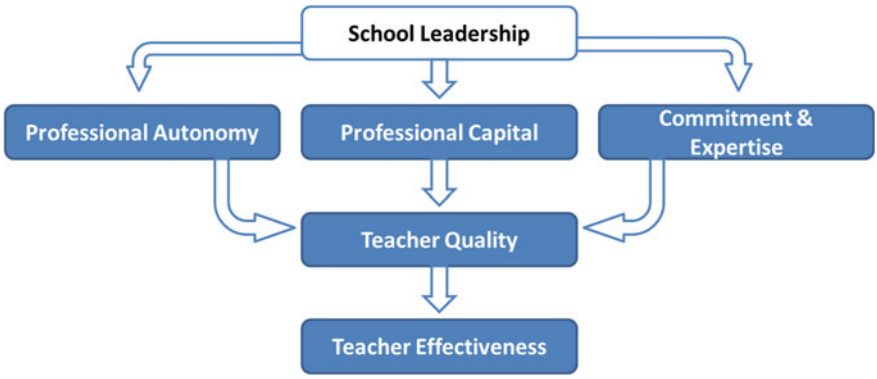
Common values. Successful heads achieve improved student performance, not only through the strategies they use but also through the core values and personal qualities they demonstrate in their daily interactions. As Fig. 1 illustrates, they place pupil wellbeing, learning and achievement at the heart of all their decisions.

Conclusions

We know from a range of related research the important contributions to teacher effectiveness of, for example, academic optimism (Tschannen-Moran 2004), 'hope' (Bullough 2011), 'integrity' (Santoro 2011), 'moral purpose' (Hansen 2005) and a strong sense of stable positive identity (Beijaard 1995). So building and sustaining teachers who are academically optimistic and hopeful, as well as knowledgeable and pedagogically skilled, with a strong, positive sense of professional autonomy, expertise, commitment and identity is a priority for all who wish for high quality teachers and teaching. We also know that these are important to the wellbeing of teachers, that wellbeing concerns the cognitive and the emotional, that it is associated with the health, energy and resilience—and that having both or not having both is likely to affect the ways in which decisional capital operates in the conditions of 'unavoidable uncertainty' which exist in classrooms.

We know also that the qualities and skills associated with the best teaching and the best teachers are not innate or fixed. They are subject to variation over the course of a teacher's life and are influenced by external socio-cultural and policy change, internal organisational and personal factors. The exercise of 'decisional capital', professional autonomy, health and well-being and the building, sustaining and renewal of commitment and expertise are likely to be subject to the capacity of the individual and will be influenced positively and negatively by the strength of individual moral purpose but also by the values, qualities, strategies and relationships of school leaders.

If we are to consider ways to understand better, enhance and continue to improve teacher education programmes and teaching and learning in schools, to build and sustain the motivations, capabilities, commitment, expertise, health, wellbeing, and resilience of teachers and continue to raise the achievements of students, then teacher educators, principals and other school leaders must be willing and able to invest in the professional capital, commitment and expertise of all their teachers; and policy makers must also invest in the quality of teacher educators and school leaders.



References

Apple, M. (2011). Autonomy as a predictor of English proficiency. *OnCUE Journal, 4*(3), 191–216.

Ayres, P., Sawyer, W., & Dinham, S. (2004). Effective teaching in the context of a grade 12 high-stakes external examination in New South Wales, Australia. *British Educational Research Journal, 20*(1), 144–165.

Bajorek, Z., Gulliford, J., & Taskila, T. (2014). *Healthy teachers, higher marks? Establishing a link between teacher health and wellbeing, and student outcomes*. London: The Work Foundation.

Ball, S. J. (2012). *Global Education inc. New policy networks and the neo-liberal imaginary*. London: Routledge.

Beijaard, D. (1995). Teachers' prior experiences and actual perceptions of professional identity. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 1*(2), 281–294.

Boyd, D., Lankford, H., Loeb, S., & Wyckoff, J. (2005). The draw of home, how teachers' preferences for proximity disadvantage urban schools. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, 24*(1), 113–134.

Brookfield, S. D. (1998). Critically reflective practice. *Journal of Continuing Education in the Health Professions, 18*(4), 197–205.

Bryk, A., & Schneider, B. (2002). *Trust in schools: A core resource for improvement*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Bullough, R. (2011). Hope, happiness, teaching and learning. In C. Day & J. C. -K. Lee (Eds.), *New understandings of teacher's work, Professional Learning, and Development in Schools and Higher Education 6*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Darling-Hammond, L., et al. (2012). *Evaluating Teacher Evaluation*. *Phi Delta Kappan*. March, http://www.kappanmagazine.org/content/93/6/8.short

Day, C. (1999). *Developing teachers: The challenges of lifelong learning*. London: Falmer.

Day, C. (2008). Committed for life? Variations in teachers' work, lives and effectiveness. *Journal of Educational Change, 9*(3), 243–260.

Day, C. (2011). Building and sustaining successful principalship in an English school. In L. Moos, O. Johansson, & C. Day (Eds.), *How school principals sustain success over time—international perspectives*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Day, C., & Gu, Q. (2014). *Resilience teachers, resilient schools: Building and sustaining quality in testing times*. London: Routledge.

Day, C., & Gurr, D. (Eds.). (2014). *Leading schools successfully: Stories from the field*. London: Routledge.

Day, C., Harris, A., Hadfield, M., Tolley, H., & Beresford, J. (2000). *Leading schools in times of change*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Day, C., & Leithwood, K. (Eds.). (2007). *Successful school principal leadership in times of change: International perspectives*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Day, C., Sammons, P., Leithwood, K., Hopkins, D., Gu, Q., Brown, E., et al. (2011a). *Successful school leadership: Linking with learning and achievement*. Maidenhead: McGraw Hill Open University Press.

Day, C., Sammons, P., Leithwood, K., Hopkins, D., Gu, Q., Brown, E., et al. (2011b). *School leadership and student outcomes: Building and sustaining success*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Day, C., Sammons, P., Stobart, G., Kington, A., & Gu, Q. (2007). *Teachers matter: Variations in work, lives and effectiveness*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Dewberry, C., & Briner, R. (2007). *Report for worklife support on the relation between well-being and climate in schools and pupil performance*. London: Worklife Support.

Engel, M., Jacob, B. A., & Curran, F. C. (2014). New evidence on teacher labor supply. *American Educational Research Journal, 51*(1), 36–72.

Firestone, W. A., Schorr, R. Y., & Monfils, L. F. (Eds.). (2004). *The ambiguity of teaching to the test: Standards, assessment and educational reform*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. London: Penguin.

Haiyan, Q., Walker, A., & Yulian, Z. (2015). Research on Chinese principals and their work. In H. Arlestig, O. Johansson, & C. Day (Eds.), *A decade of research on school principalship, studies in educational leadership 21*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Hallinger, P. (2010). Making education reform happen: Is there an "Asian" way? *School Leadership & Management, 30,* 401–418.

Hansen, D. (2005). *The call to teach*. Teachers College Press.

Hargreaves, A., & Fullan, M. (2012). *Professional capital: Transforming teaching in every school*. London: Routledge.

Jiang, M. L., Chen, J. J., & Lv, P. (2010). Xuexiao neihan fazhan zhong de xiaozhang lingdaoli (Principal leadership in school improvement-a survey of 331 principals of Pudong District of Shanghai). *Quanqui Jiaoyu Zhanwang (Global Education), 39*(8), 78–83.

Johnson, B., Down, B., Le Cornu, R., Peters, J., Sullivan, A., Pearce, J., et al. (2012). *Early career teachers: Stories of resilience* (Report from an ARC Linkage Project (2008-2012): 'Addressing the Teacher Exodus: Enhancing Early Career Teacher Resilience and Retention in Changing Times'). Adelaide, South Australia: University of South Australia.

Leana, C. (2011). The missing link in school reform. *Stanford social innovation review*, Fall. Leland Stanford Jr. University. http://www.ssireview.org/articles/entry/the_missing_link_in_school_reform

Leithwood, K., Day, C., Sammons, P., Harris, A., & Hopkins, D. (2006). *Seven strong claims about successful school leadership*. Nottingham: DfES/NCSL.

Leithwood, K., Day, C., Sammons, P., Harris, A., & Hopkins, D. (2007). *Successful school leadership, what it is and how it influences pupil learning* (Research Report RR800). London: DfES.

MacLeod, D., & Clarke, N. (2009). *Engaging for success. Enhancing performance through employee engagement*. IPA.

Ministry of Education. (2001). *The curriculum reform guidelines for the nine-year compulsory education* (trial version). Retrieved from http://edu.cn/20010926/3002911.shtml

Ministry of Education. (2011). *The professional standards of secondary teachers* (trial version). Retrieved hhttp://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s6127/201112/127830.html

Ministry of Education. (2013). *The professional standards of principals of the compulsory education stage*. Retrieved from http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s7148/201302/147899.html (in Chinese).

Moore Johnson, S. (2007). *Finders and keepers: Helping new teachers survive and thrive in our schools*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mulford, B., & Silins, H. (2003). Leadership for organisational learning and improved student outcomes. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 33*(2), 175–195.

Ozga, J. (2012). Governing knowledge: Data, inspection and education policy in Europe. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 10*(4), 439–455.

Raaen, D. (2011). Autonomy, candour and professional teacher practice: A discussion inspired by the later works of Michel Foucault. *Journal of Philosophy of Education, 45*(4), 627–641.

Robinson, V., Hohepa, M., & Lloyd, C. (2009). *School leadership and student outcomes: Identifying what works and why*. Iterative best evidence syntheses (BES) programme, Ministry of Education, New Zealand. Available at www.educationcounts.govt.nz/topics/BES

Santoro, D. A. (2011). Good teaching in difficult times: Demoralization in the pursuit of good work. *American Journal of Education, 118*(1), 1–23.

Seashore-Louis, K. (2007). Trust and improvement in schools. *Journal of Educational Change, 8,* 1–24.

Shulman, L. S. (1986). Those who understand: knowledge growth in teaching. *Educational Researcher, 15*(2), 4–14.

Slater, H., Davies, N., & Burgess, S. (2009). *Do teachers matter? Measuring the variation in teacher effectiveness in England*. Bristol: The Centre for Market and Public Organisation.

Stobart, G. (2014). *The expert learner: Challenging the myth of ability*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Syed, M. (2010). *Bounce: How champions are made*. London: Fourth Estate.

Tschannen-Moran, M. (2004). *Trust matters: Leadership for successful schools*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Zeichner, K. (2010). Rethinking the connections between campus courses and field experiences in college and university-based teacher education. *Educação Revista do Centro de Educação UFSM, 35*(3), 479–501.

Resilient Teachers, Resilient Schools: Building and Sustaining Quality in Testing Times

Qing Gu

Introduction

I begin this paper by considering the learning entitlements of every student in every school in every country of the world. I believe that each one has an entitlement not only to the provision of educational opportunities, but also to be taught by teachers who, as well as being knowledgeable about curriculum and pedagogically adept, are constant and persistent in their commitment to encouraging their students to learn and achieve, regardless of the students' own motivation and existing knowledge or ability; and who are themselves demonstrably passionate about their own learning. In one sense, these are self-evident truths about the core task of every teacher to engage students in learning which will assist them in their personal, social and intellectual development. In another sense, however, the ambitions which are embedded in these truths will not always be easy to achieve consistently over a 30 year career span.

Students are not only entitled to the best teaching. They are also entitled to be taught by teachers who are well led. School leaders, especially principals, play a key role in successfully steering their schools through changing social and policy landscapes; in providing optimal conditions, structures and cultures for learning and teaching; in enabling teachers to respond positively to the unavoidable uncertainties inherent in their everyday professional lives; and through this, sustain their commitment, wellbeing and effectiveness in making a difference to the learning, achievement and life chances of children and young people. It is these, together

© Qing Gu *This paper is drawn from Day and Gu (2014)* "*Resilient Teachers, Resilient Schools*".

Q. Gu (✉)
School of Education, The University of Nottingham, Nottingham, UK
e-mail: Qing.Gu@nottingham.ac.uk

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2017

X. Zhu et al. (eds.), *Quality of Teacher Education and Learning*,
New Frontiers of Educational Research,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3549-4_8

with the nuanced and dynamic interactions between personal, workplace, socio-cultural and policy environments which support and enable those who stay in teaching to continue to teach to their best and sustain them in doing so. As students in successful schools have told us, their teachers and principals are not there for the money. They are there because they 'care about us'. It is strong leadership and a collective as well as individual sense of moral purpose and ethic of care that make these schools resilient and effective.

Yet as the social glue of societies and many families begins to thin outside the school, accounts also continue to emerge of the disenchantment and alienation of many students and of tired teachers within schools for whom learning has become a chore and for whom teaching has become 'just a job'. Much research on teachers' work and lives notes with alarming regularity in many countries, the lowering of teacher morale, rises in stress, presenteeism and, in its extreme form, burnout. Themes of 'teacher attrition' and 'stress' continue to dominate the educational research literature and remain a regular feature of surveys on teacher morale and well-being nationally and internationally. Alongside this, the 'knock on effect' of high teacher turnover and dropout rates on the achievement of pupils, particularly for those in high poverty communities where these tend to be high, has led policy makers and teachers' associations to become increasingly concerned with problems, not only in retaining teachers, but also retaining teachers of commitment and quality.

Policies for retention have been framed predominantly around teachers in their early years of teaching, since this is where most attrition seems to occur. However, at a time when the age profile of teachers in England, the USA and many other countries is skewed towards those with more than 20 years' experience and in which they are expected to comply with successive and persistent policy reforms, changing curricula and demographic school environments, there is an urgent need, also, to investigate further the ways in which the resilience of the existing majority of the more experienced teachers may be sustained and renewed so that they are able to fulfil effectively the demands of teaching to their best in the twenty first century.

Teachers' work is carried out in an era of testing times where the policy focus in many countries has shifted from provision and process to outcomes (OECD 2012a). The OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), for example, is having an unprecedented influence on national policies for improvement and standards across many nation states. The rapidly growing international interest in 'surpassing Shanghai' and outperforming the world's leading systems (Tucker 2011) has contributed to intensify further national and international emphases upon standards, performativity and accountability. For many schools in many countries, this means that their educational values and practices, particularly in relation to the progress and achievement of their students, are now under increased public scrutiny. At the same time, widespread movement of population in many countries has seen the makeup of the local communities which schools serve become more diversified (OECD 2010). Coupled with this change in student populations are the broader, more explicitly articulated social and societal responsibilities that schools

are expected to have in supporting their communities, other schools and other public services (OECD 2008). In many countries, also, schools are expected to manage a concurrent movement towards the decentralisation of financial management and quality control functions to schools (Ball 2000, 2003; Baker and LeTendre 2005; OECD 2008, 2010). Thus, to be successful in these testing times, teachers, schools and school leaders need to be forward thinking, outward looking, optimistic, hopeful and above all, resilient.

This paper will examine what it is that enables teachers and schools to sustain the quality of their passion and commitment through good times and bad and what might prevent them from doing so. Drawing upon a range of educational, psychological, socio-cultural and neuro-scientific research, together with accounts from real teachers in real schools, the paper discusses the dynamic nature, forms and practices of teacher resilience. It argues that being a resilient teacher goes beyond mere survival on an everyday basis. Teaching to their best across a career span of 30 years and more requires that teachers are able to exercise what we call 'everyday resilience' (Day and Gu 2014), that classroom conditions inherently demand. Resilience in this sense is more than the willingness and capacity to bounce back in adverse circumstances. The paper concludes that resilience in teachers can be nurtured by the intellectual, social and organisational environments in which they work and live, rather than being simply a personal attribute or trait, determined by nature.

The Nature of Resilience

The notion of resilience originated in the disciplines of psychiatry and developmental psychology as a result of a burgeoning attention to personal characteristics or traits that enabled some children, although having been classified as being at risk of having negative life outcomes, to adapt positively and thrive (Howard et al. 1999; Waller 2001). From a chronological perspective, the decade of 1980s marked a paradigmatic change to the concept of resilience, from one which focussed upon understanding the pain, struggle and suffering involved in the adaptation process in the face of adversity, to one which focused more on understanding positive qualities and strengths (Gore and Eckenrode 1994; Henderson and Milstein 2003). Over the last two decades, the focus of resilience research in the disciplines of social and behavioural sciences developed from identifying personal traits and protective factors to investigating underlying protective processes, i.e. how such factors may contribute to positive outcomes (Luthar et al. 2000). However, despite this progress in focus, Howard et al. (1999) and Luthar et al. (2000) maintain that research in the area of resilience will be seriously constrained if a theoretical basis for resilience continues to be missing from most studies. Since the turn of this century, ground-breaking advances in biology research have provided powerful, additional evidence of the robust effects of early caregiving environments and thus promising and compelling arguments for the kinds of interventions which are likely to make a

difference to children's life trajectories (Luthar and Brown 2007; see also Curtis and Cicchetti 2003; Cicchetti and Valentino 2006).

Despite this diversity in approaches to researching resilience, a critical overview of empirical findings from different disciplines over time suggests that there are shared core considerations in the way resilience is conceptualised between disciplines. First and foremost, much previous research on resilience presupposes the presence of threat to the status quo, a positive response to conditions of significant adversity (Masten and Garmezy 1985; Masten et al. 1999; Cicchetti and Garmezy 1993; Luthar et al. 2000). Secondly, it suggests that resilience is not a quality that is innate or fixed. Rather, it can be learned and acquired (Higgins 1994). Associated with this is the third consideration that the personal characteristics, competences and positive influences of the social environment in which the individual works and lives, independently and together, interact to contribute to the process of resilience building (Gordon et al. 2000; Rutter 2006; Zucker 2006). Indeed, Luthar et al. (2000) assert that the term 'resilience' should always be used when referring to a dynamic 'process or phenomenon of competence' which encompasses 'positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity' (2000: 554).

1. *Resilience as a psychological construct*

Fredrickson's recent development of a 'broaden-and-build' theory of positive emotions (2001, 2004) provides a useful psychological conceptual framework. She (2004) observes that a subset of positive emotions—joy, interest, contentment and love—promote discovery of novel actions and social bonds, which serve to build individuals' personal resources. These personal resources, ranging from physical and intellectual resources to social and psychological resources, 'function as reserves that can be drawn on later to improve the odds of successful coping and survival' (Fredrickson, 2004: 1367). In other words, positive emotions fuel psychological resilience:

> Evidence suggests, then, that positive emotions may fuel individual differences in resilience. Noting that psychological resilience is an enduring personal resource, the broaden-and-build theory makes the bolder prediction that experiences of positive emotions might also, over time, build psychological resilience, not just reflect it. That is, to the extent that positive emotions broaden the scopes of attention and cognition, enabling flexible and creative thinking, they should also augment people's enduring coping resources (Isen 1990; Aspinwall 1998, 2001; Fredrickson and Joiner 2002).
>
> (Fredrickson 2004: 1372)

Most importantly, she suggests that, 'the personal resources accrued during states of positive emotions are durable, (outlasting) the transient emotional states that led to their acquisition', and that 'through experiences of positive emotions… people transform themselves, becoming more creative, knowledgeable, resilient, socially integrated and healthy individuals' (2004: 1369).

Fredrickson's broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions, from a psychological perspective, provides an important contribution to the establishment of a conceptual basis for understanding the resilient qualities of teachers who are doing

a job that is itself not only intellectual but also emotional in nature; and it mirrors the work of a range of educational researchers on the nature of teaching (Palmer 1998; Nias 1989, 1999; Fried 2001). Hargreaves (1998: 835), for example, suggests that emotions are at the heart of teaching:

> Good teaching is charged with positive emotions. It is not just a matter of knowing one's subject, being efficient, having the correct competences, or learning all the right techniques. Good teachers are not just well-oiled machines. They are emotional, passionate beings who connect with their students and fill their work and their classes with pleasure, creativity, challenge and joy.

In her study of American high school teachers Nieto too found that what had kept teachers going in the profession was "emotional stuff" (2003: 122). She describes teaching as an intellectual endeavour which involves love, anger and depression, and hope and possibility. Nieto (2003) argues that in the contemporary contexts for teaching a learning community is an important incentive that keeps teachers going. In pursuit of learning in 'communities of practice' (Wenger 1998), teachers will consolidate a sense of belonging and shared responsibility, enhance morale and perceived efficacy, develop aspects of resilient qualities, and thrive and flourish socially and professionally. More importantly, their resilient qualities do not merely serve their positive developmental progression. They also interact with negative influences and constraints and, together with teachers' professional qualities, may develop in strength. Large scale research into variations in the lives, work and effectiveness of primary and secondary teachers in a range of schools in England (Day et al. 2007) also observed that in the emotional context of teaching, pupils' progress and growth constantly fuelled teachers' job satisfaction and motivation, but that this was mediated positively or negatively by a number of factors which affected their capacities to rebound from disappointments and adversity and sustain their commitment to the profession, and with this, their effectiveness.

2. *Resilience: a multidimensional, socially constructed concept*

While the concept of resilience elaborated in the discipline of psychology helps clarify the internal factors and personal characteristics of trait-resilient people, the notion of resilience which takes into account the social and cultural contexts of individuals' work and lives advances a perspective that views resilience as multidimensional and is best understood as a dynamic within a social system of interrelationships (Walsh 1998; also Richardson et al. 1990; Benard 1991, 1995; Gordon 1995; Luthar et al. 2000; Henderson and Milstein 2003).

Thus, we may all be born with a biological or early life experience basis for resilient capacity, 'by which we are able to develop social competence, problem-solving skills, a critical consciousness, autonomy, and a sense of purpose' (Benard 1995: 1). However, the capacity to be resilient in different negative circumstances, whether or not these are connected to personal or professional factors, can be enhanced or inhibited by the nature of the settings in which we work, the people with whom we work and the strength of our beliefs or aspirations (Bernard

1991; Luthar 1996; Henderson and Milstein 2003; Oswald et al. 2003, Day et al. 2006).

Luthar (1996) distinguishes between ego-resiliency and resilience, which also calls attention to the dynamic and multi-dimensional nature of resilient qualities. She argues that the former is a personality characteristic of the individual and does not presuppose exposure to substantial adversity whereas the latter is a dynamic developmental process and does presuppose exposure to significantly negative conditions (see also Luthar et al. 2000). This distinction implies that resilient qualities can be learned or acquired (Higgins 1994) and achieved through providing relevant and practical protective factors, such as caring and attentive educational settings, positive and high expectations, positive learning environments, a strong supportive social community, and supportive peer relationships (Glasser 1965; Rutter et al. 1979; Werner and Smith 1988; Bernard 1991, 1995; Wang 1997; Johnson et al. 1999; Oswald et al. 2003). In accordance with this distinction, Masten (1994) cautions against the use of "resiliency" which carries the misleading connotation of a discrete personality trait, recommending that "resilience" be used "exclusively when referring to the maintenance of positive adjustment under challenging life conditions" (Cited in Luthar et al. 2000: 546).

Thus, there is a considerable body of research in which resilience is acknowledged to be a relative, multidimensional and developmental construct (Rutter 1990; Howard et al. 1999; Luthar et al. 2000). It is a phenomenon which is influenced by individual circumstance, situation and environment and thus involves far more complex components than specific personal accounts of internal traits or assets alone claim. It is not a static state because 'there is no question that all individuals—resilient or otherwise—show fluctuations over time within particular adjustment domains' (Luthar et al. 2000: 551). The nature and extent of resilience is best understood, then, as a dynamic within a social system of interrelationships (Benard 1995; Luthar et al. 2000). This is particularly relevant to understandings of resilience among adults over their work and life span.

Teacher Resilience: A Relational Concept

Historically, advances in understandings about resilience have, as I have noted, been built primarily upon research on children. The empirical work on adults is still in its infancy. Emerging evidence, however, reaffirms that resilience in adults, like that in children, is not associated with personal attributes only (Luthar and Brown 2007). Rather, it is 'a social construction' (Ungar 2004: 342) influenced by multidimensional factors that are unique to each context (Ungar 2004). In his work on cognitive-behaviour approaches to resilience, Neenan (2009) adds that it is not a quality that is reserved for 'an extraordinary few'; it can be learned and achieved by the 'ordinary many' (Neenan 2009: 7). He advocates the concept of 'routine resilience' to emphasise that resilience comprises cognitive, behavioural and emotional responses to the vicissitudes of daily life. Through an 'active process of

self-righting and growth' (Higgins 1994: 1), it enables individuals to move forward towards their goals and pursue what is perceived to be important to them, 'however slowly or falteringly' (Neenan 2009: 17). He argued that 'attitude (meaning) is the heart of resilience' (2009: 17).

Drawing upon observations of resilience research in different disciplines, and our own research (Gu and Day 2007, 2013; Gu and Li 2013; Gu 2014) we find that teacher resilience has three distinctive characteristics:

(i) It is *context specific* in that teachers' resilient qualities are best understood by taking into account not only "the more proximal individual school or classroom context", but also "the broader professional work context" (Beltman et al. 2011: 190; see also Mansfield et al. 2012). There is abundant evidence in the educational literature which shows that in-school management support for their learning and development, leadership trust and positive feedback from parents and pupils are key positive influences on teachers' motivation and resilience (e.g. Huberman 1993; Webb et al. 2004; Brunetti 2006; Leithwood et al. 2006; Day et al. 2007; Castro et al. 2010; Meister and Ahrens 2011). Empirical evidence on how successful principals mediate the negative influences of macro-level policy contexts and meso-level external school intake contexts and through this, create positive school cultures which nurture teachers' capacity for learning and development is also strong and evident (Leithwood et al. 2006; Day and Leithwood 2007; Gu et al. 2008; Robinson et al. 2009; Leithwood et al. 2010; Sammons et al. 2011; Gu and Johansson 2013). For early career teachers in particular, recognition and support of strong school leadership were found in our VITAE research in England (Day et al. 2006, 2007) to have played a central role in facilitating their professional socialisation into the school communities, developing their sense of professional self and sustaining their motivation, commitment and positive trajectories in the school and/or profession (Day and Gu 2010). The research looked into variations in the work and lives of 300 teachers in 100 primary and secondary schools over a four year period. Indeed, as Barth (1976) observed almost four decades ago, it is 'whoever lives in the principal's office' that is 'really causing schools to be the way they are or changing the way they might be' (cited in Lieberman and Miller 1992: 61). Thus for many new teachers who are yet to develop their professional identity as a teacher, the way that schools are often shapes their perceptions of what the reality of teaching is like and also whether their journey into the profession is likely to have 'easy' or 'painful' beginnings.

(ii) Teacher resilience is, also, *role specific* in that it is closely associated with the strength and conviction of teachers' vocational commitment and it is this inner calling to teach and commitment to serve which distinguishes teaching from many other jobs and occupations (Hansen 1995). In his research on teachers working in inner city high schools in the United States, Brunetti (2006) defined teacher resilience as 'a quality that enables teachers to maintain their commitment to teaching and teaching practices despite challenging conditions and recurring setbacks' (2006, p. 813). Moral purposes and ethical values are found to provide important intellectual, emotional and spiritual strengths which enable teachers to be resilient over the course of their careers (Day 2004; OECD 2005; Palmer 2007; Gu and Day

2013). Over time, research has also consistently found that teachers' self-efficacy beliefs as to whether they have the capacity to effectively help children learn and achieve are one of the most important factors influencing teachers' resilient qualities (Kitching et al. 2009; Morgan et al. 2010; Hong 2012). In this sense, resilient teachers are not survivors in the profession because they 'do more than merely get through difficult emotional experiences, hanging on to inner equilibrium by a thread' (Higgins 1994: 1; see also Gu and Li 2013). Rather, they display capacity for growth and fulfilment in pursuit of personally and professionally meaningful goals which, as research on teachers and teaching tells us, 'joins self and subject and students in the fabric of life' and connects their 'intellect and emotion and spirit' in their *hearts* (Palmer 2007: 11).

(iii) We have learned from teachers themselves that being a resilient teacher means *more than* '*bouncing back*' quickly and efficiently from difficulties. In addition to the routine pressures and unavoidable uncertainties which feature in many teachers' everyday work and lives (thus the need for 'everyday resilience'), they also face challenges that are specific to their professional life phases. Empirical evidence from Gu and Li's study of 568 primary and secondary school teachers in Beijing, for example, shows that although the scenarios that challenge them in each phase of their professional and personal lives may be different in nature, the intensity of the physical, emotional and intellectual energy required to manage them may be very similar (Gu and Li 2013). Given this, it is clear that teachers' ability to be resilient 'is not primarily associated with the capacity to "bounce back" or recover from highly traumatic experiences and events but, rather, the capacity to maintain equilibrium and a sense of commitment and agency in the everyday worlds in which teachers teach' (Gu and Day 2013: 26).

Relational Resilience

Teachers' worlds are organised around distinct sets of role relationships: 'teachers with students, teachers with other teachers, teachers with parents and with their school principal' (Bryk and Schneider 2002: 20). There is strong and consistent evidence from educational research which suggests that the social organisation of the school—when characterised by supportive, trusting and collegial relationships between different stakeholders—fosters teachers' collective capacity, commitment and effectiveness (Bryk and Schneider 2002; Tschannen-Moran and Barr 2004; Sammons et al. 2007; Day and Gu 2010). However, as yet, how such relational resilience influences teachers has not been sufficiently investigated.

Empirical evidence from neuroscience and psychology foregrounds the role of relationships in building and developing resilience in adverse and everyday circumstances. Neuroscientists' discovery of the social brain reveals that 'we are wired to connect' (Goleman 2006: 4) and provides a biological basis for understanding the importance of good quality relationships in maintaining a sense of positive identity, well-being and effectiveness in our daily work and lives. Goodwin (2005),

writing from a psychological perspective, maintains that 'close relationships act as important 'social glue', helping people deal with the uncertainties of their changing world' (2005: 615, cited in Edwards 2007: 8). In positive psychology, particular attention has been given to the importance of relationship-based assets and their contribution to resilience (Masten 2001; Gorman 2005; Luthans et al. 2007). Luthar (2007) too argues that 'Resilience rests, fundamentally, on relationships' (2006: 780).

> Relationships lie at the "roots" of resilience: when everyday relationships reflect ongoing abuse, rancor, and insecurity, this profoundly threatens resilience as well as the personal attributes that might otherwise have fostered it. Conversely, the presence of support, love, and security fosters resilience in part, by reinforcing people's innate strengths (such as self-efficacy, positive emotions and emotion regulation) with these personally attributes measured biologically and/or behaviourally.
>
> (Luthar and Brown 2007: 947)

As yet, however, most psychological studies of resilience have been slow to move away from 'a "separate self"' model of development (Jordan 2004) which tends to continue to imply that resilience resides largely within the person (Luthar and Brown 2007). Relationships are seen as an external, 'given' asset, resource or protective factor which has a substantive influence on individuals' personal attributes and through this, the development of their wellbeing, self-efficacy and resilient qualities (Engh et al. 2006; Luthar 2007; Taylor 2007). The emphasis on the benefits of relationships is thus placed upon the individual who is in need of support and the focus of investigation tends to be narrowed down in a 'one-directional way from the point of the view of the individual looking for support from another individual or group' (Jordan 1992: 1). The underlying problem of this approach is that it fails to address fully the role of individual agency and capacity in maintaining connection and/or forming reconnection with secure, trusting and enduring attachments to others.

In contrast to the 'traditional' definition of resilience, Jordan (1992, 2004, 2006, 2012) has proposed a model of relational resilience to emphasise that 'resilience should be seen as a relational dynamic' (1992: 1). She argues that 'resilience resides not in the individual but in the capacity for connection' (2012: 73). A toxic cultural system which denies the importance of connection for growth is detrimental in two interrelated ways: on the one hand, it devalues our need for others and impedes our ability to turn to them for support in distress (Jordan 2010); on the other hand, it challenges 'our capacity to form supportive and resilience building relationships' (Jordan 2012: 74). Drawing upon recent discoveries in neuroscience studies, Jordan (2012) argues that despite the pressures in dysfunctional cultures which block the natural flow of disconnection-connection, our brains' robust ability to change can enable people to rework back into healthy connections, achieve more secure attachment and through this, 'begin to shift underlying patterns of isolation and immobilization' (2012: 74). Therefore, for Jordan, being resilient does not necessarily mean 'bouncing back' to a previously existing state; rather, it entails 'movement through and beyond stress or suffering into a new and more

comprehensive personal and relational integration' (Jordan 1992: 1). Mutual empathetic involvement, empowerment and efforts to discover a path back to connection are at the core of this movement; and personal transformation (i.e. positive and creative growth) and social change which promotes greater connection and mutually enhanced relationships and growth are the ultimate consequences (Jordan 2004).

Jordan's relational model of resilience resonates powerfully with the conceptualisation of caring and trusting relationships in the educational literature, especially in relation to the ways in which they influence teachers' sense of commitment, resilience and effectiveness. Noddings (2005) argues that a caring relation is, 'in its most basic form, a connection or encounter between two human beings—a carer and a recipient of care, or cared for' (2005: 15). Solomon and Flores's (2001) work on trust adds to her argument in emphasising that a trusting relationship is 'cultivated', 'a matter of human effort' and thus 'never something "already at hand"': 'it can and often must be conscientiously created, not simply taken for granted' (2001: 87). By extension, once trusting and open professional relationships have been created, nurtured and developed within the school gate and beyond, they may function as '*bonding social capital*' which, as research shows, not only facilitates coordinated actions between individuals, but also allows people to pursue their goals, and serves to bind the organisation together and through this, improve its efficiency (Putnam 1993; Field 2008; Hargreaves and Fullan 2012). For teachers, social relationships and networks in and between workplaces bring intellectual, spiritual and emotional resources which they can use to enhance their collective efficacy and shared beliefs of professional control, influence and responsibility and ultimately, improve the achievement of their students (Goddard 2002; Goddard et al. 2004; Mawhinney et al. 2005).

The conceptual strengths of using the relational model of resilience to examine teachers' work and lives are threefold. First and foremost, the model acknowledges the relational nature of teachers' professional worlds and the important role of supportive relationships in sustaining their sense of wellbeing and commitment in the profession. Second, by placing relationships at the centre of teachers' work and lives, it acknowledges that a collective sense of collegiality, efficacy and effectiveness is an outcome of their joint, collaborative efforts which connect them intellectually, emotionally and spiritually and which, at the same time, enable the seeds of deeper trusting and caring relationships to grow and flourish among them. Last but not least, it reminds us that the role of school leaders in creating favourable organisational structures and conditions which nourish collaborative efforts for learning is of paramount importance for teachers to achieve a sense of fulfilment and success with their students. It is important to note that **resilience is not a quality that is reserved for *the heroic few***. Rather, it can be shared by many ordinary teachers who remain extraordinarily committed to serving the learning and achievement of the children on an everyday basis and also, over the course of their professional lives.

Relationships, Resilience and Effectiveness: Conditions Count

Teachers' resilience building processes are nested in 'a web of communal relationships' (Palmer 2007: 97) and are influenced, positively or negatively, by the quality of the relationships in which their work and lives are embedded. In our research, three sets of relationships were found to be at the heart of this web: teacher-teacher relations, teacher-principal relations and teacher-student relations. Individually and collectively, they shaped the social and intellectual environments of the workplace and through this, fostered or hindered teachers' sense of professionalism, commitment and control.

The former two relationships, in particular, were found to have provided the necessary structural and social conditions for teachers' collective and collaborative learning and development. Through such learning and development, many teachers were able to harness the commitments, expertise and wisdom of their colleagues for their own professional growth, whilst at the same time, enhance their capacities to connect with each other emotionally, intellectually and spiritually (in terms of the sharing of values and interests). The alignment of values within 'a tight team' was perceived by many as the moral foundation for the achievement of a strong sense of collective efficacy and professional fulfilment. With regard to teacher-student relationships, emotional attachments between teachers and students were found to be closely connected with a strong sense of calling that had brought many teachers into the profession and had remained a primary source of job fulfilment over the course of their careers.

Drawing upon evidence from the VITAE research (Day et al. 2007), the rest of the paper will explore in greater depth the ways in which resilience in teachers may be related to the learning and achievement of their pupils. The aims of the VITAE research were to examine variations in teachers' work, lives and effectiveness in 100 primary and secondary schools in England. In a secondary analysis of what kept 73% of the 300 primary and secondary teachers in different phases of their careers committed in the profession, resilience emerged as an intellectually and emotionally important concept which was at the heart of the quality retention issue (Day and Gu 2010; Gu 2014). A total of 232 teachers' profiles were analysed under this theme. Drawing upon the experiences of these teachers, the paper will show that for many teachers who sustain their commitment and effectiveness, three interrelated conditions—teachers' vocational selves, high quality social and professional relationships with colleagues, and leadership support and recognition—are integral in enabling them to function well in everyday teaching and learning environments as well as to weather the often unpredictable, more extreme "storms" of school and classroom life (Patterson and Kelleher 2005). In other words, their capacity for sustaining 'everyday resilience' over the course of their teaching careers must be understood in the personal, professional and organisational contexts in which they work and live.

What our own and a range of other research reveals clearly is that teachers' sense of resilience is not only driven by their vocational commitment to make a difference to the learning of the children, but also influenced by the support and recognition of 'significant others' in the professional and personal environments in which they work and live. In our previous publications (e.g. Gu and Day 2007, 2013; Day and Gu 2014), we have demonstrated (how a sense of vocation can provide many committed teachers with the internal drive, strength and optimism which are necessary to help every child learn on each school day. We have shown, also, the critical roles played by school leaders, particularly the head teacher, in creating conditions for the seeds of trust, openness, collegiality and collective responsibility to grow and flourish on their school site.

In this paper I will focus more closely on teachers' relational resilience, exploring how establishing connections with colleagues and students can create and increase the collective intellectual and emotional capital which, in turn, contributes to their sense of job fulfilment and commitment. Finally, by demonstrating the significance of associations between teachers' sense of resilience and their effectiveness, as perceived by teachers themselves as well as measured by the progress of their students' academic outcomes, I hope that the evidence presented in this paper will contribute to current debates among policy makers, academics and the teaching profession about not only the retention of teachers in the profession but, more importantly, the retention of high-quality teachers.

Building Relational Resilience with Teachers

Teachers in all six professional life phases identified in the VITAE research (Day et al. 2007; Day and Gu 2010) reported *positive influences of collegial, emotional and intellectual connections* with colleagues on their wellbeing, commitment and capacity to sustain a sense of effectiveness on every working day. Between 78% and 100% of teachers in different phases of their professional lives emphasised how their colleagues' passion, enthusiasm and support contributed to their sense of belonging, collective responsibility and commitment. This was especially the case for those in schools serving socio-economically challenging communities. For example, for Malcolm, a Year 9 English teacher with 26 years of experience, it was the *closeness of the relationships* with his colleagues that made him feel that his current inner city school, and his department in particular, was the 'best place' that he had ever worked:

> Personally I love working down here. It's the best place I've ever worked for—team spirit, keenness and motivation that I have and the rest of the department has. … Over here (department) I'm happy. I'm enjoying things. I'm working with people that I rate and value and I feel value me.

Related to this finding is the observation that teachers who described their workplaces as supportive and friendly communities where there was 'a good sense of "team"' among the staff were more likely to maintain their commitment and capacity to teach to their best. A total of 91% of teachers who managed to sustain their sense of resilience and commitment reported *the positive influence of collegial and collaborative support* on their morale and intellectual and emotional well-being. In contrast, only 71% of teachers who did not manage to sustain their resilience and commitment reported this. Results of a Chi-Square test show that the observed difference is statistically significant ($x^2 = 10.903$, df = 1, $p < 0.01$).

The importance of open, trusting and enduring working relationships between peers in promoting individuals' learning and growth and through this, creating creative and productive intellectual capital within the workplace, is well documented in the educational and organisational change literature (e.g. Nieto 2003; Hargreaves and Fink 2006; Lieberman and Miller 2008; Hargreaves and Fullan 2012; Louis 2012). Evidence from the VITAE research reaffirms the main thrust of these observations. Among those who reported the positive impact of staff relationships on their work, close to one in six (16%) described that working with 'really good, extremely motivated and effective staff' had the greatest impact on their satisfaction, morale and commitment. Central to this observation was a consistent message that being able to learn from each other, generate ideas with each other and share ideas together 'affects the effectiveness in the classroom' (Roger, 23 years in teaching).

Sustained dialogue and interaction amongst colleagues were seen by many as an effective way of building a shared repertoire of expertise and wisdom in the department and/or school. As a late entrant into the teaching profession who was now in the watershed phase of her teaching career (with 8–15 years of experience), Margaret, a primary school teacher, was especially appreciative of the *strong social and intellectual bonds* in her school which enabled her to connect her own learning and her own teaching practices with those of her colleagues:

> We try and share. We discuss problem children. We discuss strategies. We share what knowledge we have, what expertise we have. We feel free to ask people without feeling vulnerable because we don't know the answer. We feel we can ask each other.

For Kathy, who had more than 30 years of teaching experience in the primary sector, professional support from her colleagues and teaching assistants was still regarded as the most 'invaluable' and 'important' influence on her sense of efficacy, motivation and commitment. She proudly described her school as 'a very, very caring place' and attributed this to *a collegial culture of sharing* where expressing the need for help and advice was not regarded as a sign of weakness, but an entitlement to and an opportunity for learning and growth.

> I don't think anybody is afraid to hold their hands up and say, I can't do this or I don't know how to do this, help me somebody, and somebody will always help. Nobody puts themselves up as a prime example of the perfect teacher because we all know that we're not.

As Noddings (2005) argues, 'caring is a way of being in relation' (2005: 17). The ethics of care for and about the teachers has to be grounded in the belief that as they 'learn how to talk together honestly, to engage in knowledge work both as producers and critical consumers of new theories and ideas, and to make connections between their own learning, their teaching practices, and the impact these on students', they will 'begin to see themselves and act differently; they reinvent themselves as teachers and reinvigorate their careers' (Lieberman and Miller 2008: 101). In a similar vein, Little (1990), Palmer (2007) and Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) have urged teachers themselves as well as school leaders to develop 'a more collaborative and collegial profession—not just because this is professionally supportive but because it also improves student learning and achievement' (Hargreaves and Fullan 2012: xi–xii). Yet even today, there are many teachers who continue to teach, literally and metaphorically, behind closed doors.

The nature of connection within caring and trusting communities of learning among colleagues does not lie only in the physical communications between individuals, but also in the values and interests which they share in making a difference to the learning and achievement of every child. For Tony, a senior leader with more than 20 years' experience in the primary sector, it was the *intellectual challenges from his colleagues* within such a community that had enabled him to learn and grow:

> The biggest asset in terms of professional support is my teaching colleagues in the school. We are part of a very active bunch of monitors—we will watch each other teach and will comment on areas of strength and development and I am monitored like everybody else by curriculum co-ordinators and that's a real support to me and the quality of the learning support provision makes a huge difference in the classroom and helps to raise standards in the classroom in a large variety of ways.

Tony's experience (and that of his other 155 primary and secondary peers in our sample) provides another testimony to how such communities encourage teachers to come together to 'inquire into the need for, and then create improvements that benefit all students' (Hargreaves and Fink 2006: 128) often become 'a way of life'.

Over the past twenty years educational research consistently reports that teaching is, by its very nature, an emotional practice (Hargreaves 1998; Sutton and Wheatley 2003; Kelchtermans 2005; Zembylas 2005, 2011; Day and Gu 2009; Zembylas and Schutz 2009). The inherent interconnectedness between emotion and cognition and the impact of positive emotional contexts on teachers' learning and thinking have also been acknowledged in the literature (Nias 1996; Frijda 2000; vanVeen and Lasky 2005). In the VITAE research, there is also an abundance of evidence which points to the importance of the relationship between strong emotional ties with colleagues and teachers' sense of motivation and commitment. For almost all the 185 teachers who reported the positive impact of close staff relationships on their work, it was the trust between colleagues and the 'pats on the back' that 'make a difference when you get up to go to work in the morning'.

Andrea, a primary school teacher with 26 years of experience in the profession, had been increasingly struggling with work-life tensions. Although her

commitments had remained high for the children, her enjoyment of the job 'isn't the same as it used to be' because of 'all the pressures from outside and the pressure to do all this paperwork'. Given this, she was especially appreciative of *the social environment of her school* which she described as 'a lovely place' because the staff worked hard in an atmosphere of mutual support and good humour:

> People I work with are all very good and very supportive and I think that's one of the things in this school that keep us going. The staff in this school all get on and that is a big help when you are feeling a bit low. There is always someone to offer support and advice.

For Cherry, an early career English teacher in a challenging urban secondary school, the '*close knit team'* within her department and the wider supportive ethos in her school made a significant difference to her motivation, sense of efficacy and decision to stay in teaching:

> It's something that the school's just managed to grasp and I don't know if it's the type of people that work here or it comes from above, I don't know, but the staff on the floor themselves seem to fit and support each other. If that side wasn't there I wouldn't still be here because if you didn't have your staff members to turn to or go for a drink with on a Friday night, it is a very tough school to teach in and the problems and the workload and if you didn't have the backup from the staff you wouldn't put up with it.

The emphasis upon the importance of collegial care, sympathy and moral support to their motivation and commitment was almost universal among the 185 teachers who reported close relations with their colleagues. Hargreaves (1994) argues that teaching involves 'human nurturance, connectedness, warmth and love' (1994: 175). The texture of care, connectedness and emotional bonds between colleagues is found to be 'woven principally of social and interpersonal interests' (Little 1990: 513). For many teachers and those working in schools serving socio-economically challenging communities in particular, such interests often rest upon a feeling that 'we're all in the same boat and you've got to pull together; otherwise, the boat is going to sink' (Paul, 26 years of experience). In the experience of David, a primary school teacher with five years' experience, 'a good sense of community' was 'all about sharing, caring and learning' (David, five years in teaching, primary).

The laughter and mutually supportive ethos between colleagues—professionally as well as on a personal level—provides a necessary happy and positive psychological and social environment for the staff. It serves to bank their positive emotions about teaching (Fredrickson 2001, 2004), nourish their sense of subjective well-being (OECD 2013) and keep their commitments strong. What matters most to teachers is that a professional school and/or departmental culture which is blended with shared values and positive emotions is more likely to help teachers "transform themselves, becoming more creative, knowledgeable, resilient, socially integrated and healthy individuals" (Fredrickson 2004: 1369). All students in all contexts, as Edwards (2003) argues, 'deserve to be taught by enthusiastic, motivated individuals' (2003: 11).

Building Relational Resilience with Leaders

The need for strong leadership in creating and building a positive and collegial professional culture in schools has been consistently reported in the educational literature (e.g. Leithwood et al. 2006, 2010; Day and Leithwood 2007; Deal and Peterson 2009; Hargreaves and Fullan 2012; OECD 2012a, b; Gu and Johansson 2013). There is also abundant evidence that trusting relationships between the head and their staff are a key feature of successful schools (e.g. Bryk et al. 2010; Day et al. 2011). In their work on successful urban schools, Bryk and Schneider (2002) found that 'teachers who perceive benevolent intentions on the part of their principal are more likely to feel efficacious in their jobs' (2002: 29).

In the VITAE research, we also found that teachers who reported *support and recognition from school leaders* (including principals, senior and/or middle leaders) were more likely to develop and sustain a sense of commitment and resilience in the profession ($x^2 = 7.155$, df = 1, $p < 0.01$). Seventy-four per cent of teachers who managed to do so, compared with 52.5% who did not, reported the positive impact of school leadership on their morale, motivation and commitment. Moreover, amongst the 118 who maintained their commitment to the learning of their students, one in seven (14%) felt that leadership support made a difference to their perceived effectiveness in the classroom. As Shirley, a primary teacher with eleven years of experience, put it, 'It [support from the head and deputy head] makes you feel better about yourself and your role, and then it makes you a more effective teacher.' In a similar vein, Kwame, a mid-career maths teacher, felt that it was the personal support and 'constructive advice on everything' from his head of department that improved his effectiveness in teaching. For Liz, a primary teacher with 25 years of experience in teaching, it was the openness and recognition from the senior leaders that made a difference to her sense of effectiveness: 'Since the change in management I've been given much more responsibility and feel a lot more valued than before; and I think that's made me a more effective teacher and a more effective leader.'

Relationships of trust and caring are the heartbeats of positive leadership. Ample examples from the VITAE research show that such relationships are founded on *a collective sense of moral purpose and responsibility* and are the culmination of mutual acceptance and recognition between the leader and the teacher of their competence, integrity and commitment. For example, Janet, a primary school teacher with more than 30 years in teaching, attributed enjoyment of the final phase of her teaching career to the leadership of her head teacher—whose trust in the commitment and integrity of the teachers, and vice versa, bounded them together for a shared purpose of achievement:

> He is a very good leader but very fair. He does not bombard us with all the new initiatives. He sort of protects us in a way, I mean we all pull our weight, we had a very good OFSTED, but he doesn't bombard us and go around breathing down your neck to make sure everything is done. People are trusted to do their job and I think that works very well.

The motivation of Melanie, a maths teacher with eight years of teaching experience, increased significantly when she was treated by the new Head as a "de facto" second in command: 'That's given me more satisfaction because I feel like I've been given more responsibility. Even though I'm finding it hard work, I'm enjoying it.' Moreover, what also kept her motivation and commitment high was a collective culture of caring and appreciation that had been created by the new head:

> I think it's the sort of school we work in where you do give, and people always say the level of caring about the kids and doing things for the good of the kids is so high here in comparison to other schools. … If you take part in something, the head will thank everybody. You get a personal letter of thanks.

It was within the many reciprocal exchanges between teachers and leaders which are essential to the development of relational trust that many teachers in the VITAE research saw their motivation and commitment grow and their sense of effectiveness improve. Like many other healthy social relationships, reciprocity, trust and trustworthiness (Field 2008) are also key features of teacher-leader relations. Leaders are the architects of such relations. Their personal and professional qualities and values (such as openness, fairness, respect, compassion and discernment of talent) were perceived by many VITAE teachers as being central to the creation and development of a tight sense of community in their schools. For example, Penny, a primary school teacher who had spent 25 years in teaching, believed that her school was extremely well led by her head. It impacted on her commitment and capacity to teach to her best because 'The head has a vision, knows how to get there, shows us the vision rather than telling us. It makes everyone want to go with it." For Meryl, a late-career English teacher, the openness that the head had with the staff and his appreciation of their work had a positive effect on the motivation of her department: 'If you do something good, the head will come and thank you.'

> The head here is wonderful—he knows the students, he does bus duty and says good night to the teachers. He'll be in the staffroom at break time and doesn't hide away in his office like lots of heads do.

Bryk and Schneider (2002) describe relationships such as these as being based upon *relational trust* which is

> appropriately viewed as an organisational property in that its constitutive elements are socially defined in the reciprocal exchanges among participants in a school community, and its presence (or absence) has important consequences for the functioning of the school and its capacity to engage fundamental change.
>
> (Bryk and Schneider 2002: 22)

By extension, *building a collective sense of commitment and resilience in a school community is also a collective endeavour and requires organisational support*. As the experiences of Claire, an early-career primary school teacher, show, it is more likely to happen if 'the leader becomes better able to open spaces in which people feel invited to create communities of mutual support' where they share the passion for teaching and learning (Palmer 2007: 166).

Building Relational Resilience with Pupils

Trusting teacher-student relationships are essential for student learning (Bryk and Schneider 2002). They are also crucial for maintaining teachers' job fulfilment (Gu and Li 2013) and commitment in teaching. Evidence from the VITAE research reaffirms this, suggesting that teachers who enjoyed positive teacher-student relations were more likely to report a sustained sense of resilience and commitment to make a difference to students' learning and growth. Eighty-nine per cent of those who demonstrated commitment and capacity to teach to their best, compared with 71% who did not, enjoyed good relationships with their students. Results of the Chi-Square test show that the observed difference is statistically significant ($x^2 = 7.635$, df = 1, $p < 0.01$). Moreover, almost one in six (15%) of the former group emphasised how such relationships 'produced a good dynamic in classes' (Mike, an early career Maths teacher) and that 'the rapport with the children in the classroom' (Anita, a mid-career English teacher) had the greatest positive impact on their motivation and sense of effectiveness. For example,

> I have consciously worked at establishing a really good relationship with my pupils. They realised I actually value them and actually like them, and want them to achieve. We now have a lot of respect for one another. (Ruth, mid-career primary teacher)

What we also learn from these and other interviews, however, is that trusting relationships between teacher and student involve more than a positive, open and caring emotional connection between two parties. They also encompassed teachers' belief in students' endeavour to achieve. For example, Maggie, a primary school teacher with 26 years in teaching, described her pupils as 'a lovely bunch of kids' and felt that 'I can trust them because they are good kids. … I know they will do their tasks … and this makes me feel good.'

For Barbara, a late-career maths teacher, 'Teaching is a lot more personal now. … I get a kick out of watching them grow up.' Similarly, for Malcolm, an English teacher with also 26 years' experience, his enjoyment of teaching was founded in the good relationships that he and his colleagues in the English department established with the pupils. Difficult students improved because of such relationships which, in his view, had a 'massive' positive impact on good results:

> That's reflected in their behaviour, the work they produce, their results, also cross referenced to how they're performing elsewhere in the school. We don't have many problems down here in terms of attitude and behaviour, talking to the pupils. They enjoy English.

Connecting Resilience with Relative Effectiveness

What the evidence in the VITAE project revealed was is that different relationships within teachers' work and lives provide various conditions which nurture their learning, development and the resilience building process and through this, promote

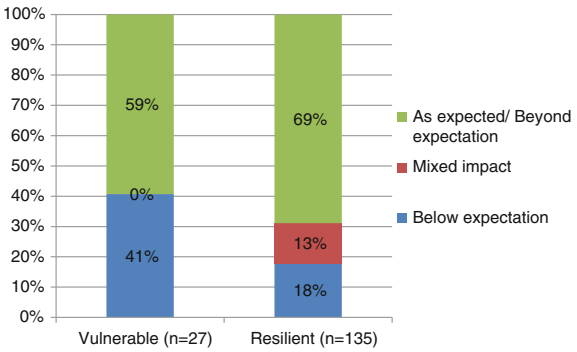


Fig. 1 Associations between teachers' sense of resilience and relative effectiveness

and nourish their individual and collective efficacy and effectiveness. The research team validated the groupings of teachers' perceived career and resilience trajectories through a blind check with teachers and then explored the relationships between teachers' sense of resilience and their relative effectiveness. A statistically significant association for the two years (Cohorts 1 and 2) for which value-added data were available was found ($x^2 = 8.320$, df = 2, $p < 0.05$; $x^2 = 9.402$, df = 2, $p < 0.01$). Students of teachers who demonstrated a sustained sense of commitment and resilience were more likely to attain value-added results at or above the level expected. Figure 1 illustrates the findings for Cohort 2 (n = 162). In total, 69% of teachers who sustained their sense of resilience, compared with 59% of those who did not, saw their students achieve results as expected or better than expected in our value added measures. In contrast, 18% of teachers in the resilient group, compared with 41% of those in the vulnerable group, saw their students' academic progress below expectations. The association is by no means perfect, however, and we do not claim a causal connection. Rather, we think the result raises interesting avenues for further exploration of the meaning of sustaining teacher resilience for standards and improvement in other contexts and with larger samples.

Conclusions: Beyond Survival—Sustaining Teacher Resilience and Quality in Times of Change

Over the years, the evidence from my work with outstanding teachers and outstanding schools in changing social, cultural and political landscapes of education nationally and internationally has led me to believe that, regardless of age, experience or gender or school context, teachers and schools *can* change the worlds of their students and that many of them *do*! They are not simply survivors but committed and competent professionals and organisations that are proud of being at the centre of a profession which is charged with making a difference to the learning, lives and achievement of all children and young people. They have what Hargreaves and Fullan (2012: 3) call, 'professional capital'. I share Nieto's (2011)

respect for such teachers in her reflections on her professional work with teachers over the course of her career that 'My belief in teachers is stronger than ever because I have seen the best of them do unbelievable work in sometimes harsh circumstances' (2011: 133). These are the teachers who give witness to the essential meaning of 'everyday resilience' which I have used throughout this paper.

My definition of 'quality' in teachers should be understood in the broadest possible sense. It goes beyond the technocratic concerns for performativity and test results. In essence, the continuing aspiration for quality is driven by teachers' sense of vocation and care about and for their students. It is about the extra mile that the best teachers willingly travel to motivate each one of their students to learn and to bring about the best possible achievement in them. It is related to their passion, commitment and continuing enthusiasm for their own learning and development which is, importantly, supported by their school, and which result, in an abiding sense of efficacy, hope and belief that they can and do continue to make a difference in the classroom. It is related to an individual and collective sense of moral purpose and sustained engagement with their fellow colleagues in collaborative learning and development. Finally, the improvement in the quality of teachers and teaching must be understood within the social, cultural and organisational environments of the school—which are designed, nurtured and shaped by the educational architect who lives in the principal's office.

Scholars have used different conceptual and methodological lenses to explore issues around quality in schools and schooling over the years. I chose resilience because it enables me to probe teachers' inner and external professional worlds to explore why many are still committed and passionate about making a difference and continue to do so—despite the unpredictable nature of their every school day and the many physical, emotional and intellectual challenges that are associated with this. In exploring the landscapes of resilience, however, I do not seek to valorise teachers. On the contrary, we know how pressed they are, how some fall by the wayside for a variety of reasons and how not all are or remain as passionate, skilful, committed or resilient as many of those referenced in this paper. However, through the lens of resilience, especially *everyday resilience* and *relational resilience*, I have tried to show what drives teachers and school leaders to work hard, how they work, how hard their work is and the impact that their work can have upon their students, colleagues and the school community. I conclude this paper with eight key messages (detailed see Day and Gu 2014: 141–146).

Message 1: To teach, and to teach well over time, requires 'everyday resilience'.
Message 2: Resilience is closely associated with teachers' sense of identity and commitment.
Message 3: There are close associations between resilience and a strong sense of moral purpose.
Message 4: Teacher resilience-building processes are relational.
Message 5: School leadership matters.
Message 6: The capacity to be resilient is an important quality of successful school leaders.

Message 7: Resilience in teachers is essential, but it is not the only condition for them to be effective.

Message 8: Building and sustaining the capacity for resilience is more than an individual responsibility.

References

Aspinwall, L. G. (1998). Rethinking the role of positive affect in self-regulation. *Motivation and Emotion, 22*, 1–32.

Aspinwall, L. G. (2001). Dealing with adversity: Self-regulation, coping, adaptation, and health. In A. Tesser & N. Schwarz (Eds.), *The Blackwell handbook of social psychology: Vol. 1. lntrapersonal processes* (pp. 159–614). Maiden, MA: Blackwell.

Baker, D., & LeTendre, G. (2005). *National differences, global similarities: World culture and the future of schooling*. California: Stanford University Press.

Ball, S. (2000). Performativities and fabrications in the education economy: Towards the performative society. *Australian Educational Researcher, 17*(3), 1–24.

Ball, S. (2003). The teachers' soul and the terrors of performativity. *Journal of Education Policy, 18*(2), 215–228.

Barth, R. (1976). A principal and his school. *The National Elementary Principal, 56*, 9–21.

Beltman, S., Mansfield, C., & Price, A. (2011). Thriving not just surviving: A review of research on teacher resilience. *Educational Research Review, 6*, 185–207.

Benard, B. (1995). *Fostering resilience in children. ERIC/EECE Digest, EDO-PS-99.*

Bernard, B. (1991). *Fostering resiliency in Kids: Protective factors in the family, school, and community*. San Francisco: WestEd Regional Educational Laboratory.

Brunetti, G. (2006). Resilience under fire: Perspectives on the work of experienced, inner city high school teachers in the United States. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 22,* 812–825.

Bryk, A., & Schneider, B. (2002). *Trust in Schools*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Bryk, A., Sebring, P., Allensworth, E., Luppescu, S., & Easton, J. (2010). *Organizing schools for improvement: Lessons from Chicago*. Chicago: The University of Chicago press.

Castro, A., Kelly, J., & Shih, M. (2010). Resilience strategies for new teachers in high-needs areas. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 26,* 622–629.

Cicchetti, D., & Garmezy, N. (Eds.). (1993). Milestones in the development of resilience [Special issue]. *Development and Psychopathology, 5*(4), 497–774.

Cicchetti, D., & Valentino, K. (2006). An ecological–transactional perspective on child maltreatment: Failure of the average expectable environment and its influence on child development. In D. Cicchetti & D. J. Cohen (Eds.), *Developmental psychopathology: Vol. 3. Risk, disorder, and adaptation* (2nd ed., pp. 129–201). New York: Wiley.

Curtis, W. J., & Cicchetti, D. (2003). Moving research on resilience into the 21st century: Theoretical and methodological considerations in examining the biological contributors to resilience. *Development and Psychopathology, 15,* 773–810.

Day, C. (2004). *A passion for teaching*. London: Routledge Falmer.

Day, C., Edwards, A., Griffiths, A., & Gu, Q. (2011). Beyond survival: Teachers and resilience. Key messages from ESRC-funded Seminar series

Day, C., & Gu, Q. (2009). Teacher emotions: Well being and effectiveness. In M. Zembylas & P. Schutz (Eds.), *Advances in teacher emotion research: The impact on teachers' lives* (pp. 15–31). Berlin: Springer.

Day, C., & Gu, Q. (2010). *The new lives of teachers*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Day, C., & Gu, Q. (2014). *Resilient teachers, resilient schools: Building and sustaining quality in testing times*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Day, C., Kington, A., Stobart, G., & Sammons, P. (2006). The personal and professional selves of teachers: Stable and unstable identities. *British Educational Research Journal, 32*(4), 601–616.
Day, C., & Leithwood, K. (Eds.). (2007). *Successful principal leadership in times of change: An international perspective*. Dordrecht: Springer.
Day, C., Sammons, P., Stobart, G., Kington, A., & Gu, Q. (2007). *Teachers matter: Connecting lives, work and effectiveness*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
Deal, T. E., & Peterson, K. D. (2009). *Shaping school culture* (2nd ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
Edwards, A. (2003). *Retention and motivation of veteran teachers: Implications for schools.* Unpublished dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis, East Tennessee State University.
Edwards, A. (2007). Relational agency in professional practice: A CHAT analysis. *Actio*: *An International Journal of Human Activity Theory, 1*, 1–17.
Engh, A. E., Beehner, J. C., Bergman, T. J., Whitten, P. L., Hoffmeier, R. R., Seyfarth, R. M., et al. (2006). Behavioural and hormonal responses to predation in female chacma baboons (Papio hamadryas ursinus). *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London, Series B, 273*, 707–712.
Field, J. (2008). *Social capital* (2nd ed.). London and New York: Routledge.
Fredrickson, B. L. (2001). The role of positive emotions in positive psychology: the broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *American Psychologist, 56*(3), 218–226.
Fredrickson, B. L. (2004). The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *The Royal Society, 359*, 1367–1377.
Fredrickson, B., & Joiner, T. (2002). Positive emotions trigger upward spirals toward emotional well-being. *Psychological Science, 13*(2), 172–175.
Fried, R. (2001). *The passionate teacher: A practical guide* (2nd ed.). Boston: Beacon Press.
Frijda, N. H. (2000). The psychologists' point ofview. In M. Lewis & J. M. Haviland-Jones (Eds.), *Handbook of emotions* (2nd ed., pp. 59–74). New York/London: The Guilford Press.
Glasser, W. (1965). *Schools Without Failure*. New York: Harper & Row.
Goddard, R. (2002). Collective efficacy and school organisation: A multilevel analysis of teacher influence in schools. *Theory and Research in Educational Administration, 1,* 169–184.
Goddard, R., Hoy, W. K., & Hoy, A. W.(2004). Collective efficacy beliefs: Theoretical developments, empirical evidence, and future directions. *Educational Researcher, 33*(3), 1–13.
Goleman, D. (2006). *Social intelligence: The new science of human relationships*. Bantam Dell, New York: Arrow Books.
Goodwin, R. (2005). Why I study relationships and culture. *The Psychologist, 18*(10), 614–615.
Gordon, K. A. (1995). The self-concept and motivational patterns of resilient African American high school students. *Journal of Black Psychology, 21*, 239–255.
Gordon, K. A., Longo, M., & Trickett, M. (2000). Fostering resilience in children. *The Ohio State University Bulletin*, 875–99. http://ohioline.osu.edu/b875
Gore, S., & Eckenrode, J. (1994). Context and process in research on risk and resilience. In R. Haggerty, L. R. Sherrod, N. Garmezy, & M. Rutter (Eds.), *Stress, risk and resilience in children and adolescents: Process, mechanisms and interventions* (pp. 19–63). New York: Cambridge University Press.
Gorman, C. (2005, January 17). The importance of resilience. *Time, 165*(3), A52–A55.
Gu, Q. (2014). The role of resilience in teachers' career long commitment and effectiveness. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 20*(5), 502–529.
Gu, Q., & Day, C. (2007). Teachers resilience: A necessary condition for effectiveness. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 23*, 1302–1316.
Gu, Q., & Day, C. (2013). Challenges to teacher resilience: Conditions count. *British Educational Research Journal, 39*(1), 22–44.
Gu, Q., & Johansson, O. (2013). Sustaining school performance: School contexts matter". *International Journal of Leadership in Education, 16*(3), 301–326.
Gu, Q., & Li, Q. (2013). Sustaining resilience in times of change: Stories from Chinese teachers. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education, 41*(3), 288–303.

Gu, Q., Sammons, P., & Mehta, P. (2008). Leadership characteristics and practices in schools with different effectiveness and improvement profiles. *School Leadership & Management, 28*(1), 43–63.

Hansen, D. T. (1995). *The call to teach*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Hargreaves, A. (1994). *Changing teachers, changing times: Teachers' work and culture in the postmodern age*. London: Cassell.

Hargreaves, A. (1998). The emotional practice of teaching. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 14* (8), 835–854.

Hargreaves, A., & Fink, D. (2006). *Sustainable leadership*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Hargreaves, A., & Fullan, M. (2012). *Professional capital: Transforming teaching in every school*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Henderson, N., & Milstein, M. (2003). *Resiliency in schools: Making it happen for students and educators*. Thousand Oaks, California: Corwin Press.

Higgins, G. O. (1994). *Resilient adults: Overcoming a cruel past*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hong, J. (2012). Why do some beginning teachers leave the school, and others stay? Understanding teacher resilience through psychological lenses. *Teachers & Teaching: Theory & Practice, 18*(4), 417–440.

Howard, S., Dryden, J., & Johnson, B. (1999). Childhood resilience: Review and critique of literature. *Oxford Review of Education, 25*(3), 307–323.

Huberman, M. (1993). *The lives of teachers*. London: Cassell.

Isen, A. M. (1990). The influence of positive and negative affect on cognitive organization: Some implications for development. In N. Stein, B. Leventhal & T. Trabasso (Eds.), *Psychological and biological approaches to emotion* (pp. 75–94). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Johnson, B., Howard, S., & Oswald, M. (1999). *Quantifying and prioritising resilience-promoting factors: Teachers' views*. Paper presented at the Australian Association for Research in Education and New Zealand Association for Research in Education conference, Melbourne, November 29–December 2.

Jordan, J. (1992). *Relational resilience*. Paper presented on April 1st, 1992 as part of the Stone Centre Colloquium Series.

Jordan, J. (2004). Relational resilience. In J. Jordan & M. Walker (Eds.), *The complexity of connection: Writings from the stone center's Jean Baker Miller Training Institute* (pp. 28–46). New York: Gildford Press.

Jordan, J. (2006). Relational resilience in girls. In S. Goldstein & R. B. Brooks (Eds.), *Handbook of resilience in children* (pp. 79–90). New York, NY: Springer.

Jordan, J. (2012). *Relational resilience in girls*. In S. Goldstein & R. B. Brooks (Eds.), *Handbook of resilience in children* (2nd edn, pp. 73–86). New York, NY: Springer.

Kelchtermans, G. (2005). Teachers' emotions in educational reforms: Self-understanding, vulnerable commitment and micropolitical literacy. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 21*, 995–1006.

Kitching, K., Morgan, M., & O'Leary, M. (2009). It's the little things: Exploring the importance of commonplace events for early-career teachers' motivation. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 15*(1), 43–58.

Leithwood, K., Day, C., Sammons, P., Harris, A., & Hopkins, D. (2006). *Successful school leadership: What it is and how it influences pupil learning*. London, UK: DfES. Available at http://www.dfes.gov.uk/research/data/uploadfiles/RR800.pdf

Leithwood, K., Harris, A., & Strauss, T. (2010). *Leading school turnaround*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Lieberman, A., & Miller, L. (1992). *Teachers—their world and their work: Implications for school improvement*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Lieberman, A., & Miller, L. (Eds.). (2008). *Teachers in professional communities*. New York and London: Teachers College Press.

Little, J. W. (1990). The persistence of privacy: Autonomy and initiative in teachers' professional relations. *Teachers College Record, 91*, 509–536.

Louis, K. S. (2012). Learning communities in learning schools: Developing the social capacity for change. In C. Day (Ed.), *The Routledge International handbook of teacher and school improvement* (pp. 477–492). London and New York: Routledge.

Luthans, F., Avolio, B. J., Avey, J. B., & Norman, S. M. (2007). Positive psychological capital: Measurement and relationship with performance and satisfaction. *Personnel Psychology, 60*, 541–572.

Luthar, S. (1996). *Resilience: A construct of value*? Paper presented at the 104th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto.

Luthar, S. (2007). Resilience in development. In D. Cicchetti & D. Cohen (Eds.), *Developmental psychopathology: Risk, disorder and adaptation* (2nd ed., pp. 739–795). New York: Wiley.

Luthar, S. and Brown, P. (2007). Maximizing resilience through diverse levels of inquiry: Prevailing paradigms, possibilities, and priorities for the future. *Development and Psychopathology, 19*, 931–955.

Luthar, S. S., Cicchetti, D., & Becker, B. (2000). The construct of resilience: A critical evaluation and guidelines for future work. *Child Development, 71*, 543–562.

Mansfield, C. F., Beltman, S., Price, A., & McConney, A. 2012. "Don't sweat the small stuff:" Understanding teacher resilience at the chalkface. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 28*, 357–367.

Masten, A. (1994). resilience in individual development. In M. C. Wang & E. W. Gordon (Eds.), *Educational resilience in inner-city America: Challenges and prospects* (pp. 3–25). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Masten, A. (2001). Ordinary magic: Resilience process in development. *American Psychologist, 56,* 227–239.

Masten, A., & Garmezy, N. (1985). Risk, vulnerability, and protective factors in developmental psychopathology. In B. Lahey & A. Kazdin (Eds.), *Advances in clinical child psychology* (Vol. 8, pp. 1–52). New York: Plenum Press.

Masten, A. S., Hubbard, J. J., Gest, S. D., Tellegen, A., Garmezy, N., & Ramirez, M. (1999). Adaptation in the context of adversity: Pathways to resilience and maladaptation from childhood to late adolescence. *Development and Psychopathology, 11*, 143–169.

Mawhinney, H., Hass, J., & Wood, C. (2005). Teachers' collective efficacy beliefs in professional learning communities. *Leading & Managing, 11*(2), 12–45.

Meister, D. G., & Ahrens, P. (2011). Resisting plateauing: Four veteran teachers' stories. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 27,* 770–778.

Morgan, M., Ludlow, L., Kitching, K., O'Leary, M., & Clarke, A. (2010). What makes teachers tick? Sustaining events in new teachers' lives. *British Educational Research Journal, 36*(2), 191–208.

Neenan, M. (2009). *Developing resilience*. Hove, East Sussex: Routledge.

Nias, J. (1989). *Primary teachers talking*. London: Routledge.

Nias, J. (1996). Thinking about feeling: The emotions n teaching. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 26*(3), 293–306.

Nias, J. (1999). Teachers' moral purposes: Stress, vulnerability, and strength. In R. Vandenberghe & A. M. Huberman (Eds.), *Understanding and preventing teacher burnout: A sourcebook of international research and practice* (pp. 223–237). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nieto, S. (2003). *What keeps teachers going?*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Nieto, S. (2011). Critical hope, in spite of it all. In R. F. Elmore (Ed.), *I used to think ... and now I think* (pp. 127–133). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Noddings, N. (2005). *The challenge to care in schools*. New York and London: Teachers College Press.

OECD. (2005). *Teachers matter: Attracting, developing and retaining effective teachers*. Paris: OECD.

OECD. (2008). *Improving school leadership*. Paris: OECD.

OECD. (2010). *Education today*. Paris: OECD.

OECD. (2012a). *Preparing teachers and developing school leaders for the 21st century*. Paris: OECD.

OECD. (2012b). *Education today 2013*. Paris: OECD.
OECD. (2013). *OECD guidelines on measuring subjective well-being*. Paris: OECD.
Oswald, M., Johnson, B., & Howard, S. (2003). Quantifying and evaluating resilience-promoting factors—Teachers' beliefs and perceived roles. *Research in Education, 70*, 50–64.
Palmer, P. J. (1998). *The courage to teach: Exploring the inner landscape of a teacher's life*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
Palmer, P. J. (2007). *The courage to teach: Exploring the inner landscape of a teacher's life* (The 10th Anniversary ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Patterson, J., & Kelleher, P. (2005). *Resilient school leaders: Strategies for turning adversity into achievement*. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
Putnam, R. D. (1993). The prosperous community: Social capital and public life. *The American Prospect, 4*(13), 11–18.
Richardson, G. E., Neiger, B. L., Jenson, S., & Kumpfer, K. L. (1990). The resiliency model. *Health Education, 21*(6), 33–39.
Robinson, V., Hohepa, M., & Lloyd, C. (2009). School leadership and student outcomes: Identifying What works and why. Best evidence syntheses iteration (BES), Ministry of Education, New Zealand. Available from http://educationcounts.govt.nz/goto/BES
Rutter, M. (1990). Psychosocial resilience and protective mechanisms. In J. Rolf, A. S. Masten, D. Cicchetti, K. H. Nuechterlein, & S. Weintraub (Eds.), *Risk and protective factors in the development of psychopathology* (pp. 181–214). New York: Cambridge.
Rutter, M. (2006). *Genes and behavior: Nature–nurture interplay explained*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
Rutter, M., Maughan, B., Mortimore, P., Ouston, J., & Smith, A. (1979). *Fifteen thousand hours*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Sammons, P., Day, C., Kington, A., Gu, Q., Stobart, G., & Smees, R. (2007). Exploring variations in teachers' work, lives and their effects on pupils: Key findings and implications from a longitudinal mixed-method study. *British Educational Research Journal, 33*(5), 681–701.
Sammons, P., Gu, Q., Day, C., & Ko, J. (2011). Exploring the impact of school leadership on pupil outcomes. *International Journal of Educational Management, 25*(1), 83–101.
Solomon, R. C., & Flores, F. (2001). *Building trust in business, politics, relationships and life*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Sutton, R., & Wheatley, K. F. (2003). Teachers' emotions and teaching: A review of the literature and directors for future research. *Educational Psychology Review, 15*(4): 327–358.
Taylor, S. (2007). Social support. In H. S. Friedman & R. C. Silver (Eds.), *Foundations of health psychology* (pp. 145–171). New York: Oxford University Press.
Tschannen-Morgan, M., & Barr, M. (2004). Fostering student learning: The relationship of collective teacher efficacy and student achievement. *Leadership and Policy in Schools, 3*(3), 189–209.
Tucker, M. (2011). *Surpassing Shanghai*. Harvard: Harvard Educational Publishing Group.
Ungar, M. (2004). A constructionist discourse on resilience: Multiple contexts, multiple realities among at-risk children and youth. *Youth & Society, 35*, 341–65.
vanVeen, K., & Lasky, S. (2005). Editorial: Emotions as a lens to explore teacher identity and change: different theoretical approaches. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 21*, 895–898.
Waller, M. (2001). Resilience in ecosystemic context: Evolution of the concept. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 7*(3), 290–297.
Walsh, F. (1998). *Strengthening family resilience*. New York: Guildford Press.
Wang, M. (1997). Next steps in inner city education: Focusing on resilience development and learning success. *Education and Urban Society, 29*(3), 255–276.
Webb, R., Vulliamy, G., Hämäläinen, S., Sarja, A., Kimonen, E., & Nevalainen, R. (2004). Pressures, rewards and teacher retention: A comparative study of primary teaching in England and Finland. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 48*(2), 169–188.
Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Werner, E., & Smith, R. (1988). *Vulnerable but Invincible: A longitudinal study of resilient children and youth*. New York: Adams Bannister & Cox.

Zembylas, M. (2005). Discursive practices, genealogies, and emotional rules: A poststructuralist view on emotion and identity in teaching. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 21*(8), 935–948.

Zembylas, M. (2011). Teaching and teacher emotions: A post-structural perspective. In C. Day & J. Lee (Eds.), *New understandings of teachers' work* (pp. 31–43). Berlin: Springer.

Zembylas, M., & Schutz, P. (Eds.). (2009). *Teachers' emotions in the age of school reform and the demands for performativity*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Zucker, R. A. (2006). Alcohol use and the alcohol use disorders: A developmental–biopsychosocial systems 954 S. S. Luthar and P. J. Brown formulation covering the life course. In D. Cicchetti & D. Cohen (Eds.), *Developmental psychopathology: Vol. 3. Risk, disorder, and adaptation* (2nd ed., pp. 620–656). New York: Wiley.

The Affective Dimension of Teacher Education: Based on Interaction Between Personal Academic Interest, Social Change and Education Reform

Xiaoman Zhu

This chapter is based on the speech I gave on the Second Global Summit of Teacher Education held at Beijing Normal University in 2014. Thank the conference for giving me this speaking opportunity. I am now an old teacher at the Institute of Teacher Education, the Faculty of Education, Beijing Normal University. Before it, I worked for a number of educational institutions, where I worked concurrently as university teacher and administrator—a position known as "*shuangjian tiao*" (双肩挑) in China, or "double shoulder job"—over a span of 33 years during which I witnessed multiple university education reforms and basic education reforms, some of them I was deeply involved in. My speech is a rough account of my personal academic experiences mingled with education reforms of this period, to shed light on how educational ideals could break out of difficulties in reality.

From the mid-1980s onwards, I was sensed and concerned about the lack of affective dimension in education, and thus began paying attention to emotional competence of teachers. First of all, I would like to make a mention of—and express thanks to—the thinkers and scholars who had an important influence on me in different phases of my personal academic development. Main influences on me from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, during which I engaged in my postgraduate studies in the history of Western philosophy, were Baruch Spinoza, Hegel (his Phenomenology of Spirit), as well as Aristotle of ancient Greece; they inspired me to take an interest in the emotional development of human beings. In 1986, I was influenced by Prof. А.И. Титаренко of the former Soviet Union, the director of the Committee on Ethics Education and the director of the Department of Ethics in the Philosophy Faculty of Lomonosov Moscow State University (he served as chairman of the International Ethics Society around 1990). Prof. Титаренко found a

X. Zhu (✉)
Center for Teacher Education Research, Beijing Normal University, Beijing, China
e-mail: 13511027751@163.com

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2017

X. Zhu et al. (eds.), *Quality of Teacher Education and Learning*,
New Frontiers of Educational Research,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3549-4_9

rationalist tendency in Western positivism and psychology, and argued that the tower of ethics could not be built by ignoring sensibility and overstressing logic and reason (Zhu 2013, p. 115). He reaffirmed the value that taping the five senses and acquiring plenty of perception is of—which young Marx stressed—to human morals and spiritual growth. His essays inspired me greatly. A prominent figure of Western Marxism of that period, Herbert Marcuse's *Eros and Civilization* and *One-Dimensional Man*, as well as Chinese philosopher Li Zehou's thought, also had a considerable influence on my academic thinking. The main manifestation in me of this influence was that for the first time in my academic thinking, I was clearly conscious of emotion as the most important living resource and cultural condition for shaping personal morality. From the 1990 onwards, influences on me included American developmental psychologist Howard Gardner's personality intelligence thoughts in his Theory of Multiple Intelligences, Japanese scientist Hideaki Koizumi's view of emphasizing from the brain science's perspective the role of education in empathy development, American educationalist and philosopher Nel Noddings' ethics of care, and French philosopher Edgar Morin's complexity theory. These thinkers made me particularly interested in how education should promote the shaping process of an interactive, open and annular cycle between environments and human emotion and nervous system (Morin 2004, p. 39). Had I not been charged with so many administrative tasks, I would have devoted more of my energy to this area of research that fascinates me. In addition, over the past decade, I have also been considerably influenced by Canadian scholar Max van Manen's phenomenological methodology that stresses teachers' career experience (van Manen 2001, p. 13), and Japanese Professor Manabu Sato's "approaching existence" research methodology. Being put in China's education development and reform, I have kept refining and enriching my research methods and angles of view in an attempt to look more closely and clearly at teachers as a community and ponder how to make them develop awareness about morality in a professional environment and fathom the moral meaning of life, rather than merely regulate them with policies, administrative orders or ethical criteria and even constrain their vigor of life.

This chapter consists of three parts. The first part is a reflection on my initial attempts—starting off with doctoral studies—to advocate affective education in China from the mid-1980s to the later part of the 1990s, including the basic framework and initial practice. The second part talks of China's reform policies at national level and grass-roots practice in the last years of the 1990s, including not only great achievements but negative problems—which prompted me to contemplate the paradoxes involved. In the third part, I will examine a period from the turn of the century to the present and beyond. Relying on grass-roots practical creativity and encouraging emotional vitality of teachers is an important way to improve teacher quality and break out.

Basic Framework and Initial Practice for Affective Education

China began focusing on economic development after the Cultural Revolution was over. In 1979, the educational community proposed that school work be aimed at providing "good moral, intelligent and physical education" with learning at the core. In 1983–1984, it was gradually noticeable that only a very small proportion of the countless students who attended the national higher education entrance examination were admitted into colleges and universities, with an admission ratio of only 4%. No sooner had this phenomenon emerged than some sharp-sighted primary and secondary school headmasters and teachers took notice of it. At that time I worked at a university as a teacher and middle-level administrator for moral education of students, and I found in the school's moral education work a blind tendency towards systematic knowledge and scientific management and evaluation—effected in the name of modernization catch-up, which led to formalism in moral education as well as a divergence of doing from knowing. In primary and secondary schools, an overemphasis on the study of signs and logical reason led a divergence in students of cognitive and emotional development from one another. In school, for instance, students good at language and literature and math were always most favored. Such bias was liable to cause a fall in students' sensitivity, sense of morality and beauty, and creativity. These, though originally intended to "bring order out of chaos", created a new deviation which not only led to a disjunction between school education and life and to a lack of energy for school life, but made students—if their negative feelings about learning were not properly regulated—find it hard to form friendly fellowship and a cooperative teacher-student relationship in their school lives. There is a typical case which occurred in the 1980s. Professor Lu Jie's (my doctoral mentor's) granddaughter returned from school and complained tearfully to her that "My classmates said to me, 'If you get a 100 score again, we'll give you a beating together'". This prompted me to think: How to extend a kinship-based sense of home security into non-kinship interpersonal relations in school so as to retain a "heterogeneous" yet "isomorphous" sense of security could be the first step towards affective education in school?

In research, I paid heed to *lianxi gan* (联系感 which later I called "*lianjie gan*" 联结感), or a sense of connection—a feeling which first appeared in human life (Zhu 2005, p. 42). I saw it as the emotional foundation of the greatest potential for differentiation development, and thought of it as initially a value whole which is formed in the earliest social connection of human beings and which can split continuously into what I call a mathematically "variant-like" variety of emotions such as intimacy, sympathy, empathy, order, goodwill and reverence—all these being the bedrock of children's body, morality and aesthetic spirit. It is common knowledge that the UNESCO, the EU among other international organizations, facing an increasingly grim problem with balanced cognitive and emotional development of children, have formulated a series of concepts such as "comprehensive learning", "deep-understanding learning" and "education of quality". As to

these concepts, the academic community would all pay heed to "emotion" as an important dimension of education. Looking back, the sense of connection was at the core of affective education that I have advocated. In fact, from the 1990s to the present, my students and I have researched into a wide variety of "feelings of connection", including emotional variation, emotional quality, and emotional competence. Since 2012, we and professors from the University of Wisconsin and the Stanford University have experimented with project-based "integrative learning" in tens of elementary schools in China. The research pays particular attention to developing the experience of children about the sense of connection, letting them understand its importance and value, and exploring possibilities of guiding children to connect disciplines with disciplines, knowledge with life, people with things, people with people, and people with life. The implementation of this program further cemented my confidence in putting the sense of connection at the core of affective education.

In 1992, I defined affective education as paying attention to how the emotional mechanism as a mechanism of life works with the physiological and thinking mechanisms to achieve the best state of work (Zhu 2007, p. 15). I also conducted surveys of schools, looked up multidisciplinary documents and sorted through positive and valuable emotional manifestations in educational activities, in an attempt to describe the goals and main methods of affective education for different age groups. And in particular, based on multidisciplinary knowledge and educational experience, I pondered and sorted through relatively independent mechanisms that distinguish emotional from cognitive activity, and initially formed a cognitive framework of affective education. I think that affective education is not an independent domain of activity, but a theoretical and practical issue involving the entire sphere and process of educational activity. In 1994, I learned that in Europe there was an affective education research community that consisted of the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Italy, Spain etc., and they gave emotional activity a definition. Because teachers in Europe each were in charge of a class, they argued that teachers should pay main attention to aspects outside of cognitive development of children, i.e. paying heed to the emotional state of children and giving them mental care, and they placed more stress on happy and pleasant experiences of children (Zhu 2014, p. 125). At the same time, in Chinese culture there has long been a tradition of emphasizing the ability of sensory connection of feelings (Zhu 2005, p. 88), holding in esteem the so-called "synesthesia", this inevitably influenced my research into affective education in a direction that pays more attention to teachers' skills of affective communication as well as their intrinsic needs for cultural qualities.

When I worked as vice president of teaching work at Nanjing Normal University in the 1990s, we figured out many methods for students to experience work pleasure and special responsibility as teachers, and except regular curriculum, and actively developed hidden curriculum. We encouraged students to be with children with development difficulties in their homes, letting students learn to care for the children while accompanying them. In addition to probation, we required that our

students go and stay at primary or secondary schools for half a day every week. Our attempts, I believe, were effective at that time, but later those good ideas and practices were all gradually discarded. Pedagogic scholars at university at that time often led their students to go to primary and secondary schools. For a long period of time I cooperated with grass-roots teachers at some experimental schools in studying how to push education for all-round development with emotional education. Through four to five years of cooperation, we developed a number of quality education models with emotional characteristics, based on different experimental objectives and research priorities for schools as well as on cultural traditions and teacher characters of different schools. For instance, primary School Attached to Wuxi Normal School Jiangsu's "Happy Learning Education"—the significance that teachers' emotion of love for and delight in learning has for happy learning of children; Second Primary School Attached to Nantong Normal College's "Scenario-based Education"—creating diverse scenarios to encourage active learning and promote the integration of moral, intelligent and aesthetic education; Nanjing Xingzhi Primary School's "Appreciative Education"—teachers are patient and open-minded while appreciating children; Primary School Attached to Jiangsu Danyang Normal College's "Emotional & Intelligent Education"—teachers apply the wisdom of emotional and intelligent integration to improve educational quality; Nanjing Langya Road Primary School's "Little Master Education"—encouraging students to be masters of study, life and the collective; Primary School Attached to Huiyin Normal College's "Life-based Education"—stressing life as the basis of knowledge and developing children's enthusiasm and ability to acquire knowledge in life; Jiangyin Experimental Primary School's "Beauty to Perfection" education—finding and feeling beauty in disciplines so as to develop students in an all-round manner (Zhu 2007, p. 5); and so on.

Policy and Practice on Curriculum and Teacher Education Reform: Paradox in Development

The later part of the 1990 was a major turning point to China for social development. Following the breakout of the financial crisis in 1997, China's social transformation moved further towards a market economy. But, at the same time, the advent of knowledge society and knowledge economy worldwide prompted the country and education departments to keep up with the tide of globalization, so as not to fall behind in this competition. In the late 1990s, therefore, China embarked on its eighth basic education curriculum reform since 1949. As the vice president of Nanjing Normal University, I became the director of the National Curriculum Reform Nanjing Base. For the new curriculum reform, a meaningful—yet still controversial up to date—policy was made: Each discipline should have not only knowledge criteria, skill and method criteria, but also criteria in respect of emotion, attitude and values. That was the first time that a three-dimensional learning goal

was raised at national level since 1949, requiring that teachers take an integrated approach to the three dimensions in teaching. To achieve teaching targets for emotional education, above all, requires teachers themselves to have zeal in their disciplines so that they can pass this zeal to students. We know that achieving emotional, attitude and values targets relies mainly on teaching itself, not outside of teaching and learning activities. This certainly requires teachers to have a deep understanding of their teaching materials so that they could comprehend and tap into the wealth of emotion and values in teaching materials, represent it in an artistic way, and work with children in the classroom to create teaching and learning activities of values significance. In the curriculum reform, the country raised the grand and lofty requirement of "All for children", "For all children" and "For everything about children", a requirement that made it necessary for teachers to care for the emotional state in learning of all students and to have skill at creating a good atmosphere in the classroom. Some primary and secondary schools required that teachers "learn before teaching, determine what and how to teach based on student conditions" and actively adopt the practice of cooperative learning, leading to a considerable decrease in the use of "cramming method of teaching". Nevertheless, teachers who not good at this teaching method still believe that passing knowledge is the most time-saving and most efficient method of teaching. At present, there are both traditional classroom teaching and so-called reformed classroom teaching in China, and there is no final conclusion as to which is right and which is wrong; nor has there been deeper and more thorough clarity of teaching theory from the "Zhong Qiquan versus Wang Cesan Debate" in the Chinese education community. I was involved in this curriculum reform and knew very well that the intention of leading reformers was to keep up with the global tide of "knowledge society" by changing our deep-seated educational model of teaching and learning, repeating from memory, and examination. But the main problem now is that teachers are unable to keep up with the times: they are accustomed to pass the fixed contents as instructionally designed, not good at motivating, diagnosing and coping with voluntary and individualized learning of different students. How to sort out and continue to make use of advantages of traditional teaching and how to look at the original foundations of different regions and schools differentially? The complex situation not only posted a challenge to teachers over the depth and breadth of their understanding of knowledge, but it was also a test of teachers' professional emotion, personal emotional quality and competence, including moral sensitivity, respect, goodwill, patience and responsibility. In 1998, the Ministry of Education held a conference in Nanjing, which I also attended; through discussion, the conference decided to change the designation "normal education" to "teacher education". Afterwards, the "three-level" normal education system (consisting of middle-level normal schools, higher-level normal colleges, and normal universities), which was intended to remain unchanged for 30–50 years, was largely abolished in a matter of a few years, without only a number of middle-level normal schools still in service in some remote and rural areas. The normal education reform

was intended to accelerate increasing educational criteria for primary and secondary school teachers, and by turning normal universities into comprehensive ones, to increase levels of general education for normal school students and broaden sources of new teachers. But, at that time, none expected that the reform would proceed so rapidly, nor anyone expect what serious consequences it would bring about.

The second major event was the central government's endeavor made in the early years of the 21st century, following the popularization of compulsory education, to narrow gaps between regions and between schools through such policies and measures as increasing financial inputs and central transfer payments. In the meanwhile, along with the process of urbanization, action was taken to merge schools in rural areas. At the same time, efforts were made to strengthen the evaluation and supervision of educational quality and advocate the so-called educational quality of justice. I took part in many such policy surveys and discussions. On the one hand this showed the Chinese government's unprecedented resolution to give importance to education, but on the other, with it came to the fore paradoxical results. Japanese education scholar Prof. Manabu Sato once gave an account of the profound lesson that in pursuing educational equality following the end of World War II, Japan took a road that ran counter to the original intention, as well as some remedial measures it took afterwards (Zhu 2014, pp. 106–108). With what he claimed to be "approximation" logic, he described the character of the teaching profession as regressive, uncertain and having no boundaries (Sato 2003). These inspired me greatly. I think that if we cannot fully understand the characters of the teaching career, we will certainly in reality run counter to the most essential requirement of the teacher profession, neglect the moral nature and emotional dimension in the meaning of teaching specialization, blindly pursue high degrees and standards of education, and rely excessively on educational quality control that focuses on quantitative evaluations. The paradoxical result will be that new teachers have higher degrees of education by and large, but teacher qualities decline on the whole. Of course, for this phenomenon, there are not only reasons relating to the education system, but reasons concerning the broader environment in which the level of spirit cannot keep pace with social and economic development.

Like many other teachers, I, too, am often in a conflict between pursuing educational quality and coping with the practical requirement of examinations. In China, for reasons of economic development levels, cultural notions, administrative capabilities, etc., gaps in actual expenditures between urban and rural schools, which have narrowed in recent years, though, still remain considerably wide, so that it need take quite a long period to pursue educational equality and improve educational quality. The top-down reform policy must be implemented practically and flexibly at local level, and requires more of creativity on the part of schools; or it would be very likely to lead to a situation in which teachers are at a loss as to what to do, shoulder too heavy a burden, and even feel tired both physically and mentally.

Practical Creativity and Visible Breakthroughs of Teachers

Since the turn of the century, Chinese society has continued to be in a stage of rapid modernization. Given quite a marked contrast between material and spirit, plus a fast growing floating population as well as the interaction of teachers, students and parents being only children, facing plenty of conflicts teachers are very liable to become a new vulnerable group in a powerful culture of authority and under its administrative systems and mechanisms. Therefore, I have proposed that the presence of various negative emotions of teachers be not ignored and evaded: They feel powerless facing the diversity of students; many of them feel guilty under the pressure of preparing students for examinations; they wish to display healthy ideas of education and teaching of individuality, but due to squeezed personal space for creativity, often get frustrated. Because human emotions cannot be instructed and are subject to living circumstances of individuals, we propose truly giving importance to the emotional dimension of teacher education. This includes the following four aspects. Firstly, pay attention to positive and negative emotions of teachers, and to negative emotions in particular, find out their causes and take measures to stop them from lasting long. Secondly, cherish those emotional varieties of positive value in life. The reason why the term "variety" is used here, is that in China, while teachers are always required to have moral sentiments, moral sentiments—which rely not mainly on complying outwardly with professional ethics—are developed in particular professional environments, and the accumulation of those positive emotions in everyday life is just the necessary foundation and emotional mechanism for moral sentiments. Thirdly, learn to express feelings, because only their externalization can sharpen emotional competence for communication with others. Fourthly, because emotions cannot be instructed and are subject to living circumstances of individuals, it is necessary to give importance to fostering cultural micro-environments that helps individuals to grow stable and positive emotions. For teacher education in the future, curriculum for pre-service education need be improved in terms of the emotional dimension of teacher development, so as to help teachers have a basic knowledge of the characters and mechanisms of emotional development of children, understand the relationship between their emotional activity and children's active learning, values identity, and formation of morality and personality, and foster their desire and ability to have positive emotional communication with students. Such curriculum is by no means built by adding so called self-contained disciplines of systematic knowledge, but relies mainly on the adoption of experience- and action-oriented modes of learning.

For active teachers, both teacher education policy and practice should tilt more towards considering how to support teacher growth, and shift from raising requirements in a one-way, overall manner on teachers to paying more attention to how to create an environment in support of their growth from the angles of their desire and motivation for personal development. We have found that some aspirational schools have succeeded because their headmasters are determined and patient to foster a cultural environment. For example, after becoming aware that

something wrong with his school's cultural atmosphere and teachers were less motivated to teach, the headmaster of a primary school organized all teachers to rehearse Lao She's play *Teahouse*, to be directed by the teachers themselves. Because the school had very few male teachers, the male workers of the school canteen as well as male security guards played roles in the play, including female teachers disguised as men. Through hard rehearsals, their performance was very successfully and even staged in theaters. Some headmasters took the lead to rehearsal of plays that students or teachers wrote, and encouraged teachers to practice dance and calligraphy, with a belief that traditional Chinese calligraphy and classics can help teachers mentally settle down the best. Of course, teacher education also needs to help teachers gain skills to examine and regulate their emotions and feelings. Now, many schools adopt the teaching method of micro narrative, and of course, not all stories told are of certain value. Helping teachers to possess techniques of narrative and storytelling and to learn self-examination is right the focus of collaboration between teacher education researchers and primary and secondary school teachers.

Finally, an important part of China's curriculum reform at present is to encourage schools to design school-based curriculum themselves, including designing and integrating curriculum as appropriate under the condition of meeting the country's curriculum requirements. Some headmaster friends told me that many teachers are less energetic because their personal space of creativity is too small to feel a sense of self-worth and achievement. But the role of headmasters is to explore mechanisms by which to inspire and motivate teachers.

As shown in the pictures, some schools dismissed former teaching and research groups, moved teachers' desks into classrooms, where teachers would work. In the classroom there are computers, toys, etc. which children can use anytime; all over the classroom floor is spread soft plastic mats on which children can play and rest; the size of classes has been reduced to only more than twenty students each; in the classroom are five groups of small desks, each of which can be moved freely; the walls inside the classroom are learning resource zones for children, on which children can write and draw randomly and teachers can display their resources; outside the classroom are put several chairs on which children can sit and rest at class breaks, as well as some desks on which are put chess sets, picture books, toys, etc. that children can use anytime. The teachers were quite distressed in the first month about this big spatial adjustment, because formerly they communicated mainly with one another after classes but now they must stay with the children to find appropriate methods of teaching for satisfying student needs and connecting with students. Moreover, at Beijing Academy, where we are to visit this afternoon, a portion of students have been allowed to not study Chinese language and literature, mathematics and English, along with some other big reform measures.

In conclusion, the creativity that grass-roots practice has displayed is working to boost personal development of teachers and show possible and visible breakthroughs.

References

Morin, E. (2004). *Complexity theory and education problems* (p. 39) (Y. Chen, Trans.). Beijing: Peking University Press (in Chinese).

Sato, M. (2003). *Curriculum and teacher* (Q. Zhong, Trans.). Beijing: Educational Science Publishing House (in Chinese).

van Manen, M. (2001). *Teaching tact: The implication of educational wisdom* (p. 13) (S. Li, Trans.). Beijing: Educational Science Publishing House (in Chinese).

Zhu, X. (2005). *Theories of affective moral education* (pp. 42, 88). Beijing: People's Education Press (in Chinese).

Zhu, X. (2007). *Affective education: An outline* (pp. 5, 15). Beijing: People's Publishing House (in Chinese).

Zhu, X. (2013). Everlasting morality and endless missing—For the 20th anniversary of Professor А. И. Титаренко's death. *Educational Research, 5*, 115 (in Chinese).

Zhu, X. (2014). *The dialogues with world famous educators* (pp. 106–108, 125). Educational Science Publishing House (in Chinese).

Part IV
Roles and Identities of Teachers

The Historical Context of the Role and Status of Scholars and Teachers in Traditional China

Leslie Nai Kwai Lo and Juyan Ye

Introduction

Since the world learned about the stellar performance of Shanghai's secondary students in recent international assessments (in PISA 2009 and PISA 2012),[1] speculations abound as to how the Chinese students could have collectively demonstrated such extraordinary academic ability in the international aptitude tests. In the PISA tests that involved sixty-five countries and territories around the world, the students of Shanghai set themselves apart as the outlier of high achievers whose performance in reading, mathematics and science tests was far above world norms. While certain observers in the West considered such performance "stunning" (Dillon 2010) and the fruit of systematic and relentless application of effective educational methods (Friedman 2013), others questioned the representativeness of the five thousands students who took the tests for Shanghai (Loveless 2013). Adding to the debate on "Shanghai's secrets" are implications of preparatory training for the tests (Fallows 2010) and woeful accounts of the educational and emotional costs of such high test scores (Qiu 2013).

Amidst the controversy surrounding Shanghai's educational achievements, one oft-cited reason for the students' ability to excel in standardized tests is the work ethics and pedagogical orientation of its teachers. To their admirers, the teachers of

[1]PISA is the abbreviation for the Program for International Student Achievement operated by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). A standardized test, which aimed to assess the competencies of fifteen-year-old students in reading, mathematics and science, PISA has been administered every three years in dozens of countries around the world. The test is a paper-based test that lasted for 2 hours. In PISA 2009 and PISA 2012, sixty-five countries and territories participated with about half-a-million students taking the test. Shanghai participated in this worldwide assessment program for the first time in 2009.

L.N.K. Lo · J. Ye (✉)
Beijing Normal University, Beijing, People's Republic of China
e-mail: yere263@bnu.edu.cn

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2017

X. Zhu et al. (eds.), *Quality of Teacher Education and Learning*,
New Frontiers of Educational Research,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3549-4_10

Shanghai constitute a superior teaching force that is well trained, professional, and respected by students and society (Friedman 2013). To their critics, the teachers force-feed students with excessive homework, train them to perform in standardized tests from an early age, unload their responsibility on parents, and are propagating agents for the ideology of the party-state (Qiu 2013). Such conflicting portrayals can easily be extended to debates on teacher quality for the rest of China. The professional readiness, morale, work conditions, occupational outlook, and social status of teachers vary significantly across the vast educational landscape of China where the profession of teaching often eludes serious investigation.[2] However the facts that Chinese teachers are generally disciplined in their approach to work, deferential toward authority, and conforming to state requirements are documented (Lai and Lo 2007; Lo and Zeng 2012). The hierarchical organizational culture of Chinese schools, their dual administrative structure under the school principals and Party secretaries, and the layers of positions of authority that define the chain of command within the teaching staff, have allowed the schools to operate in a structure of hierarchical power relations (Lo 2008). Thus, if "Shanghai students apparently were told that the test was important for China's image and thus were more motivated to do well [in the PISA test]" (Dillon 2010), one can be sure that it was their teachers who dutifully related the message at the behest of the powers-that-be. As a matter of fact, all Chinese students have heard similar messages from their teachers before, as it is the main duty of teachers to ensure good student performance in tests.

The unwavering attention of Chinese teachers to test preparation is known to educators around the world. The examination-oriented pedagogy that they have implanted firmly in the classroom has become a major area of concern for Chinese policymakers who understand that such an approach to education is unlikely to nurture creative talents for the nation. The state's persistent calls for the teachers to change their pedagogical approach have become a familiar expression in its curriculum reform directives (MOE 2001, 2014). The teachers responded to the state's

[2]The social status of teachers is a case in point. In a survey conducted by a British organization on teacher status that involved twenty-one countries, it is found that nearly 50% of the 1000 Chinese parents surveyed would encourage their children to become teachers (Dolton and Marcenaro-Gutierrez 2013: 17), even though the average teacher salary in the second lowest among the sampled countries. In China, where teacher status is ranked first among such countries as Germany, Japan, Korea, and the U.S., survey respondents reportedly think of teachers being most closely compared to medical doctors (Ibid.: 19). In another survey on Chinese teachers which attracted over nine thousand respondents, close to 40% newly recruited teachers have deemed the status of their occupational status close to that of medical doctors and lawyers; but very few of them actually attributed their choice of teaching as an occupation to the high social status of teachers. Rather, "stable employment situation" afforded by the teaching profession was one of the major reasons for them to become teachers (Wenhui Daily 2014). The findings of these surveys point to the relatively high social status of teachers in China. Paradoxically, few high achieving university graduates have aspired to become teachers. The continuous calls for "talented people" to join the teaching profession demonstrate that they are in short supply in China's schools. Many observers have attributed this shortage to the meager salaries of teachers. Others think that the mundanity of teaching cannot attract those with career ambitions.

demand for change only lackadaisically. Perhaps the tenacity of habits—"safe" pedagogical practices that can help students pass examinations—is one reason for the teachers' predilection for the more prescriptive approach to teaching (Lo 2000). Yet closer examination of the socio-historical context of Chinese schooling will reveal that the teachers not only have to be loyal to the state, but they also have to treat the interests of students and parents with a high degree of solicitude. Through the millennia, the institutionalized role of Chinese teachers has obliged them to serve the interests of both the state and the society. Thus, if it is in the interests of their students to ascend the educational ladder through examinations, then the teachers will see it as their duty to help them achieve that goal. It is argued, therefore, that an inquiry into the historical forces which shaped the role and functions of Chinese teachers will afford insights into the pursuits of their work and lives.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the historical context of the role and status the literati—scholars and teachers—in traditional China and to provide a historical parallel to the dilemmas that confront Chinese teachers in their work today. The history of Chinese teachers, as magnified by their duties toward the state and the society, is a narrative of political power and authority, institutionalization, and social tensions between a privileged class and the society at large. By depicting the historical forces that shaped the beliefs and practices of scholars and teachers in traditional China, this chapter attempts to provide an understanding of the role and status of scholars and teachers through an analysis of the interactions among the literati (*shi*, a social class that embodied both the scholars and the teachers), the rulers, and the society.

The conceptualization of this paper is guided by two sets of theory: the theory of "officialism" (*Guanben zhuyi,* or "official-centric doctrine", in Yu 2014), which explicates the dominance of the Chinese state over the society; and selected theories of new institutionalism, which explain the actions and behaviors of individuals and organizations in terms of rules, beliefs and conventions embedded in the wider societal environment (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Meyer 1977; Meyer and Rowan 1977; Powell and Colyves 2008; Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Thelen 1999). Details of the theories are described in the next section of the paper.

By illuminating the role and status of teachers in traditional China, we attempt to address two interrelated questions that have captured the interest of observers of Chinese education: (1) Why are Chinese teachers so submissive to state power and policies which would at times work against their own interests? (2) Why do Chinese teachers pay so much attention to the preparation of their students for examinations even when the professed intention of the state is to downplay the role of examinations in schooling?

The focus of this chapter is on the experiences of two groups of people within the literati who led very different lives: those who successfully passed the imperial examinations and became officials serving the rulers, and those who failed in the imperial examinations and became teachers for the commoners. It is in the latter that we find the original image of school teachers today.

The research for this chapter is informed by findings from documentation research, textual analysis, and interviews of Chinese scholars and teachers. Primary sources for documentation research include historical accounts of the literati in selected dynasties and noteworthy novels and short stories that provide insights into the life and work of scholars and teachers in traditional China. Secondary sources include research findings cited in selected books and articles on the subject. The depiction of the role and status of teachers in contemporary China is based on policy documents of the state, biographies of noteworthy educators, and records of interviews of teachers and principals of schools in the Chinese Mainland.

This chapter is divided into seven parts: (1) an introduction to the context which frames the research questions; (2) a review of literature on the guiding theories; (3) a description of the role and status of the Chinese literati in traditional China; (4) a portrayal of the imperial examinations as a socio-political institution; (5) a discussion on the two kinds of teachers in traditional China; (6) an analysis of the impact of educational change on the modern teachers; and (7) a concluding section that summarizes the main arguments which address the research questions.

Review of Literature

For the conceptualization of the role and status of the Chinese literati in traditional China, the theory of officialism is used to explain the historical forces that shaped the actions and behaviors of the scholars and teachers while the theory of new institutionalism is employed to depict the historical context in which the Chinese literati interacted with the rulers and the society.

The theory of officialism postulates that official power and authority formed the core element of the state ideology, political culture, and socio-political system of traditional China (Yu 2014). Official power and authority prevailed in the society, so much so that authority relations became the most important social relations. Under conditions of officialism, authority was the determinant of people's social positions, the basic measure of their social value, and the control of distribution of material and social resources in society. In order to secure their positions in the system, those in authority defined the moral codes and social rules for the society, recruited persons with merits into the officialdom, ranked them in an elaborated system of authority status and power, and rewarded them in a material distribution system in accordance with their official status (Ibid.: 2, 4–5). The structure of authority, privileges and rewards operated under the auspices of the patriarchal emperor who had absolute power over their subjects, including those with official status. Thus monarchism is the highest form of officialism that prevailed in imperial China.

The theories of new institutionalism postulate that people—as individuals, social groups or organizations—live by the institutionalized norms, rules and other frameworks that are nested within the society. Certain knowledge and values gain legitimacy through a process of institutionalization. Their institutional effects are

diffused as beliefs, conventions and rules which are shaped by "the salience of symbolic systems, cultural scripts, and mental models" (Powell and Colyves 2008). As the state expands its dominance over more arenas of social life, the influence of legitimated values, norms and rules becomes more pervasive in the society. They are reproduced and function as stable patterns of normative and regulative activities that are routinely practiced and become taken for granted. While they provide stability for the larger societal environment, these legitimated elements also constrain the actions and behaviors of individuals, social groups and organizations, pressuring them toward compliance. Continual conformity to the dictates of these elements brings about normative and cognitive fixity as well as isomorphism within groups and organizations (DiMaggio and Powell 1983).

Studies of new institutionalism have identified several mechanisms that buttress institutionalization which in turn strengthen the social order and constrain individual and organizational choices. Four factors are said to have affected institutionalization. First, the coercive factors of state political force that assures control and oversight toward instrumentalist ends. Coercive factors are about rules and compliance to the dictates of laws, official decrees, and formal rules and regulations. Second, the mimetic forces are those pressures which lead people to draw on habitual responses to circumstances of uncertainty. In responding to uncertainty, people and organizations turn to imitation, borrowing, and modeling themselves after those who are deemed successful or legitimate (DiMaggio and Powell 1983: 151–152). It is an attempt to mimic culturally legitimate constructions that are widely understood, imitated, and carried out (Hirsch 1997: 1715). Third, the normative factors affect actions and behaviors because of the influence of education and the professions. In the process of professionalization, members of an occupation work to establish a cognitive and legitimate base for their occupational autonomy; and, through the socialization of its members, they aim to achieve common expectations and shared norms and codes among themselves. Fourth, the evangelizing efforts of individuals can help to consolidate and strengthen social adherence to certain values, perceptions and practices. Because of their endeavors in diffusion and advocacy, specific ideas and practices are adopted and their influence felt (Powell and Colyves 2008).

Together, the above factors constitute a broad institutional environment that cause people to act in certain ways. Compliance may come from fear of coercion, maximization of benefits, sense of moral duty, reflexive response to uncertainty, or simply as a "default choice" since no alternative way of acting is conceived. In making their choices, people follow different "logics"—the logic of instrumentality (to act to serve self interests), logic of appropriateness (to act according to norms and rules) and logic of orthodoxy (to act according to taken-for-granted assumptions)—and try to function in the institutional environment. Within this kind of environment, human agents will re-produce, sustain and reform social systems as society and culture may afford opportunities.

With their monopoly on literacy, members of the Chinese literati served as defenders and spokesmen of state ideology, as well as executors of imperial decrees that governed the masses. Their roles as state officials, administrators and

office-aspirants were legitimated by the rulers, while the society recognized them as educators, community arbiters and ceremonial consultants. Their ability to articulate values and to define rules of conduct was appreciated by the imperial court and commoners alike. As a social class, the literati were awarded high status and authority in the society. The pervasive influence of their values, norms and rules not only permeated the society but also dominated their own thinking and dictated their actions. The institutionalization of their roles and authority was reproduced through the dynasties and served as a means of control for their compliance (Li 2008; Brandauer and Huang 1995; Qian 1982).

Among the mechanisms of control on the literati, none was more powerful than the institution of imperial examinations which had lasted for more than a thousand years. It was the imperial examinations that divided the literati by channeling scholars into stations of authority that were differentiated by their socio-political functions, status in the community, and share of material and social resources. Whereas all scholars belonged to the same social class, admission into the officialdom through successful performance in the imperial examinations decided the kinds of opportunity that they could reap in the future. No matter their stations of authority, however, the literati lived under systemic constraints that they helped the rulers to impose (Lee 1985; Liu and Li 2004; Elman 2000; Yu 2005; Wang 2013a, b).

The Role and Status of the Chinese Literati

Systemic institutionalization of political and social practices in China began with the unification of China under the powerful Emperor of Qin in 221 BC. It was under his brief but oppressive regime that a well-defined political structure was established by the imposition of draconian laws, as well as by the standardization of language, measurements, and other essential tools that enhanced the efficiency of his administration. As an inevitable corollary to his coercion, the numerous schools of thought that sprang up in the feudal kingdoms fell silent. The convivial spirit that was sustained by debates among proponents of statecraft who competed for the patronage of the feudal rulers dissipated abruptly. The unification of political and ideological orthodoxies ended a period when "a hundred schools of thought" contended.[3] The free spirited exchange of ideas and thoughts, especially those

[3]For over five hundred years (770–221 BC) before the Qin dynasty, China, under the nominal rule of the Zhou dynasty, was divided into feudal states that contested for hegemony. Proponents of different schools of thought, armed with proposals that ran the gamut from statecraft to astrology, actively vied for the patronage of powerful rulers. The contest for attention was intense, fueling a lively atmosphere of intellectual debates. Those thinkers and strategists who were able to convinced the rulers of their worth were rewarded with official appointments. Ambitious rulers also sought their advice earnestly. At its height, open forums of debates among leading thinkers were sponsored by the rulers. The *Jixia xuegong* (Jixia Imperial Academy), for example, was

forums that were organized under the auspices of the feudal rulers, would only emerge occasionally in designated institutions of learning for the remainder of imperial Chinese history. Even when such occasions occurred, participants would take care not to criticize their rulers, for they had become servants to the emperor.

In addition to the standardization of language and administrative tools, early institutionalization of the imperial rule also included the establishment of a bureaucracy that governed the affairs of the military, the judiciary, public administration and finance, as well as matters related to rituals, education and transportation. The bureaucratic system was elaborate and the division of authority was clear. As persons who were in command of the written language and were therefore deemed useful to the empire, the scholars were given opportunities to join the officialdom. Through personal connection and social referral, they sought the recommendations of officials serving at different levels of the bureaucracy and influential parties with official ties. In the absence a truly meritocratic system, entry into the officialdom was reliant on the socio-economic backgrounds of office aspirants. Selection of officials naturally favored the well-endowed who had the means to secure favorable recommendations from influential officials. The eventual institutionalization of an examination system had made the recruitment of officials more open and equitable; however, the practice of seeking favorable recommendations or even paying for official positions had existed alongside the examinations as a known avenue for official appointment.

No matters the means of recruitment, one theme that was consistently stressed by the dynastic rulers was the virtues of the candidates for official appointment. The intention was to identify and appoint those literate persons who were "virtuous and able". The emphasis on the candidates' moral rectitude was to ensure that the bureaucracy would be operated by persons of good character who were loyal to the emperor and filial to their parents. As officials in imperial China were also expected to perform an educative function in the society, either as an official in charge of education in the localities or as a model for the commoners to emulate, their personal integrity was an essential quality for official appointment.

Model emulation was an important feature in the Confucian doctrines. The ideals of a gentleman (*junzi*, or "superior man"), which embodied such desirable character traits as righteousness, compassion, wisdom and modesty, were upheld as the

(Footnote 3 continued)

established by the King of Qi during the later part of the third century BC to attract the participation of "virtuous" scholars. These scholars were philosophers and men of letters who constituted China's earliest counterpart of the sophists. The Academy was considered by some as the first school for higher learning in the history of China. Noteworthy scholars, including such Confucian luminaries as Mencius and Xun Zi, were inducted as its scholar-officials. They were deferentially referred to as the "gentlemen of Jixia". The service of prominent scholars was generously compensated. Their duties were mainly academic, thus freeing them from the burden of administration. At its height, the Academy reportedly boosted a congregation of over a thousand "gentlemen of Jixia". Not all of them were equal in their prominence, however, as the reputation and generosity of the Academy had attracted persons of different persuasions and abilities, including those who traveled between kingdoms peddling their ideas and strategies.

paragon of goodness and refinement for public emulation. The teachings of Confucius and their continuous refinement by his disciples had established Confucianism as one of the most comprehensive and viable system of thinking for state governance. Its insistence on a person's relentless self-cultivation, as well as its interpretation of human relations in a hierarchical structure of positions and authority, had distinguished it as an attractive blueprint for the attainment of benevolent authority of the rulers and perpetual harmony in the society.

Institutionalization of Confucianism as state ideology began when an emperor in the Han Dynasty formally instituted it as the state ideology of the empire in 134 BC.[4] As state ideology, the role Confucianism was to serve the interests of the ruling class. Its moral codes and social rules began to take root in government and society. Their interpretation of human relationships and the codes of conduct that they established were re-produced. The revival of Confucianism during the Song dynasty (960–1279 AD) brought the consolidation and codification of social values and norms to a new height. The standardization of relational norms was based on a clear definition of people's roles in human relationships and their duties to such roles. Important codes that governed major human relationships delineated not only their nature but also the duty of those in the relationships as well (Hamilton 1984: 416). For example, the "five relationships" (*wulun*)—between father and son, ruler and official, brothers, husband and wife, and friends—denoted the roles and duties of parties in the relationships. The relationships were conceived in both social and ethical terms, as persons who neglected the duties of their roles in the relationships would be censured. Social order which grew out of the maintenance of these relationships relied on the scholars to serve as virtuous models for public emulation. The "five constants" (*wuchang*)—human-heartedness (*ren*), proprietary righteousness (*yi*), ritual (*li*), wisdom (*zhi*), and good faith (*xin*)—defined the basic attributes of a Confucian gentleman. A social order would be achieved when the codified norms, as well as the social rules created to enforce these norms, could serve as stable patterns of normative and regulative activities that governed the routine practices of government and society. The codified norms were strengthened by the scholars, as officials and educators, who upheld the beliefs of filial piety, loyalty, obedience and self-cultivation through conscious actions.

[4]The Confucian school of thought was shunned by the rulers of the short-lived Qin Dynasty who opted to implement draconian laws that were framed by their Legalist advisors. The Han Dynasty succeeded the Qin Dynasty and ruled China during 202 BC to 220 AD. It was considered one of the most powerful dynasties in Chinese history when great progress was made in military, political and cultural affairs. The institutionalization of Confucianism was initiated in 136 BC under the reign of the Han emperor Wu Di at the urging of a prominent scholar Dong Zhongshu (179–104 BC). An ambitious emperor, Wu Di openly sought for a grand design that could realize his aspirations for China. Dong's advice was to establish Confucianism as the state ideology at the exclusion of other schools of thought. The emperor was urged to govern with virtue and to implement a developmental strategy that stressed the divine basis of imperial legitimacy, the imperatives of a unified empire, and the establishment of a normative and regulative structure that could support the growth of his empire.

In their roles as officials and educators, the scholars were given the authority to govern.[5] They played the dual role of the defenders of the legitimacy of the rulers and the enlighteners of the society. As a small elite group that constructed the epistemological foundation of state ideology and the literary tools to articulate it, the scholars were relied on to explain and sustain the legitimacy of the rulers. To be sure, the "mandate of heaven" that legitimated the rule of any emperor was constantly a subject of ethical, mythical, or even astrological speculations. The service of the scholars in defending the legitimacy of the rulers was deemed a useful tool to protect the latter against the encroachment of such speculations. As officials, the scholars realized the rulers' visions with developmental strategies. Through the dynasties, the role of the scholars as architects of major nation-building endeavors was evident. Not all scholars subscribed to the Confucian approach to achieving social harmony within the empire; but their loyalty to the rulers was assumed as norms and their acquiescence was demonstrated in practice (Gu 1974; Qian 1982).

For their loyalty and service, the scholars were protected by the rulers and rewarded with high social status and generous stipends. Among the four social classes that were commonly found in traditional China, the literati, who "labored with their brains", occupied the highest echelon of the society. They were served by the peasants, artisans and merchants, who "labored with their brawn". The scholars who secured an official appointment became members of a major grouping of political authority. Under the conditions of the imperial political culture, "authority became the basic standard for measuring people's social value and the determining factor influencing people's social position and social attributes" (Yu 2014: 4). Since authority controlled all social resources, including material and cultural resources, those people who possessed political authority would have control of economic resources as well. Thus the scholars who joined the officialdom benefitted mostly from the authority vested in their roles and the consequential social and economic privileges that such roles generated. Based on their official status, the scholar-officials enjoyed a range of social and economic privileges that far exceeded their official positions and stipends (Ibid.: 5–9). The residual authority of officials followed them into retirement as most of them would become members of the gentry class that asserted strong influence on the affairs of local communities (Chang 1968; Chow 2011). Given the authority that it entailed, an official appointment was the most direct avenue for the scholars to access power and privileges. "Study in order to become an official" (*dushu zuoguan*) became their major aspiration.

[5]It should be noted that not all officials were Confucian scholars. There were periods in Chinese history when Confucianism was replaced by other schools of thought and religions, such as metaphysical philosophy, Daoism and Buddhism. Defined by the dynasties and in accordance with the ideological choices of their emperors, these periods marked gaps in the long chronology of Confucianism as state ideology. The gaps notwithstanding, the advocacy of Confucianism for a highly structured society has found ready subscribers in many imperial rulers through the dynasties.

Promises of power and wealth had indeed lured the scholars into a web of hierarchical relations in the officialdom which was built on the dictates of loyalty to the rulers. Yet the service provided by the scholars implied much more than simple servitude under the emperor. In the early dynasties when official recommendations were used as the main mechanism of selection, those unwilling to serve would quietly retreat to the countryside in order to avoid the approaches of the officialdom. This kind of self-imposed exile from the bustled officialdom became a common practice among the reluctant scholars through the dynasties (Wu 1958: Chap. 1). Some of those with strong political aspirations saw themselves not only as servants to the rulers, but also as architects of China's nation-building projects or stalwart of its sovereignty against foreign encroachment. There has been no dearth of martyrs on the long list of Chinese patriotic scholar-officials. Their grand vision for scholarship, such as the following assertion made famous by the Song scholar Zhang Zai (1020–1077) a thousand years ago—"to establish a system of beliefs in accordance to the laws of the universe, to create a good life for the people, to perpetuate the scholarship of past sages, to initiate projects for eternal peace"—has continued to inspire those who are engaged in serious intellectual pursuits to this day (for example, Kasoff 1984).

The influence of the scholar-officials on human behavior and social practices lasted for millennia. Through norms, codes, rules and the institutions that they created, an encompassing framework of appropriateness permeated the society and molded the values which governed the relations among its members. The scholar-officials themselves were subject to the same rules that they invented. In order to ensure that scholars-officials could abide by the same logic of appropriateness or even serve as exemplars of unimpeachable rectitude, a reliable way had to be found for their recruitment. As the system of official recommendations was proven corruptive and ineffective, a more objective system to test the aptitude of potential candidates for the officialdom was eventually established for the purpose of selection and control.

The Imperial Examinations as a Mechanism of Selection and Control

As the administrative needs of the empire grew, and the system of recommendation could no longer support the needs of official recruitment, a more systematic approach was introduced in the Han Dynasty (202 BC–220 AD). The imperial examinations were initially established to supplement the recommendation system of recruitment. However, since the candidates taking the examinations were mostly recruited from different levels of the official academies, and only those who were well connected could attend such schools, the source of examination candidates was narrowly defined by class origins and limited to the privileged scholarly class. It was not until the Sui Dynasty (581–618 AD) that a more open system of

examinations was instituted. The more inclusive examination system allowed commoners to attempt the tests and to gain access to the officialdom in a seemingly objective manner that celebrated academic merits. Theoretically, a candidate of the humblest origin could become the second most powerful person in the empire (as prime minister, who was still a servant to the emperor).

The examinations eventually became the main mechanism of selection and recruitment as well as a major vehicle to the officialdom. It provided a "ladder of success" for all aspiring students to climb (Ho 1962). The commoners responded warmly to the opportunities afforded by the examinations. Families tried to consolidate their resources in order to dispatch their offspring to attempt the grueling regime of tests. With a clear advantage in literary skills, members of the literati tried to preserve their privileged socio-political status by nurturing their children for official appointments through the examination system. In the early implementation stage of the new examination system, the literati remained its major beneficiaries. The merchants, because of their lowly social ranking and the embedded prejudices against them, had to wait in the wings for the promulgation of more inclusive policies before they could gain entry into the officialdom. Commoners of the other social classes, such as the peasants and the artisans, had to weigh the possibility of their children's success in examinations against the loss of productivity for their families. For every child engaged in education and in examination preparation would mean one less person working for the family in the fields or shops. Nevertheless, the practice of familial support of academically promising children to attempt the examinations had become a social pattern that persisted through the centuries. The public's enthusiastic response to the examinations had so impressed an emperor in the Tang Dynasty[6] that he remarked: "All the talents under heaven and earth are now captured in my urn!"

Developed through the dynasties, the examination system acquired a highly hierarchical structure and was intimately linked to the recruitment of officials at various levels of the bureaucracy. As an institution that straddled the polity and the society, the imperial examinations divided the literati into different sub-classes of people: those who passed and received appointments at different junctures of successful candidature, and those who failed and had to seek employment in occupations outside the state sector.

The Examination System at Work

At its prime in the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), the examination system had to process hundreds of thousands of people who tried to establish formal candidature

[6]Widely known as one of the most powerful emperor in Chinese history, Li Shimin (posthumous title Tang Taizong, 598–649 AD) who brought the Tang Dynasty to a new height of imperial power and glory, had placed great importance on the examination system as a selection and recruitment mechanism of the officialdom.

for taking examinations of any consequence. To attain such formal candidature (*sheng yuan*, or "student candidate"), a person was required to be admitted into the official schools which screened applicants through qualifying examinations organized at the county, prefecture and provincial levels. Only those who managed to pass the entrance examinations at the provincial level were accorded formal candidature and were sent to official schools to study for the next level of examinations. The average passing rate of the qualifying examinations was between 8 and 10% (Guo 2006: 25). "Student candidates" who performed well in the qualifying examinations were given stipends for food. Once qualified, all "student candidates" could attempt the imperial examinations which afforded real opportunities for entrance into the officialdom. The number of "student candidates" grew significantly during the Ming Dynasty. By the 16th Century, as many as half a million "student candidates" were qualified to take the imperial examinations which were conducted once every three years (Ibid.).

The 90% of people who could not pass the qualifying examinations remained "child students" (*tong sheng*). While they were allowed to attempt the qualifying examinations again, it was a relentless test of their perseverance, commitment and luck, as well as the ability of their families to support their academic pursuits. Colorful portraits of perseverance had been painted time and again in engaging stories that celebrated the resilience of those successful candidates who refused to give up. In reality, however, the quiet suffering of the majority of "child students" who failed would be shared only by their families. For those with unflinching determination, the trials of their perseverance could seem endless. At the sites of qualifying examinations, it was no novelty to find graying gentlemen taking the test as "child students".

For those "student candidates" who passed the qualifying examinations, the real test had just begun. The next three levels of imperial examinations, if one could progress that far, were the provincial examinations, the capital examinations, and the palace examinations. Once every three years, student candidates had to find enough resources to support a trip to the provincial capital for the first stage of the imperial examinations. The provincial examinations were given the humble title of "village examinations" (*xiang shi*), where the average passing rate had decreased significantly through the centuries, from 10% in the 14th Century to 4% in the 16th Century (Guo 2006). The competition to progress along the examination ladder was fierce indeed. In the early 16th Century, the number of candidates who were eligible to take the provincial examinations was estimated at 250,000–350,000 people (Ibid., 2006: 25). Those who passed this level of examinations were accorded the title of "first-degree scholars" (*ju ren*) who, depending on the availability of vacancies, could be assigned to low-level official positions (Zhao 2012); but more importantly, success in the provincial examinations provided the candidates with a ticket to participate in higher level examinations.

To aspirants of official appointments, the capital examinations were the deciding event that would determine their future. Whereas earning the title of "first-degree candidates" could ensure high social status for life, the successful candidates could only hope for low-level appointments in the officialdom that could take them far

away from the nation's capital, the center of politics and opportunities. Appointments to serve in underdeveloped provinces, where vacancies were more likely available, would surely present hardship for those candidates who were from urban or affluent backgrounds. Moreover, when positions were keenly sought by those who wanted to leave the examination race, appointments could be at such a low level that they fell below the standard nine grades of appointment in the officialdom. In the hierarchy of the officialdom, all officials (*guan*) were ranked in accordance with the nine grades, with the ninth grade being the lowest among the officials. Those who received non-graded appointments were bureaucrats (*li*) who assisted the officials in the management of their bureaus and in clerical work. While they were obvious subordinates to the officials, some of them had wrested substantial power in the affairs of local communities because of their essential role in the actual operation of the state machinery.

Be that as it may, becoming a bureaucrat was not the initial career goal of the "first-degree scholars" who aspired to real official appointments. To achieve this, the "first-degree scholars" had to pass the capital examinations, which, like the provincial examinations, took place once every three years. In the 16th Century, the average passing rate of the capital examinations was approximately 10%. The successful candidates were accorded the title of *jin shi* ("advanced scholar") which was an official recognition of the highest level of scholarship as demonstrated in the examinations. After rigorous screening at different levels, the number of "advanced scholars" who survived the tests had dwindled to the hundreds. Clear quota were set for the granting of "advanced scholars" titles. The number of persons who could receive such title was set within the range of three to four hundred persons. As the number of candidates increased continually through time, the passing rate of the capital examinations had also witnessed a concomitant decline. According to one estimation, the chance of a "student candidate" obtaining the "advanced scholar" title was one in three thousand (Zhao 2012: 308).

The "advanced scholar" title brought great opportunities of advancement for the successful candidates, because official appointments at this level would normally lead to respectable positions. In their capacity as state officials, the newly appointed officials could exercise their political authority to govern and use their power to control the distribution of material and human resources. In their role as guardians of social harmony, they commanded a kind of paternal authority over the citizenry and were accorded the respect that was reserved only for parents in a society that valued filial piety as a virtue. Their achievements also brought glory to their families and provided them with security and comfort. Even after the scholar-officials withdrew from public office, they could still enjoyed the privileges of the gentry class and served as a moral and social anchor in the local communities. It is little wonder, therefore, that success in capital examinations had meant so much for the scholars. Aside from the obvious social and material benefits that it had brought, success in examination could also induce a sense of psychological well-being, as one such candidate in the Tang Dynasty wrote in a poem: "My horse gallops against the happy Spring breeze, allowing admiration of all the Capital's flowers in just one day!" (Meng circa 797 AD).

With promises of power and authority, the "advanced scholars" proceeded to the final test in the imperial palace which would rank them in accordance with their performance in the palace examinations. There would be no failure in the palace examinations. The emperor was the chief examiner, and the outcome of examination would be decided by the candidates' demonstrated knowledge and eloquence in addressing policy and strategic issues during the examination. In the end, three persons would be selected as the winners, with the champion (*zhuang yuan*) being elevated immediately to celebrity status. As the successful candidates headed for their official posts, another round of imperial examinations had come to an end. Like the preceding rounds, it yielded stories of hope and despair. From establishment to abolition, the imperial examinations became rooted in the social psyche of the nation (for example, Wu 1958; Yu 2005; Ge 2014).

Examinations as Institution

The imperial examinations were instituted to select the best talents for the development of the empire. As an institution that asserted strong influence on the society, it had affected the lives of those students and scholars who competed in it in order to get ahead. Through continual change and refinement, the examination institution seemed to have taken on a life of its own, designating roles to each party involved (including the emperor), establishing a hierarchical structure of codes and rules for its operation, creating an institutional culture with values to uphold (such as fairness and inclusivity), forming a network of social and political elite that identified with its functions, and nurturing widespread expectation of its outcomes. The imperial examinations were designed by the powers-that-be to select those who could demonstrate their intellectual prowess to join in the control of the populace. Through participation, the students and scholars were in turn controlled by the values, codes and rules of the examination institution. As generations of scholars had gone through the same process of learning for examination, it became an integral part of their lives. All lived under the assumptions of an institutionalized Confucian precept: "He who excels in learning can become an official" (*xueeryou zeshi,* in *The Analects*, Book 19.13).

Because the imperial examinations were the only sure way to gain access to power and authority in society, the commoners were also ready to conform to the rules of the examination institution. On the whole, the society was willing to abide by its schedule, syllabus, and codes of conduct. It also accepted the outcomes of the imperial examinations as the final assessment of the candidates' aptitude and their suitability to govern. The institutionalization of the examination system was re-enforced by its operational and reward mechanisms and by a parallel state-funded school system (to be discussed below). Through time, the scholars and the society accepted the rules and codes of the institutionalized examination system as *status quo*. The operation of the system—such as why student candidates and "first-degree scholars" had to wait three years for their next attempt—as well as the

quota that were set for the reward of titles were treated as *faits accomplis*. Moreover, changes in the examination subjects were promulgated as rules. From the aforementioned examples from the 16th Century, the state manipulated the quota for passing candidates without paying much attention to the significant increase of student candidates at the time. The working of the examination institution is a vivid illustration of the limitations of the state's monopoly on the only avenue for social advancement among the commoners. Under the influence of officialism, the powerful state implemented examination policies freely while imposing tight control over those taking the examinations. The cost of control was evident in the fixity and isomorphism that had prevailed over an important institution that was supposedly the safety valve of a meritocratic system.

Fixity and isomorphism in the institution of examinations caused its decline. They had also impeded the development of education as a social institution as well. A prime example for fixity is the narrowly defined examination syllabus. To begin with, the examination syllabus was actually the stated categories of a legitimized structure of knowledge on which answers to examination questions should be based. The examinations embodied several broad areas of competencies to be tested, such as a command of classical knowledge and an ability to explicate such knowledge in essays that addressed political and social issues. The examination syllabus had been revised over time, but its emphasis on ancient histories, speculative philosophy and literature had remained constant. For example, the expectation that candidates taking the examinations should have a command of knowledge of the designated classics was a cherished tradition in the imperial examinations. While the designation of classics had changed over time due to the influence of key officials, certain "sacred books" had remained required readings for all candidates: in the Han Dynasty, historical records of the virtuous emperors in ancient China provided basic knowledge for the examinations; in the Song Dynasty, the Four Great Books served as a supplement to the ancient histories; in the dynasties that followed, the Four Great Books continued to enjoy prominence while other classics such as the *Analects* and the Book of Filial Piety were included as required readings as well. Change in the designation of classics for examination purposes did take place; but the change process had taken over a millennium to complete. During those years, candidates preparing for the examinations were reading and memorizing the same designated classics regardless of their class or regional backgrounds.

Reliance of the examinations on the knowledge of "sacred books", which were mainly Confucian texts, had significantly limited the knowledge base of those who spent a good part of their lives preparing for the examinations. Fixity in the examination institution was also enforced by the highly restrictive ways by which candidates could attempt the examination papers. In the last four centuries of imperial rule, candidates were required to answer examination questions in a required format of writing that had to be followed strictly (for example, Liu and Li 2004: Chap. 5). There was a clear designation of purpose to the eight sections that constituted an essay, and even a limitation on the number of characters that a candidate could use in certain parts of his essay. After years of calcification, the

rigid writing style required in examinations had ushered in a peculiar phenomenon that writing was no longer for the expression of ideas, but for solving stylistic problem in the examinations. The implementation of the "eight-legged essay" (*baguwen*), as the restrictive style of writing had become known, marked the emergence of a game of words that had severely constrained the thinking and learning of those preparing for the examinations. As recitation of the texts of designated classics dominated learning, and creative writing gave way to restrictive construction of sentences, thinking became focused on the format of presentation rather than the soundness of argument. The effects of the "eight-legged essay" on the examination institution were pervasive and lasting: fixity imposed itself on its operation and isomorphism on its content. In a sense, the "eight-legged essay" was the last part of a portrait which depicted the forces that had led a powerful institution to its demise.

As an avenue of social mobility, however, the examination institution had availed opportunities to those commoners with the will and means to enhance their status in society. Upward social mobility was especially tempting to the merchants who accumulated wealth but were deprived of political power and authority. Even though they were traditionally barred taking the imperial examinations, farsighted merchants contracted the service of private tutors to educate their offspring with the intention of dispatching them to join the examination contest. The fees paid to the tutors were commensurable with their records of success in coaching students to pass the examinations (Chen 2010). From historical accounts, the merchants' efforts were awarded handsomely. As a social class, a significant number of candidates from the merchant class had successfully joined the literati by the 15th and 16th centuries (Yu 2005). This kind of mobility was accomplished through merchants getting their children into official schooling and thereby allowing them the eligibility to take the imperial examinations. At the time, admission into the official schools was mainly through qualifying examinations at the lower levels, such as the tests that the "child candidates" were required to take. Yet, there were also places in the official schools that could be bought (Yu 2005), especially when local governments needed to increase income for the public coffers. Because of their comparative advantage in income, the merchants managed to fill most of the vacancies in the official schools. The ability to pay for the privilege of taking the imperial examinations had allowed members of the merchant class to gain access to the officialdom. There was no dearth of cases in which officials of merchant origin would use their influence to advance class interests. While the experience of the merchants in gaining upward social mobility demonstrates the power of the examination institutions in effecting class mobility, it also pointed to the shady side of a system that was supposedly open and fair. In the case of the merchants, it was money that had given them an edge over the other social classes in the society.

In a political culture dominated by officialism, the examination institution was as rigid as the emperor and his officials made it to be. The selection system that determined social mobility was in fact driven by the discretionary power of those officials who manipulated human and material resources. From the implementation of policies related to the imperial examinations, a "softer" side of institutional

operation was revealed. Aside from the acceptance of "donations" from merchants for official school places, the discretionary power of chief examiners on the choice examination questions could affect the status of certain classics that were designated as required readings. Rampant cronyism warranted preventive practices to ensure anonymity of candidates, such as having their names covered or their original answers copied prior to the perusal of examiners. Despite its limitations, the examination system continued to assert a strong influence on the society. Nowhere was its impact felt more strongly than in the schools, for it demanded the undivided attention of the students and the teachers.

The Role and Status of the Teachers in Traditional China

The imperial examinations sub-divided the literati into officials of various ranks and those who failed to enter the officialdom. They also determined the future of those who worked in the field of education by separating them into official teachers and private tutors.

The Official Teachers

Depending on their performance in the examinations, those who passed and received appointment at various levels of the state education system were accorded official status. The top candidates normally began their careers in the Hanlin Academy for research and the Imperial Academy for teaching. Others worked in the Imperial Archive, joined the Education Inspectorate, or became tutors in the provincial academies. Still others were assigned to work as officials in the education bureaus at the prefecture and county levels, or filled positions in government schools (Zhang 2006: 78–80).

The official teachers who served in the academies and government schools performed a variety of functions to ensure that "student candidates" were educated to lead the life of a gentleman and be ready to attempt the imperial examinations. In order to fulfill their main duties as moral educator, instructor and assessor, the teachers conducted daily lessons and monthly tests to ascertain student performance. Based on their assessment of student performance, the teachers were supposed to report outstanding and failing students to their supervisors. Monitoring student behavior in order to prevent misconduct in public was also an integral part of the teachers' duties, for serious student misdemeanors or indulgence in debaucheries would lead to their own demotion or involuntary discharge from the schools (Zhang 2008: 33). The teachers participated in community affairs, especially those involving ceremonial and social welfare functions, and in educational events. For the government, they served as examiners in the public examinations, as

authors of public announcements, and occasionally as advisors to local magistrates (Zhang 2008).

The official teachers were allowed to find new positions within the education system or to seek mobility within the officialdom (Zhang 2006). So long as they remained in the state schools, the performance of teachers would be assessed at specified junctures of their appointment. Since the main functions of the teachers were to facilitate the advancement of student candidates in the examination system and to control their behavior, teacher assessment was mainly based on the results of their own academic aptitude tests, examination results of their students, and records of student misbehavior. While passing the academic aptitude test was a basic requirement for continuation and substantiation of service, the passing rate of "student candidates" in examinations decided the teachers' mobility within the education system. In the 14th Century, the Ming rulers established clear quota of successful "student candidates" for teachers at different levels (Zhang and Guo 2009: 62). The scarcity objective and reliable criteria at the time had allowed student passing rates to serve as an important criterion in teacher assessment.

The status of teachers and officials serving in the education sector spanned a wide range of official titles and ranks, with the tutors in the imperial household occupying the highest official position among them. In fact, the positions and privileges of teachers were determined by their distance from the throne. Their predecessors were instructors in the imperial court (*ruishi*) who trained young princes and noblemen to perform required rituals in ceremonial dance.[7] While it is difficult to determine the status of these instructors in the official hierarchy during a historical period that preceded Confucius, their titles and positions were nonetheless official. With further differentiation of roles and functions, the status of the teacher-scholars could be viewed in terms of their rankings in the officialdom. In a bureaucracy where the ranking of officials consisted of nine grades, the ranks of high teacher-officials were positioned between the third and fourth grade through the dynasties. Individuals with less important appointments were kept in the lower echelon of the officialdom, ranging from the sixth to the eighth grades in a nine-grade appointment system (Ye and Lo 2012: 59).

Under the dominance of officialism which held the power and authority of the emperor as supreme and inviolable, the status of teacher-scholars, as well as the extent of their authority, could be altered at his discretion. The delicate relationship between Wang Anshi (1021–1086), the great statesman in the Song Dynasty, and the emperor provided an interesting illustration of the nuanced struggle between teacher and student in court politics. As one of the most important court officials during a period when the Chinese literati was actively involved in reform of state affairs, Wang served as a tutor to the emperor. At the time, court etiquette dictated

[7]There is no definitive study on the origin of these instructors. Scholars have speculated that they first made their appearance as shamans who conducted ceremonies for rain, and then as instructors of ritualistic dance that was a required skill for princes and young noblemen. Through their presence in the imperial court, they were able to establish continual contacts with the throne. Some of them became tutors in the imperial households. See, for example, Yan (1994).

that imperial tutors had to stand while delivering their lectures to the emperor. Wang took exception to that rule, and asked the emperor for permission to sit down during their lessons. The emperor referred Wang's request to the Ministry of Rites for deliberation. From the deliberation, two contesting views emerged: (1) the tutor should be allowed to sit down because such a practice, which was in concert with imperial practices in previous dynasties, would indicate a respect for teachers; and (2) the tutor was merely explaining texts of old Confucian classics to the emperor and was therefore not playing the role of a teacher, thus he should conduct himself with dignity and not ask for such as a favor. After consulting the opinions of more senior officials, the emperor granted Wang his desired seat. Interestingly, Wang insisted on standing after his wish was granted by the emperor. From Wang's choice to submit to the dictates of imperial conventions rather than to exert his role of a teacher served as a strong reminder to officials who might flirt with the novel idea that they could make any claim that was contrary to the conventions of the imperial court. No matter how close an official teacher was to the throne, the fine line between familiarity and impropriety was never to be transgressed (Ye and Lo 2012: 58). In deciding to alter his stance on the privileges of the imperial tutor, Wang could have been mindful of his colleagues' admonishment that "the tutor should conduct himself with dignity and not ask for such a favor". Had Wang ignored the opinion of his critics and took the seat, he would have blemished the dignity of a teacher and thereby undermining the authority of his role and status as the tutor of the emperor.

The Private Tutors

In addition to the teachers working in a relatively small number of state-operated schools, the responsibility of educating the vast majority of children fell on the shoulders of the private tutors. As an occupational group, the private tutors were all connected to the imperial examinations. Most of them had failed to make progress along the examination ladder at certain critical points in their academic pursuits while there were also others who had resorted to teaching after retirement or failed appointments in the officialdom. According to historical estimates, the number of private tutors mushroomed from 150,000 in the 14th Century (Liu 2010a, b) to 600,000 in the late 19th Century (Chang 1962). Since the latter estimation only accounted for those private tutors with "student candidate" qualifications, it can be assumed that the number of this occupation group could easily surpass a million if the "child students" (those who did not pass the lower level qualifying examinations) were included in the estimation.

The occupational group of private tutors consisted of five sub-groups: retired officials, teachers formerly serving in the state academies and schools, "first-degree scholars" and students of the academies, "student candidates", and "child students" (Liu and Zhao 2006). In terms of esteem, privileges, and income, the private tutors followed the foregoing categories in a descending order. The status of the private

tutors was linked to their own performance in the imperial examinations and their ability to receive official appointments. Famous tutors such as Gu Li and Qian Fu were former officials who left the officialdom during the Ming Dynasty and created well subscribed tutorial schools in their homes (Liu and Zhao 2006: 60–61). In the Qing Dynasty (1636–1912), "first-degree scholars" such as Wu Zhen and Zhuang Yinsheng exploited their own success in the imperial examinations by establishing tutorial schools which were well attended by those who aspired to emulate (Chen 2010: 65). Others who lacked the necessary credentials to attract students had to seek employment in a variety of settings—from village schools to home tutorial schools—and to accept the kind of modest living that characterized the occupation.

For the ordinary private tutors, the vast majority of whom were "student candidates" and "child students" who failed to advance in the imperial examinations, employment could be found in the home schools, clan schools, village schools, philanthropic schools, and self-operated schools (*san guan*) where students of all ages were educated in the tutors' own study (Shen 2012). Depending on the nature and purpose of their work, the private tutors bore a myriad of titles: from "initiating teacher" (*meng shi*) who imparted rudimentary knowledge to children to "classics teacher" (*jing shi*) who prepared their students to take examinations. Moreover there were also titles that denoted their workplace and their status in the local communities: "school teacher" (*guan shi*) for those who taught at private tutorial schools of all kinds to "village pedant" (*cun xuejiu*) for those whose livelihood depended on teaching.

Aside from those who were self-employed, private tutors were normally contracted to teach in schools of different kinds for one or two years. As free agents, they could sell their service to interested parties with varying needs and aspirations for their children. The private tutors changed their employment frequently as the needs of families, clans and villages also changed from time to time. The case of Wei Dazhong in the Ming Dynasty, a private tutor for twenty-four years, provides a depiction of the frequently changing work-life of private tutors. During these years, he was contracted to teach in twelve families, established his own tutorial school for two years (one of which was at the beginning of his teaching career when he inherited the school from his deceased father), took a total of four years off to prepare for examinations, took one year off for travels, and finally succeeded in attaining the highest status of "advanced scholar" in the imperial examinations (Liu 2010a, b: 141).

Not all stories about private tutors would have such a happy ending. Indeed, most of them had to struggle with frustration, loneliness and poverty, all of which had come to characterize their lives away from home and their dependence on the good graces of their employers. Remuneration for private tutors was dependent on the tutors' qualification achieved in the examinations and their record of success, if any, in helping their students to pass examinations at different levels of the system. As a whole, however, private tutors earned barely enough to sustain their own parsimonious living and the needs of their families (Chen 2010). The image of teachers living in poverty was carved in the public mind; and it was taken for granted that teaching was an occupation for persons with little ambition, and

definitely not for those who aspired to wealth and power. To supplement their meager income, some of the tutors availed themselves to jobs that seemed incongruent with the image of a gentleman: fortune-telling, match-making, peddling medicine, farming, and other activities that any serious scholar would have loathed. Their service as amateur doctors and as authors of public announcements and private correspondence could be bought, while their calligraphy, paintings, and essays could be purchased (Jiang 2008a). Their exiguous existence notwithstanding, the tutors were taught to view their poverty through ethical lens. "Accept poverty and be content with your way of living" (*anpin ledao*) had been used as a self-comforting motto by the scholar-teachers who recognized that "despite low status and poor salaries, their responsibilities were as important as those of the emperor" (Yan 2006: 13).

At least on paper, educational activities to be conducted by the tutors were structured in a class schedule that was demanding and long. Content of teaching and learning focused on basic literacy skills for children and on the classics for older students. At times, parental preference in merchant families would require the teaching of arithmetic (Chen 2010: 65). The *Three Character Classics*, *Book of Thousand Surnames, Book of Thousand Characters, and Book of Filial Piety* was popular choices for required readings. Classroom activities included recitation of texts, calligraphy, composition, poetry, and etiquette drills. In schools where moral education was emphasized, it was the tutors' duty to supervise students in janitorial chores, monitor their appearance and behavior, coach them in etiquette, and tell stories of the virtuous and the filial. On special occasions, the tutors were required to lead their students in ceremonies that honored Confucius, to coach them in ceremonial dance, or to deliver occasional lectures to the local communities (Shen 2012: 125).

To be sure, the above activities suggested an idealized schedule of work for tutors. According to historical accounts, the tutors kept long working hours and were constantly torn between demanding parents who required heavy assignments for their offspring and reluctant students who were unwilling to do more (Zheng 1979). For tutors who were hired to teach in family schools, their awkward existence could cause a confusion of roles when their employers expected them to perform tasks that should only be suitably assigned to servants (Shen 2012: 127). However, there were also tutors who had managed cordial and harmonious relationships with their employers (Jiang 2008b). For tutors who were employed by the village, their interests in teaching were often linked to the conditions of their employment and, more importantly, the ability of their students. When a tutor found that his playful students were "like stupid oxen" who would rather play than study, he would have "to muster up all his patience and stayed on the job" (Wu 1958, Chap. 2).

There were myriad reasons for scholars to engage in teaching. As educated persons, they were also led to believe that teaching was a way of nurturing talents for society and that teachers were therefore making a significant contribution to the public good (Xu 2004: 65). Well-known and accomplished scholars, such as Luo Tai, a Confucian scholar in the 15th Century, could choose teaching as a career to

benefit the local community. “I shall be satisfied just to avail goodness to one village”, he asserted (Liu and Zhao 2006: 61). Others taught in order to save money to participate in another round of examinations or to feed themselves and their families (Ibid.: 61–62). On the whole, however, the private tutors were reluctant teachers. With their aspiration to the officialdom being dampened by setbacks in the examinations, they were forced to take on teaching as an alternative way of making a living. For the scholars in traditional China, becoming an official and becoming a teacher were the only two viable occupational alternatives because they did not possess the necessary skills for engagement in farming, industry or commerce (Xu 2004: 64). Between the two options, teaching was not the preferred one. With the burden of failure in examination always there to haunt them, the tutors had to endure the trials and tribulations of leading an unfulfilled life in poverty and bitterness. Their pent-up frustration as well as their longing for success has been the subject of numerous moving stories that dotted the landscapes of Chinese literature (for example, Wu 1958; Ge 2014).

The imperial examinations decided the roles and status of teachers in imperial China by separating them into two groups: the official teachers and the private tutors. Within each group of teachers, there was further differentiation of roles and status. The roles and status of teachers who served in the state sector was measured by their distance to the throne. Officialism dictated that the status of teachers, as well as the extent of their power and authority, was at the discretion of the emperor. There was to be no exception, even for the emperor’s tutor. Moreover, the roles and status of teachers who served in the public sector were accorded by the community, especially by those who employed them. With a few exceptions, the status of the private tutors was lower than their counterparts in the state sector because of the absence of official appointment. Their status was determined by their pass record as examination-takers and as coaches of students attempting the imperial examinations. For those private tutors who had to work under adverse conditions, such as low salaries, poor accommodations, demanding employers and disinterested students, their existence was deprived of comfort and glee. However, while teachers in imperial China seemed to be constrained by the institutional structures of examinations and polity, they shared a common belief that they were contributing to the public good through teaching. Perhaps it was the perpetuation of this belief through the centuries that had given meaning to their vocation and allowed them to function with a certain degree of conviction in the rapidly changing times of the modern era.

Educational Change and the Modern Teachers

The abolition of the imperial examinations in 1906 brought to an end the literati’s millennium-march toward the officialdom by way of examinations. As the mundanity of institutionalized officialism was disrupted by foreign encroachment, social upheavals, and political instability, the scholar-officials had to find ways to save the empire and to usher China on a road of modernization. At the advent of the 20th

Century, the invasion of Western arms and ideas forced the scholar-officials to recognize the need to adopt new ways of thinking in order to defend their country (for example, Teng and Fairbank 1954). A new group of "modern gentry" emerged from amongst the scholar-officials who tried to guide Chinese education toward a new phase of development and relevance (Bastid 1988). The developmental experiences of other nations, notably that of Japan, the U.S., France and Germany, were examined for transplantation in an antiquated educational system that was desperately searching for ways to modernize in the shortest time possible (Hayhoe and Bastid 1987). The Chinese reformers soon found out that their state school system was too small and fragmented to be developmentally effective, and that schooling was too monoculturally linked to the examinations and the officialdom to be socially relevant.

As the state began to exert its influence on education, it took up major responsibilities in financing and administering the nation's public schools. The establishment of the Imperial University of Peking in 1898 signified an unprecedented openness toward Western knowledge and ideas as the new institution of higher learning was built on the principle of "Chinese scholarship as core, Western knowledge for application" (*xhongxue weiti xixue weiyong*). Along with the higher institutions founded in other cities (notably in Wuhan, Shanghai, Tianjin) at the time, the state moved to modernize higher education, and, through such an endeavor, it introduced a new way of educating the nation's teachers as well.

An academic division at the Imperial University of Peking was designated for teacher training. Of the first group of thirty-nine students selected for overseas study in Japan and the U.S. in 1903, thirty-one of them were selected from the teacher education division (BNU 2002). The initial distinction that students in education had won, however, failed to spread beyond the first university as the lower level teacher training schools struggled to accomplish their mission in the localities. The major mission of teacher training schools was to train new teachers to fill vacancies in the rapidly increasing state-operated schools in the localities, on the one hand, and to induct the hundreds of thousands of private tutors into the modern school system, on the other. Widespread state intervention in public schooling meant growing bureaucratization in the management of schools and standardization of the school curriculum. For the teachers, it also warranted more institutionalized practices such as their certification, registration, and assessment.

Establishing modern schools in the localities and inducting the private tutors into the modern school system entailed a long and arduous process, especially when China's educational needs were most pronounced in its vast countryside. The reform of traditional tutorial schools began even before the fall of the last dynasty. Under new government regulations, urban tutorial schools that were deemed acceptable by state standards were encouraged to convert into modern schools under governmental supervision. These schools were required to offer different levels of instruction and to use officially compiled textbooks. Their students were to be divided into different grades and teachers had to teach classes rather than individual students. To allow teachers to adapt to a new teaching methodology

which could capture "the interests and attention of students", teachers were required to undergo training that ran from a few weeks to a year (Jiang 2011: 12–13).

The movement to reform traditional tutorial schools continued through the Republican period (1912–1949). In their conversion from traditional schools to modern schools, the traditional tutorial schools were deemed the equivalent of modern primary schools. The aims of reform were inherited from the dynastic rulers. Changes in school curricula and teaching, school management and teaching personnel were initiated with the modernization of schooling in mind (Jiang 2014: 14). Despite official efforts, the tenacity of tradition and the scarcity of resources had allowed the tutorial schools to exist alongside the modern schools. In the rural areas, traditional tutorial schools continued to attract a substantial portion of the student population. In certain localities, their student enrollment was larger than that of the modern schools (Rong 2013: 73). Their status as a stronghold for local education was confirmed time and again by the return of students who were previously enrolled in the modern schools (Rong 2011: 31). The establishment of a modern school system took more than half a century to complete. It was not until the imposition of structural and administrative changes by the new Communist regime that finally allowed the modern schools to gain a foothold in the localities (Rong 2013: 73–74). The traditional tutorial schools came under the control of the state. Their eventual conversion into modern schools signaled the end of a long history of education in which the society, rather than the state, was the major provider of schooling.

Throughout the movement to reform the traditional tutorial schools, the induction of private tutors into the modern school system stood out as an endeavor that tested the perseverance and patience of the reformers. Most of the tutors were already teachers before the establishment of the modern schools, and they had continued teaching in the local communities. With opportunities opening up in other fields, such as industry and commerce, it became increasingly unlikely that younger literate persons would be willing to stay in the localities and work as teachers. In the absence of a fresh supply of modern teachers, the re-training of traditional tutors was a developmental imperative that demanded expedient actions. However the readiness of the traditional tutors to adapt to new employment conditions in the modern schools was questionable, and their inability to alter their teaching habits made their induction into modern schooling that much harder. Moreover, resource constraints posed serious limitations on the re-training of the tutors for a system of teacher education had yet to be established for any large-scale conversion of traditional tutors to modern teachers. Most of the re-training of the tutors was left to the labor of grassroots organizations that set up ad hoc programs at local schools (Jiang 2011: 12). Furthermore, aside from the younger tutors who actively sought to improve their life-chances through re-training, as the experiences of former minister of education Xu Teli would attest (Jiang 2014: 129–131), the older tutors were satisfied with teaching in their usual capacity as respected members of their own communities. To them, the continual existence of the traditional tutorial schools posed no threat of unemployment. There was little economic pressure on them to join the modern schools.

For those tutors who joined the re-training, the challenge was to accept and practice a novel pedagogy that required them to discard some of their long-held beliefs in teaching and learning. In addition to the impartation of basic literacy skills in reading, writing and arithmetic, new subjects such as general knowledge and physical education were added to an increasingly differentiated curriculum. School activities were to follow a planned schedule, with clear designated of class time and recess. Assessment of student performance was to be conducted methodically at specified juncture of the school year. Teachers were told that they should respect their students, and corporal punishment of students was prohibited. Teaching and learning should aim at sustaining student interests in learning. Rather than instructing students to regurgitate on examinations, the teachers were encouraged to facilitate student understanding of taught contents (Jiang 2011: 13). Those traditional tutors who successfully made the conversion through re-training could join formally trained new teachers in the nation's teaching force. Through certification and registration, they became teachers in the modern schools. With that conversion, they surrendered their status as a free agent and came under the control of the state.

In retrospect, the work-life of traditional teachers was not enviable. The small minority of official teachers who served in state academies and schools had to settle for lowly official appointments, having to play the role of examination coaches and monitors of student behavior. Certain appointments would exclude them from further attempts in the imperial examinations, thus requiring them to withdraw from a life-long pursuit of power and glory. The vast majority of traditional teachers who worked as private tutors lacked the kind of job security that was enjoyed by the modern teachers. Their employment was secured when willing families, clans and villages saw it fit to pay for their service. Their tenure as family tutors and village pedants at various school sites was short and fragmented; and their work lives were notoriously characterized by loneliness, poverty and bitterness. For those tutors who suffered repeated setbacks in examinations, the prospect of leading a more comfortable life faded with the passage of time. Yet, despite their humble existence, the private tutors could move freely among schools, leaving time and space for personal pursuits, such as attempting the examinations whenever they chose to do so. So long as they remained private tutors, they were free from the control of the state.

By comparison, the modern teachers received formal training for their work, enjoyed job security, and recognized as a distinct occupational group that commanded respect by society. From the time they appeared on the scene at the advent of the 20th Century, they were provided with substantial schooling that should allow them to be versed in educational theories, skilled in the art of teaching, and competent in understanding the cognitive and emotional needs of their students. They were taught to teach students in groups, rather than individually, with various instructional aids to facilitate teaching and learning. Instead of teaching the classics of old, modern teachers used to state-approved textbooks as the main teaching materials. The old method of learning by rote was to be discarded in order to make way for a more diverse learning approach toward understanding. As required by the state, they taught according to class schedules and school calendars. The aim of

teaching was to facilitate the development of students into productive members of the nation. Academic progress of the students was to be monitored by periodic assessment of their performance in various taught subjects. Similarly, the performance of teachers would be formally assessed for personnel-related decisions.

Since the advent of the modern age in China, the stated policy intention of the state had been to recognize the value of the modern teachers by ensuring a reasonable level of remuneration for their salaries and by providing an adequate physical environment for their work (Jiang 2009: 90). At least on paper, the salaries of teachers were supposedly higher than the average income of the local households and the communities were asked to find locations that were appropriate for the operation of modern schools. Nevertheless, the working conditions of modern teachers were not as desirable as the policymakers had planned. For over a century, woeful tales of teachers suffering from poverty and oppression have continued to circulate in the society, and thereby keeping alive a popular impression that teaching should not be the preferred occupation for the talented and ambitious persons. When China was poor and backward, the modern teachers worried about their own safety and maintenance while teaching in condemned buildings and awaiting overdue payment for their labor. In radical times, they had to apologize for their class affiliation with the "petty-bourgeoisie". The apparent affluence that surfaced in the last thirty years has been shared by only a few of them, for their real salaries are still low by comparison of other professions and the civil service. Depending on the level of economic development of the localities, there are still isolated areas where teachers are still denied their rightful compensations.

In the countryside where the tutors of old found some sense of belonging, the modern teachers have to struggle with the prevailing alienation that have undermined their lives and work there (Zhang 2013). The continual expansion of state power to the grassroots level meant that the teachers are now under the total domination of the state in terms of their work and mobility. Their mobility is limited by the lack of occupational choices in the rural areas and by the official measures that discourage their change of occupation and even change of schools (Rong 2009: 85). The tremendous social change that has taken place around them—such as increasing easy access to the mass media (Yan 2006: 16) and the diffusion of their role as the only source of enlightenment in the community—has caused an identity crisis among rural teachers and has further marginalized them from the mainstream of village life. As fewer people were willing to serve as teachers, the graying of the teaching force has become a common phenomenon in the villages of poorer provinces.

Their differences notwithstanding, the traditional and modern teachers share a common affinity to the institution of examination. The traditional teachers treated examination preparation as the major part of their work. Their reputation, as well as the conditions of their employment, depended on the outcome of examinations. Today, even if the assessment of teachers is purportedly based on a variety of criteria, student examination results are still used as the prime measure of teaching effectiveness (Lo et al. 2011). For entry into the occupation of teaching, the state has indeed required a set of qualifications. In fact, however, aspirants to teaching

need only to pass an official examination, without any formal practicum, and assume teaching duties in the schools. As this shortcut to teaching illustrates, the examinations remain a powerful and relevant institution to all teachers today (For example, ZJB 2014).

Conclusion

By tracing historical data along the theoretical routes of Chinese officialism and new institutionalism, research findings of this chapter delineate several possible answers to the two research questions, posed earlier, on the submission of Chinese teachers to state power and on their excessive attention given to examination preparation.

Teachers' Submission to State Power

The teachers' submission to the power and policies of the state can be viewed from the perspectives of officialism which had worked in concert with the institutionalization of the roles and status of the scholars for the normative social rules that they created in traditional China. The historic interaction between the scholars and the state, and between the scholar-teachers and the society, yielded a triangular configuration of relationships that captured the interests of the stakeholders. Regarding the acquiescence of teachers, several observations about the role and status of the scholars and the teachers can be made.

To begin with, the literati's interaction with the imperial regime and the society had confined them to mutually beneficial and exploitative relationships with the emperor and the commoners. The scholars were rewarded by the rulers with status and authority for being the defenders of state ideology and administrators of the empire. They pledged their allegiance (Lo 1991). The society considered the scholars as the stewards of morality and educators of youths, and they accepted its offerings of esteem, and, in the case of the teachers, its employment. Withdrawal of reward by the rulers would mean a loss of authority, and disapproval by the society would mean considerable hardship for the scholars and teachers alike.

Moreover, the institutionalization of the scholars' roles and status provided them with authority, but it also created rules that governed their deeds and behavior. In order to maintain their authority and status in society, the scholars and teachers had to observe these rules and to live within the confines of well defined social and political norms. By making the examinations the only viable avenue to the officialdom, the rulers controlled the mobility of the masses by offering opportunities to the very few who competed successfully in the examinations. Those who gained official appointments guarded their status and privileges jealously, thus perpetuated a system of reward that benefited only a selected few.

Furthermore, the institutionalization of imperial examinations as a mechanism of selection and control divided the literati into the "haves" and the "have-nots". Those who succeeded sought opportunities in the officialdom and reaped benefits from their appointments. In the education sector, even successful candidates were given low-level official positions and thus possessed little political power and authority. The candidates who failed constituted the overwhelming majority of the country's teaching force. As private tutors, they were being excluded from the officialdom and were deprived of any political power and authority. The designation of minor roles and lowly status excluded the teachers from the mainstream of political life and from the center of social life. Through the lens of officialism, the teachers were powerless and were therefore insignificant parties in the eyes of the rulers. The teachers discerned their own powerlessness and precarious positions, and kept a safe distance from contentious issues that might embroil them in quarrels emerging from the polity and society.

The teachers' silence that met sweeping changes in education and examination was indicative of their docility. Their habitual acquiescence toward state power required the teachers to treat official policies as *faits accomplis* and open dissent would be construed as a demonstration of disloyalty or insubordination. The teachers were keenly aware of this obligation and treaded lightly a fine line between occupational duties and political rectitude. The awareness that the pursuit of the common good should be left to the wisdom of the rulers has been passed down through generations of teachers that had mastered the art of survival. The submissiveness of Chinese teachers to state power and policies can trace its origin to Chinese officialism which was mirrored by a socio-political reality that has been perpetuated to this day.

Teachers' Predilection for Examination Preparation

The teachers' predilection for examination preparation is a cultural practice that has been sustained by history.

The examination institution dominated the lives of teachers in traditional China. As an institution that straddled the society and the polity, the imperial examinations separated the officials from the commoners, and placed the scholars under the control of the rulers. The pervasive influence of examinations was discernible from its effects on the teachers and on the focus of their work. Regardless of their differences, the official teachers and private tutors in traditional China shared a common affiliation with the examination institution for their future was dependent on it. The different occupational routes taken by the official teachers and private tutors were determined by the outcome of their own examinations. Their future prospects were to be decided by the performance of their students in examinations. As discussed earlier, student examination results affected the mobility opportunities of the official teachers and the employment prospects of the private tutors. No matter whether it was in the formal assessment of their performance in the state

schools or the informal appraisal of their employability by the community, student examination results were used as the prime criterion for judging the worth of a teacher. There is little wonder that both kinds of teachers had treated examination preparation as the most important aspect of their jobs.

Among the changes that have affected Chinese schooling in the past, none was placed under the teachers' scrutiny more intensely than changes in the examinations that would affect the mobility of students. The institution of examinations, as it exists today, still appears sacredly lofty in the public eye, for it provides an important avenue for upward mobility and serves as a safety valve for meritocratic selection. The institution of examinations guards the gate of entrance to the civil service (Gu 2008; Liu and Tao 2013; Wang 2013a, b; Zhao 2012) and to teaching profession (ZJB 2014; GMW-BJQB 2014) as well. The teachers, who are keenly aware of the omnipotence of the examinations, will do whatever they can to prepare their students for important tests that matter for mobility. To the parents and school administrators, examination results are still the surest measure of the teachers' effectiveness. In a society where entrance into the universities was determined by the scores obtained from one public examination ["taking examination to get into university" (*kao daxue*)], the test, and preparation for it, have to be engaged with diligence and zeal.

The curriculum reform that was initiated fifteen years ago was aimed altering the examination-orientation of Chinese pedagogy. Continual attempts to remove teachers from the center of the pedagogy to make room for the exploratory learning of students have yielded reports of successful experimentation and brand-name projects that promised to be an elixir for pedagogic change. It is a conundrum of how China's teaching force could simultaneously embrace the examinations and progressive educational ideas. On the whole, however, it seems that the teachers have been able to accommodate the demands of reform without open dissent. Interestingly, a closer examination of the present occupational aims of teachers may indicate that, aside from such essentials as job security and sufficient income, they still consider the examination passing rates of their students as a true measure of their own success. So long as the implementation of reform measures does not interfere with the accomplishment of that goal, they can be tolerated and accepted. This is especially true with adopting various forms of progressive education that were popularized in certain education systems in the West. For the teachers, the arrangement of classroom furniture, the choice of teaching materials, the apportionment of time for direct instruction, and the use of educational technologies can all adopt a progressive mode without changing the central pedagogical purpose of examination preparation.

Whither Teacher Professionalism

In societies where an established teaching profession exists, organized debates on curricular change and negotiations with government can be expected from those

teachers who wish to exercise their professional authority on reform matters. In China, where teacher professionalism was still in an embryonic stage, the response from teachers on reform policies was weak, if not irrelevant. It appeared that the teachers were prepared to wait out the aftermath of reform even though they have had reservations about some of the reform policies (Lo et al. 2013).

Since the implementation of curriculum reform policies, there have been a host of activities that involved teachers expressing their concerns over certain changes in the schools. Yet the agency of these concerned teachers has been ineffective under structural constraints. Organized debates on educational reform have been dominated by scholars who were based in the universities. School teachers have found a voice in the social media, but that was conveniently ignored by policymakers. Dissenting views can easily be denigrated for they lack the kind of legitimacy that can only be gained through official sanction. There has been no negotiation between the teaching profession and the state because the labor unions are actually quasi-official organizations that served state interests. Every now and then, teachers in certain localities launched public demonstrations against unjust treatment; but these displays of discontent were always about quarrels over meager or overdue compensations rather than on professional matters such as changes in the curriculum, the pedagogy or the examinations that have adversely affected their fulfillment of duties.

A hundred years ago, Chinese teachers were trained and re-trained when the country's educators came into contact with western ideas of progressive education. The teachers were taught to adopt a more exploratory pedagogy that would strengthen the students' motivation to learn (for example, Keenan 1977; Rong 2011). The experimentation with progressive education was short-lived as war, political upheavals and ideological flux altered the country's course of educational development. The school system is immersed in myriad competitions from local contests to international achievement tests that have made test preparation a necessary course of action for teachers. The absence of a true understanding of progressive education has caused teachers to doubt its effectiveness in real classroom situations. If the initial step toward teacher professionalism is the construction of a knowledge base that is broadly inclusive, then there should be a concerted effort explore the meaning and efficacy of a variety of educational ideas through true experimentation. At present, the state's top-down approach to policy formation and implementation leaves little room for the infant teaching profession to grow and flourish.

The above structural constraints notwithstanding, hopes for the continual growth of teacher professionalism can be found at the grassroots level where illustrious teachers have established a discernible presence with their knowledge and skills in teaching. The professional achievements of these teachers have attracted large followings that promised to effect positive changes in the schools. The recent surge in publications by well-known school teachers is an indication that China's teaching force is now constructing a knowledge base that is enriched by indigenous

knowledge and practices (for example, Dou 2013; Li 2014; Ren 2014; Wang 2014). It will be the labor of teachers working as learning groups and communities that an understanding of professionalism can emerge to chart the future course of their professional actions.

In drawing the historic parallels between the experiences of teachers in traditional and modern China, the perpetuity of the omnipotent state, the demanding society, and the weak agency of teachers is apparent. While the role scripts for teachers have undergone revisions for increased differentiation and renewal of their functions—the division of labor for the teaching of academic subjects, the clear positioning of functional roles in the hierarchical system of public schooling, and the stewardship of the nation's human capital in a competitive world environment—state and societal expectations of the teachers' role have remained instrumental in their orientation. The identity of teachers has been labeled by different images through time. In traditional China, they were the serene tutors content with living in poverty while serving as models of moral rectitude for public emulation. In contemporary China, they became engineers of the people's soul and the candles that light up the pursuits of their students (Liu 2006).

Our story about the wax and wane of the traditional literati is a narrative of power and authority in a patriarchal society where educators were captured in a socio-political system that had little tolerance for dissent and failure. Whatever the portrayal of their role and identity, history has left considerable residue in the teachers' path of development. As China strives to carve its way to world power, its education system will have to change in order to nurture different kinds of talent that can enhance its global competitiveness. For this, the nation's teachers will have to change too, for such talents will not only need to perform well in tests and examinations, but also be creative in innovation and problem-solving. The search for a healthy developmental path for Chinese teachers will require them to examine their own history, to negotiate the terrains of institutional rules that impede their growth, to develop their own professional authority and authentic identity, and to find their own voice in the construction of a new genre of professionalism that is essential for transforming a society where the shadow of power and ideology still looms large.

References

Bastid, M. (1988). *Educational reform in early 20th century China* (P. Bailey, Trans.). Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Brandauer, F. P., & Huang, C. C. (1995). *Imperial rulership and cultural change in traditional China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Chang, C. L. (1962). *The income of the Chinese gentry*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Chang, C. L. (1968). *The Chinese gentry*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Chen, B. L. (2010). 'The rich do not teach': The living conditions and image of private tutors during the Ming and Qing periods. *Fujian Forum (Humanities and Social Science Edition), 4,* 64–70.

China education news (ZJB). (2014). *The problems of teacher recruitment examinations*, June 30, 2014.

Chow, Y. T. (2011). *Social mobility in traditional Chinese society: Community and class*. Piscataway, NJ: Aldine Transaction.

Committee for the compilation of the pictorial annals marking the centennial of the Beijing Normal University (BNU). (2002). *Pictorial annals marking the centennial of the Beijing Normal University*. Beijing: Beijing Normal University Press.

Dillon, S. (2010). Top scores from Shanghai stun educators. *The New York Times*, December 7. (Downloaded July 2, 2014 from: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/07/education.html).

DiMaggio, J., & Powell, W. W. (1983). The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review, 48*(2), 147–160.

Dolton, P., & Marcenaro-Gutierrez, O. (2013). *Varkey GEMS Foundation global teacher status index*. London: Varkey GEMS Foundation.

Dou, G. M. (2013). *My education vision*. Shanghai: East China Normal University Press.

Elman, B. A. (2000). *A cultural history of civil examination in late imperial China*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Fallows, J. (2010). On those 'stunning' Shanghai test scores. *The Atlantic*, December 7, 2010. (Downloaded July 2, 2014 from: http://www.theatlantic.com/national/achive/2010/12/on-those-stunning-shanghai-test-scores/67654/).

Friedman, T. L. (2013). The Shanghai secret. *The New York Times*, October 22, 2013. (Downloaded July 2, 2014 from: http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/23/opinion/friedman-the-shanghai-secret.html).

Ge, L. Y. (2014). *The scholar and the state: Fiction as political discourse in late imperial China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Guangming net—Beijing youth news (GMW-BJQB). (2014). *From next year onward, Beijing teacher qualification examination will facilitate regular registration of teachers once every five years*. November 11, 2014.

Gu, B. (1974). *Courtier and commoner in ancient China: Selections from the History of the Former Han*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gu, Y. Q. (2008). He who excels in learning can become an official—The evolution from the imperial examination to the civil servants examination. *Education and Examinations, 5,* 40–44.

Guo, P. G. (2006). The scale and passing rate of various levels of the imperial examinations in the Ming dynasty. *Historical Studies Monthly, 12,* 24–31.

Hamilton, G. G. (1984). Patriarchalism in imperial China and Western Europe: A revision of Weber's sociology of domination. *Theory and Society, 13*(3), 393–425.

Hayhoe, R., & Bastid, M. (Eds.). (1987). *China's education and the industrialized world.* New York: Armonk & London: Sharpe.

Hirsch, P. M. (1997). Sociology with social structure: Neoinstitutional theory meets brave new world. *American Journal of Sociology, 102*(6), 1702–1723.

Ho, P. T. (1962). *The ladder of success in imperial China: Aspects of social mobility, 1368–1911.* New York: Wiley.

Jiang, C. J. (2009). Occupational change and educational transformation—Views on the disappearance of the social stratum of private tutors to the modernization of Chinese basic education. *Journal of East China Normal University (Educational Sciences Edition), 27*(3), 88–96.

Jiang, C. J. (2011). On the transformation of modern Chinese education and its impact on the reform of the private tutorial schools. *Journal of Hebei Normal University (Educational Sciences Edition), 13*(5), 11–15.

Jiang, C. J. (2014). From old tutor to new teacher—The occupational transition of Xu Teli and the change in basic education in modern China. *Peking University Education Review, 12*(1), 123–137.

Jiang, W. (2008a). The causes and influence of supernumerary income of private tutors in the Ming and Qing dynasties. *Journal of Suzhou College of Education, 25*(2), 93–95.

Jiang, W. (2008b). Preliminary exploration of the relationship and association between the private tutors and their employers during the Ming and Qing dynasties. *Journal of Yangtze Normal University, 24*(6), 169–172.
Kasoff, I. E. (1984). *The thought of ChangTsai, 1020–1077*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Keenan, B. (1977). *The Dewey experiment in China: Educational reform and political power in early republic*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center.
Lai, M., & Lo, L. N. K. (2007). Teacher professionalism in educational reform: The experiences of Hong Kong and Shanghai. *Compare, 37*(1), 53–68.
Lee, T. H. C. (1985). *Government education and examinations in Sung China, 960–1278*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Li, F. (2008). *Bureaucracy and the state in ancient China: Governing the Western Zhou*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Li, X. G. (2014). *School transformation: Exploration on education in Beijing National Day School*. Beijing: Educational Science Publishing House.
Liu, G. Z., & Tao, L. Y. (2013). An analysis on the modification of current civil servants selection based on the ancient talents selections system. *Journal of Northeast Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences), 261*(1), 1–5.
Liu, H. F., & Li, B. (2004). *History of the imperial examinations in China*. Shanghai: Eastern Publishing Center.
Liu, X. D. (2010a). *Private tutors and grass-roots society in the Ming Dynasty*. Beijing: Commercial Press.
Liu, X. D. (2010b). Private tutors searching for schools and length of their appointment in the late Ming period—On changes in their life-style and occupational spirit. *Seeking Truth, 37*(1), 138–144.
Liu, X. D., & Zhao, H. (2006). Social composition of private tutors and its change during the Ming Dynasty. *Journal of Northeast Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition), 2,* 60–67.
Liu, Y. S. (2006). An examination of engineers of the souls of human beings. *Peking University Education Review, 4*(1), 19–32, 45.
Lo, L. N. K. (1991). State patronage of intellectuals in Chinese higher education. *Comparative Education Review, 35*(4), 690–720.
Lo, L. N. K. (2000). Educational reform and teacher development in Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland. *Prospects, 30*(2), 237–253.
Lo, L. N. K. (2008). Teachers as foot-soldiers serving cultural duties: a reflection on teacher leadership and learning community in Chinese schools. In *Keynote Address at the Second International Education Conference, "Leadership in a Learning Society"*, co-organized by Beijing Normal University and Institute of Education, University of London, at Beijing Normal University, Beijing, China, November 11–12, 2008.
Lo, L. N. K., Lai, M. H., & Chen, S. Y. (2011). Performing to expectations: Teachers' dilemmas in East Asia and in Chinese societies. In C. Day (Ed.), *Routledge international handbook of teacher and school development* (pp. 19–32). London: Routledge.
Lo, L. N. K., Lai, M. H., & Wang, L. J. (2013). The impact of reform policies on teachers' work and professionalism in the Chinese Mainland. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education, 41* (3), 239–252.
Lo, L. N. K., & Zeng, Y. (2012). Teacher leadership in a culture of performativity. *Research in Educational Development, 12,* 48–52.
Loveless, T. (2013). *PISA's China problem*. Brookings Institutions, The Brown Center Chalkboard. (Downloaded July 4, 2014 from: http://www.brookings.edu/blog/brown-center-chalkboard/posts/2013/10/09-pisa-china-problem-loveless).
Meng, J. (*circa* 797). After passing the capital examination, n.p.
Meyer, J. W. (1977). The effects of education as an institution. *American Journal of Sociology, 83* (1), 55–77.

Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutional organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology, 83*(2), 340–363.
Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (MOE). (2001). *Outline of curriculum reform in basic education (trial implementation)*, June 7, 2001.
Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China (MOE). (2014). *Opinions on the full-scale deepening of curriculum reform, fulfill the basic duties of cultivating people with morality*, April 4, 2014.
Powell, W., & Colyves, J. (2008). New institutionalism. In S. Clegg & J. Bailey (Eds.), *The international encyclopedia of organizational studies* (pp. 976–980). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Powell, W., & DiMaggio, J. (Eds.). (1991). *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Qian, M. (1982). *Traditional government in imperial China: A critical analysis*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press/New York: St. Martin's Press.
Qiu, A. (2013). The real Shanghai secret. *Education Revolution.* (Downloaded July 4, 2014 from: http://www.educationrevolution.org/store/real-shnghai-secret/).
Ren, Y. (2014). *Wisdom and levels of state of math education*. Shanghai: East China Normal University Press.
Rong, Z. K. (2009). Alienation by external discipline and disorientation of the self of rural teachers —On problems related to the identity crisis of rural teachers. *Journal of Educational Studies, 5* (5), 83–88.
Rong, Z. K. (2011). Factors affecting changes in Chinese village education in the last hundred years and their patterns of development. *Journal of East China Normal University (Educational Sciences Edition), 29*(2), 26–32.
Rong, Z. K. (2013). Historical course of changes in the teaching of Chinese village schools in the last hundred years. *Journal of East China Normal University (Educational Sciences Edition), 31*(3), 70–78.
Shen, G. C. (2012). The daily life and teaching activities of private tutors in the Ming and Qing dynasties. *Educational Research, 6,* 123–128.
Teng, S. Y., & Fairbank, J. K. (1954). *China's response to the West: A documentary survey, 1839–1923*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
The Analects of Confucius. Cited at: http://www.acmuller.net/con-dao/analects.html
Thelen, K. (1999). Historical institutionalism in comparative politics. *Annual Review of Political Science, 2,* 369–404.
Wang, R. (2013a). *The Chinese imperial examination system: An annotated bibliography*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.
Wang, W. C. (2013b). On the historicity and innovation of current civil servants examination. *Socialism Studies, 211*(5), 101–105.
Wang, Y. W. (2014). *To my dearest*. Hangzhou: Zhejiang University Press.
Wenhui Daily. (2014). *Survey indicates income of primary and secondary teachers has pulled down their overall social status*. May 20, 2014.
Wu, J. Z. (1958). *Unofficial history of the scholars*. (Originally written circa 1750). Beijing: People's Literature Press.
Xu, Z. (2004). The misery and suffering of tutors in traditional private tutorial schools. *Chinese Classics and Culture, 4,* 64–70.
Yan, B. K. (1994). Confucianism, teacher, education: The origin of the relationship between intellectuals and political and ideological orthodoxies in early China. *Strategy and Management, 2,* 109–119.
Yan, G. C. (2006). Institutional and cultural origins of teacher 'identity' and its present crisis. *Journal of Beijing Normal University (Social Sciences Edition), 4,* 12–17.
Ye, J. Y., & Lo, L. N. K. (2012). Institutionalization of 'respect for teachers' in traditional Chinese society. *Teacher Education Research, 24*(3), 54–62.
Yu, K. P. (2014). An essay on officialism (Guanben Zhuyi): A political analysis of Chinese Traditional Society. *Journal of Chinese Political Science, 19*(3), 235–247.

Yu, Y. S. (2005). An attempt to explain the functions and meaning of the imperial examinations in Chinese history. *Twenty-First Century (Internet Edition), 10,* 1–13.

Zhang, J. Z. (2013). The cultural dilemma of rural teachers and the re-construction of their public characteristics. *Education Science, 29*(1), 51–54.

Zhang, X. Q. (2006). To be an official and to be a teacher—A study of the career choice of local Confucian teachers during the Ming and Qing dynasties. *Journal of Northwest Normal University (Social Sciences Edition), 43*(6), 78–83.

Zhang, X. Q. (2008). Inside and outside teaching—An analysis of the functions of local Confucian teachers during the Ming and Qing dynasties. *Journal of Hebei Normal University (Educational Science Edition), 10*(7), 32–37.

Zhang, X. Q., & Guo, W. B. (2009). On the assessment system for local Confucian teachers during the Ming and Qing dynasties. *Journal of Northwest Normal University (Social Sciences Edition), 46*(6), 60–65.

Zhao, G. (2012). An examination of the passing rates of the imperial examinations during the Ming and Qing dynasties and their implications. *Journal of Inner Mongolia Agricultural University (Social Science Edition), 14*(4), 307–312.

Zheng, B. Q. (1979). *Collected works of Zheng Banqiao*. Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Texts Publisher.

Sustaining Teachers: Attending to the Best-Loved Self in Teacher Education and Beyond

Cheryl J. Craig

Introduction

While much research has been produced around what policy makers and theorists want preservice and practicing teachers to know and to do, little work has been conducted around what preservice and practicing teachers need in order to feel sustained in the teaching profession. Similarly, much has been written about teacher quality from a distance. However, a paucity of research has concentrated on the conditions essential to nurturing the qualities of the best-loved self of teachers along the career continuum.

In this chapter, will focus on these gaps by addressing the topic, *Sustaining Teachers: Attending to the Best-Loved Self in Teacher Preparation and Beyond*, a subject that I began to explore when I was in Beijing in 2012 (Craig 2013). In this work, I take up four interconnected sub-themes: (1) the nature of narrative inquiry; (2) the conceptualization of the best-loved self; (3) multiple examples of teachers' best-loved selves; and (4) some summary statements about what the research suggests. I end with several quotations for your reflective consideration.

Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry, my research method, lays the foundation for everything that follows. In a nutshell, narrative inquiry is the experiential study of teachers' experiences (Xu and Connelly 2010). It is an approach that places a premium on the

C.J. Craig (✉)
Houston Endowment Endowed Chair of Urban Education, Department of Teaching, Learning and Culture, Texas A&M University, College Station, USA
e-mail: cheryljcraig@tamu.edu

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2017

X. Zhu et al. (eds.), *Quality of Teacher Education and Learning*,
New Frontiers of Educational Research,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3549-4_11

primacy of experience (Eisner 1988). In narrative inquiry, "questions do not begin with what theoreticians, researchers, and policy makers know [or want to know] but, rather, with what…teacher[s] know and have found in their professional [lives]" (Clandinin 2000, p. 29). Thus, strategies, rules, and…techniques (see Clandinin and Connelly 2000) are intentionally avoided. This is because "life is not made up of separate pieces" (p. 108) as cultural anthropologist, Bateson (1994), makes clear. Teaching and learning are personal and emotional as well as cognitive and rational (see Hollingsworth et al. 1993). Therefore, we cannot study teaching and teacher education—or life, for that matter—while denying or subjugating the vital connections between experience and education.

A second, unique part of narrative inquiry is the relationship between experience and story. Lakoff and Johnson (2003), among others, tell us that humans think in metaphor and talk in stories. Story is the closest we can come to raw experience. We not only author stories of our experiences, we also live in stories that are not of our making. This myriad of stories begins in our families and communities—our first culture (Stone 1988)—and includes all other social, historical, cultural, institutional, national and international narratives we live within. Combined, this story constellation (Craig 2007) envelops us. It is a "invisible as air" and "weightless as dreams" (Stone 1988, p. 7).

So how can we discern what preservice and practicing teachers need to sustain their best-loved selves, if the stories they both create and exist in are not tangible in a concrete sense?

The answer lies in the fact that, in narrative inquiry, stories are never completely settled. Also, frozen stories are avoided at all costs. For research participants, life continues. For researchers, participants' negotiated narratives of experience remain open for interpretation and for further inquiry. This makes it possible for narrative inquirers to reflect across multiple studies, engaging in a serial form of interpretation. In short, we necessarily "talk across" (Stone 1988, p. 1) participants' narratives of experience in order to study finely nuanced topics like the teacher's best-loved self.

Best-Loved Self of Teachers

We now leave this brief explanation of narrative inquiry and transition to what I mean by a teacher's best-loved self. The term is one I encountered in my close reading of Joseph Schwab's scholarship. The concept fit with phenomena I saw emerging in my own research program and also in presentations made by international colleagues. It resonated with my personal experiences as both a producer and consumer of research. The notion connected as well with the images of teacher as curriculum maker and teacher as curriculum implementer (Clandinin and Connelly 1992; Craig and Ross 2008), which form the backbone of my research niche, and which I will now discuss.

Teacher Images: Curriculum Maker/Curriculum Implementer

Teachers, I am happy to report, have opportunities to act as curriculum makers. They have discretionary spaces in their classroom life where they can artfully blend what is in themselves, what is present in their students, and what is reflective of their subject matters, together with what is appropriate for their given milieus. In this way, they enact their best-loved selves without their selves becoming their teacher development program or a proxy for the school curriculum their students must learn.

However, when teachers act as curriculum implementers, they do what governments prescribe them to do. They accept and enact a teacher self given to them by the state and and/or theoreticians and/or other experts. These teachers, I would argue, are proficient but not of the dynamic quality of the teachers who make curriculum alongside youth.

However, all teachers (curriculum makers and curriculum implementers), risk having their 'stories to live by' (Connelly and Clandinin 1999) becoming 'stories to leave by' (Clandinin et al. 2009) within the educational milieus in which they work. This happens when they are no longer able to live their favored stories of practice in the manner they desire. Later in this work, three teachers who left teaching are discussed. But I am jumping ahead. I need to explain more about Schwab's vision of a teacher's best-loved self before I present evidence of it surfacing in my research program.

Schwab's Vision of the Best-Loved Self

Joseph Schwab, who was trained as a geneticist and had a background in statistics and English Literature, became one of the world's leading curriculum scholars and liberal educators. For him, the human person is a "self-moving living thing" that is able to "produce itself," to "develop itself," and to create a "personal history" that is non-replicable (Schwab 1964, p. 8). Furthermore, Schwab advocated for curriculum deliberations where teachers would articulate their "differing selves" (Schwab 1983). Like Dewey (1938)—who is considered to be a second Confucius (Han and Feng 2013) by some, Schwab favored education approached through the growth metaphor. In his view, people are not only products of their education, but products of the choices their selves make (Schwab 1960/1978, p. 218). Here, we see how the self figured largely in Schwab's understanding of how education happens. Even amid prescription and shared practices and procedures, Schwab found important spaces where the self makes choices.

Schwab also gave unwavering support to teachers "…looking at their own practices and the consequences of them…" (Schwab 1959/1978, p. 168). He additionally emphasized that teachers have "different bents" (Schwab 1983, p. 241)

and, hence, their strengths and reflections on practice will necessarily differ. In all situations, from matters of curriculum to testing to educational policy, Schwab left discretionary power with the teacher because Schwab understood that no enactment of curriculum would be complete without his/her active engagement. To him, the teacher was the "fountainhead of the curricular decision" (Schwab 1983, p. 245). Students "are better known by no one [else] but the teacher," Schwab said, because the teacher is the only one who actively "tries to teach them"; he/she is the only one "who lives with them for the better part of the day and the better part of the year" (Schwab 1983, p. 245).

In Schwab's view, teachers are "agent[s] of education" (Schwab 1954/1978) in its totality, not simply conduits through whom subject matter passes. Therefore, the only path to sustained improvement of teaching happens through reflection because:

> …only as the teacher uses the classroom as the occasion and the means to reflect upon education as a whole (ends as well as means), as the laboratory in which to translate reflections into actions and thus to test reflections, actions, and outcomes, against many criteria is he [sic] a good … teacher" (Schwab 1959/1978, pp. 182–183).

Such a teacher, he later explained:

> …is a possessor and imparter of disciplines in quite another sense: mentor, guide, and model; ally of the student against ignorance, participant with the student in high adventures into the worlds of intellect and sensibility (Schwab 1969, p. 20).

These ideas excerpted from Schwab's scholarship provide critical background that helps us comprehend what Schwab meant by teachers teaching their best-loved selves as part and parcel of their 'stories to live by'—without their selves, I repeat, comprising their teacher education experience or a proxy for the school curriculum. For Schwab, "satisfying lives"—the ultimate aim of education, can only be achieved when

> [The teacher] wants something more for students than the capacity to give back…a report of what…has [been] said. [The teacher] wants them to possess a knowledge or a skill in the same way that [the teacher] possesses it, as a part of his/her best-loved self…[The teacher] wants to communicate some of the fire s/he feels, some of the Eros s/he possesses, for a valued object. The controlled and conscious purpose is to liberate, not captivate the student (Schwab 1954/1978, pp. 124–125).

The foundation for the teachers' best-loved self is now in place: (1) the teacher as a curriculum maker uses his/her capacity to make curriculum alongside students, rather than incapacitating himself/herself by implementing only what the State requires; and (2) the teacher, acknowledging his/her best-loved self as a curriculum maker, fuels students' living and learning of curriculum alongside him/her in freeing, satisfying ways.

So the question now becomes: "So what?" "Why should we be concerned about the recognition and cultivation of teachers' best-loved selves?" My answer quite simply is this. The intent is not to develop solipsistic, self-turning teachers who only

enter teaching for personal ego purposes, as some erroneously think. Rather, the rationale is to cultivate preservice and practicing teachers who, as curriculum-makers, are mentors, guides and models, pedagogues who personally and professionally can come alongside students and accompany them in "high adventures into the world of intellect and sensibilities." These teachers "open the door," so to speak, so that students, of their own accord, are able to—and, more importantly, want to—"pass through"—as Confucius metaphorically put it.

We will now transition to the third part of this chapter. In this section, examples of the best-loved self of preservice and practicing teachers that have emerged in my research program are discussed. For reasons that soon will become clear, these are called "glimpses" of teachers' best-loved selves.

Glimpses of the Best-Loved Self of Teachers

In order to "talk across" several narrative inquiries and serially interpret them, I am only able to offer quick glances | partial purviews | sneak previews of aspects of particular teachers' best-loved selves. It is not possible to provide the entire narratives of experience out of which the teachers' favored selves emerged. Page length restrictions simply does not allow for in-depth analysis. Consequently, I will center on the best-loved self strand from several narrative inquiries I have undertaken with three types of preservice and practicing teacher populations: (1) preservice teachers; (2) experienced teachers; and (3) teachers who quit the profession. The three preservice teachers were studying to become science educators; one experienced elementary teacher taught all subject areas while the two middle school teachers taught literacy; and the three teachers who left the profession taught literacy, English as a Second Language and Physical Education respectively. The research with the preservice teachers was sponsored by the National Science Foundation, while the research with the experienced teachers was supported by a local office of a national reform movement in the U.S. and the Asian American Study Center in the case of the Chinese American teacher. The close work with the beginning and experienced teachers who quit teaching was funded by an internal seed grant from the University of Houston and by the Korea Research Foundation, which funded an international comparison study, but I am only reporting one U.S. case in this chapter.

Because there are ten preservice teachers in the first group, I will not confuse you by using all of their pseudonyms. I will only discuss three individuals: Ryan, Katrina and Jason. I also will use pseudonyms for the three experienced teachers—Daryl, Laura, and Shi—and for the three teachers who left the profession—Anna, Ashley and Helen.

Preservice Teachers

The National Science Foundation-sponsored research project (Craig, in preparation) has made it abundantly clear to me that the best-loved self of teachers does not emerge when they begin their teacher education programs or even when they start their field-based work in the schools. Rather, the roots of these satisfying parts of preservice teacher selves trace back to much earlier experiences in life. Almost all of the preservice teachers in the cohort of ten named one or more teachers, and, in one instance, a team of teachers, who nurtured their lifelong interests in science. The former teachers' influences on these students neither happened overnight nor unfurled in an input-output sort of way. The teachers anonymously "touched eternity" (Barone 2001), which presents a problem because their influence was neither as quick nor as directly traceable as U.S. policy makers expect.

For some preservice teachers, this preoccupation with science included a fascination with the inquiry method of teaching and learning. Ryan, for example, had the following to say in his first interview:

> There's something amazing about seeing a student learn through inquiry…It just gives me the chills. You know, it is like [experiencing] the dissention of the Holy Spirit, do you know what I mean? It's very freeing…the Eureka moment. It lifts you up and you feel your whole body come alive. It's tingly and you want to learn and teach that way again and again and again. You want to start that fire again…and you want to keep fanning the flames…

Most of the ten preservice teachers entered the sciences, not only because of the influence their teachers had on them, but also due to the shaping effects of their parents and extended family members (especially aunts and uncles) as well. Ryan, of whom I just spoke, told of how sitting on his Mother's lap with her chemistry book when he was a toddler was his first remembrance of beginning reading. Katrina likewise discussed her father's attitude toward science which had a major influence on her:

> My dad is a … mad scientist. He's just one of those people who is naturally into science… I can't even count the times that I awoke [as a child] and did… experiments with him in the kitchen. He's a registered nurse…He has always told me I should be a science teacher… He's kind of my inspiration for anything I do that is science because he gets so excited about it. Science is his muse.

As audience members can see, Ryan and Katrina, along with several others in the cohort, connected their parents' and other relatives' passion for the sciences to their current best-loved selves as preservice science educators.

The final preservice teacher whose words and experiences I want to enter into this discussion is Jason. His account is somewhat like Ryan's in that he greatly respects the inquiry process and is desirous of working with youth learning through inquiry while improving their life chances. However, he came to physics via an entirely different route: through studying religion and majoring in youth ministry. Jason's overarching interest, he said, is "to find answers to things that are really great mysteries—the metaphysical, in the case of religious studies, and the physical, where physics is concerned." However, Jason encountered an obstacle he could not

overcome in his religious education: his need to counsel students about religious topics and having to "make up answers for them because [he] did not know [the answers] himself." This resulted in Jason doing a lot of "soul searching" about what he wanted to do with his professional life. He discovered "teaching was really his interest and what he enjoyed doing." He settled on teaching physics because he had always loved physics along with religion. When teaching physics as inquiry, Jason understood that "experience would come in the front door," which he felt should happen in all walks of life, and "theory would come through the back door." In this way, he could retain his best-loved self, along with his interest in great mysteries "without imposing [not fully formed] answers on others."

The last point from my work with the preservice teachers was that their science teacher educators had a significant impact on all of them. The transcripts of the interviews and focus group sessions were full of comments about their effects—Katrina, for example, said that they would "guide us and scaffold us—but would not tell us the answer. It was a lot of guided questions. It was never direct teaching." Katrina "appreciated the approach" and, in turn, "tried to mimic it in her own teaching as well." As for Ryan, he was able to discern the differences between physics taught as theory in his high school classes and physics taught as inquiry in his teacher education classes. In physics taught theoretically, "the words are just words dancing around in your head…that may/may not mean something to you." But, in physics as inquiry, "you come to knowledge on your own…it comes from inside of you and grows to be solid and a part of you." Ryan went on to say that his teacher educators put him into "the flight zone" for which he had been searching his entire academic life and that he hoped, through his teacher educator models, to help high school students "get into that flight zone" and better the quality of their studies and their lives.

So, what can be gleaned about the best-loved selves of teachers from this preliminary narrative work with preservice science teachers? We learn many things as this interim summary indicates:

- family members, teachers and teacher educators play important shaping roles where preservice teachers' best-loved selves are concerned;
- love of particular content areas forms part of most teachers' best-loved selves;
- love of the inquiry method and inquiring into big questions of life may contribute to teachers' best-loved selves;
- desire to work with youth and to give back to community and society also forms a part of some preservice teachers' best-loved self plotlines.

Practicing Teachers

We now move on to discussing three experienced teachers: Daryl, Laura, and Shi. Perhaps unsurprising, we find what their best-loved selves need emerging as they brushed up against the demands of their school milieus, with many of those demands arising from local and national educational policy.

For example, Daryl (Craig 2009a, b) was successfully teaching literacy to middle school students and was particularly proud of his 8th grade Holocaust unit of study that he had developed in conjunction with his personal travels to Israel and to the Jewish concentration camps in Germany. However, when a literacy consultant was hired as part of his school's reform agenda, she purged all of the teachers' previous scholarship, including the study unit in which Daryl was deeply invested. In a sense, she robbed him of his teacher as curriculum maker role and replaced it with the teacher as curriculum implementer plotline. She made it mandatory that all literacy teachers teach the same content to the same grade level of students at the same time. Predictably, this move affronted Daryl's best-loved self and he had a great deal to say in response to it.

A similar thing happened to Laura (Craig 2012) as well who was involved in a different reform initiative—professional learning communities—that also was imposed on her. This is how Laura explained what happened in her words:

> We gained a lot but lost a lot, too. I became unhappy when I realized [the change] was being forced on us and I began to feel like a "butterfly under a pin."… I was uncomfortable with the demeanor of the staff developer and my principal. It was making me feel not in charge of my teaching when throughout my career I have felt in charge.

She continued:

> I don't like being admonished by people younger than me [in public]. I don't like someone dropping into my classroom for a few minutes and making judgments…The person is not here every day seeing the beautiful things that happen…

Laura concluded:

> I want to be treated professionally. I don't want to feel the anxiety. I don't want to see things that are wrong, that are unethical. I want my role models to be important to me—and my role models are administrators, consultants, and [professors] and I want to look up to them…

The third experienced teacher whose story I will draw upon is Shi, an American born Chinese elementary school teacher (Craig et al., under review). Shi realized that comments from a less-positive teacher have had an adverse effect on her since her youth. This, in turn, has taught her how she, as a teacher, needs to communicate in productive, growth-oriented ways with the children in her classroom. Shi explained:

> …that one strand of experience in school kept me away [from public speaking] for a…….very…….long…….time……..and it was not until I was in an unrestricted and comfortable environment 15 years later that I was able to rediscover the art of [speaking before an audience].

She went on to say: "It definitely has made me think twice before I make quick remarks to children. The role of an educator can determine a child's attitude toward education. We need to ensure the experiences we give them have a lasting positive impression on them."

As we leave this short discussion of the best-loved selves of experienced teachers, let us ask ourselves: "So what can be learned from these expressions of experienced teachers' best loved selves?"

The following interim summary reflects what these particular in-service teachers needed in order to feel sustained in their work:

- need to be a curriculum maker;
- need to be treated professionally;
- need to have positive role models;
- need for incoming and outgoing communications to be growth-oriented.

Teachers Who Left the Profession

At the beginning of this chapter, I foreshadowed that I would include stories of teachers who quit—individuals whose teacher stories to live by—their best-loved selves—were no longer able to be expressed in a manner satisfying to them in their school contexts.

First, we will discuss Anna (Craig 2014). Anna Dean was a beginning teacher who was not provided with the same teaching conditions as her peers. This resulted in her planning alone instead of with the others. Then, when she was experimenting with how to teach using a new method, a consultant came into her room, observed her, and wrote an official report on her that was submitted to her department chair and principal. Anna wondered how she could possibly learn a new teaching approach without experimenting with how to teach with it. Then, after five years of striving and successfully perfecting her pedagogical approaches, the clincher happened. The evaluation system in her school district changed. The evaluation method became a value-added one where teachers were paid for students' performances. Anna was penalized because her regular program students, some of whom were struggling to learn English, did not advance as quickly as the accelerated students in other classrooms in the school.

Next, I will discuss Ashley (Craig, under review), an English as a Second Language teacher, who perhaps was the most lucid and direct about what her best-loved self as a teacher needed. She openly declared that she needed three things to feel sustained in teaching: (1) income that would provide her with a decent living; (2) opportunities to put her quality education to good use; and (3) the chance to better other people's lives. However, when the English as a Second Language program in which she taught was eliminated and the French class to which she was assigned had holes in the classroom floor in which the legs of students' desks fell in, her best-loved self could no longer bear to continue teaching. Two of her three prerequisites were not being met: (1) using her social and intellectual capital to improve her students' lots in life and (2) putting her own education to best possible use.

Finally, we come to Helen (Craig et al., in press), a teacher who discovered her desire to teach Physical Education in fourth grade when her homeroom teacher allowed her to instruct her classmates when their gym teacher was ill. Years later, she became a teacher, and, after that, a department chair who developed and enacted the most innovative and individualized high school PE program in the city. When Helen's program was shut down in much the same way as Ashley's was, Helen returned with 14 years of experience to the teacher education institution where she was prepared as a PE teacher to meet with her former teacher educators who had acted as her mentors and guides earlier in life. They told her that her best-loved self as a teacher was in danger of being squelched and that she risked being bitter for the remainder of her career. Helen, of course, did not want this to happen. She wanted to preserve her best-loved self. So, like the preservice teacher, Jason, Helen turned to another love—her love of fish—and took up employment in a pet store. However, one of her worst students came into the store one day to shop and questioned her why she was selling fish and not teaching. He then told her that he would never have made it to the research university in which he was enrolled had it not been for her. Her individualized approach, he confided, "had changed something in [him]." From her, he came to know what he needed in order to learn and thrive. With this unlikely student's endorsement, Helen returned to teaching, knowing precisely what her best-loved self as a teacher needed. Here is what she had to say in her words:

> I have already built a PE program, so I don't care if I ever build another program. I don't even care if I am never named Teacher of the Year. These things do not motivate me. Neither do I want to be a PE Chair again…Just being my personal best is what motivates me…I just want to keep on learning. I want to keep creating things with my students, you know…. I just want to keep on growing…

The last time Helen was visited, she was productively team teaching with a beginning teacher who shared the same growth mindset and zest for teaching as she did.

So, what do we learn about the best-loved self of teachers from these story fragments of beginning and practicing teachers who left the profession? The interim summary looks something like this:

The best-loved self of teachers needs to be protected from:

- having to conform to the image of teacher as curriculum implementer without being given a chance to be a curriculum maker;
- being subjected to the excesses of principals, consultants, school systems, policy makers and theoreticians;
- having poor work conditions;
- being unable to productively advance students' learning;
- feeling an absence of growth opportunities.

Summary Statements

In this chapter, I have "talked across" several narrative inquiries in order to catch glimpses of a phenomenon that is as "invisible as air" and "weightless as dreams" (Stone 1988). My focus has been on storied fragments pointing to teachers' best-loved selves, a concept introduced by Schwab in his curriculum theorizing. Schwab argued that who the teacher is and what the teacher does is absolutely critical to student success because the mandates of policy makers, the theories of academicians, and the desires of the public can only be realized through the teacher. The teacher is the nexus of what happens in classrooms, the fountainhead of any curriculum decision. Nothing can get to students except through teachers. Everything, he said, rests on the competence, the experience, and the health of the teacher "at the moment s/he teaches." It is therefore essential to nurture and sustain the best-loved self of teachers because only through its cultivation will teacher quality improve in substantive ways. Hence, instead of limiting teachers' roles and decision making opportunities, we need to give teachers "room to maneuver" (Harré 1981, p. 17), wiggle room where they can enact their best-loved selves at their personal discretion for the benefit of their students. Only then will teachers be able to open the door; only then will more students, modeling the stories lived and told by their teachers, pass through.

We cannot give them what we do not have ourselves;
We cannot share what we do not care for deeply ourselves.

Gates of excellence: On reading and writing for children

Katherine Paterson

I've had many teachers who taught us soon forgotten things/
But only a few like her who created in me a new thing, a new attitude, a new hunger/…
What deathless power lies in the hands of such a person.

From *Like Captured Fireflies*

John Steinbeck

I was the tinder; she was the match; I have been on fire ever since…

Ode to a Teacher

T. A. Barron

…a teacher in search of his/her own freedom may be the only kind of teacher who can arouse young persons to go in search of their own…. (p. 14).

The Passions of Pluralism

Maxine Greene

References

Bateson, M. C. (1994). *Peripheral visions: Learning along the way*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.

Barone, T. (2001). *Touching eternity: The enduring outcomes of teaching*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Barron, T. A. (n/d). *Ode to a teacher.*

Clandinin, D. J. (2000). Learning to teach: A question of knowledge. *Education Canada, 40*(1), 28–30.

Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (1992). Teacher as curriculum maker. In P. W. Jackson (Ed.), *Handbook of curriculum* (pp. 363–461). New York: Macmillan.

Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Clandinin, D. J., Downey, C. A., & Huber, J. (2009). Attending to changing landscapes: Shaping the interwoven identities of teachers and teacher educators. *Asia Pacific Journal of Teacher Education, 37*(2), 141–154.

Connelly, F. M., & Clandinin, D. J. (1999). *Shaping a professional identity: Stories of educational practice*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Craig, C. (2007). Story constellations: A narrative approach to contextualizing teachers' knowledge of school reform. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 23*(2), 173–188.

Craig, C. (2009a). Research in the midst of organized school reform: Versions of teacher community in tension. *American Educational Research Journal, 46*(2), 598–619.

Craig, C. (2009b). The contested classroom space: A decade of lived educational policy in Texas schools. *American Educational Research Journal, 46*(4), 1034–1059.

Craig, C. (2012). 'Butterfly under a pin': An emergent teacher image amid forced curriculum reform. *Journal of Educational Research., 105*(2), 90–101.

Craig, C. (2013). Teacher education and the best-loved self. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education, 33* (3), 261–272.

Craig, C. (2014). From stories of staying to stories of leaving: A US beginning teacher's experience. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 46*(1), 81–115.

Craig, C. (under review). From starting stories to staying stories to leaving stories: A U.S. ESL teacher's experience. *Teaching and Teacher Education.*

Craig, C., & Ross, V. (2008). Developing teachers as curriculum makers. In F. M. Connelly (Ed.), *Sage handbook of curriculum and instruction*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Craig, C., You, J., & Oh, S. (in press). Pedagogy through the pearl metaphor. *Curriculum Inquiry.*

Craig, C., Zou, Y., & Curtis, G. (under review). The developing knowledge and identity of an Asian American teacher: A narrative inquiry into the influence of a China Study Abroad experience. *Teachers College Record.*

Dewey, J. (1938). *Experience and education*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Eisner, E. W. (1988). The primacy of experience and the politics of method. *Educational Researcher, 17*(5), 15–20.

Han, X., & Feng, Z. (2013). School-based instructional research (SBIR): An approach to teacher professional development in China. In C. Craig, P. C. Meijer, & J. Broeckmans (Eds.), *The history of thinking teachers*. Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing.

Harré, R. (1981). The positivist-empiricist approach and its alternatives. In P. Reason & J. Rowan (Eds.), *Human inquiry* (pp. 3–17). London: Wiley.

Hollingsworth, S., Dybdahl, M., & Minarik, L. (1993). By chart and chance and passion: Learning to teach through relational knowing. *Curriculum Inquiry, 23*(1), 5–36.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (2003). *Metaphors we live by*. London: The University of Chicago Press.

Schwab, J. J. (1954/1978). Eros and education: A discussion of one aspect of discussion. In I. Westbury & N. Wilkof (Ed.) *Science, curriculum and liberal education: Selected essays.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schwab, J. J. (1959/1978). The 'impossible' role of the teacher in progressive education. In I. Westbury & N. Wilkof (Eds.), *Science, curriculum and liberal education: Selected essays.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schwab, J. J. (1960/1978). What do scientists do? In I. Westbury & N. Wilkof (Eds.), *Science, curriculum and liberal education: Selected essays* (pp. 184–228). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schwab, J. J. (1964). Structure of the disciplines: Meanings and significances. In G. Ford & L. Pugno (Eds.), *The structure of knowledge and the curriculum*. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company.

Schwab, J. J. (1969). The practical: A language for curriculum. *School Review, 78,* 1–23.

Schwab, J. J. (1983). The practical 4: Something for curriculum professors to do. *Curriculum Inquiry, 13*(3), 239–265.

Stone, E. (1988). *Black sheep and kissing cousins: How our family stories shape us*. New York: Times Books.

Xu, S., & Connelly, M. (2010). Narrative inquiry for school-based research. *Narrative Inquiry, 20* (2), 349–370.

Essential Issues in Developing a Professional Identity as a Teacher

Paulien C. Meijer

This chapter is about the development of teachers. In this chapter, I will be paying special attention to those processes that cannot be characterized as showing "steady" or even "straightforward" development and thus processes that are less predictable than usual; processes that frequently fluctuate (i.e., go up and down); and processes that sometimes even stagnate or decline—only to show later, rapid growth. I will be dealing with processes that are always reported in hindsight by teachers to have had a major impact on them. I will introduce forms of development that are best understood from the perspective of the development of a professional identity. And in doing this, I will consider two processes that are known to play a role in such development, namely identification and separation. Within this context, I will further consider a number of elements that can play a role in identify development, including: the environment, the occurrence of crisis, and the presence of resistance. In closing, I will consider a number of implications for the training of teachers and for future research.

To begin, however, I would first like to sketch the development of my *own* scientific interest in learning to teach and the training of teachers. In doing this, I hope to make clear why I am interested in the forms of development that I just described. In contrast to the current trend of studying predominantly *measurable* aspects of education, my interest has increasingly gone out to those aspects that are less measurable. As I take you on a couple of trips into my own professional development and experiences over the years—in fact decennia now, the key concepts that I call upon should also become clear.

In 1993, I started on my doctoral research at the University of Leiden (The Netherlands) with, as my topic, the practical knowledge of experienced language teachers (Meijer 1999). I "measured" the knowledge of teachers in different manners in order to study how they later used this knowledge during their actual teaching.

P.C. Meijer (✉)
Radboud University Nijmegen, Nijmegen, The Netherlands
e-mail: p.meijer@ru.nl

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. 2017

X. Zhu et al. (eds.), *Quality of Teacher Education and Learning*,
New Frontiers of Educational Research,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-3549-4_12

Already at that time, I found the issue of just *how* teachers put their knowledge to use the most interesting part of the research. But it was also the most difficult part of my research: How do you "measure" the use of knowledge on a given occasion? How do you measure just *how* knowledge is being used? And how do you measure which aspect (or aspects) of knowledge are being used? During the interviews that I conducted with teachers as part of my doctoral research, even more intriguing questions presented themselves. *Why* do teachers use certain knowledge but not other knowledge—even though they have acquired both? And how have they acquired their knowledge? What I found to be of critical importance was not so much what knowledge had been acquired and was being used but, rather, how teachers had *integrated* knowledge from different domains including: subject-specific knowledge, knowledge of students and their learning, and knowledge of learning processes. I then noticed that researchers and teacher educators were often not oriented towards such integration, and I had the idea that this observed lack of attention to integration led to overly simplistic statements about the differences between teachers and the knowledge that they should have but also even bad decisions at times (e.g., when it appeared that a teacher did not possess the required knowledge to a sufficient extent). I still feel the outrage that I once experienced when reading that a teacher who students had voted teacher of the year had been fired for not sufficiently following the 7-step teaching model when it had just been introduced in California, the state where that teacher was employed in the USA.

Given my growing interest in how teachers learn to call upon different types of knowledge at a given moment in time in a given class situation (i.e., integrate their knowledge and apply this), I immersed myself more and more in theories of learning. What is learning *really*? And what theory is needed to understand the learning just described? The constructivist learning theories available at the time—theories that primarily see learning as the accumulation of knowledge—do not offer obvious guidelines for understanding the integration of knowledge or learning processes such as identity development, which go beyond simple knowledge acquisition and the mastery of instructional skills. Douwe Beijaard of the Eindhoven University in the Netherlands pointed this out in his 2009 inaugural address, which was on the importance of identity in the professional learning of beginning teachers. I will return to this issue later on.

Towards the end of my doctoral research period, I also undertook the transition to working as a teacher trainer. As part of this, I regularly visited my students at their workplaces (i.e., schools). Once again, I found the *least tangible* (i.e., measurable) aspects of development to be the most interesting aspects. And then predominantly those aspects that could be seen to make the most impression on my students and appeared, moreover, to be most critical for the successful completion of their teacher training and getting off to a good start as a beginning teacher. In one such case, for example, a student who had clearly mastered all kinds of educational knowledge and the required instructional skills (which could be beautifully measured in terms of a number of "rubrics") later sat crying with me because he did not really know if he was fit to teach. He wasn't sleeping well, found that he had to be stricter with his students than he wanted to be, did not feel comfortable among his

colleagues at school, and the idea of spending the rest of his life in education was—in his own words—"suffocating" him. But at the start of his study, this student was convinced that he wanted to be a teacher. What had happened along the way?

As a teacher trainer, I saw that enough was being written about the knowledge and skills that teachers must have (e.g. Darling-Hammond and Bransford 2005). All of this includes the work of, for example, Hattie (2012) on giving good feedback and asking the right questions. However, the question of just *how* teachers can acquire the required knowledge and skills or—in other words—assimilate what they are presented to make it their own was more difficult to answer. From the research literature and my own teacher training experiences, it was clear that teachers either learn or do not yet learn for very different reasons. And to better understand such learning and resistance to learning, a broader perspective on the process of learning to teach was needed—a perspective in which the focus is not on just the acquisition of knowledge and skills. More on that later.

At research conferences over the years, I have encountered individuals who are heavy on what is referred to as "blaming the teacher". When a teacher does not show change or development during the course of a continuing education trajectory, this is assumed to be the fault of the teacher him/herself. The instructors said: "It's the teacher, not me." Most such cases involve teachers who fail to use new instructional methods developed by their instructors or fail to use theories that need to be tested for researchers in actual practice. My own interest and thus research followed the so-called "cognitive shift" that occurred during the 1990s and manifested itself at such conferences as the ISATT (International Study Association on Teachers and Teaching). A great deal of research effort there was devoted to exploring what teachers *themselves* think and their own arguments for making particular decisions during their teaching. This was in marked contrast to the previously rather technocratic manner of studying teacher behavior. Research following the cognitive shift no longer "measured" but nevertheless provided considerable insight into *really* understanding what teachers do, what they think, and how they can improve and thus develop.

What I have related so far says a lot about what I consider important in teacher training research and about my identity as a researcher (cf. Meijer 2014). Many things can be seen to have played a role in the development of my professional identity, including: resistance to others telling me what I should consider important, and an ongoing search for what and who I can identify with, in addition to what I *really* consider important. These things are the same as those found in the more elusive and difficult to measure aspects of education when viewed in the broadest sense of the word. And these things touch upon what I hope, as a researcher, to contribute to education and in particular the training and professionalization of teachers. In the following, I would therefore like to present a number of issues that have received attention in the international literature but little attention in the current measurement

climate that rules in many countries including the Netherlands. The themes that I will discuss pertain to the identity development of teachers and the development of instructional methods for this (cf. Meijer et al. 2014).

Identity Development in Relation to Learning

First, I would like to consider the choices that have to be made when we shift from the concept of "learning" to the concept of identity development. In doing this, I would like to emphasize that I also consider other forms and components of learning—such as the acquisition of knowledge and skills development—important. Enough research is currently being conducted on these, however, as opposed to—as I have already mentioned—most influential change processes according to teachers themselves. These influential processes are also more intriguing, in my opinion. If we can better understand and support these processes, then we can contribute to the wellbeing of teachers, greater teaching efficacy, and a better quality of education.

Now to return to the concept of "learning". When you ask students "What is learning?", they usually respond with "studying for a test". In their diaries, for example, they will typically write: "Do assignments 23–26 and learn (study) Chapter "Alternative Framing of Teacher Education: A Challenge for Teacher Education in an Age of Globalization". And there are many other ideas about what constitutes "learning," coming from both inside and outside the field of education. The majority of these ideas point to a conceptualization of learning as knowledge acquisition, sometimes supplemented with the development of competencies. The recent literature shows this conceptualization to not be sufficient, however, for fully understanding the learning that people do when they *develop*. And the current conceptualization is also therefore insufficient for eliciting and supporting such development.

Here, I would like to explore a broader conceptualization of learning in which identity development plays a role. Attention to the latter is mostly missing in education today—from elementary to secondary to university education and even the training of Ph.D. students. In the education programs aimed at the preparation of various professions, attention to identity development is slowly trickling in—also to teacher training programs. This is understandable as identity development as part of such training is inescapable, although not always clearly understood, fostered, or supported. In the following, I will take teacher training as a case in point to illustrate the type of learning that I am referring to and the implications of taking this type of learning seriously.

According to the Danish educational psychologist Illeris (e.g. 2002, 2014), two core elements play a role in every form of learning: an external, social element and an internal, psychological element. Despite these elements being inseparable, I will consider them separately in the following and relate them to the concept of identity development of teachers.

The External, Social Element of Learning

The external-social element points to the role of the environment in—in this case—the development of a professional identity. Under the term "professional," not only the required subject knowledge and didactic skills are understood but also the responsibilities and role model function that society today—both implicitly and explicitly—expects of teachers. I emphasize "what society expects" because what we consider "professional" is largely determined by society. This means that what is viewed as professional in one country may not necessarily be viewed as such in another country. And what was previously viewed as professional, in earlier days, may no longer be viewed as professional. Many societies no longer find a pedagogical rap on the fingers acceptable, for example, and this will therefore not be found in the professional behavior repertoires of teachers today. Similarly, teachers who speak to the class for more than an hour at a time are in many countries considered less professional today.

Teachers must, thus, continually adapt to changes in society (cf. Hargreaves and Fullan 2012). And not only societal expectations change, but also society itself changes. In fact, everything is always changing. *Students* are obviously developing (and, as a teacher, you should be worried if you do not see your students develop). *Teachers* have become lifelong learners and therefore continue to develop. *Insights* into *subject matter* continually develop. And the *ways* in which we, as a *society*, organize schools and the education system are continually developing.

Belgian psychologist Verhaeghe (2012) extensively describes the phenomenon of identity and two fundamental processes underlying its development in relation to the environment: ***identification*** or the search for commonalities with others and ***separation*** or the search for autonomy and individuality. Every person, according to Verhaeghe, has a need to "belong" and a need for autonomy. In change situations, such as those that occur when entering a new profession, it is these opposing needs and the friction that can arise between them that lead to identity development. Verhaeghe summarizes research in which workplaces that stimulate autonomy and control but also give people the feeling that they are working for a higher, shared objective (i.e., something that you cannot reach on your own) produce very positive effects on: levels of knowledge and expertise, well-being, loyalty, productivity, and efficiency. His conclusion is that attention to individual creativity and productive cooperation are *both* prerequisites for adequate and stable identity development.

Just how identification or the search for commonalities with others unfold is best illustrated with an example. As a teacher-in-training in 2002, when schools in the Netherlands had started working intensively with so-called study guides, I taught at a high school. One day, I was sitting there at a long table with 10 computers on it connected to a single printer. I had just sent my study guides, which I had put together with a social science colleague, to the printer. Not long thereafter, a very experienced teacher of German approached me with my fresh-from-the-press study guide in his hand. He tossed it down on the table in front of me and uttered "That's not how we do things here." My social science colleague and I had included,

namely, the following in our study guide: an explanation of the goals for the school year, why we considered the articulated goals important, and how we planned to have the students achieve them. In the eyes of this very experienced teacher of German, however, it was total nonsense—according to him, a study guide is an overview of the homework to be completed prior to each class of the year, nothing more and nothing less. In such a manner, the students know right from the beginning of the school year what has to be done by March 5th, May 26th, and so forth.

Now I was not your typical student teacher in that I had already completed my Ph.D. and had read more books on education and seen the insides of more schools than the experienced teacher of German. I thus went—and this says something about my identity—my own way. I gave my students their newly developed study guides. They were enthusiastic and succeeded in achieving the aims. Imagine, however, that I had just arrived from teacher training school and simply assumed that this very experienced teacher of German was representative of the teaching profession. I would then have been faced with the task of deciding whether this manner of working presented as obligatory at my school by this very experienced teacher "fit" me. Determining whether a profession provides a good personal fit is, after all, one of the many aims of giving students experience with actual practice—in this case, student teaching.

The challenge for the teacher-in-training is to indeed find out who and what they want to identify with and what this says about them. This holds, as just suggested, for not only teachers but other professionals as well. I was once at a meeting of educational researchers, for example, when the discussion turned to the results of a study showing that creative thinkers do not perform well—according to the usual criteria (e.g., writing a large number of publications and grant applications)—at universities. The response from one of the professors present at the meeting was then: "In other words, we shouldn't hire any more creative thinkers!". I remember thinking at the time that this was a joke. But unfortunately, it was not. The comment was really a shame, in my opinion. Worse yet, it really bothered me because I, myself, wanted to work in an environment where creativity was valued and even stimulated. If that leads to a lower H-index for productivity and impact, then so be it. The nice part of such situations is, by the way, that they make you acutely aware of what you consider really important in your work and often your life itself. And feeling *resistance* is an important part of this. Which is what I would now like to turn to as it also brings us to the second element of learning, namely the intra-psychological.

The Intra-psychological Element of Learning

This element refers to what occurs in you as a person when learning, down to the actual neurological processes taking place in your brain. Crisis, transformation, and resistance play an important role in the occurrence of so-called identity learning (cf.

Meijer 2011; Meijer et al. 2011). And this can be illustrated with an anecdote from a student who had me as a supervisor some years ago.

A student of philosophy, let's call him Frank, started on his education study right after completion of his philosophy degree. He got off to a difficult start with the usual organizational problems, but what stood out most was that he appeared to avoid contact with fellow students and us as supervisors. After a few weeks of school, Frank wrote about his "motivation problems" in an assignment and I later talked to him about this. In that conversation, it became clear that Frank had difficulties with the idea of having to student teach at a school where the major emphasis was on academic achievement. This emphasis meant that attention to anything that went beyond grades/scores was not encouraged and even dismissed—very much to Frank's surprise and dismay. Attention to emotional or social aspects of learning was "not the primary task of the school." It took some time, but Frank's personal story came to light as well. During his high school career, there was a grand total of one teacher who had ever asked how he was doing (and then only once). Frank got good grades and there was therefore, apparently, no reason for teachers to ever speak to him during his six years of classes. (High school in the Netherlands can take 4–6 years depending on the level of education being pursued.) No one, not even his homeroom teacher or a school guidance counselor, knew that his father had passed away during that period. Back then, Frank had the impression that this lack of attention did not bother him. But there he was now: Standing in front of the class himself, filled with doubt.

The question, of course, is why this young man Frank had a desire to become a teacher to start with. He thought he knew the answer to this question at the start of the teacher training program: He wanted to tell students about his particular subject: philosophy. And while he knew that he had sufficient knowledge of the subject to do this, he discovered that this was not enough. *Why* did he want to tell students about philosophy? *What* did he want to achieve by doing this? The answers that he could provide for these questions involved instilling respect for the viewpoints of different people and helping students find a place in the world. These are obviously goals that cannot be achieved with the simple transfer of information or knowledge. The attainment of such goals cannot be measured using numbers. Answers comparable to those of Frank are also provided by teachers-in-training for other subjects, by the way. The imparting of historical awareness for students of history cannot, for example, be assigned a number.

The fact that Frank felt he was being required to revise his goals and, in his opinion, lower them as a teacher had a number of major implications for him. Was he, himself, treated with respect in the past? What role did he, himself, play in the course of events that occurred in the past (such as, for example, avoiding contact himself)? Frank had to ask himself these very personal questions because he was expected to self-reflect as part of his teacher training. He also had to think about his answers in terms of what they meant for his own future teaching. This was a very personal point of learning for Frank and illustrates the unavoidable importance of examining what it means to work as a teacher and thereby one's professional identity as a teacher. What does becoming a teacher mean for you, with your past

and your personality? If Frank had not asked himself these questions, he would probably not have been able to carry on with the teacher training program and would probably not have gone on to work in education. Instead, things worked out great for him. After spending a week sick and emotional in bed, he picked himself up and returned to class feeling like—in his own words—"another person." During his thesis work, he was frequently complimented on his perseverance; he could have just left the field. He was also complimented on his remarkable development. The question now is: Just how important are such sweeping and intensive developmental experiences for people working in Frank's environment? I am sure that Frank talks with all of his students. And every student deserves such a teacher.

The process that Frank went through can best be described as a process of transformation. This process of "growing into" the teaching profession has been regularly described and can be depicted using a developmental line such as in Fig. 1 (Moir 2002).

After an often enthusiastic start, disillusion strikes—usually somewhere between the fall and Christmas vacations in the Netherlands. This development is quite similar to the "practice shock" that Simon Veenman described back in 1984 and that almost every student or beginning teacher experiences. But re-discovery of oneself or what is sometimes so nicely referred to in English as "rejuvenation" also usually follows and the teacher—just as Frank—comes back "a changed person."

This line is not so different than another line (see Fig. 2; Adams et al. 1976), which represents how people generally handle change in their lives. In the case of a positive event there is typically a period of excitement followed by the post-honeymoon period in which the notions of "crisis" and "transformation" come to stand central.

Crisis, as revealed by research (Adams et al. 1976), is a general and—moreover—fundamental phenomenon when people are confronted with large changes in their lives. Entering a new profession or starting a new career, just as becoming a teacher, is such a large change. The word "crisis" indicates that a struggle is taking place and this usually involves the development of a new part of your identity. While not everyone may experience this process intensely or strongly enough to label it a "crisis," the term is consistently used in theory to emphasize the importance of the

Fig. 1 Phases of first year teachers' attitude towards teaching. *Source* Moir (2002)

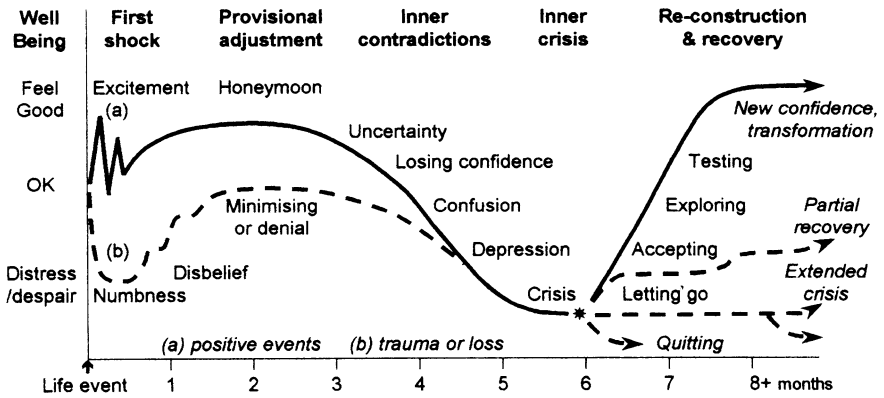


Fig. 2 Phases and features of the transition cycle. *Source* Adams et al. (1976)

phenomenon for significant development. In a crisis and especially one that really hurts, people come close to what they consider vital in their work and lives. There is a lot more to be said about this figure and its significance for learning to teach and I refer those of you who are interested in this to the following references (Meijer et al. 2009; Pillen 2013; Bronkhorst 2013).

Consequences of Increasing Attention to Identity Development for Instructional Methods Used to Teach Teachers: What Should Teacher Training Programs Do?

Teacher training programs obviously need to strengthen themselves in the domain of identity development. I will return to this, but would first like to consider the consequences of the aforementioned processes, referred to as *identification* and *separation* (*i.e., the search for autonomy*).

The first question that arises is: With what and whom do teachers and teachers-in-training identify themselves? To start with, they identify with a *subject* or subject area (Meijer and van Driel 1999). Students studying at a university-based teacher education program in the Netherlands already have a few years of subject study behind them and therefore typically feel a strong affinity with their subject area. Practicing high school teachers have also been shown to identify strongly with their subject area and their colleagues in the area. This identification constitutes a relatively stable factor in the work of teachers, given that it is not unusual for a teacher to see some 300 students pass through their classroom in a week: students coming from different levels and types of education, moreover. In the next year, yet another 300 students—but not all the same students as in the year before—will pass through their classrooms. For teachers-in-training, it is thus important that they progress from a fundamental passion for their subject area to a passion for the

learning of students in their subject area and beyond. But they might not do this automatically, so teacher trainers need to elicit this.

Teachers and teachers-in-training may also identify with *students* and *colleagues*. For teachers-in-training, a gradual shift can be seen to occur here as well. Many of them tend to initially identify more with the students being taught than with their colleagues. As a teacher trainer, you can accelerate this gradual shift in identification by explicitly mentioning it and overtly eliciting identification with teachers and fellow teachers-in-training. Unfortunately, the question of "What type of colleague are you (becoming)?" is rarely posed. The teaching competence of "cooperation with colleagues" nevertheless touches directly upon the question of whether and how you identify with your colleagues and thus give rise—albeit implicitly—to the question of what type of colleague you want to be.

The *separation* process or search for autonomy and individuality can and should also be given direction in a teacher training program as well. During the first half of a student teaching year, the teacher-in-training usually identifies with fellow training students on one day of the week and is largely concerned with his or her own teaching practices on the other days of the week. Later in the year, this gradually shifts to the opposite. The school becomes the place for identification but the teacher-in-training's search for autonomy and individuality should be stimulated, which can be done in the teacher training institute. Later in their teaching careers, the workplace takes the place of the training school for teacher identification. And once again, the balance must be sought and maintained between separation and conformity, creativity and productivity. There are all kinds of ideas about how schools should go about doing this, certainly in cooperation with teacher training programs. I have too little time to devote more attention to this topic. Here, I will focus on the teacher training program and the implications of increasing attention to identity development for these (cf. Meijer et al. 2014).

As a concrete example of a teacher training pedagogy, I can mention the phenomenon of "lesson visits." A lesson visit, as the term says, entails the teacher trainer or supervisor attending a lesson being taught by a teacher-in-training at the practice institute (i.e., the school where the teacher is student teaching). Ideally, viewed from the perspective of identity development, we should to speak of *school visits* with lesson visits as only one component of these. Other components could be: a meeting with colleagues from the same subject section to discuss the type of colleague that the student teacher appears to be; a meeting with students to discuss their perceptions of the student teacher; and a meeting with the supervisor of the student teacher to discuss how the student teacher is dealing with dilemmas and other difficult situations: Do they discuss these together? In addition, it might be asked how the supervisor supports the search of the student teacher for autonomy. And how resistance on the part of the student teacher is addressed within the teacher training program. Such information is needed for adequate guidance of the teacher-in-training and, as just illustrated, much more needs to be discussed with the teacher-in-training than just the quality of the observed lesson. A school visit can thus grow into a key moment for discussion of all aspects of the teaching profession with a teacher-in-training.

The preceding approach obviously calls for teacher training programs and schools to have a shared vision on the development of the professional identities of teachers. This should be a vision in which finding a balance between substantive subject knowledge and knowledge of students and their learning stands central. An inventory of the characteristics of "good" teacher training programs (Rodgers and Scott 2008) recently showed those programs that have formulated a broad vision on the professional identity development of teachers, which thus includes attention to the development of their identities as teachers, to deliver teachers with stable, positive identities. And from other recent research by—among others—Day and Gu (2014), we know that teachers with a stable, positive identity not only stay in education longer but also have a greater and more positive influence on student learning than other teachers.

Let us assume that in the majority of teacher training programs in the Netherlands and elsewhere, steps have been taken to work on the professional identity development of teachers-in-training. It is nevertheless still possible that much more progress might be made if we better understood and could therefore more explicitly steer the type of learning needed for such development. Teachers who are better prepared for teaching in the fullest sense of the word may actually mean more for their students and also leave the profession less quickly than is currently the case, for example. It is widely assumed, for instance, that those teachers who leave the field after just a few years of teaching encountered major start-up problems and that it is thus the less good teachers who tend to drop out. But the opposite may often be the case: It is quite conceivable that particularly good teachers run into major problems when not given enough room for creativity and that they cannot identify sufficiently with the school or—worse yet—education in general.

In addition to the school visit just mentioned, there are plenty of other means to stimulate the development of a stable, positive identity among teachers. I would like to discuss one of these in particular because I think that it is frequently misunderstood and therefore not utilized enough as a catalyzer for really strong development. These are related to the intra-psychological element of learning. I am referring to *crisis* and, in an extension of this, *resistance*.

For teacher trainers and anyone involved in the supervision and guidance of beginning or even experienced teachers, crisis and transformation—as depicted earlier—represent recognizable processes. The challenge for the trainer is to detect a crisis in time and realize that knowledge acquisition and skill development are virtually impossible during a crisis. Other resources are needed to *support* the student in crisis and to *elicit* crisis.

To *support* students in crisis, Rodgers and Scott (2008; cf. Meijer 2011) suggest a combination of:

- Creating time and space for reflection;
- Creating communities of trust;
- Making sense of experience through stories;

- Ask student teachers to confront and speak back to the external forces that shape and limit who and what a teacher is, such as colleagues, pupils and parents.

To *elicit* crisis, when necessary, Mezirow (2009; cf. Meijer 2011) suggests, among many, the following:

- inspire mental resistance if necessary, because this is the way that personal competencies are developed that are so key to teaching, such as independence, responsibility and creativity;
- use conflict raising, or dilemma raising;
- use several methods to foster critical self-reflection of assumptions needed for transformative learning, such as the use of critical incidents, life histories, collaborative learning, etc., preferably in combination.

I would like to briefly discuss the first two items on the lower list. Within the framework of a teacher training program in which teachers are prepared for lifelong learning or, in any case, continuous learning throughout their professional careers, it is interesting to ask what is needed to enable teachers to still function during times of uncertainty, dilemma, or even crisis. One element of such continued self-direction might be as follows (think as well about how this might be for you). At the moment that you have to do something that makes you feel uncertain or uncomfortable (and this should frequently happen as a teacher-in-training or in any new job or role), feelings of uncertainty or uneasiness are usually indicators that what is being required of you does not fit with your identity at that moment. If the pressure persists, dilemmas can arise and both anger and resistance can emerge along with a feeling of clearly exceeding one's limits. The question that then arises —for the individual but also the teacher training program or some other program— is whether the experience of such uncertainty and resistance can be productively put to use. Illeris (2010, 2014), who I have already mentioned, thinks so. Illeris goes even further to suggest that such resistance is a sign of involvement and thereby a *prerequisite* for so-called transformational learning and thus, for identity development. People are generally not opposed to learning something new but they are often opposed to actually having to do something that does not "fit" with their image of themselves. Nevertheless, as part of the training of teachers, it is very important that students be required to do things that do not—at the time—"fit" them. Only then can the future teacher decide if he or she wants to accept the demands of the profession and the demands of society with regard to the profession.

Another example. I was recently sitting in a bus and overheard two student teachers in mathematics in front of me talking about how they were going to deal with an upcoming assignment. They were discussing a specific manner of lesson preparation, and one of the students said: "I've just jotted some stuff down on paper 'cause I never prepare ahead of time, you know. That's not my style." The student went on to say that he didn't *need* to prepare because his math knowledge was always better than that of his students and he could always talk himself out of things. His students' grades were also passing, which he considered enough. The other student then asked him how he handled students who really had trouble with

math. The response of the first student was easy: They simply have to read the material again or get someone to tutor them. Luckily, the second student was not convinced by this response. This interaction shows just how important it is for a student teacher to do what he or she does not think fits with his or her style and thus, in this case, prepare lessons despite marked resistance to having to do so. Society expects proper preparation, and students have a right to this. If the student teacher does not want to do what is expected of him, then he should not be in the field of education. Given that math is a subject area plagued in the Netherlands by teacher shortages and that many schools are therefore happy when they can simply fill the position, it is going to be quite a challenge to get the aforementioned young teacher to the point that he actually prepares his lessons and then from the perspective of the learning requirements of all students. The strategy of eliciting crisis and resistance may clearly be of use here.

The type of stimulation just mentioned can be very demanding for teacher trainers as well. I regularly hear colleagues sigh and say "but I'm not a therapist." In other words, they do not think that paying attention to identity development and particularly the crises and resistance that can often accompany this (consider the cases of Frank and the future math teacher) are part of the profession of teacher training as they practice it. Also a matter of identity development, thus… with all of the resistance that can accompany this. But teachers-in-training cannot easily get around or avoid identity development. Standing day in and day out in front of a group of 30 fourteen-year olds forces you to develop as a teacher and quickly! Is this for me? Can I handle it? Is it my style? Do I really like it? And what about the absent students, the rebellious students, the students being bullied? Am I *supposed* to do something about all of them? Do I *want* to do something about all of them? These are questions that the teacher trainer should not avoid, but discuss, and raise, if students do not raise them themselves. And resistance on the part of student teachers with regard to such questions can be annoying and tiresome at times. But what if you recognized that such resistance is a sign of reflection and thus potential development? What if you realize that the proper handling of resistance can give rise to significant and truly meaningful learning? Finally, exploring resistance with your student teachers can also help them to understand resistance their own students might experience (see Bronkhorst et al. 2014).

Implications for Research: What Questions Are Waiting to Be Answered?

I would like to mention a few questions waiting to be answered here. The first is: Which instructional methods can contribute to the development of a stable and positive professional identity? And in what manner do they do this and how? I have already mentioned a number of promising approaches for doing this, approaches particularly concerned with the processes of identification and separation but also

the elicitation, handling, and utilization of crisis and resistance. Research on these approaches requires experimental study designs, and it would therefore be good for teacher training institutes and the schools where teachers-in-training do their practice teaching to cooperate on this. The required cooperative ties are already present, and it will therefore be of great interest to see how "joint training" can evolve in light of the elements of identity development talked about today: crisis, resistance, transformation—on the one hand—and the processes of identification and separation—on the other hand.

In the previously mentioned example of a school visit, research could follow a complete school visit including the various discussions conducted during the visit in order to map all of the interactions that occur. In an interview with the relevant teacher-in-training, the type of learning that the school visit elicited could be explored. Given that the immediate elicitation of processes of transformation by such a visit is very much open to question, use of a combination of research tools that includes an instrument to map long-term consequences is recommended. This might simply be the teachers-in-training indicating their development in the form of a line at the end of a training period, as I have illustrated. The teachers-in-training might also indicate key moments in their development and thus points where the line goes up and down. It would also be interesting to see if a school visit gives rise to crisis when the teacher-in-training is shocked, for instance, to hear comments from subject-area colleagues indicating that that he or she is not perceived as very collegial. Or if development occurs when a student teacher has been pleasantly surprised by comments from students indicating that they really appreciate him or her—despite problems keeping order in the class—because the student teacher takes time to really explain difficult problems. I have experienced both situations.

A second research question is the following. How does the identity development of teachers progress along the line from student to beginning to experienced to senior teacher? These positions have different roles to play within the school and therefore involve different challenges. The previously mentioned Day and Gu (2014) have already described these challenges for China and England but the situation in other countries has not been researched to a significant extent. Given that education is organized differently in each country, the teaching profession in each country does not automatically held the same status, and that the identity of the, for example, Dutch teacher is "really Dutch," the development of the professional identities of teachers throughout their careers also needs to be studied in various countries. This information can provide support for the personnel policies of schools but also help us steer clear of politically-driven choices in order to keep subject content and students central. Teaching and teacher training are part of an arena in which everyone thinks that they are entitled to have an opinion and are willing to express this without having read a single book on teacher training. These books say that excellent teachers appear to have a relatively stable professional identity in which they have achieved a balance between a passion for their subject matter *and* a passion for students and student learning (cf. Beijaard et al. 2004). Research should thus be welcome on just how this balance is achieved and how the

process of achieving such a balance contributes to the development of a stable, positive identity.

To answer the question of how the professional development of teachers progresses throughout their careers, a research design could be chosen that requires teachers to regularly draw a line depicting their development and key moments in this development. If this is done once every five years in combination with interviews, for instance, then an outstanding picture of the professional identify development of teachers may be obtained and, on the basis of this information, insight gained into what encourages teachers to stay in education and what discourages them from doing this. The descriptions regularly obtained in such a manner might also be combined with the use of instruments to map how teachers put their subject knowledge and understanding of student learning to work during their actual teaching. How do they do this throughout the course of their careers? How do they find a balance in doing this? The approach described by Douwe Beijaard to map the identities of teachers could certainly help with these analyses. Even though that approach only entails a snapshot, putting it to use on multiple occasions can nevertheless give us insight into how teachers apply their subject knowledge and knowledge of student learning over time and in conjunction with the development of their professional identities (cf. Akkerman and Meijer 2011). All of this obviously requires a longitudinal methodology in which teachers are followed across a number of years (e.g., Boevé et al. 2015).

The proposed research approaches mentioned by me today may seem a bit unfocused. There is little "control" or "manipulation" of experimental factors and the method of data collection is very qualitative and open. Exactly what outcomes to expect cannot be specified on the basis of the concepts just discussed, which means that there will certainly be some surprising outcomes. Such an approach is unavoidable in a new field of research and, in this connection, I would like to mention an article recently published in *Educational Researcher* by Wieman (2014). Carl Wieman won the Nobel Prize in Physics (together with two colleagues) in 2001 for "the production of the first true Bose-Einstein condensate." To the dismay of many of his colleagues, Wieman decided to use his prize money to establish an educational institute dedicated to the teaching and learning of physics. In his article, he compares the type of research conducted in the natural sciences with the type of research conducted in educational science. He comes to the conclusion that there are quite a few similarities but that research in education resembles more what he describes as "cutting edge" research in the natural sciences. This is research that is largely exploratory and hypothesis-generating but not the most common type of research conducted in the natural sciences where the focus is on the study of processes that are amenable to measurement, testing, and control. Cutting-edge research, in contrast, is located at the boundaries of our knowledge and can thus, in some cases, give rise to ground-breaking insights. In what can be characterized as cutting-edge research, moreover, the important variables are not always clear ahead of time and sometimes the researchers do not even know what they are looking for; they often only have hints or clues and thus hunches that the data *might* contain something surprising and revealing. I think this is a beautiful

situation. If educational research wants to stick to the directives for the natural sciences, let us keep in mind that there is also research that is not so much aimed at the measurement and testing of hypotheses but, rather, at the *generation* and *exploration* of hypotheses.

In the case of the topic discussed in this chapter, the aforementioned means that we must first explore the characteristics of the learning environments of teachers and pay explicit attention to their professional identity development along with the types of learning and transformation that appear to be a part of this. This can be the prelude to studying how having or not having a stable, positive identity can influence the learning and well-being (or, in other words, development) of students and thus, for example, what a teacher such as Frank contributes to the development of his students. Does this contribution differ from that of other teachers? Such a research enterprise will take time and patience, but it will eventually address the question of what we, as a society, want of our education system, our students, and our future.

References

Adams, J., Hayes, J., & Hopson, B. (1976). *Transition—Understanding and managing personal change*. London: Martin Robertson & Company.

Akkerman, S. F., & Meijer, P. C. (2011). A dialogical approach to conceptualizing teacher identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 27*(2), 308–319.

Beijaard, D. (2009). *Leraar worden en leraar blijven*. Inaugural speech, Eindhoven University, the Netherlands.

Beijaard, D., Meijer, P. C., & Verloop, N. (2004). Reconsidering research on teachers' professional identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 20*(2), 107–128.

Boevé, A. J., Bronkhorst, L. H., Endedijk, M. D., & Meijer, P. C. (2015). Tackling methodological challenges to gain new insight into the complexity of student teacher learning in a dual teacher education program. In V. Donche, S. De Maeyer, & D. Gijbels (Eds.), *Methodological challenges in research on student learning* (pp. 27–54). Amsterdam: Garant.

Bronkhorst, L. H. (2013). *Research-based teacher education: Interactions between research and teaching*. Dissertation, Utrecht University, the Netherlands.

Bronkhorst, L. H., Koster, B., Meijer, P. C., Woldman, N., & Vermunt, J. D. (2014). Exploring student teachers' resistance to teacher education pedagogies. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 40,* 73–82.

Darling-Hammond, L., & Bransford, J. (Eds.). (2005). *Preparing teachers for a changing world. What teachers should learn and be able to do*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Day, C., & Gu, Q. (2014). *Resilient teachers, resilient schools. Building and sustaining quality in testing times*. London/ New York: Routledge.

Hargreaves, A., & Fullan, M. (2012). *Professional capital: Transforming teaching in every school*. New York/ Londen: Teachers College Press.

Hattie, J. (2012). *Visible learning for teachers: Maximizing impact on learning*. Oxon/ New York: Routledge.

Illeris, K. (2002). *The three dimensions of learning. Contemporary learning theory in the tension field between the cognitive, the emotional and the social*. Frederiksberg: Roskilde University Press.

Illeris, K. (2010). *How we learn: Learning and non-learning in school and beyond*. New York: Routledge.

Illeris, K. (2014). *Transformative learning and identity*. London/ New York: Routledge.

Meijer, P. C. (1999). *Teachers' practical knowledge. Teaching reading comprehension in secondary education.* Dissertation, Leiden University, the Netherlands.

Meijer, P. C. (2011). The role of crisis in the development of student teachers' professional identity. In A. Lauriala, R. Rajala, H. Ruokamo, & O. Ylitapio-Mäntylä, (Eds.), *Navigating in educational contexts: Identities and cultures in dialogue* (pp. 41–54). Sense Publishers.

Meijer, P. C. (2014). *De docent: Sterk in ontwikkeling [The teacher: strong on development].* Inaugural lecture. Nijmegen, the Netherlands: Radboud University.

Meijer, P. C., de Graaf, G., & Meirink, J. A. (2011). Key experiences in student teachers' development. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 17*(1), 115–129.

Meijer, P. C., Korthagen, F., & Vasalos, A. (2009). Supporting presence in teacher education: The connection between the personal and professional aspects of teaching. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 25*(2), 297–308.

Meijer, P. C., & Van Driel, J. H. (1999). De professionele identiteit van docenten belicht vanuit hun praktijkkennis [Teachers' professional identity from the perspective of their practical knowledge]. *Pedagogisch Tijdschrift, 24*(4), 451–470.

Meijer, P. C., Oolbekkink, H. W., Pillen, M., & Aardema, A. (2014). Pedagogies of developing teacher identity. In C. J. Craig, & L. Orland-Barak (Eds.), *International teacher education: Promising pedagogies* (Part A.) (pp. 293–309). New York: Emerald.

Mezirow, J. (2009). Transformative learning theory. In J. Mezirow & E. W. Taylor (Eds.), *Transformative learning in practice*. San Francisco (CA): Jossey-Bass.

Moir, E. (2002). The stages of a teacher's first year. In B. E. S. T. The (Ed.), *Beginning teacher experience*. Dubuque, IOWA: Kendall/Hunt.

Pillen, M. (2013). *Professional identity tensions of beginning teachers.* Dissertation, Eindhoven University, the Netherlands.

Rodgers, C. R., & Scott, K. H. (2008). The development of the personal self and professional identity in learning to teach. In M. Cochran-Smith, S. Feiman-Nemser, D. J. McIntyre, & K. E. Demers (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education* (pp. 732–755). New York: Routledge.

Veenman, S. A. M. (1984). Perceived problems of beginning teachers. *Review of Educational Research, 54,* 143–178.

Verhaege, P. (2012). *Identiteit [Identity].* Amsterdam, the Netherlands: De Bezige Bij.

Wieman, C. E. (2014). The similarities between research in education and in research in the hard sciences. *Educational Researcher, 43*(1), 12–14.